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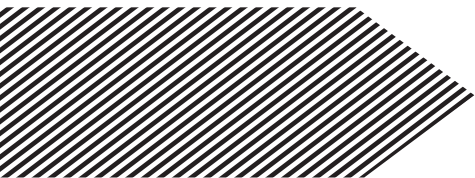
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## PREFACE

This Bulletin's opening article presents the seventh Gerald D. Feldman Memorial Lecture, delivered last spring by Dorothee Wierling (University of Hamburg) on the topic "German History as Global History: The Case of Coffee in the Twentieth Century." In this article, Professor Wierling examines coffee not as a commodity but as a mediator of social relations among the actors along the commodity chain. Taking the Hamburg merchants engaged in the overseas coffee trade as her starting point, Wierling investigates the role of travel as part of these merchants' introduction into the professional world of global economic activities and analyzes the "internationalization" strategies of these trading families.

The next three articles form part of a thematic forum on the history of knowledge, one of the German Historical Institute's new focal points of research. This section opens with Simone Lässig's article "The History of Knowledge and the Expansion of the Historical Research Agenda," which provides a survey of the intellectual and disciplinary origins of the history of knowledge; probes its relationship to the rise of global and transnational history; examines the methods that the history of knowledge deploys to study the subject of knowledge; analyzes how using knowledge as a category of historical analysis can benefit historical research; and offers a preview of the GHI's research program in the history of knowledge.

The other two articles in this special forum each present specific research projects in the history of knowledge. In her article, "Old and New Orders of Knowledge in Modern Jewish History," GHI Research Fellow Kerstin von der Krone presents the research she is pursuing as part of the GHI-affiliated German-Israeli research project "Innovation through Tradition? Jewish Educational Media and Cultural Transformation in the Face of Modernity." Her article examines how, against a background of profound social change during the *Sattelzeit* (c. 1750–1850), Jewish education and ideas of learning in German-speaking Europe underwent fundamental conceptual and structural transformations. In particular, she analyzes the ways in which changes in the institutions of learning and teaching methods, the integration of new subject matter, and the engagement with non-religious thought gave rise to a differentiation and pluralization of the religious knowledge order. In doing so, von der Krone sheds new

light on how the transmission of religious knowledge was inextricably connected with attempts to redefine Judaism in the modern era.

The forum's third article, "Data, Diplomacy, and Liberalism: August Ferdinand Lueder's Critique of German Descriptive Statistics," by Anna Echtermöller, GHI Fellow in the History of Knowledge (2015-2016), examines a neglected but revealing episode in the nineteenth-century history of statistics. Echtermöller's article focuses on the early-nineteenth-century German statistician August Lueder, who started his career as a proponent and practitioner of "descriptive statistics" but then turned into the field's sharpest critic. By contrasting Lueder's descriptive statistics with two competing strands of statistics — mathematized social statistics and political arithmetic — and by offering a close reading and analysis of Lueder's critique of statistics, Echtermöller illuminates the development of statistics from a new angle and offers a paradigmatic "history of knowledge in transition."

The reports on GHI-sponsored conferences that took place in the first half of 2016 reflect the diversity of the topics examined at our conferences and seminars, ranging from German history to American history to transnational history, from the early modern era to the late twentieth century, from art history to political history to economic history, from the theme of diversity in German history to Willy Brandt's relationship to the Americas, from the nineteenth-century history of women's rights to historical perspectives on the current refugee crisis, from the history of risk to an examination of the current state of the historical discipline.

In the "GHI News" section we are pleased to announce the launch of the new digital project "German History Intersections" and the exciting news that the Institute will be opening a "GHI West" branch office at the University of California at Berkeley next year. In this section you will also find an obituary for the distinguished historian Fritz Stern, who had a long association with the GHI. The events calendar gives you a preview of our upcoming activities. We have recently increased our presence on social media, so in addition to our website — <http://www.ghi-dc.org> — please also check out our Facebook page and our twitter feed @GHIWashington for up-to-date information on upcoming events, new publications, fellowship announcements, job postings, and calls for papers.

Simone Lässig (Director) and Richard F. Wetzell (Editor)





# Features



## GERMAN HISTORY AS GLOBAL HISTORY: THE CASE OF COFFEE

GERALD D. FELDMANN LECTURE, DELIVERED AT THE GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE,  
WASHINGTON DC, MAY 19, 2016

**Dorothee Wierling**

UNIVERSITY OF HAMBURG

### I. Introduction

German historiography has long centered on the nation state. For British or U.S.-American historians the empire or an immigrant society served as important reference points for looking beyond the borders of the nation state whereas the birth of German historiography coincided with the yearning for the nation as a homogenous community. However, transnational and even global history have, at least in the last decade, become a growing and already important new field in German historiography, both conceptually and empirically.<sup>1</sup> The degree to which Germany, or rather specific places and regions in Germany, have been involved in global history, especially in the economic transformations of the nineteenth century, has been well documented in recent scholarship.

One of the connections between industrializing and urbanizing societies in Europe and North America on the one hand, and areas in the global South and East on the other, consists in specific commodities such as sugar, cotton, and other “colonial” products. These commodities not only transformed consumption in Europe and the United States, but they were the basis for creating industrial societies in the consumer countries, where — to take the British example — the textile industry laid the foundations for swift and powerful industrialization and urbanization, and sugar became an important food item for the new working class, especially in connection with tea.<sup>2</sup>

Through the analysis of global commodity chains, these connections have been made visible and have deepened our understanding of the mechanisms that created the industrial as well as the colonial or postcolonial worlds and the factors responsible for this historical transformation. As Sven Beckert has shown in his study of cotton, this process of transformation has not come to an end with the creation of industrial societies in the global North, but could also lead to

1 Sebastian Conrad, Andreas Eckert, Ulrike Freitag, eds., *Globalgeschichte. Theorien. Ansätze. Themen* (Frankfurt a. M., 2007). Sebastian Conrad, *Globalgeschichte. Eine Einführung* (Munich, 2013).

2 Cotton is a favorite with historians of globalization: Clayton Brown, *King Cotton: A Cultural, Political, and Economic History since 1945* (Jackson, Miss., 2011); Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World* (Cambridge, 2013), and most recently Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York, 2014); for the classic study on sugar by S. Mintz see fn. 4.

their eventual de-industrialization by shifting the center of industrial production to those countries that had originally acted as mere suppliers of raw products.<sup>3</sup> Historical studies of commodity chains have highlighted the central role of colonial commodities as the driving forces behind the complex and uneven process we now call globalization. However, commodity chains as a concept are sometimes used to describe structures that seem to function almost by themselves once the “chain” is established. The result can be an abstract and macro-economic approach to the history of globalization that “flattens” the phenomenon. Other studies, such as the groundbreaking work of anthropologist Steven Mintz on sugar, juxtapose the colonial world of production and the industrial world of consumers with a focus on their interconnected changes in regard to ways of working and consuming. But such studies seldom refer to the individuals and professional groups involved in creating these connections.<sup>4</sup>

In an inspiring essay, the historian of Africa Fred Cooper has recently challenged the usefulness of “globalization” as a concept because it, as he states bluntly, suffers from two problems: one being “global,” the other “ization.”<sup>5</sup> As to the former, Cooper argues that the idea of a global network including each part of the world is quite misleading because in reality, large sections of the globe and whole continents were more or less excluded from the process. And the second half of the term, “ization,” according to Cooper, falsely suggests an almost teleological development from an unconnected world to an ever more connected one, a suggestion of an ongoing progress very similar to the modernization theory of the 1960s. Instead, according to Cooper, these processes are not only uneven with regard to region, but also with regard to time: breaks and movements into different directions are quite common. This is certainly true for coffee in the twentieth century; the impact of two world wars and the economic crises in their aftermath led to dramatic interruptions of the transatlantic trade, and states began to heavily intervene in foreign trade. The result, at least in Europe, was a long process of de-globalization which only turned around again in the 1950s.

Nevertheless I do believe that the concept of globalization is helpful for understanding the processes I am interested in: as a social historian, I particularly aim at what Jürgen Osterhammel has called a “transnational history of society” (*transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte*), without assuming the existence of a “transnational society” or even *Weltgesellschaft*, but rather looking for a repertoire of transnational practices of socialization (*Vergesellschaftung*) in a broad sense of the word: the creation of ever closer systems of (social) interaction.<sup>6</sup>

3 Sven Beckert’s book on cotton was also published in German as *King Cotton. Eine Geschichte des globalen Kapitalismus* (Munich, 2014).

4 Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power* (New York, 1985). The book was translated into German as *Die süsse Macht. Kulturgeschichte des Zuckers* (Frankfurt/New York, 1987).

5 Fred Cooper, “What is the Concept of Globalization Good for? An African Historian’s Perspective,” *African Affairs* 100, no. 399 (2001): 189–213.

6 Jürgen Osterhammel, “A ‘Transnational’ History of Society: Continuity or New Departure?,” in *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, ed. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (New York/Oxford, 2009), 39–51.

As a consequence, I am not so much interested in coffee as a product, a commodity or a consumer good as such, but in the role it plays as a *mediator* of social relations among the various actors along the commodity chain.<sup>7</sup> Coffee, growing in the global South and being mostly consumed in the industrialized North, is a commodity which involves a large number of actors who inhabit very different, often distant yet closely connected worlds, geographically, culturally, and socially. Looking at one group of actors will be helpful for understanding the process of global connections and disconnections as motivated by interests, expectations, experiences, practices, and networks. I am taking the role and perspective of the merchants engaged in overseas trade with green coffee as my starting point. Merchants as actors have long been neglected by historians of modern history and, oddly enough, especially in the analysis of global trade since the nineteenth century, a period for which the research of both economic and social historians has been dominated by industrialization and urbanization. Only recently have scholars of the late nineteenth and the twentieth century examined the crucial role that merchants played in creating a closely connected web of interactions and exchange as the stuff that global history is made of.<sup>8</sup> What Sven Beckert states for the cotton merchants — that *they* were the ones who kept the commodity flow moving and who personified the global networks based on credit, trade, information, social connections, and a never-ending hunger for profit — also applies to the coffee merchants. I therefore regard them as true “agents of globalization.” Before examining more closely the global aspects of overseas merchants’ practices, it is important to stress, however, to what degree this group was first and foremost locally grounded.<sup>9</sup>

My case study examines Hamburg-based coffee importers between 1900 and the 1970s.<sup>10</sup> Since the late nineteenth century Hamburg and its free port had become the main hub for importing green coffee to central Europe. In the huge warehouse district, around two hundred coffee merchants at a time occupied the Sandtorkai, their offices and the coffee exchange just a short walk away from the city center, the town hall, and the chamber of commerce.

For Hamburg, a port city and a state in Imperial Germany’s (and later the Weimar Republic’s) federal system, trade played an important role in the economy as well as in local politics, and the personal connections between both spheres were close. At the same time, international relations were crucial for the city, which took pride

7 On the concept of mediation through “things” see David Sabean, “Die Produktion von Sinn beim Konsum der Dinge,” in *Fahrrad, Auto, Fernseh-schrank. Zur Kulturgeschichte der Alltagsdinge*, ed. Wolfgang Ruppert (Frankfurt, 1993), 37–51.

8 Christoph Dejung, *Die Fäden des globalen Marktes. Eine Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des Welthandels am Beispiel der Handelsfirma Gebrüder Volkart 1851–1999* (Cologne, 2013); Sven Beckert, *Cotton*, 200f. Becker devotes one chapter, titled “Making Cotton Global,” to merchants (pp. 199–241).

9 For more on the local basis of the Hamburg coffee trade, see Dorothee Wierling, “Coffee Worlds. Global Players and Local Actors in Twentieth-Century Germany,” *German Historical Institute London Bulletin* XXXVI, no. 2 (2014): 24–48.

10 The project on Hamburg coffee merchants is part of a larger research context including two dissertations, one on coffee consumption in the two postwar Germanies: Monika Sigmund, *Genuss als Politikum* (Munich, 2015); the other on Germans in the coffee production business in Central America: Christiane Berth, *Biografien und Netzwerke im Kaffeehandel zwischen Deutschland und Zentralamerika 1920–1959* (Hamburg, 2014). All three projects aimed at exploring the many economic, political and social, local, national and international relationships and interactions around coffee as a commodity.



**Figure 1: “Hamburg: Das Tor zur Welt” [Hamburg: The Gate to the World], Poster by Bruno Karberg for the 750th anniversary of the Hamburg port in 1939. Source: Bruno Karberg: *Gebrauchsgrafiker in drei Epochen* (Hamburg, 2005), p. 89.**

in calling itself the “gate to the world” (*Tor zur Welt*, see Figure 1) even in 1939, when the gate was located in a country seeking to dominate the globe rather than open up to it.<sup>11</sup>

The city’s bourgeois class, shaped by the ideal of the virtuous Hanseatic merchant, considered itself liberal, open-minded, and urbane.<sup>12</sup> The merchants’ interests in Hamburg were politically supported by a number of institutions of bourgeois self-regulation, such as the Verein der am Caffeehandel beteiligten Firmen [Association of Companies Engaged in the Coffee Trade]. At the same time, the city had many consulates, and international trading partners frequently visited, established agencies, and shared a culture of transnational sociability with their local hosts. As a result, Hamburg was an internationally oriented city whose politics were shaped more by its overseas

connections and interests than by its role as part of the German national state.

Keeping the local basis in mind will deepen our understanding of the coffee merchants’ overseas relations, global connections, and transnational practices. Those practices, while based on the economic logic of trade, were largely social in character and formed a complex context for the economic dealings around coffee. At the same time, the actors themselves saw no contradiction between their local and global activities, but thought of them as connected worlds. In the following section, I will briefly sketch the coffee commodity chain in order to give an impression of the variety of actors and places that determined the basic economic practices in the coffee trade as well as the specific role of the overseas merchants. This will be followed by an analysis of “transnational” travel and socializing as practices that played a key role in keeping business connections alive and running. Transnational families and their role in the global coffee trade were also crucial for establishing stable and reliable connections around the globe. While focusing on typical structures and practices, it is important to consider the changes they underwent in the course of

11 Lars Amenda, Sonja Grünen, „Tor zur Welt“. *Hamburg-Bilder und Hamburg-Werbung im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich/Hamburg, 2008).

12 Lu Seegers, *Hanseaten und das Hanseatische in Diktatur und Demokratie: Politisch-ideologische Zuschreibungen und Praxen, Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg*, ed. Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg (Hamburg, 2014), 71–83.

the twentieth century. By way of conclusion, the merchants' sense of community and belonging will be discussed.

## II. Trading in a Global Commodity

Coffee is a typical “colonial” product. It grows only in regions with specific climate conditions and was originally cultivated in Africa and later in parts of East Asia. In the mid-nineteenth century, coffee was introduced to Latin America, where its production was closely linked to nation building processes.<sup>13</sup> Today, Brazil is still the largest producer of coffee, while Vietnam has risen to become the second largest producer since the late 1980s following the direct intervention of the global coffee industry.<sup>14</sup>

At the end of the nineteenth century coffee had become a commodity of mass consumption in the United States and Europe, especially in Germany, and production expanded rapidly. This, however, required huge sums of initial capital. Clearing the land was one issue; the other was economically surviving the first five years before new plants would bear fruit or getting through the periodical cycles of overproduction. Planters needed a workforce for picking and preparing the coffee for transport in so-called *beneficios*, where the fruit was washed and dried to separate the green bean from the pulp. In addition, coffee-producing states had to provide the infrastructure, such as railway lines from the highlands, where coffee grew best, to the ports. European (mostly London-based) merchant banks became central to these initial investments, at least before the First World War; after the war U.S. banks steadily increased their economic engagement in the coffee business. To this day, the coffee commodity chain shows typical characteristics of social inequality between societies producing raw products and consumer societies processing these products for the world market.<sup>15</sup>

Figure 2 shows a typical illustration of the coffee commodity chain. When it comes to trade and merchants, both importers and exporters, such charts say very little about the kinds of activities necessary to realize the mediation between producers and consumers.

The following sketch shall therefore convey an overview of the many actors involved in “facilitating trade” or at least of those actors with whom importers dealt with on a regular basis. Sometimes planters were also exporters, but as a rule an agent was needed to mediate between the exporter and the European (in my case study:

13 William Roseberry, ed., *Coffee, Society and Power in Latin America* (Baltimore, 1996).

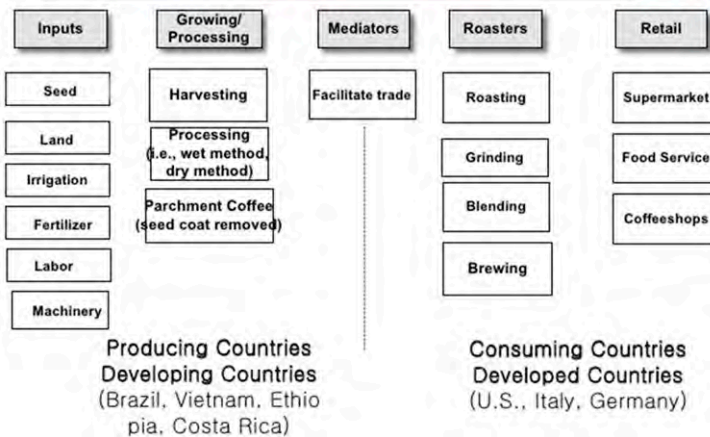
14 According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Statistics Division, Vietnam produced over 1.500.000 t of green coffee in 2012, half the amount produced in Brazil. [http://faostat3.fao.org/browse/rankings/countries\\_by\\_commodity/E](http://faostat3.fao.org/browse/rankings/countries_by_commodity/E) (last accessed 07/30/2015)

15 Steven Topik, Alan Wells, “Commodity Chains: Coffee,” in *A World Connecting 1870 – 1945*, ed. Emily Rosenberg (Cambridge, Mass., 2012), 773–793. The earliest comprehensive attempt to grasp the coffee commodity chain was undertaken by William Ukers, *All About Coffee* (New York, 1935); see also John Talbot, *Grounds for Agreement: The Political Economy of the Coffee Commodity Chain* (Lanham, 2004); William Clarence-Smith, Steven Topik, eds. *The Global Coffee Economy in Africa, Asia and Latin America 1500–1989* (New York, 2003).



## Coffee Global Value Chain Input – Output Stages

DUKE/VIU  
INTERNATIONAL  
SUMMER  
RESEARCH  
WORKSHOP



**Figure 2: Coffee global value chain, input — output stages.** Courtesy of Duke University/VIU.

fee on their own account and — like importers — deal in futures at the coffee exchanges, be it in Hamburg, Le Havre, London, Santos or New York, i.e. act as hedgers. Once an international deal was decided on, the financial transactions were arranged by a merchant banker, who mediated between exporter and importer through an “acceptance credit”: paying the exporter of coffee based on the “bill of lading” and being paid by the importer as soon as the commodity arrived in the port. Through their own (cif) agents, banks could also take care of shippers and insurers. Once received by Hamburg importers, all of whom were based in the free port area, coffee was taken over by storekeepers and — again through brokers — either re-exported to other European countries, mainly to Scandinavia and to central/eastern/southeast Europe, or imported and sold to wholesale dealers and roasters, from where it went into retail sale or coffee houses.

Apart from the brokers, storekeepers, and possibly local shippers and insurers, all other partners in the importer’s business would typically be based overseas, often out of direct reach, in the remote areas of highland coffee growing regions. Regular communication, initially by letter and telegraph cable in the nineteenth century, and by telephone, telex, fax, and the internet in the twentieth century, was crucial: even leaving aside disasters such as frost and pest infestation, a great deal of information was needed to minimize the risk of a bad deal: Would the coffee be of the promised quality? Would it arrive in time?



Would world market prices rise or fall? Would bills be paid? Would shipping be handled professionally? Would agents and brokers get their share? Would competitors respect established business connections? These and many more issues were often out of the direct control of the parties involved. Although there were internationally accepted trade regulations, these transactions were mostly about trust.<sup>16</sup> Trust, however, had to be gained and secured through a variety of social relations which were embedded in two basic structures: the first was the family firm with its mutual strengthening of economic and kinship ties.<sup>17</sup> The second was the network built on long-term business relationships, on which each partner relied to secure credit both in the literal and the figurative sense and thus build “goodwill,” which represented the core capital of the merchant company.<sup>18</sup> As a result, the coffee trade (like any other overseas trade) comprised a much larger and broader range of interactions than those of simpler economic dealings. In what follows, I will concentrate on two common practices and the way they changed from the late nineteenth into the twentieth century and in particular under the impact of the many economic crises, political disruptions, and two world wars in a century of extremes.

### III. The Grand Coffee Tour

Travel formed an important part not only of bourgeois leisure practices, but also of education, and, in the case of global merchants, of the general introduction into the professional world of global economic activities.<sup>19</sup> In the nineteenth century travel intensified, and as part of their overall business education young European coffee merchants, in particular the sons designated as successors for the company, were expected to make at least one visit to a place of international finance and at least one visit to a “place of origin,” as the coffee producing regions were called.

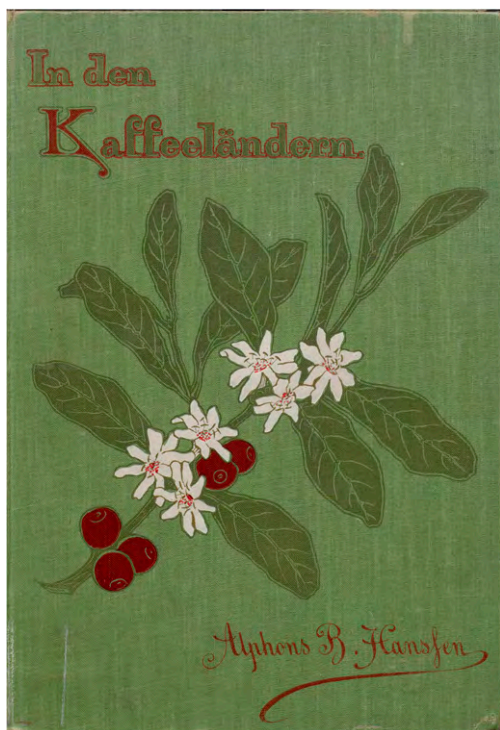
Thus in the fall of 1893, Alphons Hanssen, eldest son in the family firm Hanssen & Studt, which dealt exclusively with green coffee, left Hamburg for a trip that was to last five years, until the spring of 1898. “With peaceful commercial intentions” Hanssen, then probably in his twenties, first went to Le Havre and London, from where he travelled to France, Belgium, Holland, and again to England and Scotland. Following this pre-study in mobility, he ventured on a much more exciting journey that would lead him around the globe, visiting each and every of the world’s coffee growing regions for the following two years. It was not “Wanderlust” alone that drove

16 Trust has developed into a central concept in the history of economics in a cultural perspective. For the basic concept see Paul Seabright, *The Company of Strangers: A Natural History of Economic Life*, 2d ed. (Princeton, 2010).

17 Harold James, *Family Capitalism. Wendels, Haniels, Falcks and the Continental European Model* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006). Although built on the case of three industrial enterprises, James’ arguments for the success of the family firm also apply to the coffee trade.

18 According to the online dictionary Investopedia, goodwill is: “an intangible asset . . . the value of a company’s brand name, solid customer base, good customer relations, good employee relations and any patents or proprietary technology represent goodwill.” [www.investopedia.com](http://www.investopedia.com), (last accessed 9/12/2015)

19 The significance of traveling for the education of the *Wirtschaftsbürgertum* is still rather underresearched, compared to the *Bildungsreise* of the young nobility and bourgeoisie in the 1800s. Jürgen Osterhammel, “Von Kolumbus bis Cook. Aspekte einer literatur- und Erfahrungsgeschichte des überseeischen Reisens,” in *Neue Impulse der Reiseforschung*, ed. Michael Maurer (Berlin, 1999), 197–233; Birgit Wörner, *Frankfurter Bankiers, Kaufleute und Industrielle. Werte, Lebensstil und Lebenspraxis 1870 – 1930* (Frankfurt a.M., 2011), 272ff.



**Figure 3:** Cover of Alphons Hanssen's self-published travelogue, *In den Kaffeeeländern. Wanderungen durch die Kaffeeeländer der Erde* (Hamburg, 1902). Courtesy of FZH Hamburg.

him in his endeavor, he defended himself, but primarily “business interests” — and the plan to become a shareholder in his father’s company, which had been founded by his grandfather in 1836. Global trade, he argued, had accelerated to such a degree that deals were decided on in the course of a few hours, so that a merchant lacked the time to gather all the relevant information he needed for his decision, and instead had to build up thorough knowledge beforehand — through travelling. “This insight defined the purpose and goal of my journey.”<sup>20</sup>

During his voyage to South America, Hanssen socialized with the other twenty-two passengers, among them the wife of the German ambassador in Brazil, who was just the beginning of an endless chain of new acquaintances he made during his travels. Provided with a letter of recommendation by his uncle, the director of the Hamburg-Südamerika-Dampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft,

he met business partners of his father’s and other Hamburg companies; he visited various *fincas* or *facendas* in every country where he was welcomed by their owners or managers who would help him to arrange his travels to his next destination. His hosts, mostly Germans, talked business over German beer and took him to the local German club. In the backcountry, he encountered small farmers, former slaves, and the indigenous population. The poverty surrounding him sometimes created feelings of sympathy, but mostly of disgust, especially with the poor quality of food and shelter that he had to share and about the laziness of the “negroes,” whereas he was full of respect for the hard labor of the “indios.” Thus, although he was always in command of a small group of servants and porters for his extensive luggage, he was by no means shielded from the realities of the countries he visited. But he shared the way the elites, and the Germans in particular, interpreted the country they lived in and judged the people who worked for them. When he returned to Hamburg, Hanssen had acquired a huge amount of knowledge not only about the product itself, but also about the national and regional variations of the global merchant *habitus*. The cultural and

<sup>20</sup> Alphons B. Hanssen, *In den Kaffeeeländern. Wanderungen durch die Kaffeeeländer der Erde. Eine Weltreise in den Jahren 1896-98* (Hamburg, 1902), X.

social capital he had accumulated during his travels would serve him immensely in the future.<sup>21</sup>

Half a century later, in 1955, another travelogue was published by a Hamburg coffee merchant: Fritz Steinmetz published his “Summarized Impressions of an 18-Day Journey: From Santos, the World’s Largest Coffee Port to Bogota, the Capital of Colombia” in eight parts in the trade journal *Coffee and Tea Market*.<sup>22</sup> Steinmetz had joined the coffee brokerage business of Josef Königsberger in 1937 as a third partner with the founder and his own father-in-law.<sup>23</sup> Both Steinmetz and his father-in-law put pressure on Königsberger, whom the Nazis defined as Jewish, to sign the company over to them, which he did. The court battle about restitution was still ongoing when Steinmetz undertook his journey in the mid-1950s. Unsurprisingly, these circumstances are not mentioned in his travelogue, and there is only one very indirect reference to the war when Steinmetz quotes a stewardess calming down anxious passengers over Bolivia by referring to the pilots as “great boys from Texas who had gathered their experience during the war in Germany.”<sup>24</sup> This silence was in line with the general attitude of the business after 1945. A newspaper article published in the mid-1950s praised the “Hanseatic” German merchant and the “goodwill” he still enjoyed in the world of trade by referring to the aftermath of the *First World War* and the ability of companies *then* to quickly regain the trust of their global partners while there was no reference whatsoever to the *Second World War*.<sup>25</sup>

The differences between the journey in the 1950s and that in the 1900s are striking in many ways. Times were faster: journeys of multiple years were no longer feasible but also no longer necessary to make the required contact. Whereas Hanssen spent many pages describing the arduousness of the journey, Steinmetz crossed mountain ranges by plane, used well-maintained streets and railways, and enjoyed the luxury of hotels and guesthouses on the various *facendas* he visited. As a consequence, Steinmetz had no contact with people outside the narrow circle of his business partners, no encounters with the poor, the unwashed, and the dark-skinned population, whom he nevertheless described, in sync with his hosts, as “frugal, but lazy.”<sup>26</sup> There is another striking difference: Steinmetz did not travel along a chain of acquaintances or friends, and none of his contacts seems to have been German.

Steinmetz was probably around 50 years old when he undertook this first postwar journey overseas. He thus represented the second

21 See above. I found Bourdieu’s concepts of *habitus* and capital extremely helpful to better understand the mechanisms of their economic and social practices. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, 1977); Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson (New York, 1986), 241–258.

22 *Kaffee- und Teemarkt* (KTM) 11, June 2 (1955): 3–7, V/12, June 16, 11–13, V/13, July 2, 14f., V/14, July 18, 18f. V/15, August 3, 10–12, V/16, August 17, 11–13, V/17, September 2, 4–6, V/18, September 20, 14–16, V/19, October 4, 6–8 and V/20, October 18, 11f.

23 The following description of this case involving “Aryanization” and restitution is based on the files in the Staatsarchiv der Hansestadt Hamburg (StAAHH) 213–13 (Landgericht Wiedergutmachung), Z 6159.

24 KTM V/14 (1955): 19. (Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.)

25 Dr. Ernst Hieke, “Hanseaten draußen. „Goodwill“ als Garant hamburgischen Kaufmannstums,” *Die Welt*, Hamburg May 6, 1950.

26 KTM V/20, p. 11.

generation of large-scale coffee merchants, newcomers of the 1920s and 1930s, not members of the old and established Hamburg merchant class. His cohort was not “Hanseatic” by tradition or experience, but had learned the business in times of fierce competition and economic crises, Nazi rule, and war. Germany had not imported coffee between the summer of 1939 and 1948, seven years before Steinmetz took his trip. The German presence and influence in Latin America had been considerably weakened; German property had been confiscated after 1941, and many German nationals had been deported to and interned in the United States. The latter had now become the most important trading partner for Latin America. The restrained tone of Steinmetz’ travelogue reflects, it seems, the ambiguities of the situation ten years after the war and at the beginning of free trade and the “economic miracle” in West Germany.

But there was also another, younger cohort travelling in the early 1960s, members of a generation nowadays referred to as the “children of war.” Klaus Jacobs and Albert Darboven, both born in 1936, were sent by their fathers to the “places of origin” in the early 1960s. In the case of Darboven this was El Salvador, a country experiencing a recent coffee boom. Darboven had a great time in Central America, partying with his peers and being allowed to openly carry a weapon; most importantly, he fell in love with Inès, the “coffee princess” of El Salvador, daughter of a wealthy coffee grower from a Sephardic family.<sup>27</sup> Klaus Jacobs was sent to Guatemala and stayed there for several years, building close friendships and likewise falling in love with a young woman.<sup>28</sup> Finally, Michael Neumann, also born in the mid-1930s, was sent to New York by his father for an apprenticeship with Leon Israel & Sons, who had maintained a branch in Hamburg until 1934. From there he continued to Colombia, where his father’s company had become the exclusive agents for the state-regulated coffee export.<sup>29</sup> The postwar travels of these young men brought them experiences of excitement, liberation, and eroticism. Like their grandparents and their parents before World War II, they engaged in what Simone Derix has called “cosmopolitan idleness” (*kosmobiler Müßiggang*),<sup>30</sup> practices of shared leisure, providing intra-generational bonding experiences and building friendships, and at the same time renewing the broken ties between families and companies while these “innocent” youngsters enjoyed the “places of origin” with naïve impartiality and curiosity.<sup>31</sup> Under the circumstances of the postwar era, the

27 Jens Meyer-Odenwald, *Albert Darboven. Aus Freude am Leben*, 2d ed. (Hamburg, 2005).

28 René Lüchinger, Britta Willmann, *Der Jacobsweg. Die autorisierte Biographie des Unternehmers Klaus J. Jacobs* (Zurich, 2007).

29 Life history interview with Michael Neumann, July 13, 2005.

30 Simone Derix, “Transnationale Familien” in *Dimensionen internationaler Geschichte*, ed. Jost Dülffer and Wilfried Loth (Munich, 2012), 335–352, quote p. 343.

31 Life history interview with Albert Darboven, March 2, 2005 transcript p. 47f.

relationships they engaged in on their travels were less often with ethnic Germans than with the national elites, whom they now met on a more equal footing since the latter had acquired a level of wealth and luxury comparable to Europe and the United States in the meantime. Their encounters served their mutual business interests very well.

#### IV. Transnational Families: Kinship and Credit

Recently, historians have become more interested in socio-economic family structures and practices extending beyond and across regional and national boundaries.<sup>32</sup> Globalization as a process of connecting ever more regions of the world and creating permanent economic relationships and flexible economic networks depends to a large degree on strategies of industrial, banking, and trade families organizing their own “internationalization.”

This was also the case in the coffee trade, which in Hamburg was still organized in the form of family businesses, and from which global links and networks created through kinship originated. Family members might leave Hamburg for good, establishing family branches abroad or associating themselves with families in their new home country, whether those families were of local or of German origin. How did the structure of these “transnational” families in the coffee business follow the logic of the coffee commodity chain? What was Hamburg’s place in the shifting relationships between center and periphery?

Among the 190 bourgeois Hamburg families who had their genealogies published in the *Hamburger Geschlechterbuch*<sup>33</sup> sixteen were engaged in the coffee trade. They represented the traditional type of the Hanseatic merchant and the first generation in the rapidly growing trade before World War I. All of these families were more or less transnationally organized. In my brief characterization, I will focus on two types of transnational kinship systems. The first one is that of the merchant banking family.<sup>34</sup>

Some of the most respected members of the Hamburg-based Coffee Association had started as merchant bankers, as in the case of the Schlüter family. In 1820, Ferdinand David, the son of a Hamburg mayor, founded an import company together with his cousin Johann Georg Maack. They traded in various products from the Americas, among them coffee, at least up to the First World War. In all their transactions, Schlüter’s nephew

32 Christopher H. Johnson, David W. Sabeen, Simon Teuscher, Francesca Trivellato, eds., *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences since the Middle Ages* (New York/Oxford, 2011). For the nineteenth century in particular see David Sabeen, “German International Families in the Nineteenth Century: The Siemens Family as a Thought Experiment,” *ibid.*, 229–252.

33 The *Deutsches Geschlechterbuch* has been published since 1889 (until 1943 under the title: *Genealogisches Handbuch bürgerlicher Familien*) and comprises 185 volumes so far. Another 35 are in the making.

34 Ulrike Kirchberger, *Aspekte deutsch-britischer Expansion. Die Überseesinteressen der deutschen Migranten in Großbritannien in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1999). For an earlier time period see also Margrit Schulte-Beerbühl, *The Forgotten Majority. German Merchants in London, Naturalization and Global Trade 1660–1815* (Oxford, 2014).



Edmund's involvement in founding the London banking house Edm. Schluter & Co. was crucial. The ties between the two family branches were further strengthened by Edmund's niece marrying into the Maack family. One of her sisters married into a Hamburg merchant family active in Venezuela, another sister married a future Hamburg mayor and board member of Norddeutsche Bank. From their first daughter links go to the Waitz family, akin with the Münchmeyers, another merchant bank that also dealt with coffee and held important political and economic positions in Hamburg. A brother of Edmund Schluter married the daughter of a banker and Hamburg mayor from the highly respected Amsinck family, merchant bankers with a branch in New York. His oldest daughter married into a Hamburg merchant family in Caracas. Meanwhile, the London family branch — British nationals since the outbreak of the First World War who had anglicized their name to Schluter — prospered and opened branches in Ethiopia, Uganda, Tanzania, and Costa Rica (all coffee producing countries), while also serving as advisers to the British government on matters of the coffee trade.<sup>35</sup> As indicated above, merchant banking was crucial for organizing overseas trade in coffee. The ledgers of the Schluter bank show that although the bank itself traded in rubber and coffee, the largest profits were made with the acceptance business, a common technique of overseas trade, in which a bank advanced payment to the exporter and was paid back by the importer upon the delivery of the goods.<sup>36</sup> The transnational character of merchant banking shaped not only economic, but also social and kinship relations in Hamburg well into the twentieth century. Whereas many merchant banker family alliances originated in Hamburg, the banks increasingly followed the evolving centers of international finance — from Hamburg to London and from there to New York — while often carefully renewing Hamburg alliances at the same time.

This was also true for a second pattern, coffee families in the “places of origin.” The sixty-three German family names Alphons Hanssen mentions in his travelogue point to larger kinship systems with German roots in the coffee producing countries, especially in Latin America. As a rule, before 1941 Germans in Latin America would socialize mostly amongst themselves and set up a number of ethnic institutions; they did, however, also have a lot in common with the local elites, not least wealth and the elitist isolation from the rest of society. The degree of ethnic and/or class mixing varied considerably. Whereas in Costa Rica, where coffee was mostly grown by small

35 *Hamburgisches Geschlechterbuch*, 17 (Limburg, 2003), 343-415.

36 London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/B/077/MS 35,977

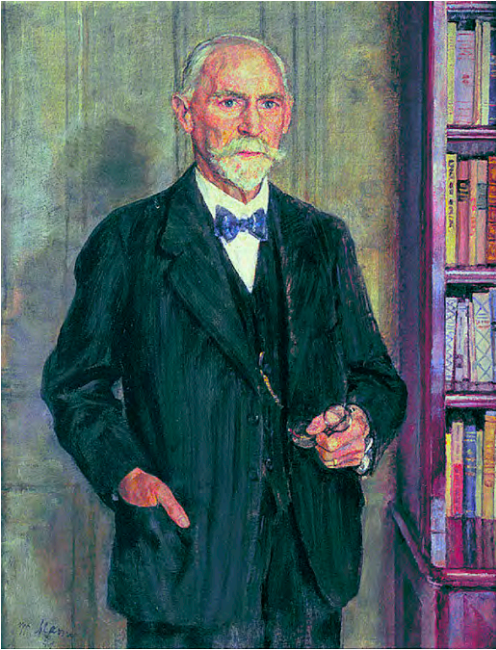
holders, Germans tended to mix much more with the locals, including intermarriage, in Guatemala they formed a close-knit, albeit influential community that owned half of Guatemala's vast *fincas*. Germans, many of them from Hamburg, had been attracted to Guatemala and its coffee since the 1870s and had massively invested in the country's infrastructure.<sup>37</sup> At the turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth century it was a common pattern that sons or nephews not eligible for or fit to be successors in the Hamburg family firm went abroad to found their own coffee business in the "place of origin," either as agents or planters. However, their business was often less profitable (and quite risky, especially in agricultural production), and they tended to marry into less prestigious, local families. In these cases they formed a mere sideline of the family business, whose economic and power center remained in Hamburg.

The situation was quite different in the case of Hamburg's Nottebohm family. In 1822, Carl Ludwig Nottebohm had founded a company specializing in colonial products of all sorts while his brothers had gone to Antwerp. Carl Ludwig's son, Carl Friedrich Wilhelm, gained immense influence in Hamburg, not only as a merchant banker and political leader, but also as co-founder (and/or chairman) of several important German banks. During the first international overproduction crisis at the end of the nineteenth century, many coffee planters in Guatemala (as elsewhere) lost their property to their creditors; it was probably in this context that the Nottebohms got directly involved in the coffee production business.<sup>38</sup> Carl Friedrich Wilhelm had seven sons.

One of them, Carl Ludwig II, took over the Guatemalan coffee business and, in 1894, founded Nottebohm & Hermanos with two of his brothers. While Carl Ludwig himself remained in Hamburg and served as a member and then president of its chamber of commerce as well as on the board of the Reichsbank in Berlin and the Hamburger Commerzbank, his brother Johannes went to live in Guatemala and married the daughter of a Hamburg-born merchant from Santos, whose wife came from the powerful Woermann family, owners of Hamburg's largest shipping company. The three sons from Johannes' marriage went on to expand the family coffee business considerably. One of them founded his own company, which his son, who married a woman from Hamburg, then took over. The couple had five children, three of whom stayed in Guatemala, among them Thomas, born in 1949.

37 Regina Wagner, *Los Alemanes en Guatemala 1828-1944*, 2d ed. (Guatemala City, 1996).

38 On the Nottebohms in Guatemala, see Christiane Berth, "Aus Hamburg in die Kaffee-Welten Zentralamerikas. Die Nottebohms in Guatemala," in *Händler, Pioniere, Wissenschaftler. Hamburger in Lateinamerika*, ed. Ulrich Mücke and Jörn Arfs (Münster, 2010), 67-88.



**Figure 4: Portrait of Carl-Ludwig Nottebohm II, founder of Nottebohm & Hermanos in Guatemala and head of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce (1931-33). Source: <http://www.hamburgerpersoenlichkeiten.de>.**

The Nottebohms are a unique case for several reasons. One is the long tradition of their Guatemala business, despite the fact that they were — like most Germans — expropriated twice in connection with the two World Wars. After the Second World War Guatemala generally refused to restitute German possessions.<sup>39</sup> Only the Nottebohms managed to get their plantations back right after the war — obviously because of their good economic and personal connections with the governing (in this case leftist) elite. More interesting, however, are the shifts in power and influence within the family, which in the nineteenth century had started out as one of the most important Hamburg merchant banking families. Untypically, in the case of the Nottebohms it was the Hamburg banking branch that lost significance whereas the Guatemala

business of coffee production and export became the center of the family business.<sup>40</sup>

The frustrating discretion of the “Hanseatic” merchant class makes it difficult to trace their marriage patterns in the postwar era of the twentieth century. To make things even more difficult, the newcomers who became the global players of the 1950s did not make it into Hamburg’s *Geschlechterbuch*. Some of the emerging global players were roasters big enough to import their own coffee: Albert Darboven, roaster of the famous “Idee-Kaffee,” married the young “coffee princess” of El Salvador and brought her to Hamburg. Klaus Jacobs of the Jacobs Café firm, by contrast, was forced to leave his Guatemalan lover behind and married a respectable Hamburg lady. Both marriages ended in divorce. Darboven then married a German noblewoman while Jacobs took his Italian-Swiss secretary for his second wife, who embodied the exact opposite of the female Hanseatic type. Short of more systematic information about marriage patterns, this anecdotal evidence suggests that by the 1960s traditional marriage norms no longer held sway over all family members, and individual romantic choices began to play a larger role. These choices, however, could still be in line with broader business interests: Michael Neumann married the American he had fallen in love

39 Christiane Berth, “Kaffee als politisches Druckmittel? Der schwierige Aufbau der Handelsnetzwerke zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Guatemala in den 1950er Jahren,” in *Kaffeewelten. Historische Perspektiven auf eine globale Ware im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Christiane Berth, Dorothee Wierling, and Volker Wunderlich (Göttingen, 2015), 153-177.

40 Berth, *Biographien und Netzwerke*, interview with Thomas Nottebohm, October 5, 2007.



with during his stay in New York; their son David's wife is from Colombia, still the most important business partner of the Neumann coffee group, which today is the world's second largest importer of green coffee.

Twentieth-century history calls for a thorough historicization of the way families, kinship, and the international trade interacted. The two world wars, in particular the second one, stand out as the most dramatic events, followed by world economic crises and national restrictions on global trade. As a result, European involvement in the global coffee trade lost its status to the United States of America. While New York emerged as the coffee trade's financial center and Latin American elites gained status and wealth after World War II, Hamburg lost its significance as the center of the European coffee trade — its coffee exchange, re-founded in 1955, never developed any activities worth mentioning and essentially closed down a few years later. At the same time, as part of a dramatic process of monopolization, Hamburg also lost its exclusive status as the kinship center of coffee merchant companies. Once the impact of the Second World War no longer played a negative role, both in regard to economics and social contacts, center and periphery were renegotiated.<sup>41</sup>

## V. Global Belongings

By way of conclusion, I would like to address the issue of a global social history and take up the question whether — and if so — how the global connectedness of Hamburg-based coffee importers shaped their sense of belonging to a larger collective entity beyond family and firm. If we look at the many self-descriptions of individuals and groups, both in oral history interviews and in the coffee association's files, the concept of a "community of the coffee trade" (*Gemeinschaft des Kaffeehandels*) clearly stands out. The German concept of *Gemeinschaft* has a much stronger emotional, if not sentimental connotation than its American equivalent. Thus coffee merchants often identified it with the idea of an extended family. But the strong bonds defining this community ended at the borders of the port city of Hamburg. If the local coffee merchants described themselves as a *Gemeinschaft*, Hamburg clearly was their "home," with the emotional and sentimental connotation of the German term *Heimat*. Well into the 1950s, Hamburg coffee merchants had formed an estate in the Weberian sense of the word, with shared interests, norms, and values formed around the concept of honor.<sup>42</sup> Membership had been exclusive, and

41 Christof Dejung, "Worldwide Ties: The Role of Family Business in Global Trade in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century," *Business History* 55/6 (2013): 1001-1018. Dejung builds his argument on the case of the Swiss Volkart company, which imported cotton as well as green coffee (after 1945).

42 Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Günther Roth and Claus Wittich (New York, 1968), 305.

the community had sealed itself off from other branches of the coffee business, such as roasters, from their competitors in other port cities, in particular Bremen, and in general from economic groups not engaged in overseas trade and not represented in Hamburg. For Hamburgers, the notion of Hamburg as *Heimat* applied to family, kinship, and business connections. Yet the ledgers of the London-based Edm. Schluter & Co. do not suggest any preference for Hamburg business partners over those in other port cities; nor did German coffee producers in Latin America stick to Hamburg customers once it became more profitable to sell their coffee to the United States of America. Instead, it was the *cultural capital* Hamburg stood for and the *social capital* it had to offer that made the city so attractive that those abroad would send their sons to Hamburg for professional training and tried to have them marry into a respectable Hamburg family.

At the same time, the focus on Hamburg as *Heimat* was a statement about the nation state. It might be helpful to distinguish between the two parts of the term, since Hamburg's economic elites, and overseas merchants in particular, tended to display an emotional distance to the nation as community while they recognized the state as an institution with certain claims to and services for them. This had become evident already in the 1880s, when Hamburg refused to enter the Customs Union of the German Reich unless it was granted a free port. Companies based in Hamburg's extraterritorial harbor would thereafter refer to the German nation state as "*Inland*" (domestic territory), with a clearly distancing notion. By contrast, the place of the "coffee community" was the Sandtorkai with its close personal connections and privileges. And while there was strong support for the "free" city of Hamburg, the nation state was perceived mostly as an alien central power eager to control free trade. Under the circumstances of the twentieth century which included an increasingly interfering state, lip service had to be paid to the claims of the state and nation, but even under the Nazis the coffee association continued to value world trade above everything else.<sup>43</sup> If the Hamburg coffee merchants did not primarily identify as German, there was, however, another nation that the Hamburg merchants did feel attracted to since the nineteenth century.

Hamburg was known as the most anglophile community outside of Great Britain.<sup>44</sup> The Hamburg bourgeoisie generally tried to follow a vague gentleman ideal. Indeed, the self-image of being "Hanseatic" was to a large degree based on their idea of "Englishness." Ian

43 This becomes obvious, for example, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary celebration of the coffee association in 1936. See the respective files in the archive of the Deutscher Kaffeeverband DKV in Hamburg (no call number).

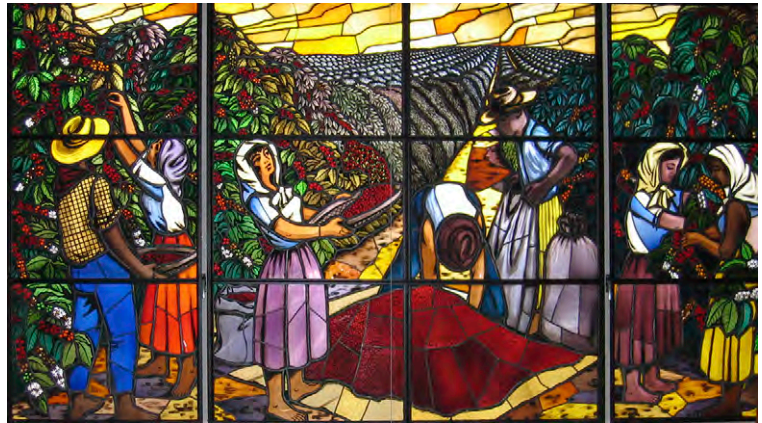
44 Andrew F. Bell, "Anglophilia. The Hamburg Bourgeoisie and the Importation of English Middle Class Culture in the Wilhelmine Era" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 2001).

Buruma has linked the phenomenon of anglophilia to port cities and the merchant class in general, claiming that “merchants can’t afford to be reactionary. Their snobbery is a sign of social mobility, of acquired airs and graces, not of birthright or noble

privilege.”<sup>45</sup> But here Buruma is only partly right. The old and established Hamburg families of the nineteenth century had a very strong sense of birthright. His statement thus applies more to the generations that came of age in the twentieth century, who had to “acquire [the] airs and graces” of British gentlemen, and continue to do so to this day. Obviously, this anglophilia was not so much about the English nation as such, but about notions of Empire and of London as the center of international finance, in other words, a kind of imperial cosmopolitanism with which Hamburg coffee merchants liked to identify. The coffee merchants’ attitude therefore followed the ideal of a global elite class. It is therefore class — or rather a transnational class *habitus* — that seems central to the merchant group’s sense of belonging.<sup>46</sup> As Alwin Münchmeyer, a merchant banker and coffee merchant who as a young man travelled to London, New York, Antwerp, and Buenos Aires in the early 1930s, laconically writes: “I met people who thought and lived like us. They engaged in trade and sports and stayed amongst themselves.”<sup>47</sup>

While this sense of belonging constructed out of multiple elements changed over time — at the cost of the former sense of community once free trade was re-established in the 1950s and towards an intergenerational weakening of Hamburg’s attractiveness — the concept of a transnational class *habitus* grew stronger.

In Hamburg itself, images of coffee’s “place of origin” were continuously reproduced, as in this window at the postwar Hamburg coffee exchange at Sandtorkai (see figure 5). Thus the global and the local have stayed intertwined in mutual sentimental phantasies, pointing to the close connections between the different coffee worlds, both



**Figure 5: Stained glass window at the Hamburg Coffee Exchange (1956). Courtesy of Monika Sigmund.**

45 Ian Buruma, *Anglomania. A European Love Affair* (New York, 2000), 16.

46 The concept and reality of a transnational capitalist class was developed by Leslie Sklair, *The Transnational Capitalist Class* (London, 2001). Ulrich Beck, “Jenseits von Klasse und Nation,” *Soziale Welt* 59 (2008): 301–325 talks about the group of the “upper third in the global hierarchy, who practice a ‘polygamy of place’” (316). They “dispose of the necessary economic or cultural capital and therefore are in the position to freely choose the optimum context for making use of them.” (317).

47 Stefanie Viereck, *Hinter weißen Fassaden. Alwin Münchmeyer: Ein Bankier betrachtet sein Leben* (Reinbek, 1988), 72.

in practical and in cultural terms. Is a global social history possible? Yes it is, but the historian engaged in such an endeavor has to travel herself quite a bit, at least in thought, and keep all the various places in mind: the personal and the social, the economic and the political, the local and the global, and all the places in-between.

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# **Forum: History of Knowledge**



## THE HISTORY OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE EXPANSION OF THE HISTORICAL RESEARCH AGENDA

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“Come to the Public Schools. Learn the Language of America.” So, in six languages, read a large-format poster issued by the city of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1917 (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> The poster was targeted at poor and working class immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. This “new immigration” played no small part in the rise of new industrial centers across the American Midwest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On the eve of World War I, cities like Cleveland and Detroit were not only among the most economically dynamic municipalities in the United States but also among the most ethnically diverse.

That diversity, especially the diversity of the languages the newcomers spoke, appeared to many Americans to be a threat to American social cohesion. Only individuals who could understand and make themselves understood in English, so the argument ran, would be able to land good jobs and develop a sense of belonging that extended beyond their own ethnic communities. That argument took on an increasingly nationalistic tone with the outbreak of World War I. As early as 1915, for instance, Detroit, the Motor City, launched an initiative to help immigrants improve their English. Among the participants in this initiative were companies, industrial associations and chambers of commerce, social welfare organizations, clubs, the military, the press, and — not least of all — children. In schools, at public libraries, on playgrounds, at meetings of groups like the Boy Scouts, and at community organizations like the YMCA, young people were given cards that read “Can Your Mother and Father Speak English Well? Take this card home; it will tell them where to go to learn English.”<sup>2</sup>

Advocates of adult education classes for immigrants throughout the United States were convinced that “there is no better medium than immigrant children for making a message really reach the mother and father. The children were proud of the charge.”<sup>3</sup> Even after immigration fell off during World War I and the imposition of quotas in the 1920s, that approach still seemed promising to municipal authorities in cities with large immigrant communities. In

- 1 Italian, Hungarian, Slovenian, Polish, Yiddish, and English. The city’s many inhabitants of German origin were apparently considered sufficiently bilingual at this point.
- 2 Inside the folder was a sentence in various languages, telling parents where to register for night school work. Detroit’s City Recreation Commission alone distributed five thousand cards of this type through playgrounds and swimming pools, and many public school branches developed similar activities even during the summer. Detroit Board of Commerce and Board of Education: “Americanizing a City.” The Campaign for the Detroit Night Schools, Issued by the National Americanization Committee and the Committee for Immigrants in America, New York City 1915, 14f.

3 *ibid.* 15–16.





**Figure 1: Americanization Committee of the Cleveland Board of Education: Many Peoples, One Language, Ohio 1917. Graphic Arts Collection, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution. Used by permission.**

the late 1930s, for example, the New York City Board of Education issued a poster in English and Yiddish that urged eastern European Jewish immigrants “Learn to speak, read & write the language of your children!” (Figure 2).

Historians typically treat these widely distributed materials as evidence of the strategies proposed for the Americanization of immigrants.<sup>4</sup> Setting them in that context certainly makes sense, if for no other reason than their origins. The 1917 poster described above (Figure 1), for example, was produced and distributed by the Americanization Committee of the Cleveland Board of Education. And historians take it as beyond dispute that immigrants were encouraged to learn English as the first step toward becoming “good” Americans and citizens.

In taking that approach to these source materials, however, historians have rarely given thought to the role that contemporaries

ascribed to young immigrants as translators of particular forms and bodies of knowledge. The liminal position of immigrant children has certainly been much documented and discussed. Jacob Riis, for example, publicized the plight of immigrant children in the slums of New York’s Lower East Side and called attention to their role as “go-betweens.”<sup>5</sup> Since Riis, though, that term has been used mainly to describe the difficulties faced by individuals caught between two cultures.

The history of knowledge opens an entirely different perspective on and approach to this subject. Without downplaying the challenges and conflicts young immigrants faced, this approach treats children and young people as historical actors who, because they were comfortable in multiple cultural contexts, were able to translate between cultures and, what is more, to produce new knowledge. That knowledge was presumably understood by representatives of the host society as an indication of the newcomers’ loyalty to their new nation, but it also served purposes that reached well beyond that for both immigrant communities and the societies in which they lived and had

4 Bernard Weiss, ed., *American Education and the European Immigrant, 1840-1940* (Urbana, 1982); Jonathan Zimmerman, “Ethnics against Ethnicity: European Immigrants and Foreign Language Instruction, 1890-1940,” *Journal of American History* 88 (4) 2002: 1383-1404.

5 Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism*, ed. Hasia R. Diner (New York, 2010); Rudolf J. Vecoly, *The Go Betweens: The Lives of Immigrant Children* (Minneapolis, 1986).



to find their way. The history of knowledge sensitizes us to such possibilities.

In the case of the Cleveland initiative, the actors involved seem to have recognized children's potential as cultural translators. Although the poster described here did not refer specifically to the role of children as intermediaries, its iconography sent a clear message. The parents, apparently uneducated migrants from rural areas, wear old-fashioned clothing. Their sharp, modernly dressed son, like Moses with the tablets of the law, cradles an alphabet chart in his arm and encourages them to acquire new knowledge. Whereas the parents are seemingly passive, the son is dynamic and, in the best sense of the term, knowing. The way he points to the chart suggests the comparison to Moses and makes clear that he knows what needs to be done. The boy embodies socially valuable knowledge. In other words, immigrant children were seen not only as a link between the cultures that first generation immigrants brought with them and "American culture," as defined at the time; they were also viewed as independent conveyers of a migrant knowledge that was not immediately at the disposal of the host society.

Historians have done little systematic research so far on such iconographies of knowledge or on the knowledge strategies and practices of migrant groups. That is striking, given that migrants only rarely possess cultural capital that is of use in new social settings and often have little opportunity at first to become habituated to their new social surroundings. Acquiring new social knowledge is all the more important when one's cultural capital has been devalued and one's habitus is not congruent with what societies or social groups expect. While habitus in Bourdieu's sense is guiding social interactions as a matter of course, some have to compensate the lack of an appropriate habitus by acquiring social *knowledge* with great effort. The question for historians of knowledge, then, is whether young migrants were able to play an important role in imparting that knowledge, given



**Figure 2:** WPA Adult Education Program [and] the Board of Education, City of New York, "Free classes in English! Learn to speak, read & write the language of your children" (New York, 1936-1941), poster in English and Yiddish. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Digital ID: ppmsca 05660.

their potential access to bodies of knowledge deemed legitimate in multiple social milieus.

The example of children and adolescents as carriers, cultural translators and creators of a new (migrant) knowledge is, of course, just one of many that points to how deeply “knowledge” has shaped history. Knowledge touches upon almost all spheres of life in all eras and in all regions of the world, and it thus offers a distinctive approach to examining complex historical phenomena. It opens an approach to actors and structures largely beyond the grasp of established lines of inquiry and analytical concepts.

The history of knowledge was long viewed as “an exotic or even eccentric topic,”<sup>6</sup> and just a decade ago it was still criticized as a field with many shortcomings.<sup>7</sup> Since then, however, a very different picture has emerged. In the German-speaking countries as well as in France, Great Britain, and the United States, the history of knowledge now ranks as one of the most dynamic and productive fields of research in history and cultural studies. Research centers and research groups devoted to the history of knowledge are popping up like mushrooms, as are professorships in the field. Knowledge is experiencing a boom — not least in the historical profession.

Such rapid growth in a field of historical research rarely occurs out of the blue. More commonly, it is a reflection of new questions about the past being posed in response to social processes in the present. It is a response to stimulation and ideas from related academic disciplines, and it generally builds on earlier research trends within the field of history itself. The history of knowledge draws on many sources: Bernhard of Chartres’s image of dwarves standing on the shoulders of giants most certainly applies here. The potential of new approaches in historical research can be realized only if historians are aware of their scholarly roots and the contexts they developed in. For that reason, I will use the first part of this essay to sketch some of the factors that had a decisive influence on the development of the history of knowledge as it is conceived today. I will then consider the questions of what the history of knowledge has to add to the research questions and approaches upon which it rests (but also partially calls into question) and what new perspectives and insights it might offer. Some exciting suggestions are provided in the essays that follow in this issue of the *Bulletin*. Finally, I will close with some thoughts on the appeal of the history of knowledge for the GHI Washington and its partners.

6 Peter Burke, *What is the History of Knowledge?* (Cambridge, 2016), 2.

7 Jakob Vogel, “Von der Wissenschafts- zur Wissensgeschichte. Für eine Historisierung der ‘Wissensgesellschaft,’” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 30 (2004): 639–660, here: 644. A similar assessment was made as late as 2012 by Daniel Speich Chassé and David Gugerli, “Wissensgeschichte. Eine Standortbestimmung,” *Traverse* (2012/1): 85–100.

## I. Historians' Discovery — and Rediscovery — of Knowledge

### ***Social Developments***

Social scientists began discussing the shift from the industrial society to the knowledge society in the 1960s and 1970s. That discussion took on a new dynamic as the internet and digital technologies became omnipresent in society. The once prophesied age of information and the networked world have been reality for many people around the world since at least the turn of the century.<sup>8</sup> The political, scientific, and business communities have been searching for ways to meet the complex challenges this development poses for them and society as a whole. The feeling of being witness to and part of a “knowledge revolution” was as widespread as the impression that humankind had never before experienced such far-reaching social and cultural change. Historians, accordingly, have tried to bring a historical perspective to current debates about the knowledge and information society. The result has been a series of studies that have shown how the understanding of what constitutes knowledge has varied over time and from one socio-cultural setting to another. Such studies have made clear that the ways in which knowledge is recognized and acknowledged are changeable and are shaped by a variety of factors. They have made us aware, in short, just how complex but also fluid knowledge has always been.<sup>9</sup>

### ***Related Disciplines***

Recent humanities and social science research offers much stimulation and many points of contact for historians interested in knowledge. Both philosophy and sociology have long traditions of engagement with the social construction of knowledge. Inspired by the work of figures such as Karl Mannheim and Max Scheler, the sociology of knowledge stands as a distinct area of sociological research.<sup>10</sup> Although historians have kept their distance, the sociology of knowledge has provided an important stimulus to historical research. The work, for example, of Ludwig Fleck on thought styles and thought collectives, of Pierre Bourdieu on academic disciplines, of Bruno Latour on research cultures, and of Karin Knorr-Cetina on epistemic cultures provide an important epistemological foundation

» Robert Darnton, “An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century France,” *AHR* 105 (2000): 1–35; Richard van Dülmen and Sina Rauschenbach, eds., *Macht des Wissens. Die Entstehung der modernen Wissensgesellschaft* (Cologne, 2004).

- 10 Karl Mannheim, “Das Problem einer Soziologie des Wissens,” *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 53 (1924/1925): 577–652; idem, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, ed. and transl. Paul Kecskemeti (London, 1952); Max Scheler, *Die Wissensformen und die Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1926); Several key texts on the sociology of knowledge can be found in: James E. Curtis and John W. Petras, eds., *The Sociology of Knowledge. A Reader* (New York/Washington, 1970).

8 Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society. The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* (Cambridge, MA, 1996).

9 Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: Volume I: From Gutenberg to Diderot; Volume II: From the Encyclopédie to*

*Wikipedia* (Cambridge, 2000 and 2012); Ian McNeely and Lisa Wolverton, *Reinventing Knowledge* (New York, 2008); »

11 Ludwig Fleck, *The Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact* (Chicago, 1979); originally published as *Entstehung und Entwicklung einer wissenschaftlichen Tatsache* (Basel, 1935); Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus* (Stanford, 1988); originally published as *Homo academicus* (Paris, 1984); Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar, *Laboratory Life. The Social Construction of Scientific Facts* (Beverly Hills, 1979); Bruno Latour, *Science in Action. How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Cambridge, MA, 1987); Karin Knorr-Cetina, *Epistemic Cultures. How the Sciences Make Knowledge* (Cambridge, MA, 1999).

12 Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* (New York, 1972); originally published as *L'Archéologie du savoir* (Paris, 1969). Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and other Writings* (Brighton, 1980); Michel Foucault, *Die Ordnung der Dinge* (Frankfurt a. M., 1981). Further examples: R.D. Brown, *Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700-1865* (New York, 1989); William E. Burns, *Knowledge and Power: Science in World History* (London/New York, 2016); Burke, *Social History of Knowledge*.

13 David William Cohen and E. S. Atieno Odhiambo, *Burying SM: The Politics of Knowledge and the Sociology of Power in Africa* (Portsmouth, NH, 1992); Ann Laura Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 87-109; idem, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, 2010).

14 For a good survey of this and other disciplines he categorizes as "knowledge studies," see: Burke, *What is the History of Knowledge*, 9-14; Speich Chassé and Gugerli, 88-90.

for the history of knowledge.<sup>11</sup> Michel Foucault's theories about the development and role of knowledge regimes have also influenced historians, and his ideas about the relationship between power and knowledge have been taken up in many areas of historical research.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, sociological and anthropological studies on the politics of knowledge<sup>13</sup> have inspired historians to pay more attention to knowledge and, in particular (post-)colonial knowledge production.

The current interest in knowledge has extremely diverse roots within the field of history.<sup>14</sup> That is one reason why there are clear differences in what is understood by "the history of knowledge" on the opposite sides of the Atlantic<sup>15</sup> but also within both the European and North American historical professions.

## History of Science

The best known and most well-established field linked to the history of knowledge is the history of science. Since the 1990s, historians of science, led by researchers in North America, have broadened their scope of inquiry by anchoring scientific activity more firmly in its larger cultural context and by focusing on practices of knowledge production. Although they have raised the profile of their discipline within the historical profession with this cultural turn,<sup>16</sup> many historians of science, like their colleagues in general history, still see the history of science as an independent discipline that is more closely related to fields such as science and technology studies or to mathematics and the natural sciences than to history.<sup>17</sup> Their discipline, they maintain, seeks to illuminate the complex processes by which scientific knowledge advances. For a long time, they concede, the history of science ignored the social context of scientific pursuits and addressed the social relevance and social impact of scientific knowledge at best peripherally. Only recently has the history of

15 Speich Chassé and Gugerli explicitly emphasize — without justifying it — that German-language *Wissensgeschichte* was not identical with either the French *histoire du savoir* nor the anglophone history of knowledge. Speich Chassé and Gugerli, 86.

16 In particular, studies in the history of science

exploring the practices of knowledge production and the performance of knowledge have drawn the attention of historians in other fields. Among the pioneers in this field were Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump. Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton, 1985); Steven Shapin, *A Social History*

*of Truth* (Chicago, 1994); Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (Cambridge, MA, 2007); Jörg Rheinberger, *Toward a History of Epistemic Things* (Stanford, 1997).

17 This is also reflected by its classification within university structures and by existing funding streams.

science actively taken up the questions of how scientific knowledge affects society and, conversely, how social processes influence the production of knowledge in science.<sup>18</sup>

“Science” in this research context almost always means the natural sciences and mathematics. Historians of science interested in knowledge production have only rarely turned their attention to the social sciences and humanities.<sup>19</sup> The historical profession has filled this gap with biographies of historians and systematic studies of the history of historiography. Moreover, historians are giving increased attention to the scientization of the social and the emergence of expert cultures.<sup>20</sup> This work goes beyond analysis of (competing) expertise and takes up the interaction of researchers and their objects, the relationship between researchers and their sponsors or “beneficiaries,”<sup>21</sup> and, increasingly, the question of how actors outside the academic microcosm have influenced research and the social construction of knowledge. The growing interest among both historians and historians of science in spaces of knowledge production outside of academia will undoubtedly foster further intellectual exchange between their disciplines.<sup>22</sup>

The two fields already intersect in at least two other areas: the history of technology and historical epistemology. Historians of technology have long explored the transfer and application of knowledge produced in academia.<sup>23</sup> More recently, they have turned their attention to the tension between socially validated knowledge and the hands-on practical knowledge of, for instance, craftsmen, farmers, skilled workers, and business owners.<sup>24</sup> Questions about transfers of knowledge are also figuring more often in research in business and

» Kerstin Brückweh, Dirk Schumann, Richard F. Wetzell, and Benjamin Ziemann, eds., *Engineering Society. The Role of the Human and Social Sciences in Modern Societies, 1880–1980* (Basingstoke, 2012).

22 Robert E. Kohler and Kathryn M. Olesko, “Clio Meets Science,” *Osiris* 27 (2012): 1–16; Hans Kaspar von Greyerz, Silvia Flubacher, and Philipp Senn, eds., *Wissenschaftsgeschichte und Geschichte des Wissens im Dialog* (Göttingen, 2013). Also see more recent studies on citizen science and the scholarly use of experiential knowledge: *Beyond the Academy: Histories of Knowledge and Gender*, Special Issue of *Centaurus: An International Journal of the History of Science and its Cultural Aspects* 55 (2013), ed. Maria Rentetzi, Christine von Oertzen, and Elizabeth Watkins.

23 Some examples: David Gugerli, *Redeströme: zur Elektrifizierung der Schweiz, 1880–1914* (Zurich, 1996); idem, *Suchmaschinen. Die Welt als Datenbank* (Frankfurt a.M., 2009).

24 Dagmar Schäfer, *Cultures of Knowledge: Technology in Chinese History* (Leiden, 2012); Frank Uekötter, *Die Wahrheit ist auf dem Feld. Eine Wissensgeschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft* (Göttingen, 2012<sup>3</sup>); Ulrich Wengenroth and M. Heymann, “Die Bedeutung von ‘tacit knowledge’ bei der Gestaltung von Technik,” in Ulrich Beck, ed., *Die Modernisierung der Moderne* (Frankfurt a. M., 2001), 106–121.

18 The Max Planck Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte in Berlin, with which GHI Washington cooperates, has been following this concept very successfully for several years and it now explicitly understands its research as a contribution to the History of Knowledge.

19 If one wishes to submit a suggestion for a panel on research funding in the digital humanities with the American Association for the Advancement of Science, there is no

existing category it might fall under. Only “History of Science” is represented, but only because it is not considered part of the humanities.

20 Lutz Raphael, “Die Verwissenschaftlichung des Sozialen als methodische und konzeptionelle Herausforderung für eine Sozialgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 22 (1996): 165–190; Margit Szöllössi-Janze, “Wissensgesellschaft in Deutschland: Überlegungen zur Neubestimmung

der deutschen Zeitegeschichte über Verwissenschaftlichungsprozesse,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 30 (2004): 275–311.

21 Some examples are: Lutz Raphael, *Theorien und Experimente der Moderne. Europäische Gesellschaften im 20. Jahrhundert* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna, 2012); David Kuchenbuch, *Das Peckham-Experiment. Eine Mikro- und Wissensgeschichte des Londoner “Pioneer Health Centre” im 20. Jahrhundert* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna, 2014); »



25 Volker R. Berghahn, *American Big Business in Britain and Germany. A Comparative History of Two "Special Relationships" in the 20th Century* (Princeton, 2014); Harm G. Schröter, *Americanization of the European Economy. A Compact Survey of American Economic Influence in Europe since the 1880s* (Dordrecht, 2005); Swen Steinberg, "Die industrielle Kavalierstour. Nationale und transnationale Transferprozesse am Beispiel sächsischer und deutscher Papierunternehmen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert," in *Sachsen und die Welt: Eine Exportregion im Vergleich (1750-2000)*, ed. Michael Schäfer (Leipzig, 2014), 181-206.

26 An early exception was Adam Tooze, *Statistics and the German State 1900-1945: The Making of Modern Economic Knowledge* (Cambridge, 2007). More recently: Karl Gunnar Persson and Paul Sharp, *An Economic History of Europe: Knowledge, Institutions and Growth, 600 to Present* (Cambridge, 2015). On the scientization of economic policy, see Alexander Nützenadel, *Stunde der Ökonomen. Wissenschaft, Politik und Expertenkultur in der Bundesrepublik 1949-1974* (Göttingen, 2005).

27 Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote* (Cambridge, 1997).

28 Martin Mulsow, *Prekäres Wissen: Eine andere Ideengeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt a. M., 2012); Andreas Beer and Gesa Mackenthun, eds., *Fugitive Knowledge. The Preservation and Loss of Knowledge in Cultural Contact Zones* (Münster, 2014).

29 Harold John Cook and Sven Dupré, *Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Münster, 2012); Mark Häberlein and Alexander Kneese, eds., *Sprachgrenzen. Sprachkontakte. Kulturelle Vermittler. Kommunikation zwischen Europäern und »*

economic history.<sup>25</sup> But although some business and economic historians have adopted a broader cultural perspective, few have taken their cue directly from the history of knowledge.<sup>26</sup>

The history of science shares an interest in historical epistemology with the history of ideas, intellectual history, the history of concepts (*Begriffsgeschichte*), and historical semantics. The common denominator here is a concern with concepts like authority, legitimation, and truth; in institutions that validate certain knowledge; and in the rules on which the validation of knowledge is based.<sup>27</sup> Research in this field is implicitly influenced by the belief in the modern idea of progress and thus often rests on the assumption that the scientization of society has been a continuous, unstoppable process. For that reason, it focuses mainly on science, scholarship, and experts. Processes of "de-scientization" and forms of knowledge resilient to external pressure for change rarely figure in this research, nor do forms and bodies of knowledge that, having been deemed irrelevant in the competition with institutionally validated knowledge, survive tenuously on the margins of society.<sup>28</sup>

### ***Global History, Transnational History, Colonial History***

The gradual move toward a broader understanding of knowledge in the historical profession can be credited in no small part to the growing interest in global history and transnational history, on the one hand, and, on the other, to increasing attention to colonial and postcolonial history. Both of these trends have relativized Western narratives of progress and have sharpened awareness of the importance of colonial spaces and other points of contact between cultures in the creation of new knowledge.

Historians have turned out a number of studies in recent years exploring the role of cultural brokers, cultural interpreters, and cultural translators, particularly in the production and transfer of knowledge. The spectrum of such actors who were familiar with, if not at home in, at least two knowledge cultures ranged from explorers and colonizers to missionaries and merchants. Surprisingly, settlers and other migrants only rarely figure as intermediaries between knowledge cultures.<sup>29</sup> The field of early modern history has played a decisive

»*AufSereuropäern* (16.-20. Jahrhundert) (Stuttgart, 2010); Peter Burke, "Translating Knowledge, Translating Cultures," in *Kultureller Austausch.*

*Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*, ed. Michael North (Cologne, 2009), 69-80; Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, ed., *Cultural Translation in Early Modern*

*Europe* (New York, 2007); Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackenthun, eds., *Agents of Transculturation. Border-Crossers, Mediators, Go Betweens* (Münster, 2014).

part in opening the way for a new history of knowledge. While in studies of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, for instance, and areas such as book history and the history of reading, knowledge has long been an important topic<sup>30</sup>, it was the growing influence of global and colonial history that actually spurred research on topics such as local knowledge, tacit knowledge, and the interaction of different knowledge cultures.<sup>31</sup>

In both Europe and North America, colonial and imperial history now play a crucial role amongst the fields that engage most intensively with knowledge as a subject.<sup>32</sup> The literature on the topic is enormous.<sup>33</sup> Prompted by works such as Edward Said's *Orientalism*,<sup>34</sup> specialists in colonial studies have taken the production of knowledge as a central category of analysis, focusing initially on the tension between knowledge and power. This line of inquiry has undoubtedly made historians more aware of the cultural hierarchies and social inequalities central to understanding knowledge as a historical phenomenon, especially in colonial contexts. Long implicit in such studies, however, was the assumption that knowledge transfer generally meant transfer from Western center to colonial periphery. Only in the last decade or two have scholars developed a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between knowledge and power that centers on the complexities and ambiguities of knowledge production and circulation in contexts of asymmetrical power relationships. This new understanding is reflected in the growing interest in topics such as subversive knowledge practices, the preservation of traditional knowledge, and the incorporation of subaltern knowledge within hegemonic knowledge.

In line with these new approaches, "colonial knowledge" is no longer associated solely with (former) colonies and colonial powers and has taken on a symbolic sense as well. Outside of colonial settings, too, attempts to assert the priority of one body or form of knowledge over another — to distinguish between knowledge and non-knowledge, valid and invalid forms of knowledge — sometimes relied upon the logic and semantics of colonialism. That was the case, for example, in the debates about refinement and self-improvement within Germany's Jewish communities and in German society at large that accompanied the emancipation of the Jews in the nineteenth century.<sup>35</sup>

30 A few examples: Pamela Smith, "Why Write a Book?," *Bulletin of the GHI Washington* 47 (Fall 2010):

25-50; Roger Chartier, *Lesewelten. Buch und Lektüre in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt a.M., 1990);

Helmut Zedelmaier, *Werkstätten des Wissens zwischen Renaissance und Aufklärung* (Tübingen, 2015).

31 Harald Fischer-Tiné, *Pidgin-Knowledge. Wissen und Kolonialismus* (Zurich, 2013).

32 Seminal works were written by Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, 1996); Nicholas Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, 2001).

33 For examples, see Rebekka Habermas and Alexandra Pzyrembel, eds., *Von Käufern, Märkten und Menschen: Kolonialismus und Wissen in der Moderne* (Göttingen, 2013); Indra Sengupta and Daud Ali, eds., *Knowledge Production, Pedagogy, and Institutions in Colonial India* (New York, 2011); Tony Ballantyne, "Colonial Knowledge," in *The British Empire. Themes and Perspectives*, ed. Sarah Stockwell (Oxford, 2008); Saul Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge. Science, Sensibility and White South Africa, 1820-2000* (Oxford, 2006); Arndt Brendecke, *Imperium und Empirie. Funktionen des Wissens in der spanischen Kolonialherrschaft* (Cologne, 2009).

34 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978).

35 The similarities between refinement discourses referring to Jews and colonial discourses of "civilizing" natives are striking. On the latter, see Margit Pernau, "An ihren Gefühlen sollt Ihr sie erkennen: Eine Verflechtungsschichte des britischen Zivilitätsdiskurses (ca. 1750-1860)," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 35 (2009): 249-281.

Power is thus anything but an obsolete category in the history of knowledge; the appearance of truly source-based studies in global history has, however, broadened our perspective on the interplay of knowledge and other social phenomena beyond power. Knowledge was transferred among many places through many channels in many directions. Diverse forms and bodies of knowledge came into contact, resulting often in both competition and convergence. Recent research in global history has demonstrated, moreover, the important role that transnational networks played as both a medium and a product of knowledge circulation already in the pre-industrial era.<sup>36</sup> Whereas scholars once described the interactions of different knowledge orders primarily in terms of “transfer” and “diffusion,” they now often talk about the multiform interconnection of knowledge networks. A central question is how knowledge transcended defined spaces, such as nations — a phenomenon that long predates the internet and the rise of social media. Such research could be the foundation for a new history of knowledge: a history of knowledge that takes as its purview not only the knowledge of the learned distilled into book form but also practical, social or tacit knowledge, that draws not only on texts but also images and objects as source material, and that considers not only knowledge as a “product” but also the actors, practices, and processes involved in creating, disseminating, and transforming knowledge.

This brief overview of the background of and precursors to the history of knowledge is undoubtedly incomplete, but it should suffice to give an idea of how multifaceted the understanding of knowledge that stands at the center of the (new) history of knowledge is.<sup>37</sup> In the sections that follow, I will outline some of the questions and approaches historians of knowledge are pursuing and suggest some of the potential insights the history of knowledge has to offer the field of history in general.

## II. Actors, Spaces, and Media: What does the new history of knowledge have to offer historical research?

The current boom in interest in the subject of knowledge among historians in Europe<sup>38</sup> seems not to have a parallel in North America. Although there is certainly evidence of growing interest in a broader concept of knowledge, the history of knowledge is rarely recognized as a field of study by historians in the United States and Canada. There are many readily evident differences among historians interested in knowledge in regard to the concepts, approaches, and

36 A groundbreaking study was authored by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, 1997).

37 A further source not described in detail here is the history of education, which considers itself a special discipline within pedagogy rather than a part of the historical sciences. The social history of (higher) education, as represented by Fritz Ringer, for example, is also significant. Ringer, *Towards a Social History of knowledge. Collected Essays* (New York/Oxford, 2001); idem, *Fields of Knowledge: French Academic Culture in Comparative Perspective, 1890-1920* (Cambridge, 1992).

38 The Zurich-based “Zentrum für die Geschichte des Wissens” was among the first institutions focusing on the actors and processes involved in the circulation of knowledge. While programmatically embracing a broadly defined understanding of knowledge, its empirical studies still largely focus on traditional expert knowledge or knowledge production in academia and related areas.



methodologies they have adopted. These differences do not fall along a clear-cut European-North American divide but are rather a hallmark of the current surge of interest in knowledge as a historical category. That raises the fundamental question, then, of what exactly we mean when we talk about knowledge and the history of knowledge. Does the history of knowledge constitute a distinct field of inquiry comparable to the history of science or economic history? Does taking knowledge as a subject of inquiry and analysis offer potential for innovation in historical research and new insights into historical processes? What, in short, does the history of knowledge have to offer the discipline of history as a whole?<sup>39</sup>

What is “knowledge”? As a first step toward answering that long-debated question, historians could point to the fact that knowledge is a historical phenomenon, that is, that knowledge is made by humans and is subject to change. Accordingly, the history of knowledge explores what people in the past understood by the idea of knowledge and what they defined or accepted as knowledge. It is concerned with the interaction of different types and claims to knowledge and the process of negotiation between opposing understandings of knowledge. That the boundary between what is and is not recognized as knowledge has always been fluid is beyond dispute. Likewise, knowledge has always been believed to be distinguished from other ways of perceiving and comprehending the world by certain defining attributes. Knowledge is widely taken to stand for evidence, reliability, and demonstrability as well as for rationality and truth.<sup>40</sup> Reliance on evidence distinguishes knowledge from other forms of comprehension such as belief and feeling. Nonetheless, the boundaries between these forms of comprehending the world are fluid. They are fluid, first, because understandings of what constitutes evidence — and thus knowledge — change over time and vary with place. Secondly, designations and “proofs” of evidence remain subjective even when actors and groups of actors consider them to be objective and true. Consequently, we cannot draw sharp contrasts between knowledge and non-knowledge or between knowledge and belief. Rather, we should analyze the dialectical relationship and interconnections between them.

Taking a cue from Lévi-Strauss’s theory of myth, scholars often understand knowledge as “cooked” — that is, as information that has been ordered and fit into a particular framework of interpretation.<sup>41</sup> This perspective is clearly helpful for preliminary orientation,

39 Philipp Sarasin, “Was ist Wissensgeschichte?” *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* (IASL) 36 (2011), no. 1: 159–172.

40 Habermas and Przyrembel, Introduction, 10; Sarasin, 165.

41 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Mythologiques I: The Raw and the Cooked* (Chicago, 1969); Burke, *What Is History of Knowledge*, 6.

provided that we keep in mind that the “raw material” of knowledge is in almost all cases “pre-cooked” and not neutral or completely “objective.” Decisions about what parts of the world surrounding us we are going to measure, what data we are going to collect, and which questions we pose are always subjective decisions made by humans and shaped by particular interests. “Raw” collections of data and information thus clearly reflect the history of the individuals who conceived and arranged for them, who evaluated them and imposed a measure of order on them — and who perhaps in the end shaped them as socially relevant knowledge.

How such decisions are made, who makes them, when and why they are made, what consequences they have: those are questions at the center of the history of knowledge. Although it sometimes focuses on such questions at a specific point in time, the history of knowledge typically deals with longer time periods and the co-existence of different knowledge orders. That co-existence can take many forms: knowledge orders might operate independently of one another in parallel, they might be closely interconnected, they might be in self-conscious competition, or they might inadvertently be undermining each other. The history of knowledge is interested in formal and informal knowledge, in knowledge that has been communicated in writing, orally, and through objects. It is interested in knowledge that played an important part in historical processes as well as in previously important knowledge later deemed irrelevant.

Neither English nor German has a plural for the word “knowledge,” yet knowledge has always existed in the plural — in the co-existence of and interplay between different knowledge cultures.<sup>42</sup> The history of knowledge thus does not focus solely on the dominant knowledge culture at any given time but also considers diverse and often not equally powerful actors, media, and forms of knowledge. Knowledge is taken up, transformed, and combined with other knowledge. Traces often remain of where knowledge came from. The basic question behind the history of knowledge is thus not what exactly knowledge is and how it relates to other concepts but rather how, when, and why particular knowledge emerged or disappeared and how bodies of knowledge with different foundations stand in relation to one another.

### ***The Example of Schoolbooks***

Schoolbooks are rewarding source material for tracking continuity and change in state-sanctioned knowledge as well as in social

<sup>42</sup> Peter Worsley, *Knowledges. Culture, Counterculture, Subculture* (New York, 1998).

debates on knowledge and relevance.<sup>43</sup> That school books, with their tremendous power to shape young people's understanding of the world, have a decisive role to play in the education of future citizens has been a matter of faith — and controversy — since the nineteenth century. With their aura of objectivity and special relevance, schoolbooks transmit state-approved and — depending on the political system — socially acceptable knowledge to diverse social groups, including those struggling for recognition and those who mistrust this kind of official knowledge. In periods of social insecurity, especially at times when the established knowledge order has been called into question and new knowledge orders are taking shape, schoolbooks become a topic of political debate. Ultimately, such debates center on the question of what knowledge is to be passed along to the younger generation and thereby inscribed in the nation's cultural memory. What lines of explanation and interpretation are to be communicated? How is knowledge relevant for the present and the future to be organized? What values are to be the basis for social cohesion?

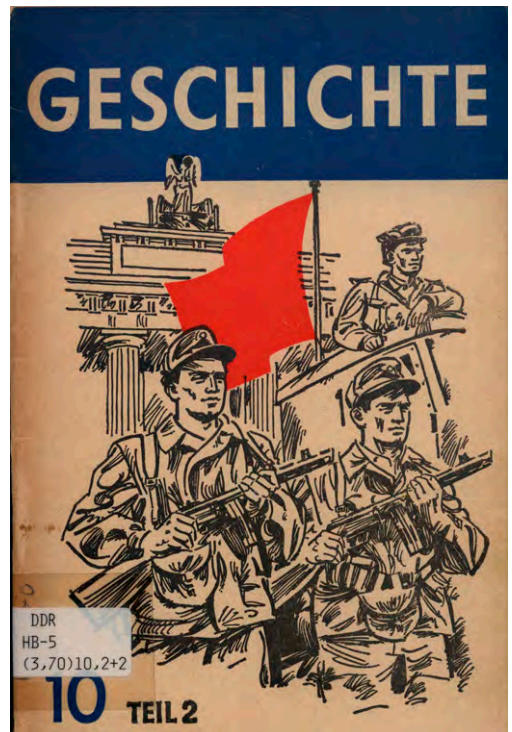
Like all media intended to influence the “masses,” schoolbooks not only reproduce but also help create social reality and social knowledge. Because of this “double nature,” the knowledge transmitted through schoolbooks reflects relatively stable bodies of knowledge as well as significant shifts in public discourse. One characteristic of this medium is that fundamental innovations are rare, generally arising only in conjunction with social upheavals. Typically, schoolbooks are revised over time to bring them into line with new realities. A schoolbook is a palimpsest. Its content, in both word and image, is periodically reorganized or reframed, new knowledge is set alongside old, and over time the contradictions arising from this juxtaposition of old and new multiply.<sup>44</sup>

43 M. A. Apple and L. K. Christian-Smith, eds., *The Politics of the Textbook* (New York, 1991); Hanna Schissler and Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal,

*The Nation Europe and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition* (New York/Oxford, 2005); Simone Lässig, “Textbooks and

Beyond. Educational Media in Context(s),” *JEMMS. The Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society*, 1, (2009): 1-20.

44 Barbara Christophe, Katharina Baier and Kathrin Zehr, “Schulbücher als Seismographen für diskursive Bücher: Ein neuer Ansatz in der kulturwissenschaftlichen Schulbuchforschung dargestellt am Beispiel der Analyse von Schulbucherzählungen über den Kalten Krieg,” *Eckert Working Papers* 2014/4.



**Figure 3: Tenth grade history textbook published in East Germany by Volk und Wissen Verlag, 1970. Courtesy of the Georg Eckert Institute.**

45 *Die Reise in die Vergangenheit. Ein geschichtliches Arbeitsbuch*, Bd. 4 (Braunschweig, 1961), 83 f.

46 Simone Lässig, "Zeitgeschichte als nationales Projekt? Geschichtsschulbücher der Bundesrepublik in wissenshistorischer Perspektive," in *Deutsche Zeitgeschichte — transnational*, ed. Alexander Gallus, Axel Schildt, Detlef Siegfried (Göttingen, 2015), 279-300; idem, "History, Memory, and Symbolic Boundaries in the Federal Republic of Germany: Migrants and Migration in School History Textbooks," in Cornelia Wilhelm, ed., *Migration, Memory and Diversity in Germany after 1945* (New York/Oxford, 2016), 111-154.

47 Andreas W. Daum, *Wissenschaftspopularisierung im 19. Jahrhundert: bürgerliche Kultur, naturwissenschaftliche Bildung und die deutsche Öffentlichkeit, 1848-1914* (Munich, 1998); Angela Schwarz, *Der Schlüssel zur modernen Welt: wissenschaftspopularisierung in Großbritannien und Deutschland im Übergang zur Moderne (ca. 1870-1914)* (Stuttgart, 1999); Carsten Kretschmann, ed., *Wissenspopularisierung: Konzepte der Wissensverbreitung im Wandel* (Berlin, 2003); Bernard Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (Chicago, 2007).

48 Petra Boden and Dorit Müller, *Populäres Wissen im medialen Wandel seit 1850* (Berlin, 2009); Andreas Daum, "Varieties of Popular Science and the Transformations of Public Knowledge: Some Historical Reflections," *Isis* 100 (2009); Katherine Pandora, "Popular Science in National and Transnational Perspective: Suggestions from the American Context," *Isis* 100 (2009). Greyerz, Flubacher, Senn, 12.

49 Referred to earlier by Szöllösi-Janze, *Wissensgesellschaft in Deutschland*.

That process can be illustrated by an example of knowledge pertaining to Africa — a field of knowledge that was transformed under the impact of decolonization but nonetheless still permeated by old, long-lived ideas and viewpoints. "The world is shrinking," a [West] German textbook author wrote in 1962. "One hundred years ago, a Negro [*Neger*] in our midst would be an oddity. Today, it is a matter of course that Indians, Japanese, and Negroes study at our universities. They . . . learn beside us and help us. Conversely, Americans, Russians, and Germans live in Africa or India and are building . . . entire cities there."<sup>45</sup> As evident from the semantics, colonial knowledge lived on below the surface but was confronted by new realities. Thus, the producers of schoolbooks, who as agents of knowledge are neither quite experts nor complete amateurs, fit new information and explanations into existing knowledge orders, or they eliminate knowledge that seems to be no longer appropriate to the times and can thus be allowed to fall out of society's store of knowledge.<sup>46</sup> Kerstin von der Krone explores a similar process in this issue of the *Bulletin* using the example of nineteenth-century Jewish religious instructional works.

### ***A Spectrum of Forms of Knowledge***

Following the cue of cultural historians, who have called the dichotomy high culture/popular culture into question, historians of knowledge are developing a broader understanding of what we should understand by knowledge and analyze as such. Exciting studies have been published not only on science and academically validated expert knowledge but also on popular forms of knowledge based, for example, on experience, tradition, or religion. Nonetheless, programmatic statements about this new approach still outnumber and overshadow attempts to put it into practice. That is a phenomenon familiar from fields of historical research — global history, for example — and it is safe to assume that, as this issue of the *Bulletin* suggests, source-based studies of popular knowledge are in the works. There is little place for the long-established model of popularization in such research.<sup>47</sup> That model rests on the juxtaposition of academically credentialed bearers of expert knowledge and an essentially passive audience of lay consumers.<sup>48</sup> By contrast, much recent research recognizes the co-existence of multiple forms and bodies of knowledge, academic and non-academic, and that knowledge can be produced by more or less all social groups.<sup>49</sup>

A new history of knowledge — which in principle should focus on the *histories* of knowledge — cannot avoid taking a broad spectrum of forms of knowledge into consideration. That spectrum stretches from knowledge acquired through everyday experience to the knowledge of artists, craftspeople, and skilled workers, from administrative and entrepreneurial expertise to the knowledge of academic scholars and scientists. It also encompasses forms of knowledge that influence an individual's or group's values and the ways they align and live their lives. All these forms of knowledge and the spaces in which they take shape carry claims to validity that are the product of negotiation. Knowledge production is not a one-way street, and knowledge does not travel a direct path from the ivory towers of academe to society at large. To the contrary, knowledge is in constant motion and moves in many directions.

### ***The Circulation of Knowledge***

The question of how knowledge circulates — among actors and across national, cultural, institutional, disciplinary, political, and social borders — stands at the center of a history of knowledge that sees “knowledge” as a promising avenue to better understanding societies. How and in which contexts did networks of knowledge take shape? Who made them function? The history of knowledge can be seen as a history of translation: translation in the literal sense of transfer from one language to another and, in a more figurative sense, of transfer between cultures and (re)attribution of cultural importance.<sup>50</sup> Recent research projects demonstrate that knowledge was not simply disseminated as is from Western metropolises to colonial peripheries and nor was it shaped solely by prevailing structures of power. Rather, knowledge is created by the continuous interaction between heterogeneous actors, even if those actors are rarely on equal standing. Historians of knowledge have moved away from the model of diffusion, which rests upon bipolar topographies, toward a notion of more multidirectional transfers between actors and media and complex chains of cultural translation and retranslation.<sup>51</sup>

Because the processes involved in the production, negotiation, and translation of knowledge vary according to time and place, studying knowledge as a historical phenomenon requires an actor- and practice-focused approach. In other words, research in the history of knowledge cannot be confined to the study of texts and images, as has long been the case, or, as in more recent scholarship, of objects. Consider again the example of schoolbooks. To analyze the knowledge

50 Doris Bachmann-Medick, ed., *The Trans/National Study of Culture: A Translational Perspective* (Berlin/Boston, 2014); Monica Juneja and Margrit Pernau, “Lost in Translation? Transcending Boundaries in Comparative History,” in *Comparative and Transnational History*, ed. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (New York/Oxford, 2010), 105–132; Simone Lässig, “Übersetzungen in der Geschichte — Geschichte als Übersetzung? Überlegungen zu einem analytischen Konzept und Forschungsgegenstand für die Geschichtswissenschaft,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 38(2), 2012: 189–216.

51 Sengupta and Ali, Introduction.

conveyed by schools, we must look beyond the printed page of the schoolbook even if the research question at hand requires taking schoolbooks as the principle source for analysis. It is important to consider not only the content of schoolbooks but also the question of how that content was incorporated and utilized within the processes of knowledge production. Who in Germany, returning to the example cited earlier, was authorized — or, conversely, not authorized — to speak about Africa and to shape German society's perception of that continent? Were Africans given a voice and an opportunity to speak as experts? If so, who was able to assign or deny them that status?<sup>52</sup> Such questions about concrete particulars point to an important point of interest in the history of knowledge: the question of legitimacy and legitimation, of authority and authenticity, of selection and hierarchy in the ordering of social knowledge.

### ***Knowledge as a Category of Historical Analysis***

The history of knowledge, to offer a provisional definition, is a form of social and cultural history that takes “knowledge” as a phenomenon that touches on almost every sphere of human life, and it uses knowledge as a lens to take a new look at familiar historical developments and sources. Philipp Sarasin has suggested a somewhat different point of departure. He proposes replacing “society” with “knowledge” — surprisingly, he says nothing about “culture” as a central category of historical study — and sees potential for the history of knowledge to become the primary focus of historical research.<sup>53</sup> By contrast, I see “knowledge” as an extremely interesting subject of historical investigation and as a category that promises to enrich our understanding of historical processes. Although I would stop short of declaring a new “turn” in history, I think the potential of knowledge as an analytical category can hardly be overstated.<sup>54</sup>

There are at least three aspects of knowledge that make it a promising analytical category. First, the history of knowledge compels historians to rethink the complex relationship between structure and agency. Knowledge circulates and does not always pay attention to borders. That does not mean, however, that a particular body of knowledge circulates unhindered and detached from historical context or throughout all parts of the world or with the same social consequences everywhere. The widespread interest in transnationalism notwithstanding, we should not forget that the actors and media involved in the circulation of knowledge do run up against boundaries, and not just in the metaphoric sense. Practices such as politically

52 Cf. the dissertation project by Lars Müller, which is part of a DFG-funded project titled “Afrikawissen. Diskurse und Praktiken der Schulbuchentwicklung in Deutschland und England seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg.” <http://gepris.dfg.de/gepris/projekt/262099283>

53 See Sarasin. Also see the special issue of *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* “Wissensgeschichte als Gesellschaftsgeschichte,” ed. Wolfgang Kaschuba, GG 33 (2009), no. 4.

54 Doris Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns: New Orientations in the Study of Culture*, transl. Adam Blauhut (Berlin/Boston, 2016).



motivated censorship, the imposition of secrecy, and state regulation of schoolbooks testify to that point. Rebekka Habermas and Alexandra Przyrembel are therefore undoubtedly correct in warning against assuming a one-dimensional image of globalization and in reminding us that much knowledge remains locally anchored, whether because communications networks were deliberately disrupted or were too thinly populated to be effective.<sup>55</sup> Knowledge does not move on its own volition, hovering over all structures and actors. Even when distilled into text form, knowledge remains a social phenomenon. Knowledge cannot simply send itself through the mail or board an airplane. It moves through individuals and social groups. Their decisions and actions determine whether and how knowledge is produced, received, negotiated, transferred and translated. For that reason, the history of knowledge, building on social and cultural history, brings together structure and agency in an intellectually stimulating way: indeed, that is the challenge it faces.

Second, a history of knowledge that takes an expansive view extending beyond the space of scientific knowledge heightens our awareness of the complexity of knowledge production and of the many different spaces in which knowledge is created, certified, or made canonical as well as questioned, withdrawn and de-legitimized. The history of knowledge might thus be better able than, for instance, intellectual history to address actors who encountered insurmountable opposition and whose efforts ended in failure. Focusing on knowledge allows a sharper view of what gets lost in history — of what was suppressed as subversive or dismissed as irrelevant or deemed obsolete and thereafter forgotten. The history of knowledge, in other words, reminds us of the open-endedness of history and brings history's losers back to light, as Anna Echtermöller's essay in this issue of the *Bulletin* demonstrates. Failed or abandoned projects, whether in the social sphere or the realm of science, can be much more clearly understood when examined from the standpoint of knowledge. The history of knowledge sharpens our awareness not only of power and cultural hegemony but also of non-conformist and countercultural practices, counter-narratives, and knowledge that only briefly exercised powerful influence.

Third, knowledge has never been solely a force for emancipation. It has, though, always been linked to change and transformation. The history of knowledge can thus sharpen our perspective on dynamic moments in the unfolding of historical processes and can make

<sup>55</sup> Habermas and Przyrembel, 13.



visible such moments in periods of apparent stagnation. Conversely, it also sheds light on how traditional and experience-based knowledge can become a resource in times of wide-reaching social change — a resource that might as easily bolster resilience as facilitate adaptation or transformation in response to change. That dialectic is the focus of an international project on Jewish history now underway at the GHI Washington. Taking a cue from the history of knowledge, a group of scholars from the fields of Jewish studies, musicology, cultural studies, and history is analyzing a broad array of educational and knowledge media to explore how appeals to tradition facilitated openness to innovation among German Jews in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>56</sup> The essays in this issue of the *Bulletin* also point to the double character of knowledge: knowledge could become a transformative power as well as a powerful resource for coming to terms with fundamental change and transformation. That suggests two promising approaches — both illustrated in this *Bulletin* — to knowledge in history: change *in* knowledge and, on the other hand, change *through* knowledge.

### ***Spaces and Media***

Just as important as actors in the history of knowledge are physical and social spaces. Those spaces include institutions and organizations, networks, and geographic spaces (e.g., the Atlantic<sup>57</sup> and the Pacific, which modern means of communication and transportation transformed into transregional arenas for the circulation of knowledge). Technological or entrepreneurial know-how figures in such spaces as much as scientific or social knowledge does. One form of social knowledge of particular interest to the GHI is migrant knowledge. To date, there has been little overlap or cross-pollination between migration history and the history of knowledge. The GHI, which has actively supported research in migration history since its founding, wants to bring these two fields into dialogue by focusing on migrant knowledge and on migrants as agents of knowledge. What migrant knowledge about the United States, for example, circulated in the Atlantic and Pacific worlds? How and why did migrant knowledge change over time? How did it differ from region to region? How did such knowledge figure in individuals' decisions to migrate or to stay put? What knowledge did migrants produce in the process of relocating and translating social and cultural phenomena? How did factors such as age, gender, religion, and ethnicity figure in the

56 <http://innovation-through-tradition.ghi-dc.org/the-project/>

57 Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA, 1995).

production of migrant knowledge? How did distance — both spatial and emotional — influence migrant knowledge?

Just as spaces of knowledge can be created, they can also be abandoned or destroyed. And just as they can be viewed from a transnational or transregional perspective, they can also be considered on the microhistorical level. Local gathering places and social spaces — clubs, Masonic lodges, and coffee houses, for instance, or bars and taverns — also function as knowledge arenas. So, too, did political spaces (parties and interest groups, for example), religious spaces (pilgrimage sites, houses of worship), spaces for mobilization (union halls, social movements), and educational spaces (schools, public libraries, museums). Such spaces both influenced and created knowledge about the world.

The circulation of knowledge within and, in particular, between such spaces generally required appropriate media. Whether a pamphlet or a sermon, a book or a television newscast, an object in a museum or a Twitter post: the logic of media plays an important part in shaping the knowledge they communicate. That is evident in the GHI's above-mentioned project on Jewish educational media. Kerstin von der Krone's essay in this issue of the *Bulletin* outlines her preliminary findings on textbooks for religious instruction, a late eighteenth-century innovation in Jewish education. She points to the different ways religion influenced knowledge production in other areas and examines how religion itself incorporates knowledge production. Religion, she shows, could provide justification or a context for the acquisition of new non-religious knowledge, values, and cultural practices. At the same time, new Jewish educational media systematized and transformed traditional Jewish knowledge. Such an interplay between religious life and knowledge production was by no means limited solely to the Jews of Germany.

### ***Religious Knowledge***

It is above all studies on the premodern era that have illustrated how religious institutions, who have often been seen as opponents of new knowledge, have functioned as producers and disseminators of knowledge that also penetrated secular spaces of knowledge production. That was not only a matter of supporting — or opposing — particular scientists and scholars.<sup>58</sup> Research on religion and knowledge production shows the difficulty — indeed, perhaps the impossibility — of drawing a clear distinction between knowledge

58 Greyerz, Flubacher, Senn, 10f.

and belief, whether in the context of the scientization of religion since the Enlightenment and the Haskalah or of fundamental changes in lifestyle and mentality. Religion is, to varying degrees, a matter of both faith and knowledge. In the premodern era, religion structured everyday life for most people and the communities into which they were born. In the modern era, too, religion's reach has extended into nearly all aspects of social life, even if its claim to all-encompassing authority has weakened. Knowledge, like religion, transcends the boundaries within society and thus the boundaries between fields of scholarly research that in practice often have little contact with one another.

Religious knowledge might be regarded as legitimating and legitimated knowledge or as irrelevant or harmful knowledge. Since at least the Enlightenment, those two views have coexisted, often in conflict, but, as researchers have long assumed, more often closely entangled. It is well known, for example, that Protestant clergymen played a decisive role in learned societies during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and used their pulpits to inform congregants on matters such as hygiene, bee-keeping, and the use of fertilizer. By contrast, we still know little about the interconnection between the de-legitimation of "superseded" religious knowledge, on the one hand, and the call for "pure" and "purified" religious traditions and knowledge on the other hand. It is perhaps precisely that interconnection that made it possible for religious groups who saw their existence threatened by social change to create new knowledge from seemingly contradictory elements — new knowledge that helped them in developing strategies for survival and/or for innovation. Churches, synagogues, mosques, and missionary outposts are not only places of religious communication and community-building. They are also places of knowledge production — through the written and spoken word as well as through ritual, images, music, and objects — that historians must take seriously, not least because they were often sites where different, sometimes competing or even conflicting knowledge systems came into contact.

### ***Knowledge Spaces and Regimes in Transformation: The Example of German Jewry***

Even the most ardent advocates of reform among German-speaking Jews in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries regularly called for a body of knowledge that, in one way or another, drew on the Jewish law (*Halakhah*) and diasporic religious tradition. Fostering

change and innovation on the one hand and referring to a core of Judaism that had been “obscured” for centuries on the other were two sides of one coin. At the same time, religion in the form of Talmudic Judaism declined dramatically in value, both socially and culturally, even within the Jewish world. Talmudic Judaism and the scholarship upon which it drew suffered a loss of legitimacy as both increasingly came into conflict with a new type of expert knowledge. In the wake of the *Haskalah* — the Jewish Enlightenment — ever more Jews in German states took advantage of the room for maneuver opened by emancipation. Some affluent Jews who were active as private scholars — for example, Bernhard Beer of Dresden — addressed themselves to bodies of knowledge beyond traditional Jewish religious learning and created a new form of Jewish scholarship that was rightly understood as a challenge to traditional rabbinic authority. Others — in the long run, the majority of those interested in creating and disseminating a new body of Jewish knowledge — took advantage of the opening of German universities to the Jews to acquire an academic education that extended far beyond previous notions of Jewish learning. That knowledge often came into conflict with the established Ashkenazi knowledge regime. In such clashes, defenders of orthodoxy and advocates of reform alike often turned to the state for support. Because of the autonomy Jewish communities had had during the early modern era, Jews and Jewish life were foreign to many German civil servants. Consequently, the state now began collecting administratively pertinent data on Jewish life. That data was strongly shaped, however, by civil servants’ decisions about which parties in the internal Jewish debate could provide access to politically applicable and legitimate (and legitimizing) Jewish knowledge.

One example of the striking coexistence of and conflict between opposing knowledge regimes is the debate over circumcision (*Brit Mila*). At first glance, that debate seems to reflect the scientization of Judaism. Closer examination reveals, however, that more than

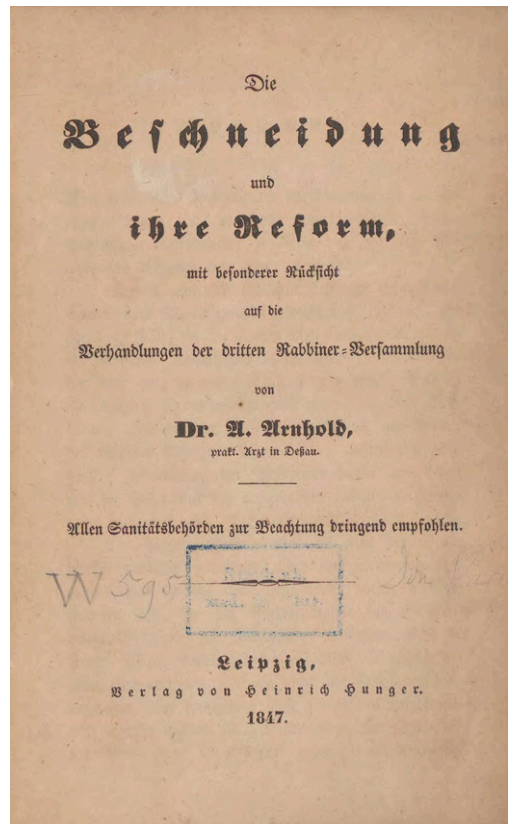


Figure 4: Adolph Arnhold, *Die Beschneidung und ihre Reform* [Circumcision and its Reform] (Leipzig, 1847), title page.

religious or theological expert knowledge was at stake. The circumcision debate was also a clash between medical expertise and Talmudic authority. It was a struggle over new hierarchies and the claims to authority for bodies of knowledge that rested on entirely different structures and legitimations. The catalyst in this struggle was the opening of the universities, which made it possible for Jews to acquire academic credentials in fields beyond religious scholarship. A new type of Jewish expert came into being who self-confidently laid claim, within the Jewish community, to speak on what had previously been deemed exclusively religious matters. In the circumcision debate, the new experts were mostly doctors — such as Dr. Adolph Arnhold of Dessau — who used their university medical training and understanding of hygiene to challenge the experience-based knowledge of lay performers of ritual circumcisions (*Mohelim*). In 1846, following a family tragedy,<sup>59</sup> Arnhold first approached a major gathering of rabbis taking place in Breslau 1846 and followed up by issuing a 104-page text (see Figure 4) addressed to both rabbis and, at the urging of the leaders of the Dessau Jewish community, state sanitation officials.<sup>60</sup> The text left no doubt that the conflict over a central religious ritual was at the same time a conflict over knowledge and reputation. That conflict was part of the process of medicalization and of the hygiene discourse<sup>61</sup> promoted by civil servants and the emergent group of university-educated doctors who were eager to set themselves apart from traditional healers and religiously legitimated lay practitioners. Citing their expert knowledge, and perhaps hoping to secure a new source of income, university-trained Jewish doctors claimed sole authority to pronounce upon all matters, even centuries-old religious rituals, that touched on medicine. Their new style of knowledge was a form of cultural capital that they wanted — and often could — transform into economic and social capital.<sup>62</sup>

Such aspects of ostensibly religious controversies are difficult to discern without the lens of the history of knowledge. Using that lens, we can see the dynamic between knowledge and legitimation, on the one hand, and power and influence unfolding even in small communities on the other. Spaces of knowledge are not created solely by the state and powerful social groups. Underprivileged groups also create such spaces and use them as resources for influence and reputation. And the producers or translators of knowledge generally make every effort to win recognition and respect for that knowledge.

For that reason, the modern state and academically credentialed experts deemed it necessary to draw new borders of knowledge. They

59 Arnhold's intervention that circumcision should not be a prerequisite for belonging to the Jewish faith was prompted by the circumcision of his two sons, who he claimed had suffered life-threatening injuries during the procedure. His son Max (1845-1908) survived while Wilhelm (b. 1846) presumably died of his injuries.

60 Adolph Arnhold, *Die Beschneidung und ihre Reform mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Verhandlungen der dritten Rabbiner-Versammlung. Allen Sanitätsbehörden zur Beachtung dringend empfohlen* (Leipzig, 1847). Also see Eberhard Wolff, *Medizin und Ärzte im deutschen Judentum der Reformära. Die Architektur einer modernen jüdischen Identität* (Göttingen, 2014).

61 Since *Mohelim* often sucked blood out of a fresh wound, warnings of infection due to caries or orally transmitted venereal diseases such as syphilis were a central (hygienic) argument.

62 Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (New York, 1986), 241-258; Simone Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum. Kulturelles Kapital und sozialer Aufstieg im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2004).

sought to reinforce their authority against the claims of bearers of traditional knowledge such as folk healers, herbalists, and *mohe-lim*. Similarly, the new experts and their public-sector supporters distanced themselves from non-institutionalized places and spaces of knowledge production, for example Jewish *chederim* (private religious classes) and *Winkelschulen* (small privately run schools). Those spaces were gradually replaced by authorized spaces such as public schools, which offered a state-regulated curriculum and were subject to regular state inspection, universities, and laboratories. Wherever the state and experts defined hegemonic knowledge and gave it their certification, they inevitably labeled other forms and means of acquiring knowledge as inferior, illegitimate, or irrelevant.

### ***Delegitimated, Ignored, and Lost Knowledge***

As knowledge increasingly became organized by academic disciplines, not only marginalized actors but also their knowledge gradually fell into obscurity. Although historians are aware of this form of forgetting, they have generally not given it much thought. The history of knowledge offers an opportunity to take a closer look. Indeed, it poses the question directly: Why was certain knowledge ignored, devalued, or suppressed? What were the consequences of the disappearance of such knowledge? Why were some bodies of knowledge lost while others took on new meaning? What sort of social negotiations lay behind those processes? What were the consequences — political, social, cultural, and economic — of the lack of knowledge or the absence of particular knowledge? Such questions point to the fact that “non-knowledge” — whether uninformedness or ignorance — is less a lack of knowledge than a socially produced and maintained phenomenon. Robert Proctor, for example, has examined the discourse on the connection between smoking and cancer and has shown the connection between the expert knowledge deployed by the tobacco industry’s lobbyists and the body of knowledge political decision-makers drew upon.<sup>63</sup> “Non-knowledge” frequently is an intentional phenomenon, as historical research on subjects such as climate change has demonstrated. Knowledge and non-knowledge alike are produced by humans and influenced by humans’ myriad, often competing interests.<sup>64</sup> That point is of direct bearing on the question of how knowledge has informed politics and how knowledge becomes a political space.

It is also important to recognize that access to knowledge has historically not depended solely on expertise. Who a person was — whether

63 Robert N. Proctor, *Cancer Wars: How Politics Shapes What We Know and Don't Know About Cancer* (New York, 1995). Expert knowledge as orientational knowledge for political actors — the usefulness of this approach for the analysis even of global developments has recently been shown by Rüdiger Graf, *Öl und Souveränität: Petroknowledge und Energiepolitik in den USA und Westeuropa in den 1970er Jahren* (Berlin, 2014). Also see Stefan Fisch and Wilfried Rudloff, eds., *Experten und Politik. Wissenschaftliche Politikberatung in geschichtlicher Perspektive* (Berlin, 2004).

64 Apart from a series of anthropological studies on the topic, the cultural preconditions of ignorance and processes of social negotiation of knowledge and non-knowledge have been studied by Robert Proctor and Londa Schiebiger, eds., *Agnotology: The Making and Unmaking of Ignorance* (Stanford, 2008).



a person was a man or a woman, rich or poor, English or Indian, Christian or Jew — could be decisive. As Anindita Nag’s lecture “Measuring Human Needs: Statistics, Humanitarianism, and the Politics of Famine in Modern India,” delivered in the GHI lecture series on the history of knowledge in spring 2016,<sup>65</sup> made clear, the history of knowledge has to take gender, class, race, and religion into consideration, especially if it aims to illuminate the social boundaries of the production and recognition of knowledge. Taking the example of Florence Nightingale, Nag showed the simultaneous working of the processes of accepting and rejecting knowledge. Recognition of the validity of Nightingale’s compilations of public health data on India was influenced as much by her status as a woman, even if a very prominent woman, as by the fact that she was working at far remove from her subject. Because of her health, she could not collect data on location herself and thus had to depend on local informants. That practice initially met with acceptance, but over time the imperial bureaucracy increasingly cast doubt on the reliability of Nightingale’s data. By the end of the nineteenth century, imperial officials assumed that only Western experts collecting data on location could produce reliable knowledge about public health in India. Nag’s lecture resonates with Peter Burke’s argument that the impact of location, placement, and geography cannot be underestimated.<sup>66</sup> To understand how colonial governance and colonial knowledge were enriched — or constrained — by local knowledge, Nag made clear, it is necessary to examine the spatial distribution of knowledge.

The constantly changing tension between different categories of knowledge — official and unofficial, for instance, local and national, traditional and new, imperial and native — is one of the most fascinating aspects of the new history of knowledge. Gramsci’s concept of cultural hegemony suggests that it would be rewarding not only to trace the course of “progress” in the history of knowledge but also to examine which actors, bodies of knowledge, and spaces were consciously denied legitimacy. Only if we learn what fell out of the canon of knowledge deemed relevant at a particular point in time can we explain change in knowledge cultures and regimes. The dialectic between knowledge and society must be taken into account here. In her *Bulletin* contribution, for example, Anna Echtermöller approaches the history of statistics by focusing on the social use of statistics; a more traditional history of science approach would be to trace the development of statistics as an academic discipline. Taking the example of Friedrich August Lueder, a professor of statistics at

65 “Measuring Human Needs: Statistics, Humanitarianism, and the Politics of Famine in Modern India,” lecture held at the GHI on May 5, 2016.

66 Burke, *What Is the History of Knowledge?*



Göttingen, Echterhölder illustrates how the history of knowledge opens a perspective on once important individuals and ideas now deemed to have had little if any lasting influence.

Asking who in a given society is authorized to produce a certain type of knowledge, especially official knowledge, is thus an extremely promising line of inquiry. As knowledge production was increasingly professionalized and subject to academic validation in the modern era, non-experts saw their room for maneuver shrink, which ultimately resulted in their being overlooked by historians. Once-important producers of knowledge and cultural translators emerge from obscurity only when we frame our research questions explicitly with the history of knowledge in mind. We must turn our attention directly to actors who were marginalized over time, such as women and indigenous peoples, as well as to bodies of knowledge that were produced by recognized actors — missionaries, diplomats, and spies, for example — but that ended up not serving their intended purpose and not having a significant influence on decision makers.

### ***The Visual, Material, and Emotional Dimensions of Knowledge***

The visual, material, and emotional dimensions of knowledge raise a host of questions, some of which the essays in this *Bulletin* address directly. What forms or bodies of knowledge gain visibility? What roles have media representations of knowledge or of objects as conveyors or preservers of knowledge played?<sup>67</sup> What status do different forms of documentation — material, visual, and oral — have in the process of knowledge production or in the communication of knowledge? In her aforementioned GHI lecture Anindita Nag touched on this very question. Her research on Florence Nightingale's work on famines in India suggests a further question that I think could be very fruitful: How can the history of knowledge, the history of emotions, and visual history be brought into dialogue? Florence Nightingale, for example, initially tried to persuade British imperial officials of the necessity of a change in policy by presenting them with "objective" statistical data on famines in India. Later, however, she relied increasingly on emotionally stirring images of starving Indians. Knowledge with a supposedly rational foundation was displaced by emotionally charged photographs. Making suffering tangible and subjective struck Nightingale as a more promising approach than relying on generalized knowledge on the subject. At first glance, emotion seems to stand opposed to knowledge's

67 Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture. Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill, 2002); Habermas and Przyrembel, 20.

appearance of rationality. But emotion, often along with chance, can be decisive in determining which knowledge is produced or wanted in a particular context.

### **III. The History of Knowledge at the GHI**

For the GHI, knowledge is of interest as a research focal point for four reasons. First, it is a field with great potential for scholarly innovation. Second, it offers exciting possibilities for cooperation among the different subfields of history and the integration of disparate research findings. Third, it can provide the basis for transnational perspectives on German and North American history. Fourth, it could play an important part in the debate on the potential and limits of digital history.

#### ***Potential for Innovation***

The history of knowledge is a dynamic field. It is a field where researchers are pursuing many promising approaches but also where many questions and proposed methodologies have yet to be taken up. There is still a noticeable gap between the programmatic agenda of a broadly conceived history of knowledge as outlined here and the realization of that agenda in actual research projects. Disappointingly, most of the studies in modern and contemporary history that have been put forward under the “history of knowledge” label are still based on a rather narrow, expert-oriented conception of knowledge. Specialists in modern and contemporary history have only just begun to take up some of the creative approaches developed by their colleagues in early modern history and the history of colonialism. From this angle, one could be disappointed, but also — as the GHI does — see the history of knowledge as an open field that welcomes innovative thinking about research questions and topics. It thus offers the GHI a chance to take the measure of a wide range of approaches in the history of knowledge, to spotlight new research, and to inspire studies that realize the potential of the history of knowledge. By facilitating dialogue between European and North American scholars, the GHI hopes to be able to help define a dynamic, rapidly developing research field.

#### ***Potential for Integration and Cooperation***

The history of knowledge is not linked to a particular time period or region of the world, and it has potential connections to most every other subdiscipline of history. It encourages collaboration with scholars in other fields. Because myriad factors are at work in the

production and circulation of knowledge, the analytical category “knowledge” has the potential to serve as an integrative link between history’s many fields and branches. It can offer new perspectives on central questions not only in intellectual history and the history of science but also in social, cultural, and political history as well as in (post)colonial history and the history of gender. Moreover, it is also readily applicable to new fields and approaches such as visual history and the history of material culture, which in turn creates possibilities for opening new dialogues with researchers in disciplines ranging from literary and religious studies to sociology and anthropology. With that goal in mind, the GHI has been collaborating with the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science (Berlin) since 2015. The two institutions jointly organized the lecture series “Measuring Risk and Need,” which was held at the GHI in the spring of 2016, and they are now organizing two workshops for the coming year. “Observing the Everyday” will explore journalism and knowledge production in the modern era,<sup>68</sup> while “Beyond Data” will analyze knowledge production in different bureaucracies (governmental, commercial, and scientific).<sup>69</sup>

The new history of knowledge is an almost ideal programmatic “banner” for raising the GHI’s profile without jeopardizing its self-definition and role as a forum for transatlantic scholarly dialogue. Critics might complain that, as a category, knowledge cannot be defined clearly and unambiguously, and that it can be understood only in terms of the understanding of actors at any given point in the past and thus seems to be nearly ubiquitous. Indeed, we must reflect critically on the potential insights to be gained through the history of knowledge and be alert that we do not take the analytical sharpness of the category of knowledge as a given. At the same time, it is exactly the openness of the concept of knowledge that offers unique opportunities to bring diverse research institutions into conversation and to create new spaces for cooperation. If we do not limit our understanding of knowledge to science and scholarship, knowledge promises to be a fruitful and inclusive focus for historical research.

### ***Transnational Perspective***

Knowledge moves through people and institutions. Despite myriad attempts at suppression and censorship, knowledge rarely respects national borders. The GHI’s new focus on knowledge production and circulation thus bolsters its longstanding commitment to research on transnational, transregional, and global history. The GHI’s program

68 Conveners: Kerstin von der Krone (GHI Washington) and Hansjakob Ziemer (MPI Berlin): <http://www.ghi-dc.org/events-conferences/event-history/2017/conferences/observing-the-everyday.html?L=0>

69 Conveners: Sebastian Felten, Philipp Lehmann, Christine von Oertzen (all MPI Berlin) and Simone Lässig (GHI Washington): <http://www.ghi-dc.org/events-conferences/event-history/2017/conferences/beyond-data.html?L=0>

of conferences and workshops attests to the broad spectrum of topics that a history of knowledge perspective can recontextualize and open to new insights. For example, the conference “Restricting Knowledge: Channeling Security Information in Recent History,” which the GHI is organizing with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the University of Gießen, will explore spaces of knowledge and non-knowledge through which security information is channeled. “The Dynamics of Missionary Knowledge” will take a long-term, transregional perspective and focus on the entanglements of missionary knowledge with other bodies of knowledge. The question of how knowledge of the future was produced and discussed will stand at the center of the conference “German Past Futures in the Twentieth Century,” a collaborative venture of scholars from the GHI, the Free University of Berlin, and the San Diego and Irvine campuses of the University of California.<sup>70</sup>

The collaboration with San Diego and Irvine is part of a broader GHI initiative to expand its cooperation with scholars in the western United States and Canada. The GHI is preparing to open a West Coast branch office at the University of California, Berkeley. The new office will facilitate cooperation between German and North American scholars and strengthen the GHI’s presence in a region with a rich research landscape. In addition to programs in all the fields where the GHI is active, “GHI West” will also have a special research focus on “Migration and Knowledge.” We are interested above all in the questions of how knowledge is created in the process of migration and how that knowledge is translated into different social groups and societies. Historians of knowledge have thus far focused primarily on knowledge about migration as mainly produced by the state, science, and society and the ways that knowledge was brought to bear in politics and policy. The GHI wants to expand this research agenda by looking at migrants as knowledge *actors*. One particularly promising line of inquiry, as the example given at the outset of this essay suggests, might be the role of children and teenagers as knowledge agents in the migration process. While historians of education have examined how immigrant children were taught, and historians of migration have addressed their social and cultural situation, we want to consider young immigrants as creators of knowledge in their own right. Because of their grounding in multiple cultures, immigrant children had the potential to translate traditional and foreign knowledge, especially social knowledge, across cultural and generational boundaries. In many cases, they might have been able to transcend their

70 Conference at the German Historical Institute Washington (GHI), February 23-25, 2017. Conveners: Arnd Bauerkämper (Freie Universität Berlin), Frank Biess (University of California, San Diego), Kai Evers (University of California, Irvine), Anne Schenderlein (GHI).

marginal social position and become the producers of new, socially important knowledge.<sup>71</sup> There has been little work on this subject and, to my knowledge, none from a transregional or comparative perspective. The GHI thus intends as a first step to build an international network — not least through its tandem and long-term fellowship programs — to facilitate scholarly exchange at the intersection of the histories of knowledge, migration, and childhood. We hope thereby to contribute to the definition of a new research field.

### Digital History

From the outset, the history of knowledge has been concerned with the history of archives, libraries, and museums. It has explored the ways knowledge has been preserved and how the methods of knowledge preservation have changed. Historians of knowledge are interested, for instance, in how storage practices and technologies shape approaches to scholarship and understandings of the past.<sup>72</sup> They are interested in deconstructing claims to authenticity by uncovering the ways in which sites of knowledge storage embody particular knowledge orders and the structures of power that shape such orders. Digitalization is shifting these parameters, but certainly not because digitalization guarantees greater authenticity. If nothing else, the priorities that determine what is digitalized, which often have little to do with scholarly considerations, and externally imposed search algorithms mitigate against any sort of gain in authenticity. Nonetheless, digitalization and new technologies offer the possibility of new approaches to organizing and utilizing traditional source materials and to presenting research findings visually. Historians might be able to discern connections that the traditional archival ordering of source materials tend to obscure. The potential gains in understanding that might come with the harnessing of digital technologies — and the potential costs historical research might have to pay<sup>73</sup> — that is clearly a central issue now facing our profession. To encourage debate, the GHI will organize an annual conference in digital history. The inaugural conference, “Creating Spatial Historical Knowledge,” was held in October 2016.<sup>74</sup> With these conferences and its other initiatives in digital history, the GHI hopes to create a space for discussion that will profit not only from the GHI’s transatlantic reputation but also from the GHI’s new focus on knowledge orders and their history.

This space for discussion will be broadened by the history of knowledge as the GHI conceives it. We do not consider the history of

71 On subject-focused approaches in recent historical research on childhood and adolescence, see Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York, 1977); idem, ed., *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (Abrington/New York, 2013); Ellen Boucher, *Empire’s Children: Child Emigration, Welfare, and the Decline of the British World, 1869–1967* (New York, 2014); Richard Ivan Jobs and David M. Pomfret, eds., *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 2015); David M. Pomfret, *Youth and Empire: Trans-Colonial Childhoods in British and French East Asia* (Stanford, 2016).

72 For example, Geoffrey C. Bowker, *Memory Practices in the Sciences* (Cambridge, 2005).

73 Putnam and Lässig, “We Need to Talk.”

74 “Creating Spatial Historical Knowledge: New Approaches, Opportunities and Epistemological Implications of Mapping History Digitally,” International workshop and conference at the German Historical Institute Washington October 20–22, 2016. Conveners: Simone Lässig (GHI) and Matthew Hiebert (GHI); organized in collaboration with the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media and Digital Humanities at Berkeley.

knowledge to be a substitute for social or cultural history. The history of knowledge does not emphasize knowledge instead of society but rather seeks to analyze and comprehend knowledge *in* society and knowledge *in* culture. Approaching society and culture in all their complexity, the history of knowledge will broaden and deepen our understanding of how humans have created knowledge over the course of the past.

Translated by David B. Lazar

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## OLD AND NEW ORDERS OF KNOWLEDGE IN MODERN JEWISH HISTORY

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Considering the many attempts to define what constitutes *knowledge*, and especially those to distinguish it from *belief*,<sup>1</sup> one gets the impression that *religious* knowledge is a contradiction in terms or at least a curiosity. The fact that religion, which necessarily implies religious knowledge, is based on self-evident convictions — on the belief in an entity often described as *all knowing* — contradicts the rationality usually ascribed to knowledge. From a historical perspective this assumption has to be challenged, however. For not only were conceptions of rationality and religion subject to change and continue to be so, but religious movements time and again claimed to be rational in essence.

Religion describes a specific context of knowledge where what can be considered knowledge, what becomes visible, and what remains hidden is constantly renegotiated.<sup>2</sup> As a subject of historical research, religious knowledge not only facilitates insight into the social and cultural dimensions of religion and religiosity, but also allows for inferences on the interplay between religion and politics, community and society. When considering the European *Sattelzeit* — roughly speaking the period between the mid-eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries — one focuses on an epoch in which knowledge, knowledge production, and knowledge transfer as well as religion and religiosity were undergoing a particularly dramatic change.

This article examines religious knowledge from the perspective of Jewish history, which in this instance is understood as a paradigmatic approach to the changes in religion and knowledge that occurred since the middle of the eighteenth century. On the one hand, modern German-Jewish history and the question of the meaning of religious knowledge refer to the debates about the legal and social status of the Jews, about emancipation and *civic amelioration*, themselves embedded in the broader historical processes of individualization and pluralization, secularization, and the emergence of the modern nation state.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the transformation of Jewish culture was the product of internal changes that were inseparable from the

1 See Philipp Sarasin, "Was ist Wissensgeschichte?," *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur (IASL)* 36.1 (2011): 159–172, here: 163.

2 Michel Foucault, *Archeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (London/New York, 2002), 202; Hans Jörg Sandkühler, "Wissenskulturen. Zum Status und zur Funktion eines epistemologischen Konzepts," in *Wissen: Wissenskulturen und die Kontextualität des Wissens, Philosophie und Geschichte der Wissenschaften*, ed. Hans Jörg Sandkühler (Frankfurt am Main, 2014), 59–72.

3 For an overview of this topic, see Joel F. Harrington and Helmut Walser Smith, "Confessionalization, Community, and State Building in Germany, 1555–1870," *The Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997): 77–101; Benjamin Ziemann, *Sozialgeschichte der Religion: von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt a. M., 2009). On the relation between religious pluralization and secularization, see Todd H. Weir, *Secularism and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Germany: the Rise of the Fourth Confession* (New York, 2014).



external circumstances of Jewish life yet based on specific preconditions, and thus it necessarily has to be considered as a topic in its own right.<sup>4</sup>

Taking a history of knowledge approach and using the history of German-speaking Jewry as an example, this article investigates the mutability and adaptability of religion and religious knowledge. What meaning is ascribed to religious knowledge as orientational and instructional knowledge? Knowledge, including *Jewish* knowledge, is constantly in flux and subject to reinterpretation, innovation, and adaption in accordance with current social, political, and cultural circumstances. The wide-ranging socio-cultural changes occurring during the *Sattelzeit* created entirely new challenges for German-speaking Jewry, altering the systems of reference for determining *Jewish* knowledge and *Jewish* orders of knowledge. Therefore it will be necessary to investigate to what degree concepts of knowledge and knowledge production innate to Judaism were applied. To what extent was Jewish knowledge as religious knowledge based on new patterns of thought and interpretation and on new forms of ordering and structuring knowledge? Particular attention will be paid to religious education, which will be discussed on the basis of Jewish textbooks for religious instruction.

### I. Jewish Knowledge within the Boundaries of *Torah*

The Bible obligates Jews to study the *Torah*, to practice *Talmud Torah*,<sup>5</sup> which, simply put, means the elevation of knowledge and insight to the precondition of true faith and religiosity.<sup>6</sup> *Torah* is a complex term that stands for the law revealed by God, yet it can also be translated as “teaching.” In a narrow sense, *Torah* means the five Books of Moses (Pentateuch) as written record of the revelation to Moses, the most important part of Holy Scripture.<sup>7</sup> In rabbinical Judaism *Torah* as divine law is based on the dual revelation of the written Torah (*torah she-bikhtav*), meaning the Pentateuch, and the oral Torah (*torah she-be-al peh*), the interpretation of the biblical text. Oral teaching in the form of *Mishnah* (commentary on the written Torah) and *Gemara* (commentary on the *Mishnah*) constitutes the Talmud and has been recorded in writing between the second and fifth centuries CE.<sup>8</sup> Torah study as the essential religious practice of rabbinical Judaism demands active engagement with the text. The text is continuously updated through interpretation and commentary. As a distinctive system of knowledge<sup>9</sup> the continuous engagement with the Torah represents the foundation of Jewish law referred to

4 Jacob Katz, *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973); David Sorkin, *The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780-1840* (New York, 1987); Andreas Gotzmann, *Eigenheit und Einheit. Modernisierungsdiskurse des deutschen Judentums der Emanzipationszeit* (Leiden, 2002).

5 Talmud here simply means study.

6 For example: Joshua 1:8: “Let not this book of the Teaching [Torah] cease from your lips, but recite it day and night, so that you may observe faithfully all that is written in it.” All quotations from the Bible are taken from the English-Hebrew edition published by the Jewish Publication Society (1985).

7 And of the Hebrew Bible or *Tanakh*, the acronym for *Torah*, *Nevi'im* (Prophets), and *Ketuvim* (Writings).

8 There are two versions of the Talmud, a Babylonian and a Jerusalem (or Palestinian) Talmud. The Babylonian Talmud is the authoritative version.

9 Hannah E. Hashkes, *Rabbinic Discourse as a System of Knowledge: “The Study of Torah is Equal to them All”* (Leiden, 2015), 38.

as *Halakhah*, a normative order determining Judaism's religious and social constitution. *Halakhah* contains the 613 commandments (*mitzvot*), which include the Ten Commandments, as well as regulations regarding religious customs. The continuous process of interpretation and commentary of the Torah and thus *Halakhah* enables their specification according to current political and social circumstances. Therefore textual interpretation and reasoning are methods of knowledge production inherent to Judaism.<sup>10</sup>

Torah study as a focus of (male) religious practice was essentially based on knowledge of the Hebrew language, of Torah, Mishnah, and Talmud as well as religious ritual and practice. At the advanced level this included the knowledge of Aramaic and specific rules of interpretation. While the acquisition of non-Jewish knowledge was quite controversial, it was also of central significance, which becomes evident not only in the rich history of Jewish philosophy, but also in numerous works published on medicine, astronomy, and mathematics.<sup>11</sup> Non-Jewish knowledge was invariably subordinated to *Torah* in the sense of an encompassing and self-evident Jewish knowledge system, however. Attempts to formulate the fundamental principles of Judaism in the form of articles of faith serve to illustrate this point. The first of these attempts occurred in the tenth century among Sephardic Jews. However, systematic formulations of Jewish articles of faith never gained a status comparable to Christian dogma.<sup>12</sup> Their specific wording took its lead from formulations of the Islamic creed. Possibly the best known articles of Jewish faith were compiled by Rabbi Moses ben Maimon (1138-1204), also called Maimonides or RaMBaM, the most important medieval Jewish thinker. His *Thirteen Principles*<sup>13</sup> include the belief in the one God — absolute, omniscient, and non-corporeal — the belief in the revelation of the written and oral Torah, the belief in divine justice (reward and punishment), and the belief in the Messiah and the resurrection of the dead. These fundamental principles were meant to lead those lacking the opportunity and capability to fulfill the obligation of in-depth Torah study to the *right* understanding in the sense of an orientational knowledge. While Maimonides' *Thirteen Principles* were controversial, they became widely known in Ashkenaz (i.e. the Franco-German lands) in the form of the hymn *Yigdal* and the prayer *Ani Ma'amin*. By the late fourteenth century, both of these later poetic compositions were incorporated into the prayer book, the *Siddur*, thus becoming an integral part of religious practice.<sup>14</sup>

10 Ibid., 23–26; Marvin Fox, "Judaism, Secularism, and Textual Interpretation," in *Modern Jewish Ethics, Theory and Practice*, ed. Marvin Fox (Columbus, 1975), 3–26, here 4.

11 Amos Funkenstein, "The Disenchantment of Knowledge: The Emergence of the Ideal of Open Knowledge in Ancient Israel and in Classical Greece," *Aleph* 3 (2003): 15–95; Gad Freudenthal, *Science in Medieval Jewish Cultures* (New York, 2011).

12 On the medieval debates, see Menachem Kellner, *Dogma in Medieval Jewish Thought: From Maimonides to Abravanel* (Oxford, 1986).

13 Described in the introduction to his commentary on the Mishnah (c. 1168), *Traktat Sanhedrin, Perek Helek*. See *A Maimonides Reader*, ed. Isadore Twersky (New York, 1972), 401–423.

14 Abraham Melamed, "Maimonides' Thirteen Principles. From Elite to Popular Culture," in *The Cultures of Maimonideanism: New Approaches to the History of Jewish Thought*, ed. James T. Robinson (Leiden, 2009), 171–190.

Torah study as the ideal of Jewish learning and teaching underwent repeated adaption and change. In late medieval Ashkenaz the method of *pilpul*, which prioritized legal and conceptional differentiation of halakhic questions based on logic and detailed disputation, grew in significance.<sup>15</sup> This eventually led to the curriculum being narrowed down to the Talmud, and consequently in-depth study of Holy Scripture and the Hebrew language became less important. Since the sixteenth century this development had repeatedly been the subject of criticism. However, wide-ranging changes only occurred in the late eighteenth century, mainly brought about by the *maskilim*.<sup>16</sup>

The dominance of Talmud and *pilpul* originated with a school of medieval Talmudic scholars, the so-called Tosafists, and it was aided by the increasingly precarious socioeconomic and political position of the Ashkenazi communities as well as by a major innovation in cultural history, namely the invention of book printing with moveable type. The Talmud had already begun to gain more attention prior to it, and in the course of the sixteenth century this was further advanced by easier access to and distribution of the relevant texts.<sup>17</sup> Book printing also caused a change in the materiality and order of Jewish knowledge. The first Talmudic tractates printed in moveable type were based on a new composition of the text, which for the first time included not only the Mishnah and Gemara, but also a selection of medieval rabbinical commentaries.<sup>18</sup> Previously, commentaries circulated in separate manuscripts, each of which were considered equally important. The change in the order of texts resulting from the integration of a selection of commentaries necessitated a prioritization of these interpretations. Daniel Bomberg's print of the complete Babylonian Talmud (1520–1523) continued this innovative composition and included the commentary by Rashi, Rabbi Shlomo Yitzchaki (1040–1105) as well as the *Tosafot*. Bomberg created the first standardized edition that would become the model for printing the Talmud still in use today.

The biblical obligation to Torah study included the duty to instruct one's children,<sup>19</sup> specifically one's sons. This duty fell to the father, who could either take on the task himself or engage a tutor, a so-called *Melamed*. In medieval Ashkenaz the employment of *Melamdīm* was common practice. They instructed children aged five to thirteen, often in their parlor, the *Heder*, which could take on the character of an informal private school when several children were instructed together. Community schools for elementary education often did not

15 Talya Fishman, *Becoming the People of the Talmud: Oral Torah as Written Tradition in Medieval Jewish Cultures*, *Jewish Culture and Contexts* (Philadelphia, 2011).

16 Andrea Schatz, *Sprache in der Zerstreuung: die Säkularisierung des Hebräischen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2009), 73–109.

17 Apart from the Talmud, this especially applied to Josef Caro's (1488–1575) *Schulkhan Arukh*, an influential codex commenting on Halakhah.

18 Printed by the Ashkenazi-Italian Soncino family. On the first printed editions of the Talmud, see Marvin J. Heller, "Designing the Talmud: The Origins of the Printed Talmudic Page," *Tradition* 29.3 (1995): 40–51; idem, *Printing the Talmud: a History of the Earliest Printed Editions of the Talmud* (New York, 1992); Sharon Liberman Mintz and Gabriel M. Goldstein, eds., *Printing the Talmud: From Bomberg to Schottenstein* (New York, 2005).

19 Deuteronomy 11:19: "... and teach them [God's words] to your children — reciting them when you stay at home and when you are away, when you lie down and when you get up."

develop in Ashkenaz until the early eighteenth century, when they emerged in the form of charity schools, so-called Talmud-Torah schools.<sup>20</sup> In medieval and early modern Ashkenaz the elementary education of Jewish boys thus partly remained outside of the community's and rabbi's control while being embedded in existing structures of teaching and learning at the same time. It was supposed to enable Jewish boys to participate in the community's religious life and pave the way for independent Talmud-Torah study.<sup>21</sup> By the early eighteenth-century the realities of Jewish elementary education, the capabilities of teachers and students, and the concrete knowledge transmitted in the *Heder* had been a frequent subject of inner-Jewish debates that informed the emergence of the early *Haskalah*.<sup>22</sup>

A predominantly male practice, Torah study generally remained prohibited for girls and women well into the modern age.<sup>23</sup> There was instruction for girls, however. Depending on their social status and local customs, they received private instruction, attended a *Heder*, and beginning in the eighteenth century, Jewish private schools or the first community schools. While they did indeed acquire knowledge about the Torah this way,<sup>24</sup> the religious knowledge of girls and women was mainly restricted to familiarity with religious practice, prayers and rituals, and *Halakhic* norms relevant to everyday life such as *Kashrut* (dietary laws) and marital rules.

The significance of rituals and religious practices becomes evident in the weekly reading from the Torah during prayer service (*Parashat HaShavua*), a mutual practice shared by the community through which religious knowledge is transmitted and internalized. For public readings from the Torah and its interpretation, the so-called *Derashot*, translations and adaptations of the Torah to the respective everyday language played an important role as well.<sup>25</sup>

The invention of book printing not only changed the format of the Talmud and facilitated access to it, but it also lent an entirely new dynamic to knowledge about the Torah and Holy Scripture. Printed Bible editions and Bible adaptations, which had steadily gained significance since the sixteenth century, facilitated access to the Torah and changed practices of Torah study.<sup>26</sup> In Ashkenazi Judaism the

21 Ephraim Kanarfogel, *Jewish Education and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Detroit, 1992).

22 David Sorkin, "The Early Haskalah," in *New Perspectives on the Haskalah*, ed. Shmuel Feiner and David Sorkin (London, 2001), 9–26.

23 Daughters of important rabbis sometimes acquired in-depth knowledge of the Torah. Fishman, *Becoming the People of the Talmud*, 104–106. Ilan Fuchs, *Jewish Women's Torah Study: Orthodox Religious Education and Modernity* (London/New York, 2014).

24 Anne Sheffer, "Beyond Heder, Haskalah, and Honeybees: Genius and Gender in the Education of Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Judeo-German Women," in *Recovering the Role of Women. Power and Authority in Rabbinic Jewish Society*, ed. Peter J. Haas (Atlanta, 1992), 85–109.

25 Already in antiquity. Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven, 2000), 159–162.

20 The first Talmud-Torah societies and schools were founded in the mid-sixteenth century in Sephardic communities in Italy,

where they institutionalized charitable support for the religious instruction of the poor. As formal institutions

they became widespread especially in major central European communities in the following 200 years.

26 Including the rabbinic Bible (*Mikraot Gedolot*), which included further explanations and commentaries by rabbinic authorities.

so-called women's Bible *Ze'enah u-Re'enah*, short: *Tsene-rene*, plays a particularly important role.<sup>27</sup> Presumably written around the turn of the sixteenth century by Yaakov ben Yitzchak Ashkenazi from Janów, Poland (1550-1620), *Tsene-rene* contains the five Books of Moses in accordance with the weekly Torah portion as well as other books from the Hebrew Bible<sup>28</sup> printed both in the Hebrew original and in Yiddish translation with annotations. Originally not exclusively addressed to women, *Tsene-rene* was initially widely distributed in central Europe and by the early nineteenth century had begun playing a significant role in the religious practice of Jewish women primarily in eastern Europe.<sup>29</sup>

As shown above, Jewish knowledge had been subject to constant change well before the modern age. Change, and especially the incorporation of non-Jewish influences, was by no means unusual and essentially the result of *inward acculturation*.<sup>30</sup> According to Ivan G. Marcus, this term best describes a dialectic process in the form of innovation and *conservative* response by which pre-emancipation Jewry reacted to contemporary challenges. In the end the changes resulting from it never broke with the integrity of Judaism's social and cultural order as it remained firmly grounded in the Torah.

## II. Jewish and Religious Knowledge in the Modern Age

As we have seen, in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries central European Jews found themselves confronted with an entirely new dimension of sociocultural transformation. This transformation formed the basis for the idea of the modern nation state and for an ultimately labored process of emancipation, which invalidated previously existing provisions for Jewish autonomy. This, in turn, weakened further traditional power structures within the Jewish community, contributed to a change of elites and subsequently promoted the Jewish Enlightenment movement, the *Haskalah*, which formulated wide-ranging ideas for reform and sought to realize them in specific projects. The critical discussion of Jewish education and Jewish learning among the proponents of Jewish Enlightenment (*Maskilim*) led to a reevaluation of what should be considered Jewish knowledge while raising the question what the relationship between this knowledge and *non-Jewish* knowledge, especially novel scholarly knowledge based on universality and rationality, should be. The change in Jewish knowledge and Jewish orders of knowledge resulting from it will be discussed in the following section.

27 The title takes its name from verse 3:11 in the Song of Songs: "*ze'enah u-re'enah benot zion*" ("O maidens of Zion go forth and gaze"). The earliest known print dates from 1622. Chava Turniansky, "*Ze'enah U-Re'enah*," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik. 2d ed., vol. 21 (Detroit, 2007), 491-492.

28 *Haftarot* (Prophets) and *Megillot* (Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Esther).

29 Especially as a subject for private or family Bible study. Chava Turniansky, "*Ze'enah U-Re'enah*." On the reading practices among Jewish women in eastern Europe, see Iris Parush, *Reading Jewish Women: Marginality and Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Eastern European Jewish Society*, trans. Saadya Sternburg (Waltham/Hanover, 2004). On gender specific knowledge among Jewish women in eastern Europe, see Saul Stampfer, *Families, Rabbis and Education: Traditional Jewish Society in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Europe* (Oxford, 2010), 167-189.

30 Ivan G. Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe* (New Haven, 1996), 103.

It was not just the *Haskalah* which considered education, scholarship, and learning key to a modernization of Judaism, for these issues also dominated debates on the emancipation of the Jews and discussions within the Jewish community about the possibility and limits of modernization. The latter resulted in an intense and controversial debate on religious reforms — changes in religious practice such as sermons in German and new prayer books — and the question of the binding force of Jewish law. In the mid-nineteenth century, these debates eventually led to a differentiation of German-speaking Jewry into three main orientations — Liberal, Conservative, and Neo-Orthodox Judaism. The *Wissenschaft des Judentums*<sup>31</sup> played an important role in this process and further developed the ideas of the *Haskalah* at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was to fundamentally alter the principles and content of Jewish modes of study by incorporating the principles of modern philology and critical historical thought. Although this scholarly movement increasingly developed into a highly specialized discipline in the course of the nineteenth century, it remained closely tied to the wide-ranging efforts to create a modern Judaism.<sup>32</sup> This became evident in the growing importance of scholarship-based lines of argument, especially those based on historical knowledge, in debates on the *modernization* and *reform* of religious practice.<sup>33</sup> The significance of history as a “pattern of interpretation for the modern age”<sup>34</sup> was thus brought to bear on German-speaking Jewry’s active striving for emancipation.<sup>35</sup>

Most protagonists in the debate on religious reform were affiliated with *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and relied significantly on historical research and textual criticism to legitimize new interpretations of Judaism and its religious practices. It is important to note that these protagonists often fulfilled several functions at the same time, i.e. they were both scholars and rabbis, pedagogues and intellectuals. The interlacing of the debate on religious reform and that on the development of modern Jewish scholarship created a complex process of negotiating the relationship between scholarship and Judaism, in which the boundaries between a consequent historicizing

» a modern Jewish reading culture, see Nils H. Roemer, *Jewish Scholarship and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Germany: Between History and Faith* (Madison, 2005); idem, “German Jewish Reading Cultures, 1815–1933,” *Aschkenas* 18–19 (2008): 9–23; Amos Bitzan, *The Problem of Pleasure Disciplining the German Jewish Reading Revolution, 1770–1870* (Ph.D. diss. University of Berkeley, 2011). On encyclopedias as places of Jewish knowledge: Arndt Engelhardt, *Arsenale jüdischen Wissens. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der »Encyclopaedia Judaica«* (Göttingen, 2014).

33 With regard to the introduction of sermons in German, for example. In 1822 the Prussian government, lobbied by traditionalist circles and out of fear of radical reforms, prohibited sermons in German in synagogues. This prompted Leopold Zunz (1794–1886), founder of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, to publish his study *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt* (Berlin, 1832), which showed that sermons in the local language had already been common practice in antiquity.

34 Gotzmann, *Eigenheit und Einheit*.

35 One example for this are Zacharias Frankel’s (1801–1875) opinions on the defamatory oath *More Judaico* [Jewish oath], which were based on legal history. They contributed significantly to its repeal in Saxony (1839) and later in Prussia (1861). On Frankel see Andreas Brämer, *Rabbiner Zacharias Frankel: Wissenschaft des Judentums und konservative Reform im 19. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim, 2000).

31 See Ismar Schorsch, *From Text to Context. The Turn to History in Modern Judaism* (Hanover, 1994); Nils H. Roemer, *Jewish Scholarship and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Germany: Between History and Faith* (Madison,

2005); Michael A. Meyer, “Two Persistent Tensions within *Wissenschaft des Judentums*,” *Modern Judaism* 24.2 (2004): 105–119; Kerstin von der Krone and Mirjam Thulin, “Wissenschaft in Context: A Research

Essay on the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*,” *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 58 (2013): 249–280.

32 On the connection between *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, historical knowledge, and »



of Judaism and its sources and religious interpretation were drawn in widely differing ways.<sup>36</sup> Especially the question to what extent the Bible and rabbinical literature could become the subject of historical-critical scholarship remained controversial and eventually resulted in a fragmentation of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* along the lines of the religious movements emerging at the same time.<sup>37</sup> This rather theological understanding of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* began to gain significance in the 1830s and 1840s and was reinforced by rabbinical seminaries, which became the main places of the production of scholarly knowledge on Jewish history, philosophy, and literature.<sup>38</sup>

Jewish education played a crucial role in the process of emancipation as well as in efforts to define a modern Judaism. The *maskilim* were the first to found reformed schools, so-called *Freischulen* [free schools], and they created new curricula and educational materials for teaching Jewish (religious) knowledge in schools, families, and the community. Subsequent reformers, pedagogues, rabbis, and scholars continued and further developed these ideas. In addition, the efforts to modernize the Jewish education system were shaped both by the gradual adaption and internalization of the emerging modern understanding of *Bildung* and by a governmental emancipation policy that ascribed particular significance to the question of education. It was part of the state's overall increasing interest in the education and learning of its subjects, which was embedded in broader government reforms carried out in many central European states since the late eighteenth century. In their attempts to create a useful citizen, states expanded their influence on schools and universities. *Usefulness* and *morality* were key terms in the contemporary debate on education as well as in the discussion of the emancipation of the Jews.<sup>39</sup>

Jewish education underwent some dramatic changes in the course of the nineteenth century. These were the result of new official regulation for Jewish schools and school attendance of Jewish children, Jewish efforts to reform the structure and content of Jewish education, and the growing interest of Jewish parents in the secular education of their children. By the mid-nineteenth century the majority of Jewish children, boys and girls, attended public, mostly non-Jewish schools and received additional religious instruction in the community. Only a few of the reformed schools proved successful in the long term, most of them were converted into interdenominational schools. Only Orthodox Judaism went on to create an independent system of Jewish schools.<sup>40</sup>

36 On the public dimension of this process of negotiation, see Kerstin von der Krone, *Wissenschaft in Öffentlichkeit: Die Wissenschaft des Judentums und ihre Zeitschriften* (Berlin, 2012).

37 Both the founder of Liberal Judaism, Abraham Geiger, and the founder of Conservative Judaism, Zacharias Frankel, were important proponents of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* as well as adversaries. An Orthodox adaption of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* only developed in the second half of the nineteenth century. Assaf Yedidya, "Orthodox Strategies in the Research of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*," *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 5.1 (2011): 67–79; Mordechai Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition: the Social History of Orthodox Jewry in Imperial Germany* (New York, 1992), 173–184.

38 The founder of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Leopold Zunz, was critical of this theological understanding and preferred (a secular) philology. Meyer, "Two Persistent Tensions."

39 Katz, *Out of the Ghetto*; Sorkin, *The Transformation of German Jewry*; Mordechai Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland im Zeitalter der Aufklärung und Emanzipation*, trans. Maike Strobl (Münster, 2001).

40 Ibid.; Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*, 91–116.



The development of modern Jewish religious education prompted by this process of transformation raised the question which existing knowledge on Judaism and Jewish religion was to be considered essential and therefore an indispensable part of religious education both in and outside of school. Jewish textbooks for religious instruction attempted to define this essential knowledge and order it systematically. They were not the only media available for religious education — biblical anthologies, school Bibles, and hymnal books were also published. Yet the textbooks and their authors in particular laid claim to providing an authoritative account of the principles and foundations of Judaism. In the course of the nineteenth century, more than 100 textbooks for Jewish religious education were published.<sup>41</sup> Many publications dating from the first half of the century employed the question and answer pattern common in catechisms, thus taking their lead from the main teaching method of Christian religious education.<sup>42</sup>

The demand for a systematically ordered textbook explaining the foundations of Judaism for the purpose of religious education was first voiced as part of the Josephinian reforms of 1781-1782 in the Habsburg Empire. Naphtali Herz Wessely (1725-1805) echoed this demand in his influential treatise on education *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* (Words of Peace and Truth)<sup>43</sup> and essentially demanded two textbooks: a textbook containing the “basic principles of the Jewish religion every Jew had to uphold” and a “textbook on morals” teaching moral virtues.<sup>44</sup> It was based on Wessely’s distinction between the *teachings of man* and the *teachings of God*. *Words of Peace and Truth* represents one of the most influential maskilic responses to educational aspects of the emancipation process and essentially anticipates central characteristics shaping the debates on the content and form of Jewish education and learning in the course of the nineteenth century: the distinction between *Jewish* and *non-Jewish* knowledge as well as between *useful* and *essential* knowledge and the resulting demand for curricula to be adjusted accordingly. This also implied the differentiation of requirements with regard to the knowledge taught as part of these new curricula. Elementary education for boys was no longer supposed to inevitably lead to Talmud study,

» *Jewish Intellectual History*, ed. Alexander Altmann (Cambridge, 1964), 47-64; Dov Rappel, “Ha-Chinuch Ja-Yehudi be-Germania be-Meah ha-19,” in *Torah im Derekh Eretz*, ed. Mordechai Breuer (Tel Aviv, 1987), 199-216; Bernd Schröder, “Jüdische Katechismen in Deutschland am Beispiel eines Katechismus aus der Feder von Samuel Hirsch (1815-1889),” in *Jewish Studies between the Disciplines*, ed. Klaus Hermann and Margarete Schlüter (Leiden, 2003), 456-477; Andreas Gotzmann, “The Dissociation of Religion and Law in Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Education,” *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 43 (1998): 103-126

41 See Dov Rappel, *Bibliography of Jewish Textbooks (1488-1918)* (Tel Aviv, 1995).

42 A first Jewish catechism was published as early

as the sixteenth century by Abraham Jagel (1553-1623), titled *Lekach Tov* (Venice, 1587). It did not become significant for religious instruction, however. On Jewish

catechisms and textbooks, see Jakob J. Petuchowski, “Manuals and Catechisms of the Jewish Religion in the Early Period of Emancipation,” in *Studies in Nineteenth-Century* »

43 Naphtali Herz Wessely, *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet: le-kahal edat Israel, hagarim be-artzot memshelet ha-Kaiser ha-gadol* [...] *Josephus ha-sheni* (Berlin, 1782). Excerpts of it have been translated into English: Naphtali Herz Wessely, *Words of Peace and Truth* (1782), in *The Jew in the Modern World. A Documentary History*, ed. Paul Mendes-Flor and Jehuda Reinharz, 3rd ed. (New York, 2011), 74-77.

44 Wessely, *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet*, ch. 6.

45 Based on the principle “being human ranks one level higher than being an Israelite,” which was added by David Friedländer in his German translation of Wessely’s treatise to highlight the universal humanistic ideal of the Enlightenment. *Worte der Wahrheit und des Friedens an die Gesamte Jüdische Nation: Vorzüglich an diejenigen, so unter dem Schutze des glorreichen und grossmächtigsten Kaisers Josephs des Zweiten wohnen*, trans. David Friedländer (Berlin, 1782), 5.

46 In chronological order: Peter Beer, *Dat Israel, Oder, Das Judenthum: das ist: Versuch einer Darstellung aller wesentlichen Glaubens- Sitten- und Ceremoniallehren heutiger Juden: zum Gebrauche bei dem Elementar-religionsunterrichte ihrer Jugend: nebst einem Anhang für Lehrer*, Bd.1-2 (Prague, 1809/10); Jehuda Leib Ben Ze’ev, *Yesode Ha-Dat. Religionslehrbuch für die jiddische Jugend beyderlei Geschlechts* (Berlin, 1811); Herz Homberg, *Bne Zion. Ein Religiös-Moralisches Lehrbuch Für die Jugend Jüdischer Nation* (Vienna, 1812); Eduard Kley, *Edut Adonai Catechismus der mosaischen Religion* (Berlin, 1814); Josef Jöhlson, *Alume Josef. Unterricht in der mosaischen Religion für die israelitische Jugend beiderlei Geschlechts* (Frankfurt a. M., 1814); Naphtali ben Mordecai Banet, *Emunath Israel: ein Hilfsbuch zum Unterrichte in der mosaischen Religion* (Vienna, 1824); Alexander Behr, *Lehrbuch der mosaischen Religion* (Munich, 1826); Salomon Herxheimer, *Yesode ha-Torah Israelitische Glaubens- und Pflichtenlehre für Schule und Haus* (Hannoversch Münden, 1831); Joseph von Maier, *Lehrbuch der israelitischen Religion, zum Gebrauche der Synagogen und israelitischen Schulen im Königreich Württemberg* (Stuttgart, 1837); Salomon Plessner, *Dat Mosheh ve-Yehudit oder Jüdisch-Mosaischer Religionsunterricht für die israelitische Jugend*. (Berlin, 1838).

which ultimately equaled a dismissal of the ideal of life-long Torah study. Meanwhile girls’ education was paid greater attention than previously. The underlying premise, according to which *Jewish* knowledge had to be subordinated to “human knowledge,” meaning universally valid knowledge, was central to both the emergence of modern *Jewish* scholarship and the content of a decidedly Jewish education.<sup>45</sup>

### III. New Orders of Jewish Knowledge in Textbooks for Religious Education

By using ten religious education textbooks from the first half of the nineteenth century as examples, I will illustrate in the following section how *Jewish* knowledge was reconceived and re-categorized as religious knowledge.<sup>46</sup> First I will analyze the form in which this knowledge was arranged and supposed to be taught and who these textbooks were intended for. Moreover, I will ask what was considered Jewish knowledge according to these textbooks by focusing on two aspects: the definition of the foundations of Judaism on the one hand and knowledge on how to act towards state and society, ultimately an entirely new social framework, on the other.

My selection features textbooks published in the German-speaking territories of central Europe, including the Habsburg Empire, and it contains books written by *Maskilim* such as Peter Beer (1758-1838), Jehuda Leib Ben-Zeev (1764-1811), and Herz Homberg (1749-1841) who established the genre. It includes publications by the first generation of Jewish reform pedagogues such as Joseph Jöhlson (1777-1851) and Eduard Kley (1789-1867) as well as by university trained rabbis like Joseph von Maier (1797-1873) and Salomon Herxheimer (1801-1884). *Conservative* responses to the demand for a systematic religious education textbook are considered in the form of textbooks by Alexander Behr,<sup>47</sup> Naphtali Banet (Benedict, also: Benet, 1789-1857), and Salomon Plessner (1797-1883), all of whom belonged to the traditional circles from which Orthodox Judaism emerged in the 1840s.

The growing influence of the state becomes evident in the textbooks by Beer (1809), Homberg (1812), and Banet (1824), which were published in the Habsburg Empire. In the wake of the Josephinian reforms so-called German Schools for Jewish Subjects were

47 Behr’s dates are unknown. He was from Hamburg

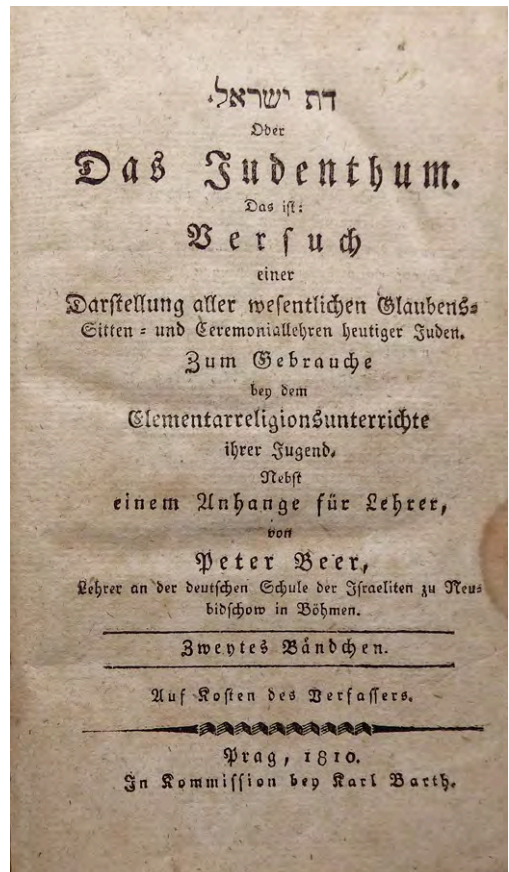
and received his doctorate in philosophy in the

1820s. He later served as a rabbi in Munich.

introduced, following a state-approved German-language curriculum.<sup>48</sup> All three of these books competed with each other for official recognition, although Homberg's *Bne Zion* (1812) was introduced as mandatory textbook due to his close relationship with government authorities. It also served as basis for a mandatory exam on the principles of the Jewish religion that those willing to marry had to take.<sup>49</sup>

Like Beer, Homberg based his description of the foundations of Judaism on a definition of religion derived from natural law, placing the teaching of moral norms and values at the center of his work. His main source was the Hebrew Bible while the Talmud and Jewish religious law played only a secondary role. Banet's textbook *Emunath Israel* (1824) published more than a decade later offered an alternative approach to the order of Jewish religious knowledge drawing much more on rabbinical tradition while also integrating universal categories and principles such as religion, dignity, free will, and conscience. Banet claimed that his description of the basic principles of Judaism was more inclusive, and he devoted more space to a detailed discussion of religious law and practice.<sup>50</sup>

The circumstances in the Habsburg Empire served as model for Eduard Kley when, in 1814, he appealed to the Prussian authorities to have



**Figure 1: Peter Beer, *Dat Israel oder Das Judenthum*, vol. 2 (Prague, 1810), cover page. National Library of Israel. Used by permission.**

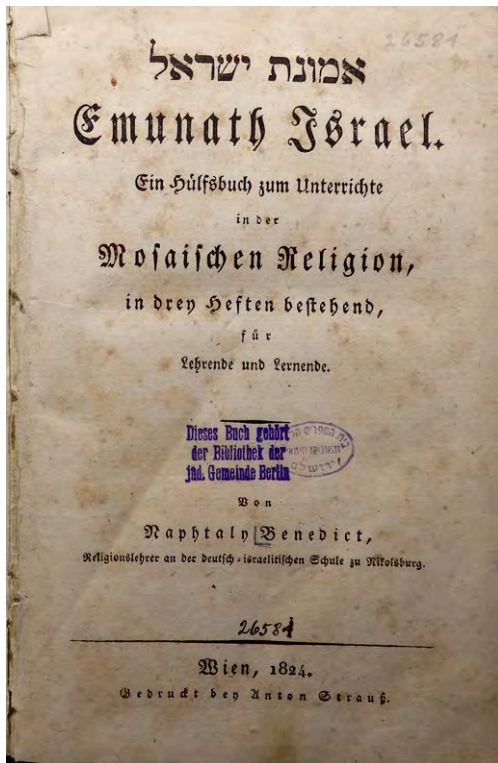
48 These were financed by the Jewish community. On the history of the German Schools in Galicia, see Dirk Sadowski, *Haskala und Lebenswelt: Herz Homberg und die jüdischen deutschen Schulen in Galizien 1782-1806* (Göttingen, 2010). On Moravia, see Michael L. Miller, *Rabbis and Revolution: The Jews of Moravia*

*in the Age of Emancipation* (Stanford, 2011), 45-52.

49 Beer had also advertised his textbook as preparation for this exam, Beer, *Dat Israel*, xxviii, lvi.

50 Naphtali Banet probably wrote his textbooks on the initiative of his father, Mordechai Banet, Chief Rabbi of Moravia.

State authorities urged Mordechai Banet to approve Homberg's *Bne Zion* officially (through a *haskamah*). However, he was critical of the book. Naphtali Banet's application to the Habsburg authorities to have his textbook replace *Bne Zion* as mandatory textbook was rejected. Miller, *Rabbis and Revolution*, 74-76.



**Figure 2: Naphtali ben Mordechai Banet, *Emunath Israel* (Vienna, 1824), cover page. National Library of Israel. Used by permission.**

his catechism *Edut Adonai* introduced as mandatory textbook.<sup>51</sup> The Prussian ministerial bureaucracy had an interest in Jewish education and schooling, which is evident in its numerous official reports on the state of Jewish schools. Yet Prussian emancipation policy pursued a less interventionist approach. Contrary to the Habsburg Empire or Baden, for example, the 1812 Emancipation Edict did not include provisions on education or on the constitution of the Jewish community. Instead paragraph 39 of the edict postponed these matters until decisions on concrete regulations were made.<sup>52</sup> In 1814 the Prussian authorities did not have an interest in intervening directly in matters of Jewish education, so they referred Kley to the Chief Rabbi of Berlin's Jewish community, Meyer Simon Weyl (1744-1826), who refused to approve Kley's book, however.<sup>53</sup> In Bavaria, the state steered a middle course. Like all teaching materials used in schools, Alexander Behr's textbook was reviewed

and not only received a royal printing privilege, but was also recommended for instruction.<sup>54</sup>

The practice of adopting the format of the catechism for Jewish textbooks, relatively common in the first half of the nineteenth

51 In his letter Kley made explicit reference to *Bne Zion* as model for a systematic textbook that was state approved. Eduard Kley, Zu seiner Schrift Catechismus der mosaïschen Religion. Folgen der Aufklärung für das Judentum, 8. April 1814, *Geheimes Preussisches Staatsarchiv* I. HA., Rep. 76III, Sekt. 12, Abt. XVI, Specialia, No.1, Vol. II, 1813-1821, Bl. 136-137v. Printed in *Chevrut Chinuch Nearim. Die jüdische Freischule in Berlin (1778-1825) im Umfeld preussischer Bildungspolitik und jüdischer Kulturreform: eine Quellensammlung*, ed. Ingrid Lohmann, Uta Lohmann, and Britta Behm (Münster, 2001), 827, doc. 455. See also doc. 456-461.

52 "The necessary regulations concerning the ecclesiastical condition and the improvement in the education of the Jews shall be considered at a later time. With reference to these matters, men of the Jewish faith who enjoy public confidence because of their knowledge and rectitude shall be consulted for their expert opinion." *Edikt, betreffend die bürgerlichen Verhältnisse der Juden in dem Preussischen Staate*, March 11, 1812. For a facsimile reprint see: Lohmann et al, eds., *Chevrut Chinuch Nearim*, vol. 1, doc. 287, 653-657.

For an English translation, see German History in Documents and Images. Volume 2. From Absolutism to Napoleon, 1648-1815, [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/15\\_TheJews\\_Doc.8English.pdf](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/15_TheJews_Doc.8English.pdf) (last accessed March 14, 2016).

53 Weyl reinforced his position in an advertisement placed in the *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* of September 3, 1814 (No. 106, p.7), in which he declared both Kley's textbook and that written by pedagogue

and *maskil* Moses Hirsch Bock inadequate.

54 According to Behr, proof of elementary schooling and religious education was mandatory for obtaining permission to settle, to marry or to move on to an institution of higher education. Behr, *Lehrbuch der mosaïschen Religion*, xii. On the Jewish education system in Bavaria, see Claudia Prestel, *Jüdisches Schul- und Erziehungswesen in Bayern 1804-1933. Tradition und Modernisierung im Zeitalter der Emanzipation* (Göttingen, 1989).



century, seems to require an explanation, particularly since progressive pedagogues considered the catechetical method inadequate.<sup>55</sup> Considering that the catechism remained the primary text model for Christian religious textbooks throughout the nineteenth century, however, it seems less surprising that Jewish authors adopted an established format familiar to state authorities. Seven of the textbooks analyzed here follow this structure.<sup>56</sup> The remaining three textbooks are divided into numbered and sometimes titled paragraphs, following the format of guidelines or manuals. Some of the authors discuss their method and chosen text model in a detailed preface. While Salomon Plessner criticized existing textbooks, including some catechisms, he nevertheless emphasized the merits of catechetical order. He left it up to teachers to decide whether they wanted to take the textual order of his book as basis for their teaching, however.<sup>57</sup> By contrast Salomon Herxheimer rejected the catechism as methodically inadequate.<sup>58</sup>

The adoption of Christian models of representing religious knowledge also included the specific structuring of this knowledge such as the frequently made distinction between doctrines of faith and duty (*Glaubens- und Pflichtenlehre*). Similarly, systematic lists of religious principles comparable to the Christian creed were used. Moreover, the Ten Commandments were given a prominent role, and their detailed description also had a structuring function in some textbooks. This structural proximity to Christian concepts of systematizing and categorizing religious knowledge should not be overrated, however. It was the result of the common heritage and entangled histories of Judaism and Christianity symbolized in the Hebrew Bible, i.e. the Old Testament as the common holy text. Moreover, this proximity primarily was a pragmatic step in the form of adopting a well-proven and accepted text model that was then modified to one's own needs. The resulting originality and autonomy of Jewish religious textbooks becomes evident in the composition of the text, which made more extensive use of annotations and commentaries. Thus Jewish religious textbooks continued the basic principles of traditional Jewish text culture and introduced the textual interpretation and reasoning so central to traditional Torah study into modern Jewish religious education.

Christian religious textbooks often only contain brief references to the Bible. Homberg's *Bne Zion* comes closest to following this model. All the other books go further and integrate quotes from the Bible

55 Proponents of philanthropism and Enlightenment such as Basedow and Rousseau criticized the catechism as an inadequate and static method. Cf. Hans-Jürgen Fraas, *Katechismustradition: Luthers kleiner Katechismus in Kirche und Schule* (Göttingen, 1971), 141–147.

56 In alphabetical order: Banet, Beer, Behr, Ben-Zeev, Johlson, Kley, and Plessner.

57 Plessner, *Dat Mosheh ve-Yehudit*, xi and xxxiii. For his criticism, see ii. Plessner also includes an extensive list of published textbooks and handbooks.

58 Herxheimer, *Yesode Ha-Torah*, v–vi. Though he ended his thematically structured sections with a set of questions for “repetition, illustration, and further addition to what has been said.”

59 See Beer, Banet, Herxheimer, von Maier, and Plessner, for example.

60 Explicitly stated in Banet, Herxheimer, Maier, and Plessner; addressed to “everyone” or for use “in school and the home” or “in school and the synagogue.”

61 The coequal use of German and Hebrew became the exception. Only the second edition of Banet’s *Eminath Israel* (1832) can be described as a bilingual work.

62 On the publication practices of the *Haskalah*, see Shmuel Feiner, Zohar Shavit, Nathalie Naimark-Goldberg, Tal Kogman, eds., *The Library of the Haskalah. The Creation of a Modern Republic of Letters in Jewish Society in the German-Speaking Sphere* (Tel Aviv, 2014) [Hebrew].

63 With the exception of Behr and Maier, whose textbooks do not have a Hebrew title. Homborg’s *Bne Zion* does not use Hebrew letters and neither does the first edition of Herxheimer’s *Yesode Ha-Torah*, except the main title. Later editions include more Hebrew script.

64 Johlson makes extensive use of Hebrew, for example. Banet significantly increased the Hebrew part in the second edition, which made it a bilingual one. Previously, such an edition had only been published by Ben-Zeev.

65 Andreas Gotzmann, “Vatersprache und Mutterland. Sprache als nationaler Einheitsdiskurs im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Jüdische Sprachen in deutscher Umwelt. Hebräisch und Jiddisch von der Aufklärung bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michael Brenner (Göttingen, 2002), 28–42; Simone Lässig, “Sprachwandel und Verbürgerlichung. Zur Bedeutung der Sprache im innerjüdischen Modernisierungsprozess des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 270 (2000): 617–667.

and, to a lesser extent, references to rabbinical literature into their narrative. They are often supplemented by further explanations and commentaries. The authors thus offered a differentiated approach to the knowledge they provided about Judaism and the Jewish religion. The different layers of text, which often build upon one another, create the possibility to differentiate the content of religious instruction according to the student’s previous knowledge. This also includes didactic advice for instructors, be it teachers or parents.<sup>59</sup> Most of these textbooks address a broadly defined audience and in many cases are not just intended for the elementary education of children aged six to thirteen, but also for continuing (self)-study.<sup>60</sup>

To a limited degree, the formal differentiation of the curriculum continues in the choice of language. All authors except Ben-Zeev write in German and only use Hebrew to complement the text. Ben Zeev’s *Yesode ha-Dat* was published completely in Hebrew with a German section in Hebrew letters.<sup>61</sup> This *maskilic* format common until the early nineteenth century takes its lead from early modern Jewish prints which usually featured Hebrew text with Yiddish commentary.<sup>62</sup> The mostly German textbooks often have a Hebrew main title<sup>63</sup> that can be understood as a symbolic reference to tradition. Terms central to Judaism such as Torah, Halakah or God’s name are often printed in Hebrew letters. Extensive passages in Hebrew, mostly quotes from the Bible but also from rabbinical literature, are featured in Johlson and those authors belonging to the traditional spectrum.<sup>64</sup> Here Hebrew usually appears alongside the German text, which takes both different levels of previous knowledge among students and varying teaching requirements into consideration.

The use of the German language in these textbooks attests to the general shift towards German as demanded by the state and promoted by the Haskalah and subsequent reform movements, and which was implemented remarkably quickly.<sup>65</sup> German not only came to replace Yiddish, which was rejected by the *Maskilim* as an undesirable, corrupted language and a *jargon*, but in the course of the nineteenth century it also became the *lingua franca* of central European Jewry.<sup>66</sup> Efforts made by Mendelssohn and his students to redefine Hebrew as the Jewish national language failed. Wide-spread knowledge of the

66 Dan Diner, “Imperiale Residuen: Zur paradigmatischen Bedeutung transterritorialer jüdischer

Erfahrung für eine gesamteuropäische Geschichte,” in *Figuren des Europäischen. Kulturgeschichtliche*

*Perspektiven*, ed. Daniel Weidner (Munich, 2006), 259–274, here: 272.

Hebrew language and alphabet, including knowledge imparted via Yiddish and German in Hebrew letters, declined in the course of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless Hebrew remained an element of religious practice, and it naturally was part of the expert knowledge acquired by Jewish scholars and academics.<sup>67</sup> As the textbooks discussed here and the curricula of Jewish religious schools show, the Hebrew language remained indispensable for the religious instruction of Jewish boys. Ideally, knowledge of Hebrew was supposed to enable them to study the Hebrew Bible or at least to read from the Torah and thus to actively participate in one of the most important acts in the Jewish prayer service.

The question of religious instruction for Jewish boys was contrasted with efforts to improve the education and learning of Jewish girls and women, which had already been attempted by the *Maskilim* and was demanded by the state as well. This, too, is reflected in the textbooks under consideration. Beer, Ben-Zeev, and Johlson expressly addressed “Israelite youths of both sexes” [die Israelitische Jugend beyderlei Geschlechts] in their title. While all the other volumes are merely addressed to “Israelite youths” or do not explicitly specify their audience, it is safe to assume that they were intended for both boys and girls. Jewish schools — especially reformed schools or the slowly emerging complementary religious schools — were open to boys and girls, and they represent the central context in which the textbooks discussed here were used.

In the preface to his textbook, Salomon Plessner discussed the question of girls’ education in great detail and essentially propagates a gender-specific differentiation of the curriculum. He emphasizes the necessity of religious instruction for Jewish girls and declares the catechism particularly suitable for them.<sup>68</sup> At the same time, Plessner stresses that rabbinical reservations concerning female study of the Torah mainly concerned the “advanced teaching of laws” [*höherer Gesetzesunterricht*], which had to be distinguished from the necessary knowledge of “doctrines of faith and general duties.”<sup>69</sup> Meanwhile the religious instruction of Jewish boys had to go beyond that and was by no means to be limited to the catechism. Boys required instruction in Hebrew, which would enable them to study the Bible and the Talmud as well as significant Halakhic codices.<sup>70</sup> Plessner’s distinction between required religious knowledge for girls and boys necessitates a reordering of Jewish knowledge, distinguishing between knowledge essential for everyone and knowledge necessary and desirable for

67 Both as the language of sources and, to a limited extent, as language of publication. An adaptation of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Hebrew, the so called *Hokhmat Israel*, emerged in Galicia and Italy.

68 Plessner, *Dat Mosheh ve-Yehudit*, xi

69 Ibid., xii.

70 Especially the *Shulchan Aruch*. Ibid. xiv–xv and xxv.





Figure 3: Salomon Plessner, *Dat Mosheh ve-Yehudit oder Jüdisch-Mosaischer Religionsunterricht für die israelitische Jugend* (Berlin, 1838), cover page. Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main/ Digitale Sammlungen Judaica. <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/freimann/content/titleinfo/177717>. Used by permission.

Jewish men. He essentially attempted to preserve the ideal of lifelong Torah study for the modern age, for which modern Jewish religious education was meant to prepare Jewish boys.

#### IV. Educating the Modern Jew and the Loyal Citizen

Thus far my main focus has been on the formal structure of the textbooks, meaning how knowledge was supposed to be imparted and who was meant to acquire which kind of knowledge. But how did Jewish religious textbooks present and structure knowledge about Judaism and the Jewish religion? Considering the sheer scope of the individual textbooks (between 100 and 300 pages), the following analysis does not claim to be exhaustive. It rather aims to highlight characteristic elements and peculiarities.

First, it is noteworthy that all authors except Behr briefly introduce religion as a general category. Almost all authors base their argument on natural law while religion is presented as a natural form of sociality and the indispensable foundation of social

order. Judaism as a revealed religion is put into relationship to it. The monotheistic idea based in Judaism is considered an essential step in the evolution of humanity. This portrayal corresponds with the contemporary Jewish interpretation of Judaism's historical role in preserving the monotheistic idea in the sense of the *Mission of Israel*.<sup>71</sup> The integration of universal patterns of thought and interpretation also becomes evident in remarks on the human being, reason, mind and soul, liberty, will, and conscience, which can be found in all textbooks to varying extents. Of far greater importance was the effort to harmonize religion and reason extending to the

71 "Thus the Jewish people became a nation of priests in the sense of guardians of the idea of God — a people of God." Immanuel Wolf (Wohlwill), "On the »

» Concept of a Science of Judaism (1822)," *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 2 (1957): 194–204, here 195. English translation of "Über den Begriff einer

Wissenschaft des Judenthums," *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* 1 (1822): 1–24. Similar arguments can be found in the

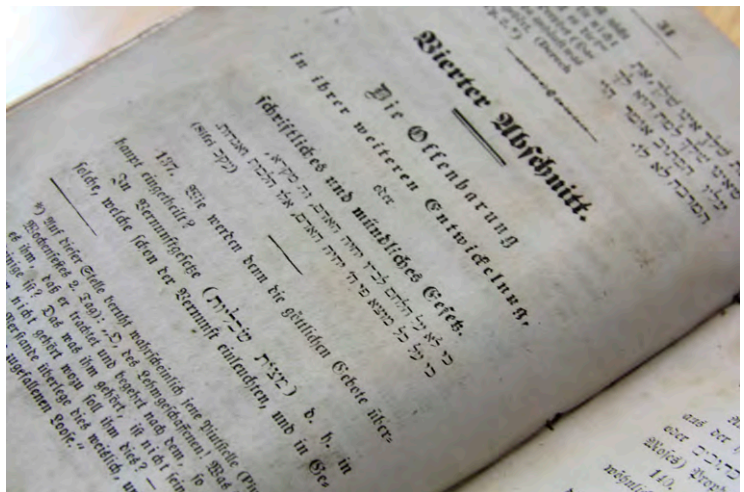
writings of Samuel Hirsch (1815–1889), Heinrich Graetz (1817–1891) and later Hermann Cohen (1842–1918).

concept of a *Vernunftreligion*, thus portraying religious actions and religious knowledge as essentially rational.

Taking the Revelation as Judaism's historical act of founding, the textbooks then describe the foundations of Judaism, although their authors see the relationship between *Torah* and *tradition*

quite differently. Naturally all of them treat the Hebrew bible as the authoritative source of Jewish religion. In most cases its structure is described in detail and it represents the most common reference text in the form of citations and quotes. There are differences in the discussion of the traditional understanding of *Torah* as a unity of the *written Torah* as recorded in the bible and the *oral Torah* mainly preserved in the Talmud. In the textbooks under consideration, all authors except for Homberg, Kley and Maier acknowledge this unity of *Torah* and the binding nature of Jewish law derived from it.<sup>72</sup> Some of these textbooks also attempt a cautious historicizing of the origin of both the bible and the Talmud.<sup>73</sup> As the core of the Revelation, the five Books of Moses are invariably excluded from this while all other books of the Bible and the lore of Mishnah and Talmud are described as steps in the evolution. Nearly all of the textbooks equal oral teaching to the Talmud, which also embodies *tradition* according to Banet, Behr, and Plessner.

Eduard Kley and Joseph Maier distance themselves from rabbinical Judaism by implicitly questioning the binding nature of the Talmud and parts of the Jewish legal tradition. Kley's text is more guarded and undergoes a development throughout the different editions of his textbook. In the 1814 edition he appears uncertain about the binding character of the oral *Torah* as part of the revelation when he writes that it "supposedly" was revealed to Moses at Mount Sinai. While he does name Mishnah and Gemara as its core, he does not mention the Talmud as overarching name for these two text compilations.<sup>74</sup> In the third, extensively revised and expanded edition of *Edut Adonai* published in 1839, Kley expands on his 1814



**Figure 4:** Salomon Plessner, *Dat Mosheh ve-Yehudit* (Berlin, 1838), page 34. Courtesy of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research.

72 Johlson, *Alume Josef*, 32–33; Banet, *Emunath Israel*, 107; Herxheimer, *Yesode Ha-Torah*, 33–35; Plessner, *Dat Mosheh ve-Yehudit*, 37–38.

73 Johlson, *Alume Josef*, 32–33; Kley, *Edut Adonai*, 37; Plessner, *Dat Mosheh ve-Yehudit*, 37–38.

74 According to Kley, the oral tradition was the "interpretation of the written law which supposedly was passed on by Moses through oral tradition." [Eine Auslegung des schriftlichen Gesetzes welche von Moses durch mündliche Ueberlieferung soll fortgepflanzt worden seyn]. Kley, *Edut Adonai* (Berlin, 1814), 37.

remarks by stating that Mishnah and Gemara contained “much of value for instruction,” but that they could “no longer be considered a revelation of God’s word and part of Holy Scripture.”<sup>75</sup> For Kley, the oral Torah’s equal significance to that of the written Torah belonged to the past. Maier went even further and fundamentally questioned that the latter, in the form of the Talmud, had ever been of equal significance to Holy Scripture. Kley and Maier explained their distanced attitude towards the Talmud and by implication the idea of a second revelation in the form of the oral Torah in different ways. Both shared a basic critical attitude towards rabbinical Judaism, however. By contrast, Herxheimer and Johlson, both of whom also belonged to the reform movement in the broadest sense, adhered to the binding character of oral tradition and the Talmud. Like Plessner, Behr or Banet, moderate reformers such as Herxheimer and Johlson made use of the flexibility of textual interpretation and reasoning in Jewish tradition and searched for patterns of interpretation and modes of thought suitable for meeting the challenges of the modern world.

The systematic presentation of the foundations of Jewish religion that they envisioned required classification and categorization. The distinction between doctrines of faith and duty served as a comprehensive ordering framework that was interpreted in rather different ways. Overall the descriptions of Jewish doctrine dealt with God and his characteristics, with the relationship between God and human being in general, and with the special relationship between God and the people of Israel based on the act of revelation. Doctrines of duty are based on doctrines of faith and separated into duty toward God, toward oneself, and toward others.

Jewish textbooks thus ostensibly reverted to an order of religious knowledge also applied in Christian textbooks. Yet this was by no means simply an adoption of Christian models. The authors could indeed cite Jewish models. The idea of doctrines of duty in particular corresponded with the meaning of the *Mitzvot* (commandments), which formed the basis for *Emunah* (faith) and *Chovot* (duties). In addition to the Hebrew bible, which served as primary reference text for all textbooks, the authors made reference to the Mishnah and the Talmud to varying degrees, but also to works of medieval Jewish scholars, especially Maimonides’ *Mishneh Torah*, Saadia Gaon’s (882–942) *Emunot ve-Deot* (933), Bachja Ibn Pakuda’s (first half of the eleventh century) *Chovot Ha-Levavot* (1040) as well as later systematic accounts of Jewish law such as the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* and the *Sefer HaHinukh* (both thirteenth century) or Yosef Caro’s (1488–1575) *Shulchan Aruch* (1563).

<sup>75</sup> Kley, *Edut Adonai*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1839), 76.

The texts on doctrines of duty were based on abstract and ultimately universal concepts such as love of God, love of self, and the love of others or human kindness, from which specific commandments and behavioral norms were derived. These were justified by Jewish law in varying detail, depending on whether an author considered the entire tradition as binding. To this end, all authors undertake a categorization of Halakah, which usually leads to a distinction between moral law, political laws, and ceremonial law. *Maskilim* such as Beer and Homberg and reformers like Kley and Maier prioritize moral law as the foundation of moral and virtuous behavior. Ceremonial law describes all the rules on religious practice and rituals whose continuance was questioned as part of the debates on religious reform. Changes mainly manifested themselves with regard to prayer and liturgical order. Jewish textbooks often emphasized the essential importance of religious practice as a vehicle for moral conduct and the internalization of religious knowledge. Authors adhering to the binding force of Jewish law gave particular attention to this aspect of Jewish religiosity. Incidentally, these authors do also acknowledge that not all Jewish laws are applied by the Jewish diaspora. The political laws, legal provisions referring to the ancient Jewish state, were eventually omitted.<sup>76</sup> All authors stress the universal matter of both Judaism and Jewish religious law. In his study on the representation of Halakah in Jewish religious catechisms, Andreas Gotzmann has suggested that all textbooks, including conservative and orthodox ones, ultimately define Judaism as a morally composed religion, thus advancing the dissociation of the unity of religion and law in traditional Judaism.<sup>77</sup>

The Ten Commandments are discussed in detail in nine of the ten textbooks and in many cases are presented as the universal core of Judaism's foundations. In contrast to Christianity, the Ten Commandments did not take up a special position in rabbinical Judaism. They were considered part of the commandments (*Mitzvot*) revealed to Moses in their entirety and were thus seen as binding without any distinction.<sup>78</sup> Except for Alexander Behr, all authors consider the Ten Commandments of particular significance. Beer and Kley derive substantial parts of their depiction directly from their discussion of the Ten Commandments,<sup>79</sup> thus somewhat approximating the method of Christian textbooks. Some of the authors describe the Ten Commandments as the origin of the *Mitzvot*, claiming that all of the latter could be derived from them. This argument is based on interpretations of the relationship between the Ten Commandments

76 By Banet, Plessner, and Herxheimer.

77 Gotzmann, "Dissociation of Religion and Law."

78 This coincided with the abandoning of the ancient ritual of public readings of the Ten Commandments along with the *Shma*. Moshe Greenberg, "The Decalogue Tradition Critically Examined," in *Ten Commandments in History and Tradition*, ed. Ben-Tsiyon Segal and Gershon Levi (Jerusalem, 1990), 83-119.

79 This is especially striking in Kley, but it also applies to Beer. For Banet, the Ten Commandments serve as conclusion of his textbook and could thus be understood as a recapitulation.

and the *Mitzvot* formulated by Philo of Alexandria (25 BCE–50 CE) and later by Saadia Gaon (882–942).

Another element in the systematization of fundamental aspects of the Jewish conception of religion are principles or articles of faith such as the above-mentioned *Thirteen Principles* by Maimonides. Structurally similar to the Christian creed, these enumerations offered a summary of fundamental aspects of the Jewish religion and were incorporated into Jewish textbooks in varying forms. They were either described as three central Jewish principles of faith: the belief in the one God, in the revelation, and in divine justice,<sup>80</sup> based on Joseph Albo (ca. 1380–1444).<sup>81</sup> Or the authors refer to the *Thirteen Principles*<sup>82</sup> in the form of the prayer *Ani Ma'amin*, which go beyond the three principles of Albo and discuss the specific characteristics of God, the expectation of a Messiah, and resurrection. In Behr's textbook they function as sole introduction. Plessner considers the *Thirteen Principles* of outstanding importance and criticizes other authors for not mentioning them.<sup>83</sup> In the course of the nineteenth century, Orthodox Jewry began to view the *Thirteen Principles* as an indispensable foundation of the Jewish faith. The commitment to them became a criterion of belonging as well as a means to distinguish themselves from other interpretations of modern Judaism.<sup>84</sup> Such a dogmatic narrowing of the meaning of articles of faith does not yet occur in the textbooks under consideration. Instead they reflect the diverse models of systematization of the fundamental principles of Judaism and rather describe principles of faith as orientational knowledge.

Regardless of the differences in the description of the relationship between Torah and tradition, the significance accorded the Ten Commandments in each book, the inclusion of principles of faith, and the binding force of Jewish law, all textbooks were ultimately based on the distinction between doctrines of faith and doctrines of duty. As previously mentioned, the latter not only included the duties towards God and oneself, but also duties towards others in the form of one's "*Nebenmenschen*" [fellow human beings]. These duties necessitated a specific instructional knowledge for dealing with family members, one's community, and the society one lived in, including both Jews and non-Jews. Most of the textbooks also contain sections on duties towards the state. Echoing the idea of the *useful citizen*, they demand loyalty to the state and patriotism, which should find their expression in abiding by the law, in actions beneficial to the state such as military service, but also in choosing an "honorable" profession.<sup>85</sup> The extension

80 Kley and Herxheimer.

81 Formulated in response to Maimonides' *Thirteen Principles* in Albo's *Sefer Ha-Ikkarim* (completed in 1425).

82 Beer, Behr, and Plessner.

83 Plessner, *Dat Mosheh ve-Yehudit*, 51.

84 Marc Shapiro, "Maimonides' Thirteen Principles: The Last Word in Jewish Theology?," *Torah-u-Maddah* 4 (1993): 187–242; idem, *The Limits of Orthodox Theology: Maimonides' Thirteen Principles Reappraised*, (Oxford, 2004).

85 To be found in this or similar phrasing in Beer, Homberg, Herxheimer, and Maier.



of duties towards one's fellow human beings to society and the state embraces the new political and social reality, which facilitated new forms of social interaction between Jews and non-Jews regardless of continued formal and informal exclusion. Jewish textbooks provided specific instructional knowledge in the form of social norms and moral values grounded in the Jewish religion.

Nearly all explanations of the duties towards one's fellow human beings are based on a detailed discussion of the biblical commandment to love one's neighbor, which has always been ascribed a prominent place in both Judaism and Christianity. Loving one's fellow human beings becomes the universal principle of human kindness, demanding guiding principles for action beneficial to one's fellow human beings that, in the case of some authors, come close to Kant's Categorical Imperative.<sup>86</sup> All authors ultimately emphasize the universality of the commandment of neighbor-love, which for Plessner represents the core of Jewish morality.<sup>87</sup> To some extent these Jewish textbooks, and incidentally the interpretation of modern Jewish philosophy,<sup>88</sup> go beyond rabbinical interpretations on the commandment to love one's neighbor. According to the latter, one's neighbor by no means meant everyone, but only one's fellow Jews. Some scholars, Maimonides among them, further narrowed this definition to law-abiding Jews.<sup>89</sup> The Christian definition of charity had not always been universal either, but depended on one's neighbor's commitment to the Christian faith. In both Judaism and Christianity, love of one's fellow human beings derives from love of God. Until the Enlightenment and beyond, it was meant to nurture one's religion rather than understood as an unconditional obligation that would embrace the universal idea of religious plurality and freedom of thought.<sup>90</sup>

In their remarks on duties towards the state the authors revert to both biblical commandments and rabbinical interpretation. In some textbooks the duty of patriotism is derived from the commandment to honor one's father and mother, for example.<sup>91</sup> The expanded applicability of this commandment appears in similar form in Luther's catechism.<sup>92</sup> Reference is made far more often to biblical passages and rabbinical interpretation defining the relationship between the

» "Love-of-Neighbor and Ethics of Law in the Philosophy of Hermann Cohen," in *German-Jewish Thought between Religion and Politics*, ed. Christian Wiese and Martina Urban (Berlin, 2012), 83–113.

89 Ernst Simon, "The Neighbor (Re'a) Whom We Shall Love," in *Modern Jewish Ethics*, 29–56.

90 Stephen Post, "The Purpose of Neighbor-Love," *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 18, no. 1 (1990): 181–93. For a discussion on the connection between the concept of tolerance and love-of-neighbor in Augustinus, see Rainer Forst, *Toleranz im Konflikt: Geschichte, Gehalt und Gegenwart eines umstrittenen Begriffs* (Frankfurt a.M., 2003), 74–82.

91 In Beer and Homburg the extension of the commandment to honor one's father and mother to close relatives and authority figures in particular is discussed only briefly. Beer, *Dat Israel*, 74; Homburg, *Bne Zion*, 78. Meanwhile Kley discusses the issue in greater detail. Kley, *Edut Adonai*, 37.

92 In Luther's *Großer Katechismus* (1529) it is the fourth commandment from which the respect for secular authorities derives.

86 For example, Ben-Zeev, *Yesode Ha-Dat*, 165; Maier, *Lehrbuch der Israelitischen Religion*, 147.

87 Plessner, *Dat Moshe we-Yehudit*, 232. A similar line of argument can be found in Beer und Herxheimer.

88 Neo-Kantian philosopher Hermann Cohen can serve as example for this position. See Dana Hollander, »

Jews and the king.<sup>93</sup> The rabbinical concept *Dina de-Malkhuta Dina* (“the law of the land is the law”) is quoted especially frequently. Historically, rabbinical authorities had cited it in order to justify the duty to pay taxes and fees to a non-Jewish state, although they tied it to a certain degree of justice. In the nineteenth century, the authors of Jewish textbooks not only expanded the meaning of *Dina de-Malkhuta Dina* to the entirety of the state’s laws, it also became one of the main arguments for the compatibility of Jewish religious law with state law in the debates on emancipation and reform.<sup>94</sup>

## V. Conclusion

In rabbinical tradition there is a metaphor describing the necessity to preserve the integrity of the unity of Torah and Jewish law. According to it, the interpretation of the law erects a *fence around the Torah*.<sup>95</sup> One faction within eighteenth and nineteenth century central European Jewry, radical proponents of the Haskalah and reformers, sought to tear down this fence. They opposed rabbinical tradition on fundamental questions. Others attempted to preserve the binding character of the Torah by redrawing the borders marked by the fence and making them more open. To this end, they undertook a new evaluation of the fundamental principles of Judaism. They searched for examples in Jewish tradition and incorporated fundamentally new ideas, which offered answers to the challenges of the modern age and were suited to ensure the survival of Judaism. The shifting of borders and the changed circumstances of Jewish life in the modern age created a new Jewish self-conception and ultimately caused a transformation of Jewish knowledge unprecedented in its dimension and dynamics.

This process resulted in equal measure from the adaptation and internalization of novel orders of knowledge and practices of knowledge production, especially in the form of scholarly knowledge. At the same time, a re-evaluation of what was to be considered *Jewish* knowledge took place. In light of the increasingly common self-description as a middle class religion distinct from other definitions of belonging (to a nation, a people, but also a culture), Jewish knowledge was primarily interpreted in religious categories. The textbooks introduced in this article describe this in a focused manner. They represent attempts to systematically order knowledge about Judaism and Jewish religion and to define it authoritatively. Christian text models, religious catechisms, and manuals served as models that

93 Described as God’s representative on earth, for example in Beer, *Dat Israel*, 196; Plessner, *Dat Mosheh ve-Yehudit*, 273.

94 On the rabbinical interpretation and further discussion of the principle, see *The Jewish Political Tradition*, vol. I: Autonomy, ed. Michael Walzer et al. (New Haven, 2000), 430–463. For the nineteenth century: Andreas Gotzmann, *Jüdisches Recht im kulturellen Prozeß. Die Wahrnehmung der Halacha im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1997); Gil Graff, *Separation of Church and State: Dina de-Malkhuta Dina in Jewish Law, 1750-1848* (Tuscaloosa, 1985).

95 Hashkes, *Rabbinic Discourse as a System of Knowledge*, 166.



were modified to suit Jewish requirements. This becomes evident in the continued application of traditional practices of knowledge production by commentaries, annotations, and citations of authoritative reference texts, which necessitated the active engagement with the subject matter through interpretation and reasoning. As it has been shown that the incorporation of concepts and practices foreign to Judaism was by no means a specifically modern phenomenon.

Similarities to Christian textbooks can also be found in terms of content, the discussion of the Ten Commandments, the articles of faith, and the justification of social norms of behavior by the commandment of neighbor-love. To see this as a move towards Christianity would be an inappropriate simplification, however. These components point to the shared heritage of Christianity and Judaism in the form of the Hebrew Bible. Consequently, the textbooks discussed here present these aspects in their particular Jewish meaning and thus can be understood as demands for a recognition of Christianity's Jewish origins. In this sense, Jewish textbooks also represent a response to the supposed immorality of Judaism posited by the opponents of emancipation.<sup>96</sup>

The different accounts of the foundations of Judaism and, by implication, of the sources of Jewish religious knowledge were quite varied. The textbooks discussed here do not describe majority opinions so much as provide insight into the diverse interpretations of modern Judaism in the first half of the nineteenth century. They stem from a phase in the modern history of German-speaking Jewry when many things were undergoing change. The split into a Liberal, a Conservative, and an Orthodox movement had not yet taken place. Debates about religious reform within the Jewish community became more dynamic, influenced by the ultimately labored process of emancipation. Knowledge about Judaism and the Jewish religion was both subject matter and instrument of this process of self-reflection: whether in the form of novel scholarly knowledge that fundamentally changed the way Jewish tradition and Jewish text culture were studied or in the form of systematically ordered religious knowledge meant to educate future generations to become modern *Jews* and loyal *citizens*.

Translated by Insa Kummer

<sup>96</sup> See Reinhard Rürup, *Emanzipation und Antisemitismus: Studien zur Judenfrage der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Göttingen, 1975), 13–45. For a general discussion, see David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: the Western Tradition* (New York, 2013).

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## DATA, DIPLOMACY, AND LIBERALISM: AUGUST FERDINAND LUEDER'S CRITIQUE OF GERMAN DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

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My goal was the destruction of statistics and of those politics that were most closely linked with statistics, consequently of two sciences, held in highest esteem by almost all civilized countries, by rulers on the thrones as well as by the powerful on the steps of the thrones . . . , by the erudite class and by the millions in the general public.<sup>1</sup>

Friedrich August Lueder's stance on statistics around 1810 is rather severe. It is less clear why the professor for history and statistics should have turned against a system of knowledge production that he himself taught at Göttingen for quite some time.<sup>2</sup> Why did he reject statistics as a method of investigating the "strength" and the "happiness" of countries? German descriptive statistics is an auspicious case for any history of knowledge in transition. A short-lived discipline, it was practiced from 1750 to 1810.<sup>3</sup> It presents the odd case of statistics before data. In these early days, solid numbers were not easy to come by. Words were favored over mathematics, although units and lists, sizes and scopes were increasingly integrated into the text. The statistical descriptions of different countries, which appeared in great number, were much closer to a collection of historical facts, which could include numbers. As this article will show, descriptive statistics is a type of knowledge that could not be produced at universities alone. Scholars depended on voluntary associations, politicians, travelers, planters, the church, insurance and harbor records or on the emerging statistical bureaus of state governments.<sup>4</sup>

»but none of the countless short biographies gives any evidence that his 1812 *Kritik der Statistik und Politik* had anything to do with it. From 1817-1819 he was honorary professor at the University of Jena. See Emanuel Leser, "August Ferdinand Lueder," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 19 (1884), 377-378 [online edition]; Friedrich Saalfeld, *Johann Stephan Pütters Versuch einer Geschichte der Universität Göttingen von 1788-1820*, vol. 3, (Hannover, 1820) 122-124; Wilhelm Roscher, *Geschichte der National-Oekonomie in Deutschland* (Munich, 1874), 619-624.

1 August Ferdinand Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik* (Göttingen, 1817), v; as well as his earlier volume, August Ferdinand Lueder, *Kritik der Statistik und Politik, nebst einer Begründung*

*der politischen Philosophie* (Göttingen, 1812). Unless noted otherwise, all translations are my own.

2 August Ferdinand Lueder (1760-1819), from 1786 professor for history and

statistics at the Carolinum in Braunschweig, from 1810 professor at the University of Göttingen. In 1814 he had to resign from this position. There are hints to a scandal or plot against him, »

3 In most accounts Achenwall's publication of 1749 marks the beginning. Lueder prefers the date of Büsching's journal. Arguably this "end" can be described as yet another transformation. Descriptive statistics helped to establish disciplines like economics or ethnology.

4 For details on the manual craft of data collection and processing, see Christine von Oertzen, "Machineries of Data Power: Manual versus Mechanical Census Compilation in Nineteenth-Century Europe," forthcoming in *Osiris* 2017; Emmanuel Didier, "Cunning Observation: U.S. Agricultural Statistics in the Time of Laissez-Faire," *History of Political Economy* 44 (2012): 27-45; Kerstin Brückweh, *Menschen zählen. Eine Geschichte der Wissensproduktion durch britische Volkszählungen und Umfragen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2014); Johannes Fallati, *Die Statistischen Vereine der Engländer* (Tübingen, 1840).

The history of statistics distinguishes German descriptive statistics from two more successful and better known strands: mathematized social statistics and political arithmetic.<sup>5</sup> Today's notion of mathematized social statistics did not emerge until around 1830 as a result of the work of Belgian astronomer Adolphe Quetelet.<sup>6</sup> He is usually credited with transferring the method of least squares developed in the field of astronomy by Carl Friedrich Gauß to the analysis of human populations. Probability became a tool of *physique sociale* and facilitated the normative description of mass behavior. But in Lueder's time the method of calculating errors (by applying the law of error) was not available. Another strand of statistics, pre-dating both social statistics and descriptive statistics, was political arithmetic. In the second half of the seventeenth century the English economist William Petty and others set out to describe everything they encountered in a country exclusively in quantified terms.<sup>7</sup> Compared to the statistics Lueder advocated, the political arithmeticians included less information of diplomatic or political relevance in their work. They were less concerned with popular habits and instead focused on measures and units. By contrast, Lueder and his cohort distanced themselves from what they perceived of as reductionist tendencies.

Descriptive statistics was different in that it clearly belonged to the historical disciplines. Before the emergence of historicism these were more diverse in their methodical approaches. In addition to political histories like Voltaire's, for example, there were more empirical forms of history: "Considered a collection of facts rather than a *Wissenschaft* in its own right, *historia universalis* survived in the philosophical faculty, independently or combined with other subjects."<sup>8</sup> To contemporaries, descriptive statistics belonged to the ensemble of auxiliary sciences (*Hilfswissenschaften*). In Göttingen, Johann Christoph Gatterer had laid the groundwork for sub-disciplines such as genealogy, chronology, numismatics, paleography, and heraldry. All manner of historical objects were systematized and their provenance rigorously verified to establish their historical value as sources. Around 1800, geography and statistics were understood to be part of this group of sub-disciplines, adding to the global scope of history. Investigating this particular variety of German statistics in the context of the auxiliary sciences brings an important new angle to the rich literature on the history of statistics in general, which has focused on the emergence of probabilistic mathematics, economics,

5 Alain Desrosières, *The Politics of Large Numbers. A History of Statistical Reasoning*, trans. Camille Naish (Cambridge, Mass., 1998 [1993]), 18; Vincenz John uses three German terms for the movement: "beschreibende Statistik," "ethnologische Statistik" or "deutsche Universitätsstatistik"; see Vincenz John, *Geschichte der Statistik*, vol. 1. (Stuttgart, 1884). (Reprint Wiesbaden, 1968), 91.

6 Adolphe Quetelet, *Sur l'homme et le développement de ses facultés, ou essai de physique sociale*, 2 vols., (Paris, 1835).

7 William Petty, *Political Arithmetick* (London, 1690), 7: "I have long aimed to express myself in Terms of *Number, Weight, or Measure*; to use only Arguments of Sense, and to consider only such Causes, as have visible Foundations in Nature; leaving those that depend upon the mutable Minds, Opinions, Appetites, and Passions of particular Men, to the Consideration of others." (original emphasis) John Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations Mentioned in a Following Index, and made upon the Bills of Mortality* (London, 1662). There are German authors working in this tradition, for example pastor Johann Peter Süßmilch, *Die göttliche Ordnung in der Veränderungen des menschlichen Geschlechts, aus der Geburt, dem Tode und der Fortpflanzung desselben* (Berlin, 1741).

8 Konrad Jarausch, "The Institutionalization of History in 18th Century Germany," in *Aufklärung und Geschichte*, ed. Hans Erich Bödeker, Georg G. Iggers, Jonathan B. Knudsen, Peter H. Reill (Göttingen, 1992), 25–49, 32.

and the social and political sciences in great detail.<sup>9</sup> In the research literature Lueder himself is mentioned only in passing.<sup>10</sup> The present article will outline the movement of German descriptive statistics as an experiment in quantified history, comparing it to other types of collections of material emerging at the same time.

My perspective on the topic is informed by a history of knowledge focusing on the social and political dynamics of different ways of knowing. For this purpose I will outline the research agenda of descriptive statistics as Lueder practiced it in his early years in three sections. First, I will trace the transitions from hidden to transparent knowledge (section I), from words to quantified relations (section II), and from recourse to text to recourse to new types of sources (section III). In the article's second part, I will develop a tripartite answer to the question why Lueder eventually rejected descriptive statistics. The key issues are his complex notion of diplomatic experience (section IV), his fear of numbers as a governmental technology (section V), and his support for economic liberalism (section VI). Throughout the article the reframing of knowledge will be key to my analysis; in the concluding remarks I will reflect on the method of a history of knowledge in transition (VII).

### I. From *Arcana* to Transparency: The Reframing of Diplomatic Experience

Statistical knowledge can be seen as a reaction to ignorance about foreign countries. Diplomatic missions could be motivated by a perilous lack of familiarity.<sup>11</sup> German statisticians point quite unanimously to the diplomatic corps of sixteenth-century Venice as the beginning of their craft. Lueder especially gives the impression that statistical knowledge was a necessary consequence of Venice's extended web of trade relations in the early modern period. Each returned envoy was questioned in front of the senate.<sup>12</sup> Cosmopolitan diplomats and tradesmen thus shared the experience they had gathered abroad. One key element of this knowledge was its strict management. The accounts of these travellers were kept in a well-guarded archive. Some were not even confided to paper and channeled only to a handful of people.

The content of this intelligence concerned the powers of the foreign states in question. It contained information about the political system, the character of the ruler and those of immediate influence, the foreign relations of the country, its administration, and

9 Hans Erich Bödeker, "On the Origins of the 'Statistical Gaze': Modes of Perception, Forms of Knowledge, and Ways of Writing in the Early Social Sciences," in *Little Tools of Knowledge: Historical Essays on Academic and Bureaucratic Practices*, ed. Peter Becker and William Clark (Ann Arbor, 2001), 169–196; Lorenz Krüger et al., *The Probabilistic Revolution*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1987); Lorraine Daston, *Classical Probability in the Enlightenment* (Princeton, 1988); Rüdiger Campe, *Spiel der Wahrscheinlichkeit: Literatur und Berechnung zwischen Pascal und Kleist* (Göttingen, 2002).

10 Johan van der Zande, "Statistik and History in the German Enlightenment," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 71 (2010): 411–432, 423; Daniel Schmidt, *Statistik und Staatlichkeit* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 26; Keith Tribe, *Governing Economy: the Reformation of German Economic Discourse, 1750–1840* (Cambridge, 1988), 27f. Hermann Lehmann, "Zum Einfluss des 'Wealth Of Nations' auf die Ökonomie des deutschen Bürgertums," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 17 (1976): 109–132.

11 Markus Twellmann, ed., *Nichtwissen als Ressource*, (Baden-Baden, 2014).

12 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 27; for the diplomatic culture of secret knowledge in the "collegio," the 22 councils of the Doge of Venice cf. Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford, 2007).

13 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 31. The first publication from this archive is: Francesco Sansovino, *Del governo et amministrazione di dersi regni et republiche, coi antiche come moderne* (Venice, 1585); Jo. [Giovanni] Botero, *Relationes de praecipuis rebus publicis* (Helmstädt, 1670). First published in Italian in 1589.

14 Ital. *statista* = statesman. The term statistics is used synonymously with “science of the state” (*Staatswissenschaft*). Gottfried Achenwall, *Abriß der neuesten Staatswissenschaft der vornehmsten Europäischen Reiche und Republiken* (Göttingen, 1749), 1.

15 Paul Lazarsfeld, “Notes on the History of Quantification in Sociology — Trends, Sources and Problems,” *Isis* no. 52:2 (1961): 277–333, 292.

16 “Was die ersten Statistiker verbreiteten, war ein Stoff, gesammelt von Männern, die gebildet waeren in der grossten Welt; auf einem der ersten Theater der Welt; die genau wußten, was sie wollten und nicht wollten, und die Beruf, Amt und Liebe ihrem Vaterlande leitete, spornte und bestellte.” On the other hand, he saw lesser capacities or even wrong epistemological motivations at work: “neben Sammlergeist [herrschte] der raisonnirende oder pragmatische Geist eingesperrt in Studirstuben in kleinen Städten.” Lueder, *Kritik der Statistik*, 7.

17 “das gemeinschaftliche Produkt der Kabinette und der Schule war.” Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, VI.

18 Johann Stephan Pütter, *Selbstbiographie. Zur dankbaren Jubelfeier seiner 50jährigen Professorsstelle zu Göttingen*. (Göttingen, 1798), 177.

19 Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Ms. Achenwall 203: Reichs- und Landes-Münzwesen.

everything that was noteworthy about its realm. It was only around 1580 that part of this *arcane* knowledge was published in books. While the scholar Francesco Sansovino described customs, constitution, and administration, political thinker and diplomat Giovanni Botero set the tone for the inquiry into the strengths of states: their possible time of decay and probable powers in war, which includes industry.<sup>13</sup>

This idealized picture of the diplomatic knowledge of the rich and mighty republic of Venice is established by Lueder in part to decry the descriptive statistics practiced in small university towns by political outsiders. In Lueder’s view, none of the protagonists of descriptive statistics — such as Johann Christoph Gatterer, Gottfried Achenwall, Johann Stephan Pütter, Arnold Heeren, and August Ludwig Schlözer — had the necessary political experience. Nevertheless Achenwall introduced the term “statistics” with a nod to Italian statesmen.<sup>14</sup> His teaching and research seem to have relied on the basis of good relations with those in power. This sustains Lueder’s point that statistics could not be produced at universities alone. Traveling diplomats were frequent guests in Achenwall’s university seminars. The task remaining for the students after the visit was to order the provided information according to existing taxonomies.<sup>15</sup> Yet for Lueder, the spirit of the cosmopolitan merchants of Venice was lost in this process. In his view, Göttingen’s professors and other German academics never left the narrow world of their studies and had no immediate political experience.<sup>16</sup>

Achenwall’s and Pütter’s approach substantiates Lueder’s suspicion that statistics were the joint endeavor of the political cabinet and the universities, producing only surrogates of diplomatic knowledge.<sup>17</sup> In his autobiography of 1798, Pütter prided himself that Gerlof Adolf von Münchhausen (prime minister in Hannover and curator of the University of Göttingen) had confided his private files to him. He thus had access to material from recent diplomatic missions including classified information.<sup>18</sup> While Pütter concerned himself with the inner workings of his home state, Achenwall focused on foreign relations. Some of the questionnaires, sent out by the chancellery in Hannover to give Achenwall’s request more authority, are still preserved in Göttingen. There are around a hundred reports from state officials of foreign nations on the question of currency and coinage — an important chapter in Achenwall’s “Abriss.”<sup>19</sup> They

sometimes bear comments by von Münchhausen, who seems to have read them first.<sup>20</sup>

The material practices show how political *arcana* — when translated into a published version — are not entirely independent from the workings of the government. Quite on the contrary, the whole research agenda seems to have depended on political authority. And what is more, the teaching of statistics met the acute demand for qualified administrative personnel.<sup>21</sup> Subsequently it began to be reframed as public knowledge, with enlightened protagonists who rendered the workings of states transparent. Although it came to the university through political channels, statistics was reframed as an innovative and progressive science.<sup>22</sup>

In the bureaucratic episteme developing in Göttingen, transparency came to replace the *arcana* of the Venetian envoys. The first notable transition in statistics can thus be described as a democratization of diplomatic experience. It is likely that at least one element was possibly lost in this process. While the rich observations of eyewitnesses had previously been conveyed in the form of reports, they were now relegated to a quantitative mode of representation, which resorted to numbers, fact driven paragraphs, and tables, but aimed at more than that.

## II. From Words to Quantified History

As mentioned above, the German descriptive statisticians sought to steer a middle course between words and numbers. This poses the question of how exactly quantification shaped their approach. The most notable aspect for a history of knowledge in transition is the question to what extent the dynamics of quantified history included or excluded topics. In my case, quantification led to the inclusion of colonies and remote areas under indigenous rule.

On the basis of numerous details, statistics always aimed at a comprehensive view.<sup>23</sup> Publications did not simply serialize historical events in lists but tried to get a more efficient grip on them. Best results were achieved “when the statistician arranges all his data, the particular features of a state, for the purpose of a more convenient overview, for *comparing* and *measuring* the conditions of different times and different states.”<sup>24</sup>

Descriptive statistics definitely tended towards quantitative representation. However, two examples from Lueder’s early statistical

20 Wilhelm Meyer, ed., *Die Handschriften in Göttingen*. Bd. 1: *Universitätsbibliothek. Philologie, Literärgeschichte, Philosophie, Jurisprudenz* (Berlin, 1893). Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Handschriften: Achenwall 67a: Notata No 29.

21 William Clark, *Academic Charisma and the Origins of the Research University* (Chicago, 2006).

22 Schlözer’s periodical “Staatsanzeiger” is the symbol for this new visibility. Martin Peters, *Altes Reich und Europa: der Historiker, Statistiker und Publizist August Ludwig (v.) Schlözer (1735–1809)* (Münster, 2003).

23 For variants of comprehensiveness, see Michael Hagner, *Der Hochsitz des Wissens: das Allgemeine als wissenschaftlicher Wert* (Zurich, 2006).

24 Lueder, *Kritik der Statistik*, 196, quoting Schlözer, emphasis added.



25 His main contribution to statistics is his textbook, *Einleitung in die Staatskunde nebst einer Statistik der vornehmsten europäischen Reiche. Ein Handbuch*. vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1792). He also published source editions: August Ferdinand Lueder and Johann Christian Dieterich, eds. *Materialien zur Statistik*, vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1794). Journals help to keep abreast of the latest available information: Adam Friedrich Ernst Jacobi and August Ferdinand Lueder, trans., *Holländische Staats-Anzeigen*, 6 vols. (Göttingen 1784-1786). Other translations provide insight into the constitutions and trade in the Dutch colonies, Sweden, Prussia, and Sicily: Jacques Accarias de Sérionne and August Ferdinand Lueder (trans.), *Geschichte des holländischen Handels: nach Luzacs 'Hollands Rykdom' bearbeitet* (Leipzig, 1788); Adolf Fredrick Ristel and August Ferdinand Lueder, trans., *Character und Anekdoten vom schwedischen Hofe* (Braunschweig, 1790); Meerman, Johan, and August Ferdinand Lueder, trans., *J. Meermanns Freyherrn von Dalem Reise durch Preussen, Oesterreich, Sicilien und einige an jene Monarchien grenzende Länder*, vol. 1. (Braunschweig, 1794); Johan Splinter Stavorinus and August Ferdinand Lueder. *J. S. Stavorinus Schiffskapitains in Diensten der holländisch-ostindischen Kompagnie Reise nach dem Vorgebürge der guten Hoffnung, Java und Bengalen in den Jahren 1768 bis 1771* (Berlin, 1796); August Ferdinand Lueder, *Über die Industrie und Kultur der Portugiesen* (Berlin, 1808).

26 Lueder, *Besitzungen der Holländer*, 3.

27 Lueder, *Besitzungen der Holländer*, 12.

28 François Bernard and August Ferdinand Lueder, trans., *Ueber den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Kolonie am Vorgebürge der guten Hoffnung verglichen mit ihrem ursprünglichen* (Göttingen, 1786 [1783]), 4.

works<sup>25</sup> illustrate why he considered mere measurements of physical extensions, mere numbers, insufficient. What is more, this estimation of scales and scopes focused on power relations, and therefore Lueder was necessarily driven to include remote areas to give true approximations of the forces at play.

In his statistical publications Lueder typically progressed from geography to climate, from plants to humans, from agriculture to manufacturing, from politics to the judicial system. Lueder emphasized that it was impossible to write a statistical account of the Netherlands without including its colonies, because it was impossible to assess the state's "power" and "wealth" without them.<sup>26</sup> It is in the West and East Indies that the foundations of the marvelous wealth on display in Europe were laid. Thus these regions were indispensable for a correct analysis of the Netherlands. The logic of this inclusion is a functional one, it is interested in power dynamics and has to be distinguished from the encyclopedic diligence of universal history (*Universalhistorie*).

In Lueder's account of the Netherlands, not all types of numbers were equally valued. He was incapable of giving the size of the colonies due to indeterminate borders and a general lack of available measurements. But he deemed the size of a country alone a hopelessly irrelevant factor when it came to assessing its strength.<sup>27</sup> The first example for this attempt to grasp scales, scopes, and their dynamics concerns the plantations. Lueder was never moderate when it came to condemning slavery, and he was especially unrelenting in the case of the Free Republic of the Netherlands, which made use of slaves in its colonies.<sup>28</sup> Yet when he evaluated the prospects of the Dutch colony of Suriname, the number of slaves became a neutral factor just like the size of its arable land, the technological standard of its machines, the relation of machine capacity to possible harvest, and the available capital. To assess their success, each factor had to be judged by its possible force or volume. Financial capital or debt was the one factor where Lueder showed the Netherlands to be most closely intertwined with its colonies. And although the numbers given don't instill stalwart trust in their accuracy, the sheer magnitude of the money loaned, gained, embezzled, transferred or stored leaves a vivid impression. Planters, slaves and creditors in Amsterdam were indeed interdependent. Lueder openly questioned older published numbers, but did not reveal his own source, a handwritten account of an undisclosed contemporary who had travelled in Suriname.

In the second example Lueder went beyond the Dutch colony of Suriname. He estimated the forces that could possibly overthrow colonial rule. In this case giving numbers replaced a discourse on revolution. Lueder gave the ratio of slaves to free citizens as 10:1. In older accounts this relation had even been reported to be 30:1 in Suriname — a high imbalance in power even compared to adjacent British colonies like Jamaica (5:1), Montserrat (8:1), or St. Christoph (16:1).<sup>29</sup> The threat of political instability was palpable, and Lueder came close to a statistical description of a rebel nation when he concluded:

Eloped Slaves and displaced natives are the ancestry of these enemies, and new runaways from the Dutch plantations increase their number incessantly. While no societal bond connects them all there is no visible trace of that separation which characterizes the savage. The so-called Saramaccan Negroes formed a kind of republic of their own several years ago . . . No bond encompasses them, but all are united, all become brothers, as soon as an opportunity presents itself to remind the Dutch with fire and sword of human rights and to commit to the bloody vengeance of their decaying fathers.<sup>30</sup>

In this quote the numbers are less important. Instead, the nature of social bonds and organizational cohesion was paramount. So Lueder may have resorted to numerical ratios, but he did not lose sight of the main goal: to describe something that cannot properly be derived from its outer dimensions. Power and strength were sometimes only accessible when there was information about intangible scales and scopes. The crucial point was the current state of political power. Where the political arithmeticians might have just counted or even overlooked the slaves, Lueder as a descriptive statistician tried to assess all the dynamics that could affect the Netherlands. This is one reason he even described the ungovernable areas of the Dutch colonies. It is noteworthy, though, that his quantified history appeared to be somewhat utilitarian. Although Lueder was a supporter of the French Revolution and human rights, he did not promote these values in themselves. When Lueder operated on a global scope this was for reasons connected to quantification and no longer to natural or universal history (*Naturgeschichte*, *Universalgeschichte*).

29 Lueder, *Besitzungen der Holländer*, 61f., quoting Raynal.

30 Lueder, *Besitzungen der Holländer*, 11. In addition to Dutch, Saramaccan was spoken in the region.

Lueder's numerous statistical publications departed from the paradigm of anthropological statistics (*ethnologische Statistik*) set by Achenwall. This could be motivated by a mode of collection common to the natural sciences and their taxonomies, a rather encyclopedic version of comprehensiveness. But there already is a decisive difference. When Lueder explained the global scope of his statistics and the inclusion of ethnology (*Erd- und Völkerkunde*),<sup>31</sup> he justified this mainly by his focus on economic potential. The people living in remote areas were not his key concern or object of study. What makes him remarkable as a statistician, compared to mere collectors of single facts, is his insistence on dynamic procedures which encompass previously unknown factors. The exact relation of slaves to masters, for example, is graspable only through its representation as quantified history.

Although Lueder was sympathetic to the plight of women, slaves, and first nations, this inclusion was not motivated by natural law. Compared to Gatterer or Achenwall, for Lueder it was no longer the frame of universal history or the taxonomy of natural sciences that demanded global comprehensiveness. Rather, it was the object of research — the powers of a country and its political and economic dynamic — that elicited this quantified representation of seemingly remote areas. The rebel slaves were assessed as a risk to the riches of the colony. And it was not words, but numbers that showed these social relations — provided that they were not used in

a reductive way.<sup>32</sup>

What is remarkable is that the quantitative focus on sizes, amounts, and forces did not simplify and reduce the object of research to a misleading clarity that could only be achieved by idealization. Lueder's approach investigated economic dynamics and global entanglement. Social historian of science Simon Schaffer goes even further. When discussing the emergence of political arithmetic and metrology he, too, is among those who see a strong connection between the "quantifying spirit" and foreign trade interests.<sup>33</sup> This is exemplified by England's foremost authority on bookkeeping, Patrick Kelly, who had accounts of the quantifying units in all British colonies sent to him for evaluation. Establishing an order of weights and measures reduced the incalculable element of foreign trade and led to new possibilities of bookkeeping. Quantified knowledge — one that captures sizes, scopes, and forces — seems to be linked to accessing populations, to making them accessible, to address and to govern them.

31 Lueder, *Kritik der Statistik*, 28.

32 This has been shown to be true for the history of more mathematical variants of statistics: "Quantification is thus a process of mutual accommodation between mathematics and subject matter to create and sustain the analogies that make applications possible." "There was still a distinction between 'legal equality' and 'mathematical equality,' while the first mode prevailed." Loraine Daston, *Classical Probability in the Enlightenment* (Princeton, 1988), xvi, 23.

33 Simon Schaffer, "Les cérémonies de la mesure. Repenser l'histoire mondiale des sciences," in *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 2:70 (2015): 409–435.

### III. From Written Documents to Raw Material: Auxiliary Sciences and the Production of Sources

As mentioned above, the place of statistics within mid-eighteenth century academia was in the field of history and, more specifically, among the auxiliary sciences (*Hilfswissenschaften*).<sup>34</sup> Lueder began his career as professor for history and statistics. As a branch of history, statistics was considered a discipline that focused on the present state of affairs. It is thus reasonable to consider statistics as the eighteenth-century equivalent of contemporary history (*Zeitgeschichte*). Dutch historian Johan van der Zande has described German descriptive statistics as a form of statistics belonging to and emerging from historical disciplines, and it is possible to go even further since the fact that it belonged to a group of subsidiary disciplines of history has not been fully recognized.<sup>35</sup> Geography and chronology mapped time and space; genealogy, heraldry and phaleristics (honors, medals, titles) organized the social fabric of hierarchies and families; numismatics and metrology laid out the infrastructures of trade, while paleography (writing), sigillography (seals), and diplomatics (documents) were concerned with the sphere of written law. Statistics is no longer remembered as belonging to this group because it was removed from the canon of the auxiliary sciences in the mid-nineteenth century. The reason was most likely the overwhelming success of statistics, which became a science in its own right, as did the former auxiliary science of geography. This understudied context can explain two innovative achievements inherent to statistics.

The first achievement is the visual strategy of representation by means of graphs.<sup>36</sup> Chronological tables, genealogical trees, heraldic compendia, numerical equations in numismatics and metrology: it is remarkable to what extent these sciences replaced narrative with innovative visual forms of representation that captured society from a new angle and dispensed with narration.<sup>37</sup> The proximity to material culture itself may have triggered the striking inclusion of graphic elements within texts. Statistics chose to include data into a dynamic

» geography, numismatics and the like. Later the term of auxiliary, subsidiary, or aiding sciences refers more closely to history. This group of disciplines shifted from a supporting status to being considered expert knowledge about editorial matters that prepared the sources for the use by others.

34 Other noted influences are the tradition of universal history or *Universalgeschichte* and *Staatskunde* or *Reichsgeschichte*, which constitute a juridical setting.

35 Johan van der Zande, "Statistik and History in the German Enlightenment," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 71 (2010): 411–432. Originally the auxiliary sciences were

a remnant of the philosophical faculty, which "helped" to prepare the students for later studies by teaching the frames of reference in chronology, »

36 Georg Iggers, "L'Université de Göttingen, 1760–1800. La transformation des études historiques," *Francia* 9 (1981): 602–620, 611.

37 Frank Rexroth, "Woher kommen die Historischen Hilfswissenschaften? Zwei Lesarten," in: *Vielfalt und Aktualität des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Wolfgang Petke*, ed. Sabine Arend, Daniel Berger, Carola Brückner (Bielefeld, 2006), 541–557; Anthony Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007); Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950): 285–315.

form of quantified history, while history previously consisted in collecting unrelated empirical facts.

The second achievement was that the new method of source identification and source criticism applied not only to written documents, but to artefacts as well. Systematically introduced by Johann Christian Gatterer,<sup>38</sup> the auxiliary sciences provided precise scientific standards for the whole discipline of history. They almost took on the form of a natural history of events and states. Statistics can thus be framed as one of the archival sciences,<sup>39</sup> which do not only preserve, but reach out to new materials in the tradition of empiricism. Their strength does not lie in the interpretation or contextualization of facts, but in establishing, finding, and evaluating facts. Most importantly, the archival sciences developed new areas of evidence: epigraphy, for example, verified all Greek and Latin inscriptions on monuments, gravestones, and tools. It is widely held that the auxiliary sciences laid the foundations for the narrative masterpieces of early-nineteenth-century, national historicist historiography and their unparalleled proficiency in source criticism.<sup>40</sup>

Lueder was part of this scientific paradigm of new modes of documentation and verification. Like an antiquarian collector, he wrote in lists of quotations or he translated in ways that seem almost parasitic.<sup>41</sup> His polyphonic documentation betrayed his dedication to material, objects, sources, and their precise scrutiny. While statistics can be seen as the most successful and experimental of the auxiliary sciences in capturing new empirical evidence through its methods of data collection, it may also be seen as a knowledge practice that builds important frames. This is Martin Gierl's observation, who wrote the most concise monograph on the development of the auxiliary sciences at Göttingen. The subdisciplines, while never forming narratives, nevertheless were very important in setting the frame for history.<sup>42</sup>

#### IV. Against Academic Statistics: The Absence of Diplomatic Experience

Taking into account this context of formal innovation, it is time to turn to Lueder's critiques, which he laid out in two monographs (1812 and 1817). The first part of the answer why Lueder rejected descriptive statistics, his former field of expertise, lies with his disappointment that statistics never lived up to its promise. Lueder believed in the potential of this auxiliary science, but he shunned its practical results. These were impeded by a problematic constellation of static empiricism and the dynamic and complex phenomenon they tried to

38 Johann Christoph Gatterer, *Ideal einer allgemeinen Weltstatistik: in der öffentlichen Versammlung des Königl. histor. Instituts den 2. Oct. 1773 vorgelesen* (Göttingen, 1773).

39 Lorraine Daston and Glen Most, "History of Science and History of Philologies," *Isis* 106 (2015): 378–390.

40 Hanns-Peter Reill, *The German Enlightenment and the Rise of Historicism*, (Berkeley, 1975); Franz X. Wegele, *Geschichte der Deutschen Historiographie seit dem Auftreten des Humanismus*, (Munich, 1885).

41 "Meine Uebersetzung ist theils Auszug, theils wörtliche Uebersetzung, Auszug da, wo ich auf zu weitläufige und lange Raisonnements stieß; wörtliche Uebersetzung da wo der Hr. Verfasser Fakta erzählte." Bernard François and August Ferdinand Lueder, trans., *Ueber den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Kolonie am Vorgebürge der guten Hoffnung verglichen mit ihrem ursprünglichen* (Göttingen, 1786 [1783]), preface, unpaginated.

42 "Das Theater der Universalhistorie realisiert sich nicht zuletzt als hilfswissenschaftliches Kabinett, dem Chronologie und Geographie äußere Umrisse, Heraldik, Numismatik und Diplomatik innere Festigkeit verleihen. Gatterer hat dem Bauplan des großen Kubus der Geschichte mit einer Handvoll Grundprämissen Regeln gegeben." Martin Gierl, *Geschichte als präzipitierte Wissenschaft. Johann Christoph Gatterer und die Historiographie des 18. Jahrhunderts im ganzen Umfang* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 2012), 82.

capture. Because the declared aim of the numerous monographs on statistics published at the time was to assess the powers and forces of a state (*Grundkräfte* or *Staatskräfte*),<sup>43</sup> the majority of authors gave an overview of a country's riches, political power, and judicial structure.<sup>44</sup> Others emphasized fertility of the land, or the amount of skilled labor or money in circulation.<sup>45</sup> In its focus descriptive statistics differed markedly from the later development of the sociological outlook on society, which centered on a normative, crime-related, and mathematized view.<sup>46</sup>

It should be mentioned that criticism of statistical methods was at an all-time high in the first decades of the nineteenth century. A dispute among statisticians (*Statistikerstreit*) about the appropriate mode of representation of one's findings saw several groups falling out in the years after 1806.<sup>47</sup> Lueder distinguished those who presented their results in words (the non-pragmatic continental strand of descriptive statistics) from those who used numbers (mainly Anglophone political arithmetic) and those who used a combination of both.<sup>48</sup> The latter group produced elaborate and widely sold graphic diagrams. William Playfair, Florence Nightingale, and John Snow in London as well as August Friedrich Wilhelm Crome in Gießen were among the protagonists of this thematic cartography, which was common to many forms of conducting statistics, but shunned by descriptive statisticians.

It remains to be investigated why Lueder eventually turned against all kinds of statistics. Of course, the "philosophical" or "real" statisticians, as the descriptive statisticians liked to call themselves, were under pressure to defend their approach. Their synthesis of all the noteworthy aspects of a state (*Staatsgemälde* or *Staatsmerkwürdigkeiten*)<sup>49</sup> was conveyed mainly in words, but with a firm command of the numerical data. In this method, the synoptic view or "statistical gaze"<sup>50</sup> assumed that intangible forces could only be understood by going through a process of quantification, which, however, would go beyond mere lists of numbers. The continental adherents of descriptive statistics acted as if the opposing tradition of political arithmetic was already defeated. Lueder's colleague Arnold Heeren saw this mutilated kind of history as nothing more than a carcass or a skeleton. The descriptive statistician Ernst Brandes famously coined the term "chart servants" (*Tabellenknechte*) to denigrate political arithmetic and thematic cartography alike.<sup>51</sup> For Lueder it was not only the wrong kind of statistics, he considered all these endeavors to be futile, heartless, and based on fictitious evidence.

43 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 99f.

44 "Sie giebt die Kräfte der Staaten und das Glück der Völker an: sie schildert den gegenwärtigen, den neuesten Zustand derselben". Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 22, quoting Achenwall.

45 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 102f., 142f.

46 Bernhard Kleeberg, "Bad Habits and the Origins of Sociology," in *Rethinking Order: Idioms of Stability and De-Stabilization*, ed. Nicole Falkenhayner, et al. (Bielefeld, 2015), 47–62.

47 Vincenz John, *Geschichte der Statistik*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1884).

48 "Gemälde in Form der Tabellen . . . aber zugleich gleichsam durchcolorient mit einigem Raisonnement; ein Mittelding zwischen dem Gemälde in Worten und dem Gemälde in Zahlen." Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 201.

49 Lueder, *Kritik der Statistik*, 196; quoting Schlözer.

50 Hans Erich Bödeker, "On the Origins of the 'Statistical Gaze': Modes of Perception, Forms of Knowledge, and Ways of Writing in the Early Social Sciences," in *Little Tools of Knowledge*, 169–196.

51 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 222f.



What Lueder described as a heyday for statistical knowledge actually fell into a period of very scant availability of data. To be sure, national statistical bureaus began to be established, statistical societies were founded, insurance data gathered, cadastral maps rounded out, and colonial surveys conducted at great expense. Nevertheless, political arithmetic and descriptive statistics alike flourished well before any exactitude of prognosis was at hand. Despite this problem, new publications on statistics found readers and publishers. Statistical calendars became items of mass circulation that had a very practical function of orientation within the available public institutions and gave an index of everything existing in the country.<sup>52</sup> Statistics evolved into a subject taught in schools, and Schlözer sent out model requests to lay people to involve them in data collection.<sup>53</sup> The ideal of an empirical anchoring of political topics through quantification proved rhetorically convincing and capable of attracting all the credits of a rational practice before it was even feasible and had a scientific core.

But it was not just fictitious empiricism that Lueder took issue with. Not only did he find fault with the lack of data, but he rejected statistical approaches as such, regardless of whether they relied on numbers or graphs or even words. In his view, the number of inhabitants in a given country did not convey the strength of that country. This could only be achieved through in-depth knowledge and acquired skill. While quantification gravitates towards the visible, tangible, and measurable, Lueder judged the information to be gained from physical things to be futile.<sup>54</sup> His answer was not yet to suggest inference of intangible relations from material indicators, as sociologist Paul Lazarsfeld observes.<sup>55</sup> He maintained that true understanding depends on local, first-hand experience. Every fact had to be investigated in its natural environment (*Heimat*), as Alexander von Humboldt put it.<sup>56</sup> Something in the tangled web of political and economic power relations constituting the potential of each nation does not yield to the formats statisticians favored:

To become acquainted with events, customs, passions, and actions one has not experienced for oneself merely from the accounts of others: this is only possible to a certain extent. There are too many media between the observer and the object so that the nature of the latter is often distorted by it.<sup>57</sup>

52 Volker Bauer, *Repertorium territorialer Amtskalender und Amtshandbücher im Alten Reich. Adreß-, Hof-, Staatskalender und Staatshandbücher des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt a.M., 1997–2002). (= *Ius Commune Sonderhefte* 103, 123, and 147).

53 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 367.

54 The German term *Größe* denotes large size as well as high esteem (greatness).

55 Lazarsfeld, *Notes on the History of Quantification*, 305.

56 “Denn darauf gerade kömmt es an, jede Sache in ihrer Heimath zu erblicken; jeden Gegenstand in Verbindung mit andern, die ihm zugleich halten und beschränken.” Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 559, quoting Alexander von Humboldt.

57 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 558, quoting Garve, my emphasis.



Lueder's history of statistics thus ends where it set out: in Venice with reports from experienced practitioners. The ideal of statistics is thus portrayed as a type of knowledge that belongs to the political sphere, so that scholars without access to it are left high and dry. This kind of knowledge emanated from the political cabinets of those in power and those who had traveled the world. Schlözer famously emphasized experience, the reading of traces, and complex judgments. He wanted to carefully meet each piece of quantitative evidence with the expertise of an experienced physician. He virtually wanted to feel the "pulse" of data.<sup>58</sup> But Lueder remained unconvinced. To him the necessary kind of knowledge remained the privilege of politicians and experienced travelers. The idea of political counseling is thus reverse-engineered: academic advice appears lackluster against the proficiency of those in power. Lueder propagated a statistics of the cabinet, not of the university.<sup>59</sup> Yet what he observed at the time was precisely the opposite: the reign of a wrong kind of academic knowledge presumed to be applicable as political counsel.

## V. Against the Charade of Numbers: Statistics as a Powerful Tool of Government

The second part of the answer why Lueder turned against descriptive statistics lies in its deep effects on society and government — despite being based on thin air. This critique resonates with later findings on the rhetoric of statistics. Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai has pointed to the function of numbers in an imaginary rule of India, for example.<sup>60</sup> While governing the unknown, the presumptively mirrored conditions on the ground could be decided upon regardless of whether they were rooted in empirical reality or not.

Lueder foresaw these powers of statistics, but perceived no advantage in them. In his view, the inexperienced politician became easy prey for aspiring academic statisticians. He considered the modern utopia of political measurements, the transparent numbers, an erroneous charade and inherently wrong. The very format the complex information took seemed to be tailored for a particular situation of political counsel: "Statistical tables will show the minister the scope of that which he has to know before he dare decide upon some matter or before he ventures to give his counsel."<sup>61</sup>

Statistics became a tool for influencing decisions. Combining word, image, and number with pragmatic rulings and decision making, statistics strongly resembled the format of scenarios that was employed

58 Schlözer famously compared statistics to the experience of a physician when he spoke of feeling the "pulse" of his sources: "Der Statistiker hebt alle die Data aus, welche einen augenscheinlichen oder versteckten, größern oder mindern Einfluß auf das Wohl des Staats haben. Man fühlt den vorgefundnen Angaben so zu sagen auf den Puls. Hat eine derselben einen Einfluß auf das Wohl des Staats, so sondert man sie für die Statistik aus. Dies aber zu fühlen, setzt einen eigenen Takt, einen geübten Blick voraus, den nur eine Menge anderer gelehrten Kenntnisse erzeugen können." Lueder, *Kritik der Statistik*, 32.

59 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 564, Kabinetts- und Kathederstatistik.

60 "[I]llusion of bureaucratic control and a key to a colonial *imaginaire*." Arjun Appadurai, "Number in the Colonial Imagination," in *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*, ed. Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer (Philadelphia, 1993), 320–321, 317.

61 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 305, quoting Heining.

in the twentieth century.<sup>62</sup> It became mandatory to look at numbers before a political decision could be made, regardless of possible deflections by measured “evidence.” But as historian of quantification Theodore Porter has pointed out, one may be weary of the tradeoff between numerical measurement and personal decisions.<sup>63</sup> Automated rule-making was enhanced by this information regime.

Lueder saw multiple disadvantages emerging from this type of knowledge. The new information made available inspired Prussia and Russia to colonize new territory, and the example of Kamchatka is given. The planned settlement experiment ended in disaster, because statistics did not foresee the majority of the obstacles encountered.<sup>64</sup> Lueder maintained, just as political scientist James Scott does today, that the attempt of a state to *see* is doomed to failure.<sup>65</sup> In his view, statistics serves “ministers of injustice,” those fraudulent political scientists who use corrupt data to satiate their greed.<sup>66</sup> Statistics lured the rulers to seize opportunities that seem to pose no risk on paper. The numbers encouraged large-scale projects.<sup>67</sup> Statistical works were particularly important when war was likely to be waged. They served to spot the enemies’ weaknesses, to spur competition, and compare economic power. And worst of all: they enhanced governance. In political practice, Gatterer’s synoptic universalism may thus turn into a panoptic mechanism of control.<sup>68</sup>

Historian Regina Danuser argues that the public began to expect the use of statistics from their rulers. A good regent had to appear knowledgeable, and this was best achieved by acquiring proficiency in using data.<sup>69</sup> Rather than being depictions of the realm, statistics became images constructed for the realm. The ruler could give the impression of someone striving for just distribution of resources and fixing weaknesses where fixing was due. It has to be stressed that the public view was much more benevolent than Lueder’s. Schlözer heralded statistics as a praise for every ruler. Numbers measured successful government — an opinion that was negatively confirmed by an instance in which a city chose not to publish the latest statistics and thus hide its lack of progress.

Yet Lueder’s sensibility was directed against autocratic measures and state intervention. Statistical information became a power in itself since it augmented the possibility of governance and control. Quantification itself has to be understood as a trace of presumed political activity and access. The counting of every dog in the realm suddenly makes sense when one plans a tax on dogs.<sup>70</sup> But Lueder

62 Andreas Wolfsteiner, *Sichtbarkeitsmaschinen. Zum Umgang mit Szenarien* (Berlin, forthcoming 2017).

63 Theodore Porter, *Trust in Numbers. The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life* (Princeton, 1995) xi.

64 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 387.

65 James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, 1998).

66 “Diese unächten Staatswirthschafter, diese Minister der Ungerechtigkeit, diese Geißel der Menschheit, grausamer als Krieg, Pest und Hunger gebähren die abscheulichsten Entwürfe, welche nur abzwecken, ihre Habsucht zu befriedigen, die Lasten der Unterthanen zu vermehren, und ihnen das wenige Vermögen zu rauben, welches eine anhaltende Arbeit, unterstützt von der Stärke ihrer Gesundheit und von ihrem Fleiße, ihnen verschafft hat.” Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 306, quoting Heinig.

67 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 20.

68 Many authors evoke Foucault, but it seems worth investigating whether Bentham’s unrealized plan for the perfect observatory and prison was in fact a monumentalization of statistics as much as a disciplinary institution.

69 Regina Dauser, “Das Wissen der Herrschaft,” in *Geschichte(n) des Wissens. Festschrift für Wolfgang E. J. Weber zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Mark Häberlein, Stefan Paulus, and Gregor Weber (Augsburg, 2015) 621–633, 631.

70 Lueder, *Kritik der Statistik*, 32.

saw a risk in the assemblage of public trust, rationalistic charter for interference, precariously thin data, cultures of collecting, and statistically self-evident operation plans. Citizens became addressable. Although quantified knowledge of society was perceived as neutral abstraction, it paved the way for new types of contact. The risk existed because statistics provided access for the authorities to resources and people.

Moreover, Markus Twellmann points out that much of the criticism voiced by the descriptive statisticians against the numerical statisticians can be traced to a strong anti-French sentiment. German romanticism formulated its pronounced stand against quantification in the wake of the Napoleonic conquest. Lueder's frequent mentions of Napoleon fully sustain this theory. The critique of statistics in the early nineteenth century was an implicit criticism of French rule and the model state of Westphalia in particular.<sup>71</sup> Especially Lueder's first critique often names Napoleon and his surveys as the true face of the lingering threat which Lueder considered data collection to be. While Lueder's critique of quantification as a powerful tool of governance originated in reaction to an existing political enemy, there is no denying that it anticipated today's analysis of the global GDP numbers or big-data algorithms.<sup>72</sup>

## VI. Liberalism as Limited Responsibility

Statisticians generally consider the sudden vanishing of political entities from the map as an argument against statistics.<sup>73</sup> The total collapse of the European political system in 1806 proved previous statistical predictions wrong, especially those on the military strengths of Prussia, which had lost the war. Johan van der Zande has noted that the system of descriptive statistics virtually disappeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century and has attributed its demise to its "uneasy relationship to historiography."<sup>74</sup> While this is undeniable, it is also worth investigating the impact of Adam Smith's economic liberalism, which was certainly the decisive force behind Lueder's turn against statistics. Lueder is considered one of the protagonists who introduced Smith's theory to the German-speaking countries, having published three volumes of a revised translation of Smith's works after his statistical descriptions and prior to his critiques. Among those early economists, Lueder is considered a maverick for his conflation of the emancipation brought about by the French Revolution with market liberalism. Lueder simplified the subject and illustrated Smith's ideas with examples from

71 Markus Twellmann, "Ja die Tabellen! Zur Herkunft der politischen Romantik im Gefolge numerisch informierter Bürokratie," in *Berechnen, Beschreiben: Praktiken statistischen (Nicht-)Wissens 1750–1850*, ed. Gunhild Berg, Borbála Zsuzsanna Török, and Marcus Twellmann (Berlin, 2014), 141–170.

72 Burkardt Wolf, "Big Data, Small Freedom? Informational Surveillance and the Political," *Radical Philosophy* 191 (2015): 13–20; Daniel Speich Chassé, "The Use of Global Abstractions. National Income Accounting in the Period of Imperial Decline," *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011): 7–28.

73 New territorial and political structures could at the same time be said to trigger a need for statistics: Johann Nepomuk Zizius, *Theoretische Vorbereitung und Einleitung zur Statistik* (Vienna, 1810), iv.

74 Zande, *Statistik and History*, 412.

colonial contexts.<sup>75</sup> He must, some very pointed theses notwithstanding, be considered as one of the proponents of the economic liberalism that introduced the beneficial effects of markets as driving forces of society as well as a pronounced idea of a *laissez-faire* state.

In keeping with this interest, Lueder narrowed statistics down to an early form of economics. In Germany economics emerged with a strong historical outlook, a focus on providing food for the people and the transformation from cameralism into the German Historical School of Economics.<sup>76</sup> It was Gustav Schmoller who heralded the Göttingen School — almost tantamount to proponents of descriptive statistics — as a forerunner of economics (*Volkswirtschaftslehre*).<sup>77</sup> Lueder's posthumous volume clearly paved the way for political economy: "National-Oekonomie, oder, Volkswirtschaftslehre."<sup>78</sup>

In light of this economic background Lueder's sudden reluctance against statistical measures reveals a new edge: "Had the statistical tables not had the imperfections that they did; had they contained only truths; they still would have had to advise measures and directives which impede and disintegrate."<sup>79</sup> Lueder's attacks against statistics were invectives against bureaucracy. He was resolved to abolish interference by the state. His arguments used economic liberalism as a decisive new frame of reference. According to him, academics and politicians were immersed in their duty to regulate each and every detail of life, while in fact achieving nothing. Meanwhile the real dynamics had developed elsewhere for centuries:

The new politicians do not pay attention to the fact or they do not appreciate that throughout past times, for millennia, and in all parts of the earth it was never the sphere of the politicians and the powerful, but the sphere of the people in which wealth, culture, and humanity emerged, grew, and matured.<sup>80</sup>

The top-down view of governance, facilitated by quantification, conceived of the people as "dead mass."<sup>81</sup> Yet Lueder remained adamant that improvements of society were never built like architecture:

75 August Ferdinand Lueder, *Über Nationalindustrie und Staatswirtschaft. Nach Adam Smith bearbeitet*, vol. I-III, (Berlin, 1800, 1802, 1804); Hiroshi Mizuta, ed., *Adam Smith: Early German Responses*, 4 vols. (Bristol, 1998) [Reprint of works by Georg Sartorius and August Ferdinand Lueder, *Ueber Nationalindustrie und Staatswirtschaft. Nach Adam Smith bearbeitet*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1800, 1802, 1804). With an introduction by Hiroshi Mizuta]; See Volker Hentschel, "Die Staatswissenschaften an den deutschen Universitäten im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert," *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 1, nos. 3/4 (1978): 181–200; Michael Behnen, "Statistik, Politik und Staatengeschichte von Spittler bis Heeren," in *Geschichtswissenschaft in Göttingen. Eine Vorlesungsreihe*, ed. Hartmut Boockmann and Hermann Wellenreuther (Göttingen, 1987), 67–101.

76 Tribe, *Governing Economy*; Lehmann, "Zum Einfluss des 'Wealth Of Nations' auf die Ökonomen des deutschen Bürgertums"; J. Adam Tooze, *Statistics and the German State, 1900–1945: The Making of Modern Economic Knowledge* (Cambridge, 2001); Mohammed Rassem and Justin Stagl, eds., *Statistik und Staatsbeschreibung in der Neuzeit vornehmlich im 16.–18. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn, 1980); Mary Poovey, "Figures of Arithmetic, Figures of Speech. The Discourse of Statistics in the 1830s," *Critical Inquiry* 19, no. 2 (1993): 256–276.

77 Gustav Schmoller, *Grundriß der allgemeinen Volkswirtschaftslehre*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1900), 129.

78 August Ferdinand Lueder, *National-Oekonomie, oder, Volkswirtschaftslehre: ein Handbuch zur Beförderung des Selbststudiums dieser Wissenschaft* (Jena, 1820).

79 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 402.

80 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 53.

81 "Das Volk erschien in der neuern Politik als eine todte Masse, die selbst sich nicht bilden kann; die von andern

gebildet werden muß, soll sie nicht ewig ungebildet bleiben". Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 52.

according to a plan.<sup>82</sup> Change occurred throughout generations and was never predictable. He went as far as to deny the feasibility of emancipation and negated all chance of a better society by the massive role he assigned to the chaotic force of chance. In his view, humankind had reached goals that no one had ever formulated. Designs for a better life turned against their authors and ended in catastrophe, whereas dire and unpopular events proved in hindsight to be beneficial.

It is obvious that the comprehensive view of statistics was lost and Lueder drops out of the universal frame provided by the scientifically minded Gatterer. As Gierl describes correctly, the auxiliary sciences established the chronological and geographical order and structure in which history took place. They defined the backbone of history and cast it as a global project. While Lueder did include remote facts in his statistical description of the Netherlands, it is evident in his variant of quantified history that the scope of universal history was not his. In his later writings it becomes even more apparent that he sided with “the people,” and upon closer examination, with a very select group of powerful individuals. In a shift in values so typical for the discourse of economics, sacrifice turned into necessary loss. Hardships for the people were the unavoidable condition of development. *Laissez-faire* was preferable to planning. Lueder even invoked the “invisible hand” to describe how society was moved by ungovernable yet strong cross-currents that could never be tamed by mere data tables.<sup>83</sup>

Liberalism was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, Lueder cut the ties to paternalistic and repressive rulers. He questioned control and asked why the police was usually forgotten in the discussion of statistics, implying that both enhanced law and order. He demanded some leeway for Prussian bureaucrats to decide about individual cases as well as protection against their chicanery for Prussian citizens.<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, Lueder ridiculed agrarian statistics (*Nahrungslisten*), an important part of nineteenth-century economic order that took nutrition and provision into account.<sup>85</sup> Welfare for him figured as one of the overreaches of government and should instead confine itself to security issues.

Descriptive statistics, which had only recently undergone the difficult transition from political *arcana* to transparent portraits of the state, experienced yet another reframing. It no longer included all people, but defended the territory and possession of the wealthy. In Lueder's

82 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 53.

83 “Man sah nicht, wie die am kräftigsten Würken, mit und ohne Diadem, die Edelsten wie die Verworfensten nur Werkzeuge waren in der unsichtbaren Hand, die sie gebaute, . . .” Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 55.

84 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 276; 282; 283.

85 Lueder, *Kritische Geschichte der Statistik*, 382.

harsh rejection, statistics posed a risk in itself because it was tantamount to constricting lives by politics. One may deplore his inability to see the effects of social association. But from his liberal point of view he nevertheless portrayed the potential of quantified knowledge correctly. It augments the opportunities to regulate and is a powerful tool. This is why he condemned statistics as:

an abhorrent venture, because it led to the ruling of everyone and everything, to an incessant governing at all ends and in all places and in all nooks and crannies: to the kind of reign in which all free development ceases, in which the freedom of all and all freedom are thoroughly eliminated; which would have to transform, if at all feasible, man into beasts, into machines: an insane and abhorrent venture . . .<sup>86</sup>

## VII. Concluding Remarks: A History of Knowledge in Transition

From today's perspective, it looks as if neoliberalism heavily relies on data collection, and it is even diagnosed as becoming increasingly bureaucratic.<sup>87</sup> Back in Lueder's time, there was a constitutive rift between market liberalism and the use of quantified data as tools of governance. Indeed, his account of statistics marks one extreme when he describes statistics entirely as a creature and tool of the state. This cooperation amounts to an epistemology of bureaucracy rather than of science. At the same time political counsel is reverse-engineered, since it is not the politicians, but the academics who receive information from the outside. The history of statistics has also substantiated the opposite extreme, namely, that statistics, bureaucratization, and augmented regulation can be read as successful adaptations of economic practices and not of politics: good business conduct, double bookkeeping, accounting, and logistical planning.<sup>88</sup> Yet while a more balanced genealogy of statistics from political as well as economic influences might be advisable, Lueder's description is revealing for a history of knowledge in transition.<sup>89</sup>

Lueder provocatively portrayed it as a type of knowledge that originated in political practice and could never be satisfactorily produced in a secluded academic study. Furthermore, he shed light on the practical side of how to retrieve new information or how to establish new sources for history. Those who collect and those who process knowledge, Lueder argued, are different groups of people, thus including lay people or politicians within the fabric of science. It was this constellation of local and erudite knowledge that Foucault

86 Lueder, *Kritik der Statistik*, x.

87 David Graeber, *The Utopia of Rules: On Technology, Stupidity, and the Secret Joys of Bureaucracy* (Brooklyn, 2015).

88 Porter, *Trust in Numbers*, 50.

89 James A. Secord, "Knowledge in Transit," *Isis* 95 (2004): 654–672; Henning Schmidgen, "Fehlformen des Wissens," in Georges Canguilhem, *Die Herausbildung des Reflexbegriffs im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, trans. Henning Schmidgen (Munich, 2008), vii–lviii.



pointed to in his description of the unsettling variant of history he called genealogy.<sup>90</sup> Lueder can be credited with a keen observance of the relation of statistical knowledge to all kinds of power. To better analyze the ways in which knowledge may exert its subversive or oppressive force, Foucault introduced the concept of *savoirs assujettis* (subjugated forms of knowledge), which can be recovered by assiduously deciphering expertise that is present but masked inside historical constellations. The concept of subjugated forms of knowledge refers to aggregates that are not sufficiently formalized, that are disqualified, subconscious or local. The reason why Foucault pursued the heterodox *savoir des gens* is that it took shape in rejection of more hegemonic ways of knowing. And while Lueder's abandonment of statistics does not make him a proponent of a minority view, he recognized the unattainable proficiency of diplomatic experience, and its untranslatability into mere scientific prose. The tactics employed by those who were counted and governed by this new technique of quantified history do not come into view, although the power of statistics to govern people's behavior is seen as a constant threat in Lueder's writing. This appears to be close to what might be obtained by a genealogical analysis of statistics, when the forms of subjugated knowledge are analyzed as traces of a conflict in the past that produced two sides. Foucault wanted to start with the disciplined body itself as an archive of struggles. He read it as an ensemble of self-relations, desires, and fears that bear the stigmata of historical developments.<sup>91</sup>

The short-lived configuration of descriptive statistics provides insight into an analysis of knowledge as it crosses symbolic boundaries and thresholds. Central to its analysis is the problem of representation and transcription into signs. Cultural techniques are a methodological concept designed to wean scholars off their preference of the knowledge of sciences and the elites. Instead, this mode of investigation deals with the symbolic labor necessary to transcribe any practice into image, word or number.<sup>92</sup> Parallel to this, the transformation from one social setting to the next should become paramount to retrieve the effects and struggles of minor and hegemonic perspectives. For the history of knowledge in transition, the formations and revocations of knowledge provide a useful starting point for analysis. This second type of translation could be addressed not as symbolic labor, but as labor of affiliation. Not only the everyday procedure of transcribing the world into signs is key, as in cultural techniques of writing, measuring or counting. We need to investigate the question

90 Michel Foucault, "Vorlesung vom 7. Januar 1976," in idem, *In Verteidigung der Gesellschaft: Vorlesungen am Collège de France (1975–1976)*, trans. Michaela Ott (Frankfurt a.M., 1999), 7–30, 15f. First published in French as *Il faut défendre la société* (Paris, 1996); Martin Saar, "Genealogische Kritik?" in *Was ist Kritik?*, ed. Rahel Jaeggi and Tilo Wesche (Frankfurt a. M., 2009), 247–266.

91 Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, die Genealogie, die Historie," in *Schriften in vier Bänden. Dits et Ecrits*, ed. Daniel Defert and François Ewald, vol. 2, (Frankfurt a. M., 2005 [1971]), 166–191, 174, 180.

92 Christian Kassung and Thomas Macho, "Einleitung," in *Kulturtechniken der Synchronisation*, (Munich, 2013), 9–21; Erhard Schüttelpelz, "Die medienanthropologische Kehre der Kulturtechnik," *Archiv für Mediengeschichte* 6 (2006): 87–110.

93 Ludwik Fleck, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung einer wissenschaftlichen Tatsache* (Frankfurt a. M., 1980); Yehuda Elkana, *Anthropologie der Erkenntnis. Die Entwicklung des Wissens als episches Theater einer listigen Vernunft*, trans. Ruth Achlam (Frankfurt a. M., 1986 [1981]), 11–21; Ian Hacking, “‘Style’ for Historians and Philosophers,” in idem, *Historical Ontology* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002), 178–199; Arnold Davidson, “Styles of Reasoning. From the History of Art to the Epistemology of Science,” in *The Emergence of Sexuality. Historical Epistemology and the Formation of Concepts*, ed. id. (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), 125–142.

94 Daniel Speich Chassé and David Gugerli, “Wissensgeschichte. Eine Standortbestimmung,” *Traverse* [Themenheft ‘Kulturgeschichte’] 1 (2012): 85–100.

where and how new forms of knowledge were approved of by collaborating collectives since knowledge, be it scientific or superstitious, hegemonic or the belief of a minority, cannot be restricted to individuals.<sup>93</sup> The vantage point of the history of knowledge should always be one that takes these affiliations into account. In this way, the conceptual changes and the societal forces transforming each other can be observed. This research perspective builds upon the social history of science, but combines its efforts with a special emphasis on the knowledge of minorities, the Global South,<sup>94</sup> of translations into alternate social, religious or geographic settings. This requires a high attentiveness to the framing and reframing of knowledge, and a particular observation of the moving forces causing these shifts. What makes knowledge resilient? When do people resort to new moral economies (of science)? Why is there such fierce rejection of certain ways of knowing?

As I have argued in this article, Lueder’s transformation from an adherent of descriptive statistics into a harsh critic of all forms of statistics resulted from the more exclusive reference frame of liberalism. The crucial motive that made Lueder turn to another kind of knowledge reverberates with the background noise of defended territory and protected possessions. Thus Lueder’s work bears the mark of past struggles that articulate themselves in particular kinds of knowing.

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# Conference Reports



## THE WESTERN ART MARKET AND ART BETWEEN 1930 AND 1950: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO TRANSDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH

Symposium at the German Historical Institute Washington, February 26-27, 2016. Convener: Jeroen Euwe (GHI). Participants: Amanda Brandellero (University of Amsterdam & Erasmus University Rotterdam), Géraldine David (Université Libre de Bruxelles), Elisabeth Engel (GHI), Christel Force (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), Meike Hopp (Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich), Christian Huemer (Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles), Fulvia Zaninelli (Smithsonian Institution). Guests: Mary Kate Cleary (Art Recovery Group, Astoria, NY), Jane Milosch (Smithsonian Institution), Lynn Nicholas (Washington DC).

The Western art market during the period from 1933 to 1950 is an exceptionally fertile subject for research. Restitution of looted art, National-Socialist cultural policies, the craze for art collecting among the National Socialist elite, the post-war canonization of avant-garde art, as well as the macro-economic links between the German economic exploitation of the occupied territories in the West and the art market boom that occurred there are but some areas that are of interest.

This symposium was conceived out of the notion that although the subject has become quite popular, it has also become increasingly fragmented. Cultural historians, art historians, and provenance researchers have been joined by finance experts, sociologists, economic historians, and others, with the digital humanities being the most recent addition to the roster of sciences studying the art market. Occasionally, there will be a conference that brings researchers from these disciplines together, but time is always limited to discussing the latest paper instead of exchanging ideas and forging research partnerships. This symposium was aimed at addressing this issue, and brought together seven European and North American researchers from various disciplines. Each participant discussed her or his background, the methodologies typical to their field, and how these could be used to study the Western art market between 1930 and 1950.

The first panel consisted of Amanda Brandellero, a sociologist, and Meike Hopp, a provenance researcher and art historian. From her experience studying the emergence of the art market in Brazil,

Amanda Brandellero suggested a number of interesting techniques. For instance, the acceptance of modern art could be studied by a content analysis (using topic modelling) of exhibition reviews. These could then be followed by a qualitative content analysis to assess evaluation, association, and innovation for artists or genres of art. Latent cluster analysis could then be used to study emerging clusters of galleries, which, combined with an analysis of spatial shifts, could also uncover societal shifts.

Meike Hopp works on art auction houses during the National Socialist era. She reflected on the problems involved in constructing databases, such as varying spellings of names of buyers and consigners. Since a considerable number of lots came from the occupied German territories, there is additional uncertainty regarding provenance. Therefore additional research is required before a painting's movements can be tracked. Unfortunately, as she points out, because of copyright and privacy laws much information cannot be made available online, nor can it be shared freely. The first panel ended with a lively discussion on this latter issue, the possibilities of content modelling, and other subjects.

The second panel began with a presentation by Christian Huemer, an art historian and specialist in digital humanities. He focused on the continuing growth of the number of online databases, pointing out that much information remains unused. Buyers, sellers, and prices — and especially the determinants that have an impact on price — often have not been researched. He suggested checking the level of integration of the art markets and doing network analysis to assess the importance and role of agents. Although this latter aspect was similar to what Amanda Brandellero suggested, Huemer's approach was different. Using software, he visualizes the data and at the same time makes it interactive. However, since interaction with these data is an important aspect of this visualization, publication is dependent on a yet-to-be-created academic online platform that is comparable to refereed journals.

The second panelist, art historian and provenance researcher Fulvia Zaninelli, studies the collector Count Alessandro Contini Bonacossi (1878-1955), an Italian aligned with the fascist régime, who also supplied art for U.S. collectors. A network analysis shows he was in contact with key people in the art market. The export of cultural heritage during the fascist era, and the tension between letting heritage art depart and the value of this art on the domestic market were



especially interesting. It also sparked discussion on the export of art as a tool for the creation of cultural identity, a propaganda tool for fascism, and related issues.

The final panel began with a paper by Géraldine David, whose background is in art history and in finance. She takes a macro-approach to art market research, focusing on acquiring a global view of the evolution of market prices over time and gaining insight into how the market reacts to extreme events. Price indices are constructed using hedonic regression, a technique that takes the heterogeneity of works of art into account. This way, insights are gained into a variety of relevant aspects of the art market, for instance, how consumers for luxury goods behave in a market or how price functions as a signal of appreciation. This latter aspect is also interesting when comparing prices with other goods, such as stocks, gold, real estate, etc.

The next presenter, curator and art historian Christel Hollevoet-Force, studies the evolution of the market for Picasso before World War II for his Blue and Rose Periods. How did the prices for Picasso evolve? Archival material shows great differences in prices, so how can we make sense of this? To answer these questions, she takes a multi-pronged approach, looking at the role of dealers in positioning, promoting, and networking, but also collectors' preferences and the role of information asymmetry. Here, transatlantic dealer networks played an important role, enabling the dealers to steer the market.

The final presentation was by social-economic historian Jeroen Euwe. He studies long-term developments on the art market, the market's response to economic and political crises and how it reflects shifts in taste. The latter aspect is part of a broader research interest that looks at the dynamics of canonization, and how the market is linked to the critical reception of art. Related to this is the possible influence of sentiments linked to politics, gender, race or nationality on the price of works of art. Such sentiments can also be linked to the loss of cultural heritage as the art market moves from local to international sales. As is usual in his field, he appropriates methodologies from other fields. Discussions on the meaning of canonization in relation to prices, critical response and exhibition history, the reliability of auction prices, and archives, closed the session.

On the following morning the symposium concluded with a final session, about avenues for further research and cooperation. Although from very different fields, many researchers use similar techniques,

such as network analysis. Nevertheless, the applied methodology is different: either oriented towards visualization, statistical analysis, or qualitative analysis. Although many results overlap, each approach will yield some unique results. Given that the same data is needed, researchers should therefore collaborate in building the datasets and in their analysis. The same goes for a study of price formation. Therefore collaboration should not be limited to the exchange of ideas for new approaches to the subject, but should also focus on exchange of information and sharing of data.

The immediate positive effects of the conference are a collaboration between Christian Huemer and Jeroen Euwe on a study of the price developments and structural shifts in the German art auction market between 1933 and 1945, and a lecture on “Art Market Data Analysis” by Euwe at the Kolloquium Provenienz- und Sammlungsforschung of the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich. Given the enthusiasm of both participants and guests, it seems likely these are just the first of many future partnerships.

Jeroen Euwe (GHI / Erasmus University, Rotterdam)

## THE REFUGEE CRISIS: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES FROM EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA, 1945-2000

Symposium at the German Historical Institute Washington, March 17, 2016. Co-sponsored by the German Historical Institute, KNOMAD/The World Bank, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany. Conveners: Simone Lässig and Jan C. Jansen (GHI). Participants: Philipp Ackermann (Deputy Head of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, Washington DC), Christopher Adam (Carleton University, Canada), Pertti Ahonen (University of Jyväskylä, Finland), Cathleen S. Fisher (American Friends of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, Washington DC), Barbara Franz (Rider University, NJ), Leo Lucassen (International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam), Kathleen Newland (Migration Policy Institute, Washington DC), Patrick Scallen (Georgetown University), Kirsten Schüttler (The World Bank, Washington DC), Andrea L. Smith (Lafayette College, PA).

In the wake of the war in Syria and other crises in the Middle East, Central Asia, and Africa, the world is currently witnessing some of the largest movements of people seeking refuge since the end of World War II. Although politicians in Europe and North America tend to stress the singularity of the current “refugee crisis,” the situation is by no means unprecedented. Over the course of the past seventy years, Western Europe and North America — not to speak of non-Western societies — have repeatedly experienced the arrival of massive numbers of refugees and other forced migrants within short time spans. The symposium, jointly organized by the GHI, the Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development (KNOMAD) and the German Embassy in Washington DC offered historical perspectives on the current situation. It did so by examining responses by the nations of North America and Western Europe to several instances of large movements of refugees and forced migrants. How did governments and societies react to the refugees? How did social, economic, and cultural integration happen? What were the prerequisites and the impediments of successful integration? Under which circumstances did international cooperation work? What were the short-term and long-term consequences for the host societies?

The first panel examined two specific instances of involuntary migration: the German expellees after the Second World War and migrants, in most cases former settlers, leaving the collapsing European colonies in the 1960s and 1970s. Even though both cases comprised massive

population movements of several millions of people, they tend to be treated as a separate phenomenon in the national memories of immigration. This is closely linked to the particular status that these groups had, since they were officially not labelled as “foreigners,” but as members of the nation they migrated to. In his paper, Pertti Ahonen examined the case of the expellees in postwar Germany, numbering at least 12 million. First, he argued that the expulsion of Germans from the eastern territories has to be seen as part of a much wider and longer history of forced migrations, in which Nazi Germany played a major role during the war. In a second part, Ahonen stressed that the speed and ease of the expellees’ social integration in western Germany has often been exaggerated, in part due to a tendency to assume a sense of ethnic and national unity between the local populations and incoming expellees. In the lecture’s third part, Ahonen addressed some of the legacies and consequences of the expulsions, particularly the ambiguous role of expellee associations (the so-called *Vertriebenenverbände*). In his concluding remarks, Ahonen reflected on how the general tendency to over-emphasize the expellees’ ethnic homogeneity contributed to the long-lasting myth of “Germanness” as an ethnically homogenous and exclusive category, in spite of the country’s actual transformation into a multi-ethnic society of immigration. He argued that the expellees, ironically, were part of this development towards immigrant multiculturalism.

As European powers lost colonial wars and relinquished colonies in the half century following World War II, people living or stationed there migrated to Europe *en masse*. Andrea L. Smith provided an overview of these migrations of decolonization, discussed their legacy, and offered points of comparison with today’s refugees. Despite the migrants’ ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity and the fact that large numbers were involved (approximately five to seven million people, most of them coming to France, Portugal, and the Netherlands), these postcolonial migrants were viewed as having nearly completely integrated into the host societies. These migrants shared multiple features with contemporary refugees. There was, however, one notable difference: Defined nearly from the start as full-fledged members of the host country they were migrating to, migrants of decolonization typically received advantages unmatched by most other migrants of the postwar period, including today’s refugees. Because they were defined as members of the receiving societies, they more easily became members. Most of the migrants of decolonization also

brought with them a certain linguistic and cultural familiarity with the host society which also facilitated their integration.

The second panel compared three refugee movements in the context of the Cold War and its aftermath. In 1956, the short-lived Hungarian Revolution was the bloodiest and most radical of the uprisings in the former Eastern bloc. It may have also been, as Christopher Adam pointed out in his paper, the world's first fully televised uprising. Adam portrayed the critical role that the media played in sensitizing North Americans and western Europeans to the crisis of the more than 200,000 Hungarian refugees who fled Hungary in the roughly two-month period after the Soviets crushed the revolution on November 4, 1956. In fact, it was often pressure from the public and from civil society groups that compelled governments to act and accept large numbers of refugees. In early 1957, the more than 180,000 Hungarian refugees who had arrived in Austria were resettled to 37 different countries, with Canada accepting proportionally the largest number of asylum seekers. While the Canadian government had not initially planned for such an emphatic response, it was largely public and media pressure that convinced it to act. Although the Hungarian refugee crisis was framed in Cold War narratives — the Soviet “empire” attacking a small, “helpless” Eastern bloc country —, some officials in the national security agencies feared that communists might be insidiously lurking among the refugees. These fears, however, were drowned out by media stories that sensitized the broader public to those fleeing oppression.

Barbara Franz's presentation focused on differences and similarities between the Bosnian diaspora in Austria and the U.S. since the 1990s. She began by pointing out that the U.S. and Austria responded to the refugees from the Yugoslav Wars with different resettlement schemes. Franz then used the methodological tool of ideal types to describe differences in transnational “in-between-ness.” The majority of Bosnians, she argued, were able to develop behavioral strategies, professional trajectories, and identity formations that set them apart from other segments of immigrant populations in both host societies. Franz distinguished four ideal types of migrants: the translocal traditionalist, the transitional hybrid, the ethnic urbanite, and the cosmopolitan. To be sure, Franz explained, there were substantial overlaps between these ideal types and many refugees moved through more than one or two types while adjusting to their respective settlement countries. Migrants and refugees often saw themselves as

transnationals, creoles, and hybrids — pointing to a “plural identity” rather than a clear-cut definition of one’s self. Franz argued that labor trajectories, job careers, and education and, above all, gender and the age at the time of settlement contributed significantly to identity building as well as to the adaptation to new environments.

In his paper, Patrick Scallen portrayed how, during the 1980s, the United States faced a political and humanitarian dilemma. Hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans, fleeing death squads and civil strife, sought refuge in the very country that was sponsoring their military. The administration of U.S. President Ronald Reagan, allied with the government of El Salvador, denied Salvadorans refugee status and rejected the vast majority of their applications for political asylum, arguing that Salvadorans traveled to the United States solely in pursuit of economic opportunity and faced no persecution at home. This galvanized North American civil society, particularly progressive religious groups and secular social service organizations, into providing material and political support for these new refugees and debunking the Reagan administration’s claim. As the decade unfolded, legislative actions and judicial decisions facilitated the integration of undocumented Salvadoran war refugees by providing some with a path to U.S. citizenship. In spite of this, their questionable legal status has, according to Scallen, hampered the Salvadorans’ ability to attain social prestige and political clout in the United States during the past three decades.

The symposium closed with a well-attended panel discussion during which four migration and policy experts discussed whether, and to what extent, these historical case studies provide lessons for the current refugee crisis. Moderated by Cathleen S. Fischer, the discussion provided both analytical and practical follow-up to the case studies presented in the afternoon panels. The panelists stressed the need to bring historical comparisons and perspectives into the current debate which tends to be largely ignorant of past experiences. Leo Lucassen, of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, pointed to the interplay of state and society in countries receiving a large influx of refugees. He highlighted the importance of how state actors define and categorize refugee movements. As historical evidence shows, such definitions have a strong impact both on public perceptions and on the tools of integration policy. While in the cases of the expellees in Germany after 1945 and the postcolonial migrants to Western Europe state reactions were mostly *inclusive* — integration programs



were in place almost immediately and government actors stressed commonalities between the incoming refugees and the host society more than differences — most states have taken a more *exclusive* stance in the recent refugee crisis (enhancing, for example, negative public perceptions of Islam). Kathleen Newland, of the Migration Policy Institute, emphasized the crucial impact that definitions of refugee and migratory movements had for the states' legal obligations toward them. She delineated European governments' practices of defining refugees into sub-categories, attempting to “define-down” certain groups of people in order to dispense with certain legal obligations to them. While the practices of defining refugees were highly variable and subject to frequent changes, Newland pointed out that the majority of currently accepted refugees are, ironically, refugees from war zones (as compared to refugees from personal persecution). One group that had been “defined-down” since the start of the refugee crisis were Eritreans, who were fleeing from persecution and the prospect of possible forced labor under a brutal regime. While their plight ought to be recognized as a legitimate ground for seeking asylum under the 1951 refugee convention, they, as Newland summed up, could be regarded as the first casualties of the fluid political stance towards certain refugee groups.

Kirsten Schüttler, of the World Bank, assessed short- and long-term economic consequences for those states that have accepted large numbers of refugees, focusing on Europe and the United States. She pointed to possible trade-offs between certain short-term burdens and disadvantages — like the stepping up of financial efforts to accept and integrate the refugees into the labor market and into society — and advantages in the long run, as refugees are enabled to contribute to the economies of their host states more quickly. According to Schüttler, the way these long-term consequences play out depends to a large extent, on the policies that are developed. She also pointed out that the consequences are experienced differently, and that not everyone was on the winning side. It would thus be crucial not only to look at the overall welfare impacts but also at the distributional impacts, and to design policies accordingly in order to buffer negative effects on specific social groups. Schüttler stressed the importance of public perceptions, since subjective wellbeing and perceived impacts may differ from objective data and official definitions of refugees and how they are perceived do have an impact on how the actual integration plays out. Philipp Ackermann, of the German Embassy, outlined ways in which German perceptions of being an immigration society

and integration policies had changed over the last twenty years. With regard to the current situation, he saw the possible open-endedness of the refugee influx as one major reason for the success of right-wing populist parties in the 2016 state elections in Saxony-Anhalt, Rhineland-Palatinate and Baden-Württemberg. While certain political milieus still deny Germany's actual dependence on immigration, Ackermann stressed the positive evolution of German public attitudes since the last major refugee influx in the 1990s. He stated that — in contrast to the 1990s — there was a growing public consensus that Germany is — and has, in fact, long since been — a country of immigration. As an indicator of these changes in public opinion, he pointed to the crucial role of German civil society in dealing with the reception of refugees since 2015.

By bringing historical case studies and today's policy debates into dialogue, this symposium demonstrated how critical historical scholarship can contribute to reflecting on the pressing challenges of the present.

Sascha Brünig (GHI) and Jan C. Jansen (GHI)

## THE HISTORIAN AND THE WORLD – THE WORLDS OF HISTORY: POSITIONS, PURPOSES, AND POLITICS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Symposium at the German Historical Institute Washington, April 1-2, 2016. Conveners: Mischa Honeck (GHI) and Jan C. Jansen (GHI). Participants: Cemil Aydin (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill), Thomas Bender (New York University), Hartmut Berghoff (University of Göttingen), Linda Colley (Princeton University), Elisabeth Engel (GHI), Jim Grossman (American Historical Association), Jo Guldi (Brown University), Bryan Hart (GHI), Madeleine Herren (University of Basel), Jürgen Kocka (Free University of Berlin), Simone Lässig (GHI), John McNeill (Georgetown University), Vanessa Ogle (University of Pennsylvania), Lutz Raphael (University of Trier), Anne Schenderlein (GHI), Jeremi Suri (University of Texas, Austin), Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson (GHI).

The symposium “The Historian and the World — The Worlds of History” was unlike most academic events held at the GHI. Rather than engage with a particular topic or problem, this two-day conference asked leading representatives of the historical profession on both sides of the Atlantic to step back from their specific research agendas and reflect on the current state of the discipline and its relationship to the broader public. Inspired by recent metahistorical interventions such as Jo Guldi’s and David Armitage’s *History Manifesto* or Lynn Hunt’s *Writing History in the Global Era*, the symposium used the ascent of larger frames of historical analysis such as global history, “big data,” and the return of the long durée as the linchpin for probing the extent to which recent methodological developments have reignited older debates about the professional and public “relevance” of academic history.

The first panel, “Genealogy and Contexts,” traced some of these paradigm shifts and their impact on the discipline by interrogating the reasons for as well as the consequences of the increasing interest in “connectivity” in historical research. In her paper, “From the Age of Revolutions to Eras of Global Warfare: Shifting Perceptions and Connections,” Linda Colley made a strong case for demonstrating that global history can change and challenge established ideas. In her case study, she located the rise of modern forms of empire and globalization in the history of multi-regional warfare. Drawing on the violent conflicts involving Europeans, Africans, and Asians during the Age

of Revolutions, Colley suggested new ways of appreciating the imperial roots and anti-imperial echoes of present-day global history approaches. Hartmut Berghoff shifted the focus to how processes of marketization have influenced scholarly and non-scholarly practices within the historical profession. Paradigm shifts, Berghoff argued in his paper “The Historical Profession between Marketization and Academic Values,” have at least as much to do with branding and repackaging in the name of innovation as with the pursuit of original research. While historians cannot thrive outside the market for grants, jobs, and prestige, Berghoff maintained that it was still their task to enrich public discourse, particularly by contradicting false claims and myths.

The second panel, “Gains and Losses,” tackled the benefits and risks of privileging the study of broader, potentially global horizons over traditional approaches such as those that focus on regions, nations, and particular groups. Presenting an overview of the work conducted at the Institute of European Global Studies in Basel, Madeleine Herren advocated pursuing a kind of global history that is concerned with historicizing borders and connections rather than expanding geographies. Her paper, “Connecting Scales: Global Perspectives in the Historiography of the Twenty-first Century,” thus placed special emphasis on re-narrating the relationships of local and national actors to the wider world through transcultural modes of analysis. Though agreeing with the need to transcend the nation-state in historical scholarship, Jeremi Suri’s paper, “The Limits of System and Structure: Reinserting the Individual in Global Histories,” struck a more hesitant tone. According to Suri, many of the prominent books that have defined the field of global history in Germany and the United States have paid insufficient attention to the agency of individual actors as they struggled to shape and make sense of communities and networks larger than themselves. The biographical element, Suri argued, is necessary to humanize global history and make it appealing, accessible, and ultimately useful.

In his keynote lecture, “The Historian in Times of Globalization: Social Mimicry, Intellectual Potential, and Political Risks,” Lutz Raphael examined the social, political, and historiographical context of the historical profession’s current state. Raphael placed historians at the intersection of three worlds: today’s world of globalization, the changing professional world of historians, and the historians’ past. The current situation, according to him, was marked by a tension between the persistence of nationally organized fields of historical

scholarship and an era of (political, cultural, academic) globalizations that spurred the rise of global history. With respect to the political relevance of the historical profession, Raphael argued that it remained to be seen whether today's historians would join in an apolitical consensus around values of liberal internationalism or advocate a renewal of nationalist thinking.

The third panel, "Normativity and Reflexivity," examined the extent to which today's global historians reflect on their relationship with the present and on the underlying normative assumptions or ideological positions behind newer historiographical trends. Cemil Aydin's paper, "Why We Need Global History to Respond to Racialized Narratives of Empire, Civilization, and Nation," presented elements of "Bridging Cultures," a project funded by the National Endowment for Humanities, which aimed at making the U.S. public more familiar with the complexities of Muslim beliefs and practices. He pointed to the necessity of historicizing tendencies to racialize Islam since the late nineteenth century. In her presentation, "Against Connectivity Talk," Vanessa Ogle criticized the dominance of flows, connectivity, networks, and movements in the writing of global history, which tends to overshadow the fact that fragmentation and connection were two intrinsically linked processes. Ogle also pointed to the need for archive-based global history studies to balance the wealth of large syntheses and handbooks. John McNeill's paper, "Global History, Environmental History, and Useful History in the (Alleged) Anthropocene," focused on three ways to reach a usable and relevant past in the present: larger scales of analysis, which would bring some historians to engage with the ongoing history of globalization; moving beyond textual sources, including bio-archives, geo-archives, and genetics; and the history of the climate, which should not be left to the climatologists. He also made a case for moving beyond textual narration in the presentation of historians' findings and material.

The fourth panel, "Markets and Audiences," examined the ways in which historians interact with a broader public and how the new scholarly trends should be integrated into curricula of high schools and other non-academic educational forums. Jo Guldi addressed the question whether historians should concern themselves with current events, even at the risk of jeopardizing their objectivity. Her talk, "The Parasitical Public Intellectual: The Politics of Longue-durée History according to Goldwin Smith," focused on the historical case of British-American historian Goldwin Smith, who took a longue-durée

approach in dealing with questions of land redistribution in the United States during Reconstruction. According to Guldi, the politicization of history in this case did not harm the objectivity of historical research but made it more rigorous. Jim Grossman's talk, "Everything has a History: Making the Case for History, Historical Thinking, and Historical Work," discussed historians' strategies for getting people outside academia interested in historical scholarship. Scale, Grossman argued, was not a relevant parameter for the public impact of the historian's work. Instead, historians should convey the central message that everything has a history as a starting point for engaging with a non-academic public.

The fifth and final panel, "Criticisms and Interventions," addressed the questions of whether global historians have a responsibility to act as public intellectuals, and how recent historiographical developments should mirror historians' engagement in public affairs. In his talk, "The Historian, the Public, and the Uses of Ambidexterity," Thomas Bender introduced the concept of ambidexterity to underscore that historians ought to have different communication skills for speaking with different audiences. To establish a foothold in the public sphere, historians need to be able to effectively translate their academic work into less lengthy and convoluted narratives for non-academics without sacrificing too much complexity. For Jürgen Kocka, recent political developments in the United States and Europe have only amplified the need for historians to intervene in current affairs and provide critical contextual knowledge in an age that produces headlines at an ever faster pace and makes it ever more important that historians utilize approaches that go beyond the nation-state. Using German reactions to the refugee crisis, which he conceived as a long-term consequence of German *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, as a case in point, he also pointed to the risks in historians' public interventions. While intervening in current debates, historians should resist self-censorship on moral or ideological grounds.

In the concluding session, Mischa Honeck and Jan Jansen summarized the dominant themes that emerged out of the symposium and offered avenues for further discussion. Aside from calling for the strengthening of cross-disciplinary competence and multi-lingual skills, both in terms of language acquisition and the ability to communicate effectively to scholarly and non-scholarly audiences alike, Honeck and Jansen maintained that today's historians need to avoid an uncritical embrace of global history in favor of a multidimensional,



multi-scalar approach to historical problems. Even as the historical profession remains organized along national lines, multi-scalar competencies are becoming ever more indispensable for historians striving to produce innovative and meaningful scholarship in the twenty-first century.

Mischa Honeck (GHI) and Jan C. Jansen (GHI)



## NAVIGATING DIVERSITY: NARRATIVES, PRACTICES, AND POLITICS IN GERMAN-SPEAKING EUROPE FROM 1500 TO THE PRESENT

Conference at the Université de Montréal and the Université du Québec à Montréal, April 13-15, 2016. Co-sponsored by the German Historical Institute Washington (GHI), Université de Montréal (Canada Research Chair in German and European Studies, Centre canadien d'études allemandes et européennes, and IRTG "Diversity: Mediating Difference in Transcultural Spaces"), and Université du Québec à Montréal (Vice-Rectorat de la Vie Académique, Faculté des Sciences Humaines, Département d'histoire). Made possible by additional support from the DAAD and the German Consulate in Montreal. Conveners: Till van Rahden (Université de Montréal); Anthony J. Steinhoff (Université du Québec à Montréal), and Richard F. Wetzell (GHI). Participants: Christian Bailey (State University of New York, Purchase College), Rebecca Bennette (Middlebury College), Rita Chin (University of Michigan), Norman Domeier (Universität Stuttgart), Jennifer Evans (Carleton University), Christopher Ewing (City University of New York, Graduate Center), Rebekka Habermas (Universität Göttingen), Jennifer Jenkins (University of Toronto), Kerstin von der Krone (GHI), Simone Lässig (GHI), Mary Lindemann (University of Miami), Matthijs Lok (Universiteit van Amsterdam), Christoph Lorke (Universität Münster), Suzanne Marchand (Louisiana State University), Nicholas B. Miller (Universität Göttingen), Glenn Penny (University of Iowa), Nisrine Rahal (University of Toronto), Julia Roos (Indiana University), Warren Rosenblum (Webster University), Philipp Rousseau (IRTG Diversity, Université de Montréal), Thomas Serrier (Université Paris-8 / European University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder), Helmut Walser Smith (Vanderbilt University), Jesse Spohnholz (Washington State University), Fabien Théofilakis (Université de Montréal), Annette Timm (University of Calgary), Sarah Wobick-Segev (University of Western Ontario).

Diversity has been central to political and social life in German-speaking Europe, but also one of its ongoing challenges. For much of the modern era, diversity was viewed as a problem that had to be solved via the marginalization, suppression or even elimination of differences in order to realize visions of unity that lay at the heart of the nation-state, and — even more so — of the Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft* and the East German "Peasants' and Workers' State." The debates and conflicts that have ensued from diversity's fate at modernity's hands in the German lands since the Reformation have received

ample attention from scholars working from many perspectives. This conference sought to bring together early modern and modern historians working in many different subfields in order to foster conversations about diversity that connect the perspectives that have emerged in particular disciplines or subfields, from migration, gender, queer, and religious studies to legal, labor and economic history, and political theory. Departing from a recognition that diversity has been an omnipresent force in modern societies, the conference aimed at exploring the benefits (and limitations) of a paradigm that puts diversity at the center of our understanding of the past and the present.

The conference's first panel, chaired by Tony Steinhoff, was dedicated to the theme of "concepts." In the panel's first paper, "Die erste moderne Diversity-Theorie? Magnus Hirschfelds 'Zwischenstufentheorie' und ihre Diskussion im Eulenburg-Skandal (1906-1909)," Norman Domeier explored the paradox that, in his court testimony during the famous Eulenburg affair, the German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld did not draw on his theory of intermediate sexual types, which posited that human sexuality reflected an infinite range of individual sexual varieties, but advanced the notion of a homosexual identity that was independent of sexual acts. Although Hirschfeld's forensic testimony quickly popularized the concept of homosexuality, its effects were not as emancipatory as has sometimes been assumed; as soon as homosexuality became utterable (*sagbar*), homophobia was also born. The question of *Sagbarkeit* — what can be said in a particular time and place — also figured in Rebekka Habermas's paper, "In Search of the Secular: Explorations in Nineteenth-Century Germany." According to Habermas, around 1900 the secular was a category closely connected to race and gender: The secular was closely tied to the "West" and to masculinity. Drawing on the history of emotions, she argued that although the secular was presented as a neutral ground free of emotion, in fact, secular men displayed strong emotions — of disgust, anger, fear — in debates over religion. The intersection of gender and race was also central to the panel's third presentation, on "Navigating Gendered and Sexual Diversity in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany: Meiners, Millar and Bergk on the Global History of Women," by Nicholas Miller. Miller's paper argued that the Enlightenment thinker Christoph Meiners developed a racialized discourse of European exceptionalism with an important gender component. According to Meiners, whereas women were universally oppressed outside of Europe, in Europe women benefited

from maximal gender freedom. Till van Rahden's comment and the ensuing discussion focused on several points: although the concept of diversity did not appear until the twentieth century, historians have examined the issue of alterity and diversity for a long time; the absence of the concept of diversity until the twentieth century can be explained by the fact that diversity — of wealth, status, power — was simply considered a given in earlier centuries; by contrast, in the nineteenth century it was the notion of "equality" that presented the greatest challenge to the status quo.

The second panel, chaired by Richard Wetzell, was devoted to "Belonging." The panel's first paper, by Suzanne Marchand, presented a study of the modernization of the porcelain industry in nineteenth-century central Europe which suggested that there were, as the paper's title put it, "Many Roads out of Mercantilism." At least in German-speaking Central Europe, Marchand argued, large-scale, mass producing enterprises were not the natural outcome of economic modernization. Instead, German porcelain manufacturers' roads out of mercantilism were diverse. Although many adopted British models of mechanization and labor organization, some manufacturers never gave up handwork. Instead of being doomed to failure, mercantilism may have been one important way of allowing certain manufacturing industries to get off the ground. Moving from economic to social history, and from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, Sarah Wobick-Segev's paper examined the role of diversity in the "Individualized Jewish Community" of Berlin, 1890-1930. This community, she argued, resists easy narratives of either secularization or assimilation and, instead, reflects a diverse picture of Jewish belonging. By examining how Berlin Jews brought Jewish practice into sites of leisure and consumption — dances and balls, hiking and sports, as well as holiday celebrations — Wobick-Segev demonstrated that they had considerable room for maneuver in determining the meaning and practice of their Jewishness. Tony Steinhoff's comment and the ensuing discussion reflected on: the transformation of the nature of belonging in the transition from princely to modern society; the role of consumption in both papers; situational or performative ethnicity; intersectionality; and the relative merits of the concepts of "belonging" versus "identity."

The third panel, moderated by Simone Lässig on the second day, was devoted to the theme "Histories" and featured papers ranging from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. The panel's first paper, by Matthijs Lok, investigated the "invention" of "European pluralism in

history writing” through a case-study of Leopold von Ranke. The idea of European pluralism, Lok argued, originated in the mid-eighteenth century, when historians came to regard the continent’s pluralism as the key explanation for Europe’s historical development. Using the example of Ranke, he insisted that the idea of European pluralism was perfectly compatible with national thought; Ranke held that precisely because Germany lacked a geographical and political center, it embodied the ideal of European pluralism — against Napoleonic hegemony. Thomas Serrier’s paper, “The ‘German Cultural Work in the Eastern March’: National Legitimation vs. the Local Return of the Repressed in the Prussian East (1848-1914),” examined Imperial Germany’s *Polenbild*. Whereas German views of Poland tended to perpetuate the negative stereotype of the *Polnische Wirtschaft*, in the 1890s an urban reconstruction policy sought to transform Poznan into a typically German town, resulting in a *Posenbild* that reflected the cultural construction of the province of Posen as a German province. The panel’s third paper, “Multiculturalism: The Adventures of a Concept in Germany and Europe,” by Rita Chin, examined post-1945 German immigration policy in light of the concept of multiculturalism. Chancellor Angela Merkel’s 2010 attack on multiculturalism, Chin argued, denied immigrants the status of social and political actors in Germany and foreclosed meaningful debate about diversity. Phillip Rousseau’s comment and the discussion raised several important issues: the competition between universal and national history in the nineteenth century; the role that the political weakness of the German states prior to unification played in narratives of pluralism among eighteenth and nineteenth-century German historians; the relationship of American-style multiculturalism to capitalist society; the extent to which the history of Germany’s immigration policy was particularly German.

The fourth panel, chaired by Rebekka Habermas, explored the theme of “Entanglements” by bringing together historical studies of religion, sexuality, and race. The first paper, by Jesse Spohnholz, investigated “French and Dutch Religious Migrants in Early Modern Germany.” The intolerant logic of the confessional age did not in fact, Spohnholz argued, result in the suppression of religious pluralism. In a case-study of sixteenth-century Wesel, Spohnholz showed how Wesel city leaders accommodated Protestant religious minorities despite a legal framework that insisted the city be Catholic through mutually agreed regimes of “dissimulation.” The next paper, by Christian Bailey, examined the history of love relationships between Jewish and

gentile Germans under the title “From Jews and Other Germans to Jews and Other Outsiders? The History of Love in Modern Germany.” Drawing on the history of emotions, Bailey used the concept of “situational emotionality” to probe the relationship between language and experience in the romantic realm. The gap between language and experience, he argued, was especially pronounced in the early twentieth century and after 1945, but in opposite ways. Whereas in the early part of the century many Jewish as well as gentile young people subscribed to the language of free love, in actual practice most German Jews married other Jews; by contrast, after 1945, despite the legacy of the Holocaust and much grimmer language, there was more intermarriage between Jews and gentiles. Moving from the Jewish to the gay community, the panel’s third paper, “Highly Affected Groups: Gay Men and Racial Others in West Germany’s AIDS Epidemic, 1981-1992,” by Christopher Ewing, examined how the gay community’s discourses on race and immigration shifted during the height of the AIDS crisis. Whereas, before the AIDS crisis, gay publications usually depicted Muslim male sexuality as both erotic and threatening, after the advent of the epidemic, anxieties about Islam and Muslim sexuality were quickly overshadowed by fears about AIDS and the stigmatization of gays. Although concerns about Islam never completely disappeared, German gay rights and AIDS activists began to explicitly connect the struggle against homophobia to the fight against xenophobia and racism. Jennifer Jenkins’s comment and the discussion called attention to the role of religion as the hard edge of otherness in all three papers and urged that the construction of the concept of “Muslim sexuality” be subjected to critical historical analysis.

The fifth panel, moderated by Fabien Théofilakis and titled “Spectres,” dealt with the subject of citizenship and national belonging. Christoph Lorke’s paper, “Challenging the Nation-State through Binational Marriages: Navigating Cross-Border Love, 1900-1933,” examined the state’s treatment of binational marriages in Imperial Germany and the Weimar Republic. Paying particular attention to binational marriages among German diplomats and the professionalization of civil registrars, Lorke argued that the greater the cultural difference between prospective marriage partners, the more roadblocks the *Standesbeamte* would throw up. On this logic, major “religious and cultural differences” often led to a rejection of binational marriages, especially in the case of marriage between a German woman and a Muslim man. The following paper, by Julia Roos, examined national



belonging through “An Afro-German Microhistory.” Based on a close reading of a series of letters written between 1946 and 1957, Roos argued that narratives predicated on the “triumph of scientific racism over religious discourses” risk missing key complexities of the relationship between Afro-Germans and white German society. Although German national identity remained racialized during the 1950s, she concluded, religious sensibilities opened the door to “interracial understandings” of family that challenged the “racial Othering” of Afro-Germans. The panel’s third paper, by Warren Rosenblum, pursued the theme of citizenship by examining the state’s treatment of so-called “feeble-minded” citizens in Imperial Germany. Warning against the “teleological fallacy” of interpreting nineteenth-century efforts through the lens of Nazi medicine, Rosenblum urged historians to take seriously nineteenth-century reformers’ belief in the “transformative power” of idiot asylums and to treat *Hilfsschulen* (special schools) not primarily as sites of segregation but also as “bastions of experimentation.” Richard Wetzell’s comment and the ensuing discussion focused on the diverse meanings of citizenship in the three case-studies and several other issues, including: the need to investigate the origins and evolution of the “scale of cultural strangeness” underlying the state’s marriage approval process; to what extent taking into account the marriages of Germans to foreigners that took place abroad might change Lorke’s analysis; whether the relative importance of race and religion differed for Afro-Germans and their German interlocutors; and how to avoid the danger of taking the rhetoric of nineteenth-century psychiatric reformers at face value.

The sixth panel, chaired by Helmut Walser Smith, was titled “Respectability” and explored the connections between religious, educational, and sexual reform in the nineteenth and twentieth century. The panel’s first paper, by Kerstin von der Krone, examined “The Quest for Emancipation and the Transformation of Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Education.” Focusing on diversity as “a necessity and a challenge,” Krone investigated the role of diversity in a twofold sense: intra-Jewish processes of diversification as well as diversity as a factor in the emancipation process. Her paper analyzed the opinions on Jewish education prepared by three prominent members of the Berlin Jewish community for the Prussian government in 1812 in order to highlight the significance of education for the emancipation process and to reveal the diversity in conceptions of Judaism among German Jews already at this early point in the emancipation process. Pursuing the themes of emancipation and educational reform,

Nisrine Rahal's paper examined "Entangled Histories of Emancipation" through a study of the Hamburg Kindergarten movement. The kindergarten movement of the 1840s, Rahal argued, was an integral part of three reform efforts: *bürgerlich* reform, Jewish reform, and the women's movement. By introducing ideas developed in the context of Jewish reform to the kindergarten movement, German-Jewish women did not aim at assimilation but sought to strengthen the Jewish community while at the same time building a larger pluralistic society. The panel's final paper changed focus from educational to sexual reform. In her paper, "Is Sex Medical, Political or Personal? The German Approach to Sexual Diversity and its Legacies from Hirschfeld to Kinsey," Annette Timm argued that the medical, political, and personal aspects of sexual diversity have been closely intertwined. While German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld's work on sexual diversity was supremely political, his knowledge of sexual diversity was built through close personal contacts with people living outside society's gender and sexual norms. Thus Hirschfeld did not "discover" sexual diversity, but sexually diverse individuals "discovered" Hirschfeld (and later Harry Benjamin and Alfred Kinsey) and taught them what their experiences might mean for the spectrum of human sexual and gender diversity. Jennifer Evans's comment and the ensuing discussion included a call to "queer" history, beyond the study of the history of homosexuality, in the sense of questioning claims to universal experience and recovering a multiplicity of perspectives; as well as the question to what extent the three papers related specifically German stories versus transnational developments.

The seventh and final panel, moderated by Suzanne Marchand, was devoted to the topic "Middle Grounds," which historian Richard White defined as a cultural space where "diverse peoples adjust their differences through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient, misunderstandings, and from these misunderstandings arise new meanings and through these new practices — the shared meanings and practices of the middle ground." (White, *The Middle Ground*, 1991, p. x) The middle grounds explored in the panel's first paper, by Mary Lindemann, were the "early modern merchant republics" of Hamburg, Amsterdam, and Antwerp in the period 1650-1790. These merchant republics, Lindemann argued, provided a "middle ground" in the sense of a social space where economic and commercial experiments were launched. While divergent ideas about business practices produced a good deal of conflict, these conflicts forced people to adjust to a changing economic world that swirled

with countervailing ideas. The next paper moved from the merchant republics to the larger and more diverse realm of eighteenth-century German speaking Europe. By asking “What Travelers Saw in Eighteenth-Century Germany,” Helmut Walser Smith examined how, in the late eighteenth century, a way of seeing Germany that focused on cities, states, and territories, gave way to new ways of seeing that reflected a shift in the conception of nationhood from an exterior object of identification to an interior identity. This new way of seeing involved a more sympathetic attitude toward the countryside, an increased interest in the people as well as nature, and a greater appreciation of diversity. The panel’s third paper extended the historical analysis of “middle grounds” as well as the entanglement of nationhood and diversity into the twentieth century by investigating “Diversity, Inclusivity, and Germanness in Latin America during the Interwar Period.” In this paper, Glenn Penny used the information produced by and about German schools in Guatemala City, Buenos Aires (and Argentina’s LaPlata region), and southern Chile as lenses to study the development of these German communities. Arguing that “German spaces” were not limited to Germany, Penny insisted that the study of these German communities and the associated transnational networks reveals notions of Germanness that were much more fluid, inclusive, and diverse than is often assumed. Rebecca Bennette’s comment and the following discussion examined a number of questions, including: the impact of the commercial transformations in Hamburg, Amsterdam, and Antwerp on the cities’ political systems; how constructions of Germanness in Latin America were related to notions of Germanness in Germany; the extent to which the eighteenth-century shift from external to interiorized notions of nationhood was related to changes in the physical reality of travel.

The conference’s concluding discussion began with a comment from Till van Rahden, who noted that, as the papers at the conference demonstrated, there are diverse strategies for navigating diversity and urged historians to resist the temptation to rank them according to contemporary political beliefs or moral values. The ensuing discussion centered on several issues, including a call to examine the history of diversity in ways that move beyond a focus on exclusion and oppression; a critical debate on the opportunities and perils of interdisciplinary approaches; and a plea to uphold the historical profession’s commitment to deep contextualization.

Richard F. Wetzell (GHI)

## **FORGING BONDS ACROSS BORDERS: MOBILIZING FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY TRANSATLANTIC WORLD**

Conference at the German Historical Institute Washington, April 28-30, 2016. Conveners: Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson (GHI), Sonya Michel (University of Maryland, College Park), Anja Schüler (University of Heidelberg). Participants: Ann Taylor Allen (University of Louisville), Bonnie Anderson (City University of New York), Noaquia Callahan (GHI), Wendy E. Chmielewski (Swarthmore College Peace Collection), Mischa Honeck (GHI), Dane Kennedy (George Washington University), Sara Kimble (DePaul University), Marilyn Lake (University of Melbourne), Allison Lange (Wentworth Institute of Technology), Thomas Lappas (Nazareth College), Margaret McFadden (Appalachian State College), Christine Neejer (Michigan State University), Lori Osborne (Frances Willard Memorial Library and Archives), Eva Payne (Harvard University), Jessica R. Pliley (Texas State University), Stephanie Richmond (Norfolk State University), Marion Röwekamp (Free University of Berlin), Katharina Isabel Schmidt (Princeton and Yale), Carol Strauss Sotiropoulos (Northern Michigan University), and Margaret Vigil-Fowler (University of California, San Francisco).

Historians have by now produced a rather extensive literature on national feminist movements as well as a number of bi-national and multi-national comparative studies of female mobilizations. But so far, few scholars have focused on the transnational, especially transatlantic, collaborations of women's rights activists throughout the long nineteenth century. This conference explored how female activists inside and outside of institutions and organizations exchanged ideas in the Atlantic world and collaborated across national borders and bodies of water and sometimes also across borders of race, class, and gender. It explored how, even without formal political rights, women were able to develop effective strategies and bases of power, working both within their own countries and through the personal transnational connections, alliances, and organizations they created. Their efforts eventually provided the foundations for worldwide organizations around issues as diverse as women's rights, protective labor legislation, and temperance.

The conference opened with a panel on "Defining Women's Issues — Suffrage and Pacifism," chaired by Mischa Honeck. Bonnie Anderson portrayed the life of freethinker Ernestine Rose, a life that developed

transnationally and led her from her homeland, Poland, to Berlin, Paris, London, New York, and back to London. Rose's activism on both sides of the Atlantic ranged from advocating for women's property rights and a change in divorce laws to associating herself with freethinkers and pacifists. Marilyn Lake then introduced another woman reformer whose work transcended national boundaries: the Scottish-born Australian journalist, feminist reformer, and Unitarian preacher Catherine Helen Spence. Spence traveled as an official delegate to the Conference on Charities at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 and then across the country, lecturing on women's suffrage, children's courts, boarding-out, education, and proportional representation. Assuming that women needed political rights to secure the welfare of women and children, Spence was amazed to find that American women were socially and economically advanced but politically relatively powerless. The panel concluded with a look at women's transnational work for peace. Wendy Chmielewski analyzed the so-called "Friendly Addresses" that men and women in the United States and Britain signed in 1846 in relation to a boundary dispute between Canada and the United States. The addresses exchanged between the women of Exeter and Philadelphia reflected the emerging but contested roles of women in the transatlantic antiwar movement. On the one hand, women left the domestic sphere by engaging in international politics, while on the other, they remained within their traditional gender role by addressing only their female counterparts.

That evening, Margaret McFadden presented the conference keynote, "Mothers of the Matrix — Anna, Frederika, and Ray: Forging Bonds of Feminist Activism." As McFadden explained, the "matrix" that laid the groundwork for women's transnational movements included opportunities for travel and education, participation in evangelical religion, missionary work and/or social reform, and improved means of communication. Anna Doyle Wheeler emphasized women's individualism and asserted that women's rights were human rights. Influenced by early nineteenth-century socialism, she criticized marriage for "reducing women to a state of helplessness" and emphasized their need for suffrage. For Frederika Bremer, the bonds among women grew out of the familial ties between mothers, daughters, and sisters. A "relational feminist," she sought signs of international commonality among women. Ray Strachey served as a bridge between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, taking first radical and then more moderate positions on suffrage. Strachey, a

prolific author, also ran for office and served as an assistant to Lady Astor, the first female member of the British Parliament.

The second day of the conference continued with the second panel, entitled “Joining Other Struggles: Women’s Transnational Work for Abolition and Racial Equality.” Chaired by Sonya Michel, the panel began with Stephanie Richmond’s paper on British and American abolitionist women who traveled to America, England, and France in the 1840s and 1850s to spread their antislavery message and strengthen international relations. Americans like Maria Weston Chapman, Sarah Pugh, and Sarah Parker Remond traveled alone or spoke to “mixed audiences” of men and women, thus challenging the social norms of their respective cultures, opening paths for women political activists, and establishing women as authority figures. British Quaker Anne Knight promoted the cause of antislavery throughout France after male abolitionists refused to take up the opportunity, again challenging the restrictive gender roles of the Atlantic world. Katharina Schmidt then looked at a German woman who joined the American abolitionist movement: Otilie Assing. The Hamburg-born writer and activist is best known for her relationship with Frederick Douglass, but she also pursued independent political projects. Assing was influenced by other émigré intellectuals and her membership in German-American immigrant networks. Schmidt focused on Assing’s involvement in these networks, rather than on her personal ties with Douglass, arguing that Assing’s antislavery activism emerged primarily from her identity as a “freethinker” who favored feminism, atheism, and republicanism. In the final presentation of this panel, Noaquia Callahan explored the transnational career of African American feminist Mary Church Terrell. Callahan described the 1904 Berlin Congress of the International Council of Women as a moment in which black and white, American and European feminists came together to exchange ideas about issues of race, sexual violence, and woman suffrage. Published as part of the widely circulated proceedings of the Berlin congress, Terrell’s address on the “Progress of Colored Women” in the United States since the end of the Civil War met with great interest.

The conference’s third panel, chaired by Dane Kennedy, examined the topic “Creating Networks through Words and Images.” Carol Strauss Sotiropoulos looked at the connections between Margaret Fuller, one of the foremost American promoters of German literature, and author Bettina von Brentano-Arnim. While introducing her readers

to Arnim's literary writings, Fuller remained silent about Arnim's social justice projects, creating the impression that Fuller was not interested in politics. Sotiropolous showed, however, that Fuller was very familiar with the political system and power structures on the other side of the Atlantic but highly selective about the rhetoric strategies she deemed useful for her own purposes. Allison Lange went on to examine how the visual tactics of labor activists and suffragists in Britain informed parallel campaigns in the United States. Before World War I, strategies like parades, open-air meetings and lectures, picketing, and other publicity stunts imported from Britain generated popular support for woman suffrage and transformed women's relationship to politics; the imagery reveals much about the different tactics of the militant and moderate suffragists. The panel concluded with Christine Neejer's paper on women's international bicycling networks and the suffrage press women cyclists turned to in the 1890s to find advice about dress, riding styles, cycling-based travel, and international races. Neejer explored the transnational coverage of women's bicycling in British and American suffrage periodicals, which served as an international forum for collaboration and inspiration and shifted the boundaries between politics, sports, and leisure by positioning women's cycling within transatlantic networks.

The conference's fourth panel, chaired by Anja Schöler, took a look at "Professions as a Base for Feminist Mobilization." Sara Kimble documented the transatlantic alliance of legally-oriented feminists in the *belle époque* that preceded women's right to practice law in France. Networks like the Women's International Bar Association developed along with the International Council of Women (ICW) and nurtured an international feminist lawyers' movement that worked simultaneously at the grass roots and the elite level. Marion Röwekamp then examined how the ideas and activism the *Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine* contributed to the campaign for transnational family law reform within the International Council of Women. She showed that the different ideas about legal reform in the national women's movements could translate into serious problems on the transnational level. At the same time, the legal debates in the ICW reveal the dynamics of trans- and international legislative work at the turn of the twentieth century. The final contribution, by Margaret Vigil-Fowler, looked at the role of transatlantic networks in the Anglo-American medical women's movement. It re-examined the canonical nineteenth-century physicians Elizabeth Blackwell, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, and Sophia Jex-Blake within a transnational



framework. These women were well aware that their work was setting an international precedent, especially for their counterparts in Britain. They met in person, maintained a prolific correspondence, and were well-connected to feminists, abolitionists, and suffragists on both sides of the Atlantic.

The day ended with the fifth panel, “The Global Reach of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union [WCTU],” chaired by Sonya Michel. In the opening paper, Thomas Lappas outlined the WCTU’s contradictory policies toward American Indians. While on the one hand pursuing a goal of “kill the Indian, save the man” and attempting to destroy the reservations, on the other hand it recognized the existence of a Native American nation with a distinct culture, one whose people had rights but also needed protection from the evils of drink. Lori Osborne followed with a paper on the WCTU in India, tracing the different paths three activists took there. Pandita Ramabai, concerned with the plight of child widows, established special schools for them. Frances Willard saw India as an opportunity to internationalize the WCTU and use temperance as a platform to strengthen women’s position within the family and expand their rights. Mary Leavitt, who spent more time on the ground, formed numerous WCTU chapters and prevailed upon Indian men to create their own, facing opposition from British officials for speaking to mixed audiences. Concluding the panel, Jessica Pliley looked at the WCTU’s role in the campaign against human trafficking, tracing the tensions between figures like Josephine Butler, who sought to repeal Britain’s Contagious Diseases Act, which effectively legalized prostitution, and the WCTU’s Kate Bushnell, who believed it was important to hear the voices of women in the sex trade and improve their conditions.

The last day of the conference featured the final panel, titled “Protecting Women and Children: Feminism by Other Means,” which was followed by a brief discussion of the entire proceedings; Sonya Michel chaired both. Eva Payne began the panel with an intricate analysis of the three-way debate over age-of-consent laws in Britain, the United States, and India. She showed how the U.S. women physicians who were concerned with this issue played the three countries off against one another, using claims to “civilization” as a lever. Ann Taylor Allen then described how women reformers around the world, drawing on the ideas of German education pioneer Friedrich Froebel, promoted the establishment of kindergartens as a way of advancing themselves professionally. Finally, Michel read a paper by Mineke Bosch,

who could not be present, which traced the international transfer of birth control knowledge by looking at how the “Dutch cap,” an early contraceptive device, got its name. One of its chief advocates was the Dutch feminist Aletta Jacobs, who encountered opposition from colleagues who feared that birth control advocacy would taint the suffrage movement.

Bosch’s point segued smoothly into the wrap-up discussion of themes that had emerged throughout the conference. The papers had shown that women’s strategies changed over the course of the “long nineteenth century” as permanent organizations were formed, yet national political and legal contexts as well as cultures constrained efforts at reform. Participants emphasized the importance of considering philanthropy as well as government policies, comparing individual and organizational techniques, and noted the irony that international figures often drop out of national narratives. The papers had shown that women formed bonds across borders in different ways, as individuals, through organizations, and with the help of publications. In addition, participants identified several themes that connected the panels, like the aspiration of “universal sisterhood,” which could culminate in social movements and the transfer of knowledge. They also agreed that many papers were contributions to the historiographic trend of “new biography.” Given the coherence of the papers and their many original findings, the participants concluded that an edited volume should be feasible.

Sonya Michel (University of Maryland, College Park) and Anja Schöler  
(University of Heidelberg)

## THIRTEENTH WORKSHOP ON EARLY MODERN GERMAN HISTORY

Workshop at the German Historical Institute London on May 6, 2016. Organized by the GHI London in cooperation with the GHI Washington and the German History Society. Conveners: Bridget Heal (University of St Andrews), David Lederer (NUI Maynooth), Jenny Spinks (University of Manchester), and Michael Schaich (German Historical Institute London). Participants: Jill Bepler (University of Wolfenbüttel), David Boyd (Cambridge University), Hannah Briscoe (University of St Andrews), Ryan Crimmins (Oxford University), Markus Friedrich (University of Hamburg), Christian Gepp (University of Vienna), Sky Michael Johnston (University of California, San Diego), Shiru Lim (University College London), Rebecca Lott (University of St Andrews), Benjamin M. Pietrenka (University of California, Santa Cruz), Ben Pope (University of Durham), Elena Taddei (University of Innsbruck).

The thirteenth workshop on early modern German history, hosted by the German Historical Institute London in early May, brought together thirty-four historians from Austria, Germany, Ireland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Participants ranged from Ph.D. students at various stages in their research to early career and established scholars. The ten papers included cultural, economic, environmental, and transnational histories and studied a wide range of social classes, confessions, and practices from the fifteenth to the late eighteenth century, both across continental Europe and in the German Atlantic. Though diverse, the papers were organized into four thematic sessions which stimulated interesting questions and compelling dialogue amongst the participants.

The day began with a session on “Social Elites and Learning,” chaired by Jenny Spinks. Jill Bepler opened the workshop with an insightful examination of how early modern German dynastic women used the content and physical features of books for personal devotion and to exert both confessional and political authority. Women directly influenced their sons by commissioning and writing books with specific content, sometimes personalized with inscriptions or even a portrait. They also hoped that their influence would continue over later generations and therefore created books as valuable heirloom objects with elaborate bindings and preserved them in archives, *Kunstkammern*, libraries, and family collections.

For these women, books offered a gendered space, documented family and social networks, and were revered as sacred objects and evidence of miracles.

Shiru Lim gave an overview of her ongoing research regarding the public and private correspondence between monarchs and men of letters in the late eighteenth century. She explored the potency of publicness as seen through Frederick II and highlighted the presence and rivalry of multiple, sometimes oppositional publics. She looked at Frederick II's secret role in writing *Anti-Machiavel*, heavily edited by Voltaire, and how he desired to stop its publication when he became king. The open secrecy of Frederick's involvement led to criticism when his actions did not match his theory of governance. As demonstrated through his writing, correspondence, and the prize essay competition at the Berlin Academy, he desired to be both monarch and philosopher.

After a short break, Michael Schaich chaired the second session, which explored "The Worlds of the Nobility." Ben Pope began the session with an outline of his recently-completed Ph.D. research on relations between townspeople and the rural nobility in late medieval Germany. He first described the movement of patricians to rural areas and underscored the significance of their resulting animosity and rivalry with townspeople. He considered the hypothesis that the perception of increased hostility gained momentum initially as part of a political program of princes and nobles, only later becoming a common model for understanding these dynamics. He then posed questions regarding the process of identity formation, and proposed a further project to study the development of the ideas of antagonism between town and nobility in the hopes of providing new perspectives on town, nobility, and wider society.

Elena Taddei examined the relationship between the Este Dynasty in the Po valley and the Habsburgs, emphasizing their entanglement and dense network in early modern times. Her study focused on the significance of geography, cultural transfer, self-perception, and awareness of others. She described the complex network of relationships between dynasty and empire as created and maintained by material and cultural exchange through marriage, correspondence, ambassadors, visits, and gifts. Her paper was followed by an interesting discussion on the themes of strategy, gendered correspondences and presents, the relationship of the Este dynasty with France, and early modern linguistic barriers.

Christian Gepp added the perspective of economic history to the workshop in his examination of eighteenth-century noble entrepreneurship in the establishment of factories. He outlined his ongoing dissertation that investigates the development of the estates Holíč and Šaštín in the Habsburg monarchy and their economic rise under Francis Stephen of Lorraine (Emperor Francis I, 1745–65). The administrations of both estates were structurally similar, and both factories had a positive economy. He stressed that the development of manufacturing was not autonomous, but should be viewed in light of a mercantilist perspective by studying accounts as a whole, rather than by year.

After enjoying a refreshing lunch and conversation, we reconvened for a session on “Social and Religious Practices and Attitudes,” chaired by David Lederer. Markus Friedrich presented the framework of a future project conceptualizing and writing the history of obedience. Previously studied in the context of social discipline, obedience, Friedrich alternatively suggested, has a broader and an older history, with specific early modern manifestations. Obedience in the early modern period was viewed principally as a positive value that enhanced freedom, and could be separated into three types: good (not forced), childish, and bad (mercenary) obedience. Furthermore, disobedience was sometimes a form of higher, or super-obedience — viewing oneself as obedient to God above princes. The study of obedience can thus contribute to understanding the early modern world, and provides a cross-cultural focus for the study of people in their different social constructs.

Ryan Crimmins presented from his ongoing research into the role of religious conviction and confession in a military context through the generalship of Gustav Adolf II and Johann Tserclaes von Tilly in the Thirty Years War. In response to both overtly confessional and religious historiography, he addressed the extent to which armies can be seen as confessional. By examining the religious infrastructure, observance, and practice in these armies, he illustrated the influential role that confession, authority, law, and morality played in battle and military structure. Religion affected the military through the piety of generals, the army consistory and chaplains, and the confessional practices of singing or chanting when entering battle. He hopes to continue to study a wide range of armies in order to understand the overall role of religion in the military during the Thirty Years War.

Contributing further to the scope of the workshop, Sky Michael Johnston discussed society in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century German lands as seen through people's perceptions of weather and the relationship between groups connected by weather. He suggested five potential structural themes for his research: theological views, scientific and proto-scientific understandings, popular belief and practices, actual weather events, and a comparative view of Catholic and Protestant beliefs and practices. Johnston closed with a case study of Luther's view of weather, including his lectures on Genesis as the framework of nature and his view that weather was overall a blessing that revealed God's goodness. Luther saw storms as a cosmic struggle between angels and demons who lived in clouds, rainbows as a result of God's hand, and bad weather as a curse tied to the increase in sin and the coming apocalypse.

Bridget Heal chaired the fourth and final session, which centered on "The German Atlantic." Benjamin M. Pietrenka examined the private and public dynamics of the Moravian *Gemeintag* (Congregation Day) services and correspondence networks throughout the early eighteenth-century Atlantic world. The *Gemeintag* service was a dialogue between preacher and congregation, and blended traditional elements of corporate worship with non-traditional personal elements, such as letters, diaries, and testimonies. In a case study of Moravian missions to Greenland, a female indigenous convert had written a letter regarding her faith. The letter, which focused on Christ as a blood-sacrifice, was then shared with Moravian congregations during their *Gemeintag* services. This "blood and wounds piety" served as an evangelical method for conversion, and gives insight into the spirituality, hierarchy, and communication practices of the Moravians.

James Boyd concluded the workshop with his paper on the creation of German networks in the early modern Atlantic, and examined whether their impetus was religious or secular in nature. Although previous studies have argued that religion was the main influence on migration until the 1730s, he maintained that religious networks provided assistance to major commercial modes and did not drive later migration. Post 1709, Germans migrated more for economic reasons, and went to Pennsylvania because of the established government and trade hubs. He emphasized the importance of credit-based travel available to German immigrants, largely promoted by Johann Christoph Saur in Germantown and supported by Caspar Wistar, who

bought land and instituted a commercial transit system. He therefore concluded that it is not suitable to generalize the importance of religious networks.

This was another successful and rewarding workshop, with engaging contributions from all participants on diverse topics, geographies, and chronologies. Each paper was followed by lively discussion and stimulating questions that both challenged and encouraged the presenters. Overall, the day provided an insightful survey of both recent scholarship and developing approaches to early modern German history and drew on common themes such as material culture and power relations.

Hannah Briscoe (St Andrews) and Rebecca Lott (St Andrews)





## **22ND TRANSATLANTIC DOCTORAL SEMINAR: NINETEENTH- AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY GERMAN HISTORY**

Seminar at the German Historical Institute Washington, May 25-28, 2016. Co-organized by the German Historical Institute Washington and the BMW Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University. Conveners: Anna von der Goltz (Georgetown University) and Richard F. Wetzell (GHI) Faculty mentors: David Blackbourn (Vanderbilt University), Neil Gregor (University of Southampton), Dagmar Herzog (City University of New York, Graduate Center), Ulrike Weckel (University of Giessen). Participants: Ian Beacock (Stanford University), Nils Bennemann (University of Duisburg-Essen), Patrick Gilner (Indiana University), Timon de Groot (Max Planck Research School for Moral Economies of Modern Societies, Berlin), David Harrisville (University of Wisconsin, Madison), Jean-Michel Johnston (University of Oxford), Lukas Keller (Free University of Berlin), Andrew Kloiber (McMaster University), Mary-Ann Middelkoop (University of Cambridge), Cassandra Painter (Vanderbilt University), Alexandria Ruble (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), Konrad Sziedat (University of Munich), Robert Terrell (University of California, San Diego), Marcel Thomas (University of Bristol), Gavin Wiens (University of Toronto). Kathleen Rahn (University of Leipzig) could not attend; her paper and comment were read.

The twenty-second Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar in German History was dedicated to nineteenth- and twentieth-century German history. The seminar brought together eight doctoral students from North America and eight from Europe, all of whom are working on dissertations in German history. The meeting was organized in eight panels, which opened with two comments by fellow students, followed by discussion of the precirculated papers.

The seminar's first panel commenced with comments by Mary-Ann Middelkoop and Ian Beacock, which situated the first two papers in the broader historiography of technological change and scientific progress in nineteenth-century Germany and beyond. Nils Bennemann's paper on maps of Germany's largest river created by the Central Commission for Rhine Navigation interpreted the Commission as part of a "knowledge regime." Technical concerns, he argued, were less important in shaping knowledge about the river than the inner workings of the Commission, the first international organization in

modern Europe. Jean-Michel Johnston's paper examined the impact of telegraphy on the "social mood" in the German-speaking lands in the 1850s. Rather than presenting a story of unfettered optimism, he highlighted that high-speed communication often had an ambiguous impact on local communities. Spiraling demand for the service and uneven access created new time-based social hierarchies and led to widespread feelings of anxiety, Johnston suggested. The discussion focused on the specific place of German history in transnational histories of nineteenth-century Europe. Several comments also underscored that broad analytical categories, such as "knowledge regime" and "social moods," needed unpacking.

The second panel, whose papers were introduced by David Harrisville and Alexandria Ruble, dealt with the tensions between the local and the national and between belonging and exclusion in Imperial Germany. Gavin Wiens' paper looked at Prussian and non-Prussian perceptions of the Imperial German Army — an entity that remained a collection of regionally-based contingents until 1918. He argued that this structure was perceived as necessary and problematic at the same time. Although it did not undermine German fighting strength in the First World War, it produced considerable anxiety in the preceding years. Lukas Keller's dissertation project honed in on the wartime years by looking at official discourses about "domestic enemies" and internal security in Germany between 1914 and 1918. "Spymania" after the declaration of the state of siege sparked a moral panic about foreigners living in Germany. Keller's paper made considerable use of sources "from below" to chart how ordinary Germans responded to — and often stoked — the public hysteria about this alleged internal threat. The discussion touched on a number of themes, particularly the relationship between the Imperial Army and feelings of national belonging as well as the peculiarity — or lack thereof — of Germany's national security discourse in the late *Kaiserreich*.

The papers of the third panel, introduced by Robert Terrell and Andrew Kloiber, dealt with prison experiences and their afterlives in Imperial Germany. Kathleen Rahn's paper examined how much agency white and African inmates as well as prison guards had in prisons in German South-West Africa. Timon de Groot focused on the lives of ex-convicts and their attempts to get officially rehabilitated as German citizens. Making extensive use of ex-convicts' petitions, de Groot argued that the reinstatement of citizens' rights (including the right to vote, wear a uniform, and join the military) was often

less important to petitioners than the regaining of social honor. The in-depth discussion focused on methodological issues, including the utilization of postcolonial theory and the absence of African primary sources in Rahn's paper and the value and potential pitfalls of petitions as primary sources in de Groot's work.

The fourth panel, introduced by Marcel Thomas and Lukas Keller, left the Imperial period behind and turned the seminar's attention to the aftermath of the First World War and the first years of Weimar. Both papers emphasized international perspectives on this period of transition. Mary-Ann Middelkoop took a close look at the young republic's emerging foreign cultural policy, with a particular focus on the role that a select group of artists, diplomats, and gallery owners played in shaping the way in which Germany's first democracy sought to portray itself abroad. Patrick Gilner's paper, which is part of a dissertation on the Leipzig War Crimes Trials, analyzed Allied discussions about the attempt to extradite and try Kaiser Wilhelm II in late 1918. Gilner demonstrated that the Allies sought to use an ad hoc trial of the Kaiser to create a new international juridical system for punishing war crimes and wars of aggression. Much of the discussion revolved around different definitions of German culture — who defined which art was archetypically German? How monolithic was German culture and did it cross borders intact? Several participants also wanted to know how both papers related to the recent historiographical emphasis on the contingency and openness of the Weimar Republic's future.

Much like the preceding discussion, the fifth panel, introduced and contextualized by Gavin Wiens and Konrad Sziedat, highlighted the vitality of new scholarship on the Weimar Republic. Cassandra Painter's paper on the interwar cult surrounding Anna Katharina Emmerick, which is part of a larger project on the cult of this stigmatic visionary in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany, showed how Germans reimagined the rural setting of Emmerick's life through the anxieties and longings of their own turbulent time. The Weimar years also saw efforts to organize and professionalize her acolytes; a veritable "Emmerick Movement" emerged. Ian Beacock presented a paper that forms part of a larger work on political emotions in the Weimar Republic. Based on two case studies, the 1922 murder of Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau and a speech that novelist Thomas Mann gave in its aftermath, Beacock analyzed republican debates about the relationship between passion and democracy.

Defenders of the republic debated intensely whether democratic politics should be the province of considered rational judgment or whether a more passionate republicanism was in order. The lively debate honed in on the contribution of the history of emotions to scholarship on Weimar. Was Beacock's work primarily concerned with key intellectuals and the ways in which they used emotion in their rhetorical strategies? Could the history of emotions help in analyzing the fervor of Emmerick's followers? Were emotions key to understanding Weimar's demise? Several commentators also suggested drawing inspiration from recent scholarship on religion and emotion in the postwar period.

The sixth panel, on which Cassandra Painter and Patrick Gilner served as commentators, examined two popular libations — beer and coffee — and their role as commodities through which meanings were conveyed and new meanings created in postwar Germany. Robert Terrell's paper analyzed the politics of food and beer in postwar Bavaria. He argued that beer was deeply interwoven with the broader agricultural policy of Bavaria and thus led to tensions with the American occupiers, who, at a time of extreme caloric scarcity, considered beer a luxury rather than a staple food item. His larger project aims to unpack the commodification of "Bavarianness" in postwar Germany. Andrew Kloiber's study, by contrast, looks at the history of coffee in the German Democratic Republic and suggests that the Socialist regime's need to supply coffee challenged its claims to legitimacy. The paper he presented looked at trade agreements the GDR concluded with a number of states in the developing world. In spite of the regime's rhetoric of internationalist socialist solidarity, Kloiber contended, these agreements reproduced a racial understanding of the division between East Germany and its coffee partners, such as Laos and Vietnam. The discussion teased out how to situate this study among other recent works that have used global history approaches to the study of state socialist regimes. Commentators also questioned the somewhat fixed understanding of "identity" at the heart of Terrell's paper and emphasized a number of continuities between the Nazi era and the postwar period.

The seminar's penultimate panel, introduced by Timon de Groot and Nils Bennemann, included two rather different papers. David Harrisville focused on the emergence of the myth of the "clean Wehrmacht," a myth that already took shape during the war. Based on a close reading of a sample of German soldiers' letters to the home

front, his paper examined how soldiers on the eastern front attempted to portray themselves as a liberating force during the invasion of the Soviet Union — and thus reframed a war of extermination as a moral endeavor. Alexandria Ruble's paper, which is part of a larger project on family law reforms in both German states, explored the SED's new socialist family code of 1954. Protests by Christians, she argued, had a profound effect and prevented the East German government from approving the Code. The discussion brought to the fore methodological and historiographical questions. Participants urged Harrisville to problematize the small size of his sample more fully and to refrain from presenting his work as the first to tackle big themes, such as Nazi morality. The group also wanted to know more about how Ruble's work would help historians to grapple with the "asymmetrical entanglement" (Klessmann) of the two German states post-1945.

The papers of the seminar's final panel, with comments by Jean-Michel Johnston and Kathleen Rahn, both explored the relationship between politics and ideology on the one hand and individual political beliefs and practices of activism on the other. Marcel Thomas' spatial history of postwar Germany considered how an East and a West German village were transformed in the decades after 1945. His sample chapter concentrated on two instances of local activism to shed light on the renegotiation of the citizen-state relationship in East and West Germany. The terms "expectation" and "disappointment" were key to Konrad Sziedat's investigation of how left-wing West German activists dealt with the collapse of state socialism after 1989. Taking the campaign for "Solidarity with *Solidarnosc*" as his case study, Sziedat showed that prior to — and indeed after — 1989 many on the left had hoped that, with the help of activists in Poland and elsewhere in the Eastern bloc, Western liberal democracies would be transformed alongside state socialist regimes. Such hopes for a "Third Way" between socialism and liberal democracy initially survived the big turning point of 1989 and only disappeared more slowly in the 1990s. During the discussion, participants pondered the relationship between the state and individual beliefs and practices, the use of autobiography and oral history in contemporary history writing, and the efficacy of contemporary terms and concepts for historical analyses.

During the final discussion, participants reflected on what their topics and approaches said about the state of research on German history

more generally. Emotions featured very prominently in many of this year's papers, while none of the papers dealt with environmental history, the history of the body, or labor history, for instance. The mentors urged the graduate students not to become intellectual slaves to certain scholarly trends. For one, not every German history study had to be transnational; it was still legitimate to anchor one's work very firmly in a particular region. Similarly, dissertations should not be too closely tied to conceptual frameworks whose utility was limited. This year marked the first time that the Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar included papers on both nineteenth- *and* twentieth-century German history. Participants overwhelmingly welcomed this merged format, because it forced them to read and think beyond their immediate areas of expertise. Given that senior scholars have often voiced concerns regarding the future of nineteenth-century German history, the fact that six of the sixteen papers dealt with this century was seen as a good sign.

Anna von der Goltz (Georgetown University)



## WILLY BRANDT AND THE AMERICAS, 1974-1992

Conference at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Berlin, June 10-11, 2016. Organized by the Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt Foundation, with support from the German Historical Institute Washington, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, and the Berlin Center for Cold War Studies. Conveners: Klaus Larres (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) and Bernd Rother (Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt Foundation, Berlin). Participants: Oliver Bange (Zentrum für Militärgeschichte und Sozialwissenschaften der Bundeswehr, Potsdam), Andreas Daum (University of Buffalo), Dieter Dettke (Georgetown University's Center for Security Studies, Washington DC), Nikolas Dörr (Federal Foundation for the Study of the Communist Dictatorship in Eastern Germany, Berlin), Mónica Fonseca (Center for International Studies at the University Institute Lisbon), Mathias Haeussler (University of Cambridge), Jan Hansen (Humboldt University, Berlin), Wolfram Hoppenstedt (Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt Foundation, Berlin), Scott Krause (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill), Jürgen Lillteicher (Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt Foundation, Lübeck), Judith Michel (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Berlin), Harold Mock (University of Virginia, Charlottesville), Fernando Pedrosa (University of Buenos Aires), Christian Salm (European Parliamentary Research Service, Brussels), Wolfgang Schmidt (Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt Foundation, Berlin), Pierre Schori (Stockholm), Reimund Seidelmann (Gießen, Germany), Konrad Sziedat (University of Munich).

During uncertain times, like those we are experiencing in the present day, people tend to look back to models from the past. One such model is Willy Brandt. The Social Democratic mayor of West Berlin (1957-1966), Foreign Minister (1966-1969) and Federal Chancellor (1969-1974) remained involved in politics as chairman of the SPD (1964-1987) and president of the Socialist International (1976-1992) even after his roles in government ended. This international conference, however, did not simply try to fill the trivial biographical gaps in the life of Willy Brandt. Rather, it sought to explain, in an actor-centered manner, the international and transnational developments of the Cold War starting in the 1970s. Willy Brandt was considered a “bridge-builder” between East and West, and also, importantly, between North and South. As an introduction, Bernd Rother emphasized that the focus of the conference should be on the shift in international relations, because these were increasingly impacted by globalization and the rise of non-governmental actors starting

in the 1970s. Therefore, he called specifically for manifestations of “secondary foreign policy” and back channel conversations, which remain an under-researched field. Brandt, in his role as president of the Socialist International, is an excellent example of this. In addition, Rother asked questions that set the stage for the theme of the conference, such as: Did this “secondary foreign policy” represent a first step toward a new global sphere for politics? What role did German interests play in Central Africa? Or could one argue that the European social democratic welfare state in Managua was being defended against communism and U.S. hegemony?

The first panel, moderated by Andreas Daum, laid the foundation for the conference by shedding light on Willy Brandt’s relations with the United States in the early years of his political career and on his U.S. networks. In “‘Our security stands and falls with the USA’ — Willy Brandt’s Relations with the United States of America 1933–1974” Judith Michel demonstrated the degree to which Brandt sought to present himself as a reliable partner of the United States. In these years he relied heavily on the Americans providing a security guarantee for Germany. This even led to a self-imposed “internal ban on thinking” while he was chancellor and his decision never to openly criticize the Vietnam War. Does his resignation in 1974 thus reinstate the “true” Willy Brandt, who no longer had to look out for German (security) interests?

The presentation by Scott Krause, “Berlin Bonds: Willy Brandt’s American Support Network, 1941–1989,” addressed an earlier era. In his presentation, Krause pointed out that Brandt’s being untainted by a Nazi past made him appealing to the Americans and helped him to gain access to them. Thus, his American friends supported him in the “merger battle” of the Berlin SPD and financially supported his newspaper, the *Berliner Stadtblatt*. Later, this network helped him to spread his image as a cosmopolitan and a reliable anti-communist via its transatlantic channels. Krause’s presentation also brought the conference a strong media response, which incorrectly reported that Brandt had received money from the CIA. The funding had, in fact, been provided through the Marshall plan.

Mathias Haeussler addressed Brandt’s personality and security considerations in his presentation, comparing the cosmopolitan chancellor to the “armament” chancellor in “Two very different Atlanticists? Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt, 1974–1992.” Brandt and Schmidt shared the conviction that they did not want to sacrifice either Germany’s security, as guarded by the Americans, or the goals

of *Ostpolitik*. However, they differed in the manner in which they sought to achieve these political goals: whereas Brandt had a vision of a new global political and social sphere, Schmidt preferred to return to the equilibrium of the 1960s.

The second panel, moderated by Wolfram Hoppenstedt, examined the connections between the two common markets that existed at the time, the European Community (EC) and Mercosur. Christian Salm, in his contribution, titled “Willy Brandt, the European Union and the Emerging Mercosur, 1976–1992,” put forward the thesis that nongovernmental actors, in particular Willy Brandt, played a decisive role in the formation of the Latin-American market. He identified a number of factors: networks, such as the Socialist International, serving as transmission channels; the (financial) support of Latin-American institutions by the German government, the Friedrich Ebert foundation, and others; Willy Brandt’s introduction of regional integration into the Latin-American agenda; and the former Chancellor’s personality as a promoter of integration and as a role model. In his research, Salm seeks to determine what the Latin-American actors did and did not adopt from the EC.

This was followed by Harold Mock’s presentation, “A Post-National Europe: Brandt’s Vision for the EC between the Superpowers.” According to Mock, Brandt encouraged a postnational perspective as a result of his personal background during the Second World War: according to this perspective, goals such as peace, freedom, and human rights cannot be achieved within the bounds of the nation state. For Brandt, the European Community could have developed into an autonomous actor and an alternative to the system of superpowers, but had failed to do so.

The following panel, led by Klaus Larres, addressed the discussion of a “third way” between capitalism and communism, not only economically, but also in terms of security policy. Using the example of Italy, Nikolas Dörr, in “How to Deal with Eurocommunism? A Case Study of Dissonance between Willy Brandt and the U.S. Governments of Nixon, Ford and Carter” looked at how the United States and Brandt assessed “Eurocommunism.” The difference could not have been more pronounced: while Brandt had good relations with the Communist Party in Italy, the United States regarded the 1.8 million members of the party and its electoral success as a “red threat” — an enormous security risk. For this reason, they also supported anti-communist movements toward the end of the 1970s. In the

discussion that followed, the point was made that the “Eurocommunism” spectrum extended as far as Chile, where the United States also perceived Salvador Allende to be a security risk.

In this case, it becomes evident how American security interests differed from Brandt’s conceptions of them. In this vein, Jan Hansen made it clear in his contribution, “Say Farewell to the Cold War? Brandt, the USA, and the Euromissiles Question,” that for the Social Democrats the Soviet Union had become a legitimate potential partner by the 1980s. Thus, some in the SPD sought to reactivate their former networks in order to convey their misgivings about NATO’s dual track decision. Naturally, this did not improve relations between the SPD and the United States, which were already cooling.

This was complemented by Oliver Bange’s remarks in his presentation titled “Conceptualising ‘Common Security’: Willy Brandt’s Vision of Transbloc Security and its International Perception 1981-1990.” Brandt’s ideas about a bloc-encompassing “common security” in the 1980s can be framed as two questions: was Brandt’s turn against NATO’s dual track decision, including the stationing of missiles in Germany, at the party congress in 1983 due to his perceptions of security, or did he want to portray himself as the man to keep the party together? Was Brandt, with his vision of a bloc-encompassing “common security” that no longer relied entirely on the United States, acting as the first to understand that other political measures were necessary, or was he proving himself to be “out of touch” with politics and society of the 1980s with these views?

The panel closed with Konrad Sziedat’s presentation, entitled “Social Democrats on a ‘Third Way’: 1989 as a Year of Metamorphosis?” Sziedat’s research is part of a larger project at the Leibniz Graduate School on the history of disappointment in the twentieth century entitled “Enttäuschung im 20. Jahrhundert.” He argued that Brandt himself had a “third way” between capitalism and communism in mind. But what were the implications? Sziedat sees Gorbachev’s reforms and the discussions surrounding these reforms as a key factor. The idea of democratic socialism was very popular in the 1980s. But what followed with the collapse of the USSR in the 1990s? In this context, Sziedat referred to Tony Blair and Gerhard Schröder, both of whom made new attempts in the direction of a third way.

The concluding panel, chaired by Jürgen Lillteicher addressed the core of the entire conference, Brandt’s relations with Latin America.

Fernando Pedrosa led off with “‘Elastic Cooperation’: Willy Brandt and the Socialist International in Latin America.” In this presentation, he argued that in order to gain a foothold in Latin America the Socialist International had to turn to parties that were not necessarily socialist. This was the case, for example, in Argentina with the *Partido Radical*. In addition, the expansion of the Socialist International to Latin America took place at a time when the European Socialists were in a moment of crisis, and thus welcomed expansion. This example also shows the distrust of the German Social Democrats that the U.S. administration developed by the end of the 1970s, which only grew further.

Mónica Fonseca addressed this point in her presentation, “Brandt’s SI Offensive towards Latin America: the View from Washington.” She first provided an overview of the Portuguese Revolution and the SPD’s strategy to financially and organizationally support the socialists there before the USSR was able to do so. She then came to the conclusion that the Latin-American states could have learnt from the example of the Latin-European states in their own ideas and democratization processes. Though the Socialist International sought the support of the United States in promoting democratization in Latin-America, the Carter administration harbored a noticeable mistrust of its activities.

This was also reflected in Bernd Rother’s contribution, “The Intruder in the Backyard: The Socialist International and the U.S. in Central America.” The U.S. government perceived the Social Democrats to be “friends of communists,” because they supported armed freedom movements with close ties to socialism. He argued that this could be seen in the examples of Nicaragua and El Salvador. This put strains on communication with Americans, but did not cause communication to break down entirely. Yet the Socialist International wanted consensus amongst all involved in this armed conflict: in the case of Nicaragua it had to keep the balance between the Marxist-leaning Sandinistas, the increasing exertion of influence by the Reagan administration in Latin America, and German domestic politics when it came to the question of supporting freedom movements. This case serves as a good example of how international relations can reshape themselves when material, financial, and organizational support of Social Democratic organizations is combined with classic “back channel” conversations.

In the final presentation, Wolfgang Schmidt spoke on the economic aspect, “Willy Brandt’s North-South Commission and the Reactions in the United States.” In the 1970s there was strong demand for a new world-wide financial system. Bretton Woods was becoming

obsolete and North-South relations also needed to be readjusted in this sector. The key request of the North-South Commission, which was chaired by Willy Brandt, was a development fund of more than \$400 million, which was to be available to any country, regardless of ideology. However, the report did not have the desired effects in the late 1970s. Other than in the UN, the report received little attention. The Reagan administration addressed the global economic crisis in the early 1980s with cuts, including cuts in development aid. The so-called “Third World” was forced to serve as the economic battlefield in the renewed Cold War.

The discussion amongst contemporary witnesses, which concluded the conference, ultimately concentrated on the personality of Willy Brandt. The discussions on the panel frequently returned to his personal and emotional side, and to his historical importance. Many political connections could not be explained today without reference to the personal aspect. Dieter Dettke, for example, characterized Brandt’s relationship with the Kennedys as a “gold standard” in relations with American politicians. But criticism was also voiced: Dettke, who was director of the Washington office of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in the late 1980s, would have liked a clearer position from him in the debate over NATO’s dual track decision. And Pierre Schori, who was the international secretary of the Swedish Social Democratic Party at the time, referred to Brandt’s problems in the 1980s with the Eastern European dissidents, in particular Solidarność, as a lost opportunity.

Overall, the conference achieved its goal of providing an exciting overview of Willy Brandt’s transnational ties during the political events of the Cold War. Due to the presence of former colleagues of Willy Brandt’s, lively discussions and concrete examples supplemented the academic contributions and promoted a genial conference atmosphere. Many questions were answered, but new questions were also raised: for example, the potential for further discussion remained as to whether Willy Brandt, in his conception of security, was “out of touch” or whether he was ahead of his time. Likewise, how Cuba, for example, responded to the activities of the Socialist International in Latin America was not settled. What certainly became clear, however, was that significantly more scholarly attention could be given to “secondary foreign policy” and to North-South relations in the Cold War.

Sophie Lange (Berlin Center for Cold War Studies);  
translated by Sally Hudson (GHI)

## ARCHIVAL SUMMER SEMINAR IN GERMANY 2016

Seminar in Germany, June 12- June 24. Convener: Elisabeth Engel (GHI). Participants and their dissertation topics: Sheragim Jenabzadeh (University of Toronto), *Iranian Students in Cosmopolitan Germany: From the Kaiserreich to the Nazi Era*; Sky Michael Johnston (University of California, San Diego), *Weather as a Window to Culture in Early Modern Germany: Religion, Science, and Popular Beliefs under the Same Sky*; Claudia Kreklau (Emory University), *Culinary Accounts of the Bürgertum: Studying the German Bourgeoisie through Food, 1815-1870s*; Michal Mlynarz (University of Toronto), *'Monuments and Memory Unmade': The Socio-Cultural Impact of the Post-World War II Mass Population Movements on Urban Space in the Polish Borderlands*; Joseph Nothmann (University of Pennsylvania), *Futures' Pasts: Central European Commodity Exchanges, 1870-1945*; Yanan Qizhi (Pennsylvania State University), *Dreams and Dream Culture in Early Modern Germany (1500-1650)*; Scott Sulzener (University of Iowa), *From Provincial Convent to Imperial Court: Women Nobles and Local Claims to Power in the German Empire*; Troy Vettese (New York University), *Non-conventional Capitalism: The Political Economy of Synthetic Fuel*.

There are many approaches to the study of German history, but none can neglect a profound understanding of German script. With origins in the ninth century, this historical form of German handwriting has evolved across the centuries, shaping and reshaping letters as well as the writing habits of people according to changing usages, tastes, aesthetics, and practical demands. The official end of German script came in 1942, when the Nazi regime abolished it and replaced it with the Latin alphabet. Nonetheless, many people continued to write "German" as they had learned it in school, so that, de facto, German script was in use up to the 1960s. German script thus constitutes both one of the oldest elements of German culture and a challenge historians face when digging into German archives.

The Archival Summer Seminar in Germany of the German Historical Institute is an effort to familiarize American Ph.D. candidates with this peculiarity in the study of the German past. While German studies is a well-established field in North American academia, opportunities to receive training in reading German primary sources remain scarce. In 2016, the Archival Summer Seminar in Germany afforded this opportunity to eight ABD Ph.D. candidates from the United States and Canada. Working on projects in German *Zeitgeschichte*, Imperial



Germany, and the early modern period, the group participated in a two-week archival training program in Germany from June 12 to June 24. As always in the program's more than twenty-year tradition, the seminar addressed two key topics: paleography and archives. One week of the program was dedicated to the study of historical German handwriting, with a special focus on its variants in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. The second week shifted the focus to the techniques by which German archives preserve the past and explored the ways in which scholars can access it.

Proceeding in this order, the archival summer seminar started in Speyer, a small town in Rhineland-Palatinate, with a week of an intensive paleography class. Taught by the head of the local Landesarchiv, Dr. Walter Rummel, this class offered background information on the history of German script, an introduction to the holdings of the Landesarchiv Speyer and, most importantly, guidance for and practice in deciphering, transcribing, contextualizing, and interpreting German handwriting. To this end, Walter Rummel provided the students with a selection of texts from various individuals, institutions, and centuries, and explained their different purposes and writing styles. In addition to thinking about the imponderability of paleography, the group came together for dissertation workshops on two afternoons, presenting and discussing each other's projects on a conceptual and methodological level. The intellectual exercise was rounded out by an evening in the "Alter Hammer," a regional beer garden on the Rhine, where Walter Rummel traditionally meets the group. After completing the class in reading German script on June 17, the participants traveled from Speyer to Berlin.

The second week provided guided introductions to Germany's archives, explaining their structure, (dis-)connections, and various administrative levels. During this week, the group visited the Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv), one of nine branches of the official repository of German government institutions, the Berlin State Archive (Landesarchiv Berlin) as well as the Stasi Records Agency (Stasiunterlagenbehörde), the archive of the East German secret police and foreign intelligence service that only recently became available to the public. These introductions to government-related archives were complemented by visits to archives that originated prior to the formation of the comparatively young German state and its even more recent partitioning. To explore research options for the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the group visited

the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (the official archive of Prussia), the Evangelisches Zentralarchiv (the national repository of the Protestant church), as well as the Staatsbibliothek, which offers not only inviting workspaces but also extensive holdings in secondary literature and primary sources dating back to the Middle Ages.

Visits to these types of governmental and non-governmental archives illustrated how students of German history might approach their topics at the level of primary sources. Participants learned to distinguish traces (*Überreste*) from traditions (*Überlieferungen*) and that archives only dealt with the latter. They also learned to make educated guesses about where to find archives of relevance. Germany operates its historic repositories parallel to its federal government structure, so that researchers may have to visit a number of state archives all across the country to address their individual research question. Correspondingly, students gained an understanding of the *Provenienzprinzip*, the rule of jurisdiction according to which the responsibility of collecting administrative records is distributed. Insights into these overarching principles of navigating German archives tied into understanding the role the *Tektonik* (record groups) and the *Bewertung* (the strategies archives use to select the materials they preserve) play in organizing individual archival holdings. In the end, the group realized, historians work with one to three percent of the historic material that is produced.

A particularly fine feature of this year's archival tour was the great effort archivists made, first, to coordinate their introductions so that they built upon one another and, second, to provide documents for the participants' individual projects. While avoiding redundancies in the explanation of their functions, most of the archives had hunted for records that spoke to the very specific research questions the participants raised in their own projects, such as the role of food, dreams or the weather in German culture. Their successful search for historical material that spoke to such questions nicely illustrated that historians can elicit counter-intuitive findings from presumably dull administrative records, if they approached their jurisdiction creatively.

As always, the archival tour was supported by alumni of the program. This time, Teresa Walch (University of California San Diego) and Brandon Bloch (Harvard University) provided the group with practical advice on how to navigate the German research landscape from the perspective of Americans who do research in Germany for the first time. The get-together with former archival summer seminar

participants offered the opportunity to ask all the profane questions that inevitably occur on research trips, even if they are hardly considered part of the research project itself, such as: how does one register with the Ausländerbehörde, which phone cards work best, and what platforms are there to find housing. While the archival seminar did not necessarily help all participants locate the sources they were hoping for, it did create a better understanding of how to look for them.

Elisabeth Engel (GHI)

## **IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN TRANSNATIONAL COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE, FROM THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO TODAY**

Workshop at the German Historical Institute, June 16–17, 2016. Conveners: Hartmut Berghoff (University of Göttingen), Jessica Csoma (GHI), Bryan Hart (GHI), Kelly McCullough (GHI), Atiba Pertilla (GHI), Benjamin Schwantes (Johns Hopkins University), Uwe Spiekermann (University of Göttingen). Participants: Alicia Dewey (Biola University), Jürgen Finger (GHI Paris), Javier Grossutti (Swinburne University of Technology), Will Hausman (College of William & Mary), Giles Hoyt (Indiana University–Purdue University Indianapolis), Rebecca Kobrin (Columbia University), Alan Kraut (American University), Jochen Krebber (University of Trier), Indianna Minto-Coy (Mona School of Business & Management), Cristoforos Pavlakis (Hellenic Centre for International Studies), Carol Petty (George Mason University), Dan Wadwhani (University of the Pacific), Marianne Wokeck (Indiana University – Purdue University Indianapolis), Xiaojian Zhao (UC Santa Barbara).

On June 16 and June 17, 2016, the German Historical Institute hosted the workshop “Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Transnational Comparative Perspective, Eighteenth Century to Today” to mark the conclusion of the research project “Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present.”

In the first panel, on “Methods and Approaches,” Jürgen Finger’s paper “Entrepreneur Biographies: Microhistories of an Immigration Society” posed the argument that studies of immigrant entrepreneurs’ lives are most useful when they provide a window into the history of how migrants have encountered and reshaped social, cultural, and economic arrangements as they cross national borders. Finger argued that the most fruitful use of the entrepreneurial biography is to use the individual life to provide texture to an account of the history of a community (broadly defined to include not only geographic settlements but also local diasporas, business networks, etc.), rather than myopically focusing on a single case study with only occasional glances at the world outside the subject’s immediate frame of reference. The biography, Finger suggests, should attempt to encompass as many different scales of human activity as possible, and illustrate how global or local forces may shape an entrepreneur’s life in different ways at important moments. In the next presentation, “Why

Biographies? Actors, Agencies, and the Analysis of Immigrant Entrepreneurship,” Uwe Spiekermann noted that the genre has long been disdained by academic historians, particularly in social and economic history, for lacking scholarly rigor and, at worst, for being prone to stringing together unexamined anecdotes and exuding sentimentality. Spiekermann argued that, in fact, biography can expand knowledge within these fields by bringing to their agglomeration of quantitative data a perspective that recognizes the importance of contingency and the agency of multiple actors — not only of the entrepreneur at the center of the account but also of workers, consumers, family members, regulators, and other individuals whose actions both constrain the entrepreneur’s choices and make new opportunities possible.

The second panel, “Individuals, Networks, Ethnic Groups,” probed histories of entrepreneurship across national borders. Javier Grossutti’s paper surveyed immigrant entrepreneurship over the *longue durée* by focusing on mosaic and terrazzo-floor artisans from the Friuli region of Italy, who as early as the sixteenth century were renowned in Venice and whose services were demanded by aristocratic patrons from as far away as France. Grossutti then traced the emigration of Friulian tile artisans to the United States, where they continued to practice their craft and successfully transitioned to using mechanical equipment rather than handicraft alone. Even today many of the largest American tile companies are owned and operated by descendants of nineteenth- and twentieth-century immigrants. Grossutti’s case study illustrated the persistent importance of skills transfer in providing opportunities for entrepreneurship within a lucrative economic niche. Rebecca Kobrin’s paper, “A Credit to Their Nation,” examined migration as a business in and of itself at the turn of the twentieth century by tracing entrepreneurs who facilitated the immigration of Eastern Europeans to the United States. These entrepreneurs served as brokers by buying passenger tickets in bulk, assuring shipping lines a predictable profit, and then providing credit for poor families to buy tickets on installments. Kobrin noted that these entrepreneurs had great visibility and high prestige within their communities, which some in New York and other large cities parlayed into providing banking services and engaging in real estate speculation. Immigrant banks faced minimal government scrutiny at first but were gradually regulated out of existence by lawmakers who were concerned that immigrants who did not patronize mainstream financial institutions might be prone to panic during financial crises and thus destabilize

the local economy. Alicia Dewey reviewed the history of “Diversity and Entrepreneurship in the Texas-Mexico Borderlands, 1880–1940” by examining the activities of Tejano, Mexican, and European immigrant entrepreneurs in the emerging urban network of the lower Rio Grande valley. Providing farm tools, hardware, groceries and other consumer goods to residents of the region’s growing small towns and cities created opportunities for entrepreneurs at varying scales of business activity, and they often attracted customers on both sides of the border. Prevailing systems of racial and ethnic categorization placed Mexicans and Mexican-Americans at the bottom of the social hierarchy, with southern Europeans occupying a middle zone, and “white Anglo-Saxon Protestants” enjoying the most privileged positions. Credit records indicate Mexican-owned businesses faced constraints on their expansion because they had more difficulty obtaining financing than businesses owned by entrepreneurs of other ethnicities.

The third panel returned to the experiences of German-American immigrants. Hartmut Berghoff reviewed “Lessons of the Immigrant Entrepreneurship Project.” The project found that German-American entrepreneurs were active in the broadest possible range of economic activities, from innovation in tobacco and meat processing in early American history to the present-day creation of new high-tech platforms for the online economy. Entrepreneurs’ interactions with the state also ran the gamut from close cooperation in military production to illicit bootlegging and fencing stolen goods. The project, Berghoff noted, was conceptualized in part because of the lack of attention in American business history to ethnic entrepreneurship in general and German-American entrepreneurship in particular. This was in part a consequence of the fraught question of ethnic identity for millions of German-Americans in the wake of the world wars that played out in entrepreneurs’ individual decisions over whether to Anglicize their names, to use German in public, or to actively pursue reconciliation between Germany and the United States in the wake of the two world wars. Jochen Krebber’s presentation, “Swabian Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth Century America,” detailed the experiences of migrants from a cluster of German communities, who typically ended up as local craftsmen or managers of small neighborhood enterprises in the United States as opposed to the nationally and regionally important entrepreneurs profiled at the Immigrant Entrepreneurship website. Krebber’s detailed tracking of individual migrants found that in many cases chain migration was less important than has been generally assumed in the academic literature, and that skilled migrants were

highly likely to move away from friends and acquaintances to new communities where they might fill a needed niche and find greater opportunities. Carol Petty's paper, "German-Americans in the Context of Entrepreneurship and Global Capitalism," traced immigrant entrepreneurs in the United States throughout the twentieth century. Her review found that foreign-born residents and their children have habitually represented a disproportionate percentage of entrepreneurs. In particular, Petty delineated shifts in the proportion of German-American entrepreneurs in different economic sectors, marked by decreasing participation in farming, resource extraction, and wholesale or retail trade while business and professional services account for an increasing proportion of entrepreneurs. Petty concluded that German-American entrepreneurs have particularly benefited from the American transition from an industrial to a postindustrial economy, thanks in part to significantly greater educational attainment than among the general U.S. population. The three papers highlighted the importance of skills transfer in facilitating entrepreneurship among German migrants in the United States, particularly in the nineteenth century, when the strict residential, familial, and occupational laws in many parts of Germany restricted opportunities for artisans and craftsmen in their home communities.

The final panel, "Heritage and Skills," looked at the experiences of specific ethnic groups in three different regions and economic sectors. Cristoforos Pavlakis' paper "Greek Migrant Entrepreneurs in the Southern United States" explained that extreme rural poverty led many Greek men to emigrate in hopes of earning sufficient money to return home and be considered eligible to marry. While the majority of Greek migrants traveled to Northeastern and Midwestern cities and became factory operatives, a sizable portion emigrated to the burgeoning cities of the "New South" and started restaurants, shoe-shine establishments, and other enterprises providing food and other services to an urban clientele. Greeks were often treated as a liminal ethnic group which did not experience the same racial animosity as African-Americans but did not receive the full privileges of white identity either. Many operated businesses and lived in neighborhoods that functioned as buffer zones of racial segregation. Eventually, Pavlakis explained, Greek-Americans established a national identity association, AHEPA, which urged "pure and undefiled Americanism." Over the interwar years, Greek-Americans became assimilated into the larger Southern white community and changed several of their cultural practices, adopting an English-language liturgy in many



Orthodox churches and becoming accepting of intermarriage with other ethnic groups. Ironically, by the 1970s, many communities were sufficiently confident in their American identities that they began to embrace their Greek heritage with street festivals and other celebrations, illustrating the tendency of many ethnic communities to go through periods of both uplifting and downplaying their diasporic history. Xiaojian Zhao's study of Chinese and Korean immigrant entrepreneurship focused on the development of international and global supply chains, especially in the fashion industry, from the 1960s onward. Zhao noted that among both groups relationships between immigrant communities tended to be grounded in family ties or links to a common local origin rather than business relationships. This has changed, she argued, as larger portions of Asian immigrants have shifted their entrepreneurship from community-level businesses such as ethnic restaurants and neighborhood stores to large-scale retail enterprises such as clothing and toy stores. Increasingly, Asian-American entrepreneurs have turned to manufacturers in their home countries to supply their inventory, taking advantage of communication technologies and financial services to efficiently manage logistics. In the case of fashion, these networks extend not only from the United States to China or Korea, but to other communities, such as Buenos Aires, where Korean and Chinese immigrants have developed new garment districts to supply "fast fashion" garments that can be produced cheaply and deployed quickly to store counters throughout the world. Indianna Minto-Coy examined the history of Caribbean immigrant entrepreneurship in the United States, presenting a case study of a fast-food company founded in the 1980s by a Jamaican immigrant and his family in New York City which has since spread throughout the Northeast. Minto-Coy noted that the business had prospered in part by marketing itself as a Caribbean rather than a specifically Jamaican establishment, appealing to a broader regional identity encompassing multiple nations. The paper noted that the company's founder strategically focused on offering franchises to nurses, reasoning that they had both sufficient savings and local community prestige that would allow them to attract and keep potential customers. Determining how best to leverage identity and prestige was crucial to providing the company a stable platform for expanding beyond its original ethnic roots.

The workshop discussions were informed by the keynote lecture by Alan Kraut titled "Investing in America: The Historical Perennial of Immigration and Assimilation," which examined the development

of a formal American immigration infrastructure in the early twentieth century and the interplay between scientific knowledge and the circulation of racial and cultural stereotypes that helped shape immigrants' initial encounters with American government authority. Throughout American history, Kraut noted, immigrants' desires to pursue opportunities to build businesses, families, and communities have often been met with skepticism and nativism, overcome time and again by persistence and creativity. The workshop papers demonstrated that the international framework of the Immigrant Entrepreneurship project points towards the usefulness of using a global lens to trace the development of economic activity and social cohesion in American culture from the eighteenth century through the present, not only among German-Americans but among immigrant groups from all corners of the globe.

Atiba Pertilla (GHI)

## **UNCERTAINTY AND RISK IN AMERICA: (UN)STABLE HISTORIES FROM THE LATE COLONIAL PERIOD TO THE "GILDED AGE"**

Workshop at the John F. Kennedy Institute, Free University of Berlin. June 30 to July 2, 2016. Conveners: Elisabeth Engel (GHI) and Sebastian Jobs (Free University of Berlin). Participants: Sean Cosgrove (Cornell University), Bruce Dorsey (Swarthmore College), Joseph Giacomelli (Cornell University), Michaela Hampf (Free University of Berlin), Martha Hodes (New York University), Jonathan Levy (University of Chicago), Sabine Mischner (University of Freiburg), Simone Müller (University of Freiburg), Sharon Ann Murphy (Providence College), Silvan Niedermeier (University of Erfurt), Lydia Plath (Canterbury University), Eleonora Rohland (University of Bielefeld), Alexander Starre (Free University of Berlin), Olaf Stieglitz (University of Cologne).

While all of us know uncertainties and risks from our daily lives and experience, we know little about their role in history. Historians have hardly inquired how the unknown has shaped subjectivities, social (inter)actions, and institutions at different times and places; nor have they reflected much about their own roles as uncertain narrators, who cope with silences, gaps, and inconsistencies in the effort to construct a comprehensible past. In part, this lacuna is due to the difficulties involved in developing approaches that acknowledge and capture the dynamics of lacking certitude. What are suitable objects of historical investigation? And how do we analyze uncertain sources?

The workshop titled "Uncertainty and Risk in America: (Un)Stable Histories from the Late Colonial Period to the 'Gilded Age'" brought together scholars from Germany and the United States who addressed this difficulty in a series of case studies from nineteenth-century America. Informed by the hypothesis that uncertainty and risk were linked to specific forms of agency, the participants traced some of their most potent manifestations in the contexts of slavery, American capitalism, westward expansion, war, urbanization, and industrialization. The main trajectory of the investigation concerned the questions of, firstly, how concepts of uncertainty and risk emerged, secondly, how their relationship was defined and altered over time and in space, and, thirdly, how they can serve us as heuristic frameworks.

The workshop started with a panel on the risk of resistance with two papers focusing on slavery in the antebellum South. In his talk, “The Crime of Anonymity: Traces of Rebellion in 1802 North Carolina,” Sebastian Jobs explored the dynamics that a rumor about an impending slave revolt developed in the region. Jobs argued that locals constructed and circulated the narrative of a slave insurrection at a variety of sites, including court testimonies, private letters, and newspaper articles, yet without achieving a consistent story. Studying rumors in their distinct quality of providing information that evades certainty, Jobs emphasized, helps us to understand their narrators’ own emotional and epistemological uncertainties. Lydia Plath’s paper, “The Uncertain Worlds of Poor White Slaveholders and their Slaves in the Antebellum South,” investigated how enslaved people construed their masters’ or mistresses’ poverty as a source of risk and uncertainty. Drawing on interviews with former slaves conducted by the Works Progress Administration in the 1930s, Plath showed that former slaves were fearful of low quality housing, a lack of clothing, and going hungry. These recollections of their “poor white trash” owners, Plath argued, reveal the importance of the slaveholders’ financial background in how African Americans perceived the perilousness of their enslavement. The panel’s commentator, Alexander Starre, underscored the value for historians to embrace uncertainty not only as an object of the analysis but also as a practice of writing what Bruno Latour called “risky accounts.”

The panel was followed by the workshop’s keynote address, “Radical Uncertainty: The History of an Idea,” delivered by Jonathan Levy. Drawing on Frank Knight’s definition of radical uncertainty as the uncertainties that remain after the risks that can be calculated, Levy traced the origin of the modern economic concept back to the Middle Ages. The genealogy of radical uncertainty, he argued, emerged in tandem with the history of money as a medium of exchange and its distinct capacity to relate an unknowable future to the present.

The second day of the workshop began with a panel on risk and insurance. Elisabeth Engel’s paper, “‘A Wild, Ungovernable Thing’: Constructions of Risk in the Early Republic, 1770s-1840s,” examined the things that became the objects of early insurance. Her analysis of the emerging landscape of material items that were eligible for insurance coverage in North America showed that early businesses were preoccupied with the combustible belongings of the propertied class. The construction of risk in early American society, Engel

argued, was intimately connected to fire and efforts to maintain an elevated social status. In her paper, “Risky Investments: Banks and Slavery in the Antebellum American South,” Sharon Ann Murphy provided an analysis of the relationship between banking institutions and slavery in Southern finance. Focusing on the Citizen’s Bank of Louisiana, one of the largest plantation banks in the region, she showed that slaves served as collaterals for loans. The risks that were associated with slave collaterals, she argued, were similar to those of any debt contracts. Yet, mortgaged slave property had its specific qualities: creditors could liquidate it more easily, debtors could evade its seizure more easily, and slaveholders could use it to prevent the sale of slaves or the breakup of slave families. Pinpointing additional characteristics of financial instruments directed at securing the future, commentator Olaf Stieglitz drew attention to trust and time as frames of reference for historicizing risk.

The third panel shifted the focus from financial institutions to American engagements with nature. Its theme, risk and environment, was introduced by Eleonora Rohland’s paper, “Hurricane and Slave Revolt? Risk and Uncertainty in New Orleans in 1812.” Conceptualizing the natural disaster of 1812 as a “totalizing event” that revealed fundamental features of society and culture, Rohland explored how an approaching hurricane laid bare the political vulnerability that Louisiana had inherited from its development into a slave society. As Rohland argued, the hurricane coincided with the rise of fears that African slaves could use the storm as an opportunity to overthrow white supremacy. Joseph Giacomelli’s talk, “Uncertainty and Climate Politics in Gilded-Age America,” explored how uncertainties shaped scientific discourses about anthropogenic climate change in the context of American westward expansion. Discussing the depiction of Native Americans and Mormon settlements as “role models” in climate literature, Giacomelli showed how expansionists deployed the scientific uncertainty that prevailed about each group’s impact upon the environment to bolster the advance of empire. In her analysis of the shared themes of these papers, commentator Simone Müller concluded that the construction of environmental risks is inherently anthropocentric and therefore inseparable from questions of materiality, inequality, and power.

The final panel of the day turned to the Civil War era. Sabine Mischner’s talk, “The American Civil War as a Permanent State of Suspense: Uncertainty, Information, and Communication during War,” captured

the difficulties military actors had in acquiring reliable information about the course of the war. Starting with the very question of how battles, victories, and defeats were defined, Mischner exemplified the case by analyzing the decision making processes of the Lincoln administration in the White House and of its generals. Their notorious lack of knowledge, Mischner showed, led to a politically informed military imperative that favored moderate risk-taking over inactivity. In her paper, “The Uncertainty and Risks of Racial Classification in the Nineteenth Century,” Martha Hodes discussed family stories and personal memories as primary sources that help us understand the historical workings of race. Focusing on the example of the family members of a sea captain from the British Caribbean, Hodes demonstrated the multiple and inherently inconsistent ways in which people remembered skin color. The instability of memories and perceptions of racial classifications, she argued, should make historians cautious when they invoke such evidence in their writing. Silvan Niedermeier’s comment pointed out the necessity to consider how communication channels shape the ways in which information is passed on or withheld in the historical analysis.

The last workshop panel focused attention on the link between risk, uncertainty and crime. Bruce Dorsey opened the panel with a talk on “The ‘Factory Girl’: Uncertainty and Risk in Working Women’s Lives.” Focusing on the scandalous murder of a young pregnant female factory worker in Massachusetts in 1832, Dorsey explored the deep-seated anxieties that female wage-labor triggered in the context of America’s transition from farming to large-scale manufacturing. His analysis of trial documents revealed that commencing factory work altered women’s relationship to their families and communities, to the marketplace of clothing and consumption as well as the marketplace of courtship, marriage and sexuality — turning each into idiosyncratic and often overlapping sources of gendered risk and uncertainty that helped push the female sex back into the “traditional sphere.” The final paper, “Tales of Jack the Clipper: Narratives of Risk in Gilded-Age Chicago,” delivered by Jean Cosgrove, examined the peculiar crime of snipping off women’s long hair, which spread in industrial cities around the turn of the twentieth century. Arguing that these attacks were framed as sexually motivated assaults on femininity, Cosgrove showed how the tales of “Jack the Clipper” served to police women’s appearance and presence in public space. Cosgrove’s findings prompted historians to reconsider the physical boundaries of a person’s sex beyond their genitals and of sexual

violence beyond rape. While both papers focused on ways in which the risks and uncertainties of industrialization and urbanization were regulating the bodies of young working class women, commentator Michaela Hampf highlighted the clues they provided about women's agency to pursue independent sexual pleasures, to make new consumer choices, or to explore new hairstyles that emerged out of gendered risks.

The workshop ended with a concluding discussion in which participants addressed the broader patterns and themes that arose from the individual presentations. Risk and uncertainty, this conversation highlighted, offer novel perspectives on historical time periods, actors, and institutions. They foreground the multiplicity and multi-linearity of historical narratives, and gauge the terrains where knowledge was unattainable, unstable, contradictory, speculative, or in denial, and *therefore* powerful and productive. As a research program, this finding promises to provide the starting point for exploring the intersecting uncertainties of the historical agents, the primary source material, and the historian.

Elisabeth Engel (GHI)





## CULTURAL MOBILITY AND KNOWLEDGE FORMATION IN THE AMERICAS

Conference at the Amerikahaus, Munich, June 30 — July 2, 2016. Co-organized by the Bavarian American Academy and the German Historical Institute Washington; with additional support from Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Conveners: Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson (GHI) and Volker Depkat (University of Regensburg / Bavarian American Academy, Munich). Participants: Anna Brickhouse (University of Virginia); Barbara Buchenau (University of Duisburg-Essen); Ángela María Franco Calderón (University of Valle); Jürgen Gebhardt (University of Erlangen-Nuremberg); Barbara Hahn (University of Würzburg); Markus Heide (University of Uppsala); Susanne Lachenicht (University of Bayreuth); Caroline Levander (Rice University); Stephen M. Park (University of Texas Rio Grande Valley); Heike Paul (University of Erlangen-Nuremberg); Christian Pinnen (Mississippi College); Ursula Prutsch (University of Munich); Eberhard Rothfuß (University of Bayreuth); Kerstin Schmidt (University of Eichstaett-Ingolstadt); Rainer Schmidt (University of Dresden); Alan Russell Siaroff (University of Lethbridge); Jobst Welge (University of Eichstaett-Ingolstadt).

Over the course of three days, scholars in history, social and cultural sciences, and American studies examined aspects, dimensions, and major problems of cultural mobility and knowledge formation in the Americas from an interdisciplinary and comparative perspective. The conference was introduced by Volker Depkat, who drew attention to the positioning of this conference in the field of hemispheric American studies, which have been discussed as one way to transnationalize the study of U.S. history, politics, economy, and culture or as a frame for comparative studies. He emphasized that hemispheric approaches, as different as they are in their disciplinary and interdisciplinary manifestations, share a set of premises that have repercussions for the way we conceptualize American studies as such. The two categories of knowledge formation and cultural transfer have been selected as useful discursive frameworks introducing a common analytical focus for discussions among and between the various disciplines.

The first panel, chaired by Volker Depkat, examined the intellectual construction of the Americas. Susanne Lachenicht in her presentation, “How the Americas became the Americas,” brought together national and colonial histories of when and how this happened. She delineated this process using primary sources such as Spanish, Portuguese,

French, English, German, Italian, and Dutch maps, travel narratives, and natural histories from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Lachenicht focused on the process of when and why the competing imperial powers stopped using specific, national terms for the Americas such as *France antarctique*, *Nouvelle France*, *Nueva España*, and adopted the term *Americas* to designate North, Meso, and South America.

In his presentation, “The “Hemispheric Frame” and Travel Writing of the Early United States,” Markus Heide focused on the inception of the struggles for independence in Spanish America. His reading of American travel reports shed light on the discourse of the Western hemisphere and the meaning and functions of this particular transnational symbolic space in the period preceding the rise of the cultural discourse of the Monroe Doctrine. Heide explored the emergence and construction of the hemispheric frame by posing questions like: How did Anglophone American authors of the early nineteenth century think about their young nation’s relation to other newly emerging nations of the so-called New World? How did travelers from the United States represent societies, cultures, peoples, and political systems of the Western hemisphere? How do “racialized” and gendered metaphors shape the accounts of the hemisphere? The idea of the Western hemisphere, as Heide argued, played a particularly effective role in giving expression to the national self-conception as a republic that overcame colonialist rule and at the same time fostered imperial entitlement.

In her keynote presentation, “Revisiting Hemispheric and Transnational American Studies,” Caroline Levander considered the importance of hemispheric and transnational thinking in a time of environmental crisis. Accepting, as recent findings show, that the 1610 arrival of Europeans in America and the consequent impact on atmospheric carbon levels inaugurated a new human-dominated geological epoch known as the Anthropocene, Levander discussed the role twenty-first-century hemispheric and transnational American studies play in the resulting climate change crisis that has little respect for national geopolitical boundaries.

The second panel, chaired by Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson, discussed various aspects of slavery and emancipation in the Americas. In his presentation, “Cultural Transfer of Racial and Legal Traditions: Natchez Mississippi during the Age of Revolution,” Christian Pinnen reconstructed the relationships among aspiring planters, struggling colonial administrators, and African laborers in Natchez, Mississippi.

He placed the colonial lower Mississippi Valley at the center of his analysis of the role played by different definitions of race and subsequent modes of racial oppression and Atlantic African empowerment. In the process of multiple imperial shifts in the region, black people helped to create and shape legal cultures by manipulating different European legal systems to expand their rights. By illuminating the complex interactions of slavery and law in the microcosm of the Natchez District, Pinnen investigated how black people navigated the different legal and racial definitions of the British, Spanish, and American societies that ruled Natchez throughout the eighteenth century.

In her talk, “Slave Emancipation in Brazil and the Role of the USA in the Abolition Process,” Ursula Prutsch traced the impact of the migration of several thousand confederate cotton farmers to slave-holding Brazil, where abolitionists had just begun to implement anti-slavery discourses. While U.S.-American planter families founded colonies like Americana and tried to retain as much of their antebellum lifestyle as possible in this South American monarchy, two Brazilian abolitionists looked towards the United States in order to formulate their political ideas and strategies: the wealthy Afro-Brazilian engineer André Rebouças and the former slave Luiz Gama, who dreamed of a United States of Brazil. Prutsch concluded that the U.S. South applied Jim Crow laws and apartheid, while the racist Brazilian society established a very flexible color line where race was strongly defined through class.

Jürgen Gebhardt chaired the third panel, which analyzed “The Political Conundrum of the Americas: Multiple Political Cultures and the Diversity of Political Regimes.” In his presentation, “The Political System of the Americas, 2000 to 2016,” Alan Russell Siaroff proceeded in a largely hierarchical way to lay out the evolving governmental and institutional differences in the countries of the Americas during the twenty-first century. He began by making a distinction between liberal democratic, electoral democratic, and autocratic regimes before turning his attention to all democracies, distinguishing between parliamentary and presidential systems. For parliamentary systems he emphasized the standard pattern of single-party government as opposed to coalitions. For presidential systems Siaroff outlined the evolutions of term and term limits, where there has been considerable “loosening” in Latin America. He examined the extent of populism and “outsider” presidential candidates versus more institutionalized party systems and their relationship to the level and stability of democracy.

In his paper titled “Latin American Constitutions: Poisoned Presents or Façades for Dictators?” Rainer Schmidt focused on the discrepancy between progressive constitutional documents and latently regressive political culture. This tension led to conflicts and even violent movements against Western constitutionalism. Latin American history of the last two centuries provides numerous examples, as Schmidt pointed out. He argued that these tensions show up as well in ideas of the *homem cordial*, the warm hearted man, in Brazil and more recently in critiques of neoliberal dominance resulting in the “new Latin American constitutionalism” manifesting itself in the recent wave of constitutions passed in Bolivia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. According to Schmidt, each of these elements expresses doubts about the potency and adequacy as well as the moral and functional superiority of Western liberal democracy in the Latin American context.

The fourth panel chaired by Heike Paul covered “Settlement Studies and Border Thinking in the Americas.” Titled “Mistranslation and Beyond,” Anna Brickhouse’s paper reflected on the role of mistranslation in her own research and the productive possibilities of embracing mistranslation over other values — mastery, for example, or the untranslatable. She also addressed the role of translation and mistranslation in *Estrella Distante* by the late, great Chilean writer Roberto Bolaño, whose novella about the aftermath of the CIA-sponsored coup in Chile begins with a mysterious, (mis)translated epigraph from Faulkner.

In her paper, “Colonies of the Mind or the Arts of Typological Thinking,” Barbara Buchenau addressed epistemic violence of intercultural encounters in the colonial and early national Northeast. French and British American narratives of exploration, captivity, settlement, and early nation-building, she argued, have been instrumental for a progressive blending of distinct schools of thought and interpretation. Distinctive Christian hermeneutic practices were connected with and replaced by new forms of ethnic and racial stereotyping. Analyzing textual as well as visual representations of encounters between Iroquoians, Europeans, colonials, and later U.S. as well as Canadian citizens, she delineated how transatlantic and hemispheric traditions of interpretation are continually reassembled and changed through confrontations with incompatible data. These procedures, as Buchenau pointed out, are crucial to the formation of knowledge economies in which the concept of Iroquoia ceases to function as a marker of territory, community, and political power

only to re-emerge as a transcendental image of national possibilities and potentialities. Buchenau concluded that the mobility paradigm of contemporary social and cultural theory allowed to bring older work on colonization and on religious typology to bear on current insights into the processes through which widely accepted knowledge is being forged.

Kerstin Schmidt chaired the fifth panel titled “The Pan-American Literary Imagination is Up for Debate,” in which contests and convergences in hemispheric literary relations were addressed. Stephen M. Park talked about “NAFTA and the Literary Imagination,” exploring the role of neoliberal economics in the recent literature of Canada, the United States, and Mexico. He considered how the debates surrounding NAFTA in the 1990s brought the rhetoric of neoliberal economics into popular culture. Since the economic and political rhetoric that supported free trade relied on narrative, metaphor, and other literary devices, NAFTA was itself a work of economic fiction. By surveying a number of North American writers — from Octavia Butler to Carlos Fuentes and Margaret Atwood — he examined the ways in which neoliberal economic policies have been represented and rewritten in literature. Park concluded that the confluence of economic theory and literary theory reveals the gap in NAFTA’s fiction and the way writers throughout the continent have tried to process the logic of free trade.

In his presentation, “The Boundaries of Reason: The Legacy of E. A. Poe in Latin America,” Jobst Welge approached Poe’s influential short stories from an inter-American and transnational perspective. As Welge stressed, Poe’s texts often depart from European settings and models. Welge centered his presentation around the question: What does it mean that the North American writer’s basic concerns and concepts are transposed to South American contexts? He showed that the genre of the short story played a crucial role in the consolidation of literary systems in South America at the end of the nineteenth century. Writers such as Machado de Assis (1839-1908) from Brazil or Horacio Quiroga (1878-1937) from Uruguay self-consciously resorted to the model of Poe in order to investigate the relation between self and other, between the norms of reason and manifestations of the irrational. Welge concluded that the genre of the Poe-inspired short story assumed an important role in the Latin American literary system by oscillating between universal aesthetic principles, requirements of the market, and the local, specifically American threats to the norms of a rational modernity modeled after Europe.

Barbara Hahn chaired the sixth panel, which investigated the African heritage in Latin America. In his paper, “Collectivism in the Afro-Brazilian Favela: Locality, Self-Organization and the Fight for Recognition,” Eberhard Rothfuß provided a deep insight into the challenging gap between rich and poor in the city of Salvador da Bahia in northeast Brazil. This gap — dialectically connected to skin color, literacy, education, processes of exclusion, and high unemployment rates — results in a very unequal supply of public consumer goods and housing for the poor, who are mainly of Afro-descendant origin. Focusing on processes of collective governance in a deprived working class neighborhood, Rothfuß clearly showed that self-organized communities in *favelas* are capable of articulating their needs and interests collectively since they do not fall within a defined institutional framework or existing system. Being excluded from urban resources, political participation, and societal recognition, Rothfuß concluded that the *favelados* focus their community and identity building strategies on a shared blackness without ethnicity.

Ángela María Franco Calderón addressed the notion of collectivism on the Colombian Pacific coast, which has a very special connotation. In a sociological sense, this notion can be explained by analyzing the significant role of collective life in the communities of this region, based on values such as cooperation and solidarity. Using a spatial approach, collectivism is represented in some elements of urban and architectural patterns that have been implemented by communities in the construction of their villages, with a strong influence of African patterns modified over 500 years by Colombian social and environmental conditions. Calderón explained which elements represent the value of cultural heritage and collectivism in Afro-Colombian culture through the lens of vernacular urbanism and architecture. She included a brief analysis of the legal framework that recently conferred special property rights to the Afro-Colombians in the Pacific region through a process of collective titling.

The panels brought participants into a productive dialogue with each other, stimulating discussions during and outside of the panel sessions. Participants discussed the current state of their field and sharpened their own disciplinary perspectives to identify interdisciplinary trajectories for further research.

Margaretha Schweiger-Wilhelm (Bavarian American Academy)





# GHI News



## **GHI WEST: GHI WASHINGTON WILL OPEN BRANCH OFFICE AT UC BERKELEY IN 2017**

Partners of the GHI have long pointed out how much historical research in Germany and North America would profit from a GHI presence on North America's West Coast. The GHI's new director has now launched such an initiative. In December 2015, with support from David Sabeen and Swen Steinberg at UCLA, Simone Lässig organized a workshop in Los Angeles, at which colleagues teaching on the West Coast discussed possible forms of cooperation with GHI academic staff and representatives of several German foundations. Following this meeting, talks with potential cooperation partners quickly led to a successful outcome: With the approval of the Stiftungsrat of the Max Weber Foundation, the GHI Washington will be opening a new branch office (Abteilung) at the University of California at Berkeley in cooperation with UC Berkeley's Institute of European Studies. The official opening of "GHI West" is planned for the fall of 2017.

Although the new branch will start small, it will offer the GHI unprecedented opportunities to engage with the broad range of innovative research in North America and to expand its cooperation with colleagues in the Western United States and Canada; not least in the area of digital history. GHI West will facilitate the organization of joint conferences, seminars for junior scholars, and lecture series. In addition, our GHI colleagues at Berkeley will set up an international research network on the topic "Knowledge on the Move," which will bring together two foci of GHI research — the history of migration and the history of knowledge — in order to study migrants as historical agents in the history of knowledge. Through this network, the GHI will seek to expand interdisciplinary research collaboration between scholars in Europe, Latin America, and the Pacific rim.

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## **NEW DIGITAL PROJECT: GERMAN HISTORY INTERSECTIONS**

This fall the GHI is launching a new digital project titled *German History (GH) Intersections*. The project, which was inspired by the great success of our online platform *German History in Documents and Images* (GHI), is a transatlantic initiative that will begin by examining three broad themes — German identity; migration; and knowledge and education — over as many as five centuries. The initial product will be a dynamic, open-access website consisting of three modules, each of which will include primary source documents (in German and English), high-resolution images, historic audio and video clips, and a variety of additional resources, including podcasts

and online interviews. Additional thematic modules are envisioned. The project is funded by the Transatlantic Program of the European Recovery Program (German Federal Ministry of Economics and Energy). *GH Intersections* will run for approximately three years. During this time, the GHI plans to organize various conference panels and workshops on the themes of German identity, migration, and knowledge and education. If you have recommendations for additional thematic modules or are interested in potential collaboration, please contact the GHI at [intersections@ghi-dc.org](mailto:intersections@ghi-dc.org).

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### **FRITZ STERN (1926-2016)**

The GHI was saddened to learn of the death of Fritz Stern on May 18, 2016. An acclaimed historian and commentator, Stern was a preeminent participant in German-American scholarly dialogue for more than a half century. Fritz Stern's first book, *The Politics of Cultural Despair*, appeared in German translation two years after its original publication in 1961, and from that point Stern was a fixture on the German intellectual landscape. He won the admiration of his West German colleagues with the originality of the insights into German political culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries he offered in *The Politics of Culture Despair*. His ability to present a nuanced analysis in a lucid, accessible manner won him a large readership among West Germans outside the scholarly community who were interested in trying to comprehend the disastrous course of modern German history. Stern quickly became recognized in West Germany not only as a leading scholar in the field of German history but as one of the most thoughtful and perceptive commentators on the meaning of the German past for political action in the present. The clearest indication of Stern's standing as a participant in West German public discourse was the invitation he received to address the Bundestag in 1987 on what was then the country's national holiday. He was the first foreign citizen to be so honored, and he used the occasion to give a characteristically eloquent and subtle explication of the significance of the failed East German uprising of June 17, 1953. For many Germans, this speech confirmed Stern's standing as the model of the scholar-citizen who is an active participant in civil society. Stern's voice was often heard in public debate in post-unification Germany as well. His career as non-resident public intellectual in Germany was capped by the publication in 2010 of a collection of wide-ranging discussions with former chancellor Helmut Schmidt entitled *Unser Jahrhundert: Ein Gespräch*.

Fritz Stern was one of the younger members of a group of émigrés from Hitler's Germany who were decisive in initiating and maintaining a dialogue

among West German and American historians in the decades after World War II. That dialogue did much to shape the study of European history in the United States and played an important part in the development of a critical and democratic academic culture in West Germany. It was in no small part in recognition of Stern's part in fostering this transatlantic exchange that the Friends of the German Historical Institute decided to name their annual prize for the best doctoral dissertation in German history submitted to a North American university for Fritz Stern.

Fritz Stern's association with the GHI began shortly after the institute opened its doors. He was a participant in the very first scholarly event the GHI organized, the 1988 conference "German-Speaking Refugee Historians in the United States, 1933–1970." He also spoke at the follow-up conference on the "second generation" of German émigré historians held in 2012 as part of the GHI's celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding. In between, Fritz Stern was a frequent visitor to the GHI. In 1996, the GHI paid tribute to Fritz Stern's achievements as an historian, educator, and public intellectual with a symposium on his multifaceted career to mark his seventieth birthday. On that occasion, Marion Gräfin Dönhoff, the longtime editor and then publisher of *Die Zeit*, noted: "Fritz Stern has achieved something that, it seems to me, is without equal. Driven away and robbed [by the Nazis], he, examined, without resentment and with passionate objectivity, the fundamental nature of National Socialist policies, which, as he said, kept the Germans in line with an irresistible combination of success and terror. In the magnificent book *Dreams and Delusions*, . . . he explains to his fellow Americans why and how that system functioned. For us Germans, too, his explanations are extraordinarily enlightening."

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## NEW GHI PUBLICATIONS

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

Adam T. Rosenbaum, *Bavarian Tourism and the Modern World, 1800–1950*

Jonas Scherner and Eugene N. White, eds., *Paying for Hitler's War: The Consequences of Nazi Hegemony for Europe*

Eckart Conze, Martin Klimke, and Jeremy Varon, eds., *Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear and the Cold War of the 1980s*

Rebekka Habermas, *Thieves in Court: The Making of the German Legal System in the Nineteenth Century*

## **2. Transatlantische Historische Studien (Franz Steiner Verlag)**

Elisabeth Engel, *Encountering Empire: African American Missionaries in Colonial Africa, 1900–1939*

Katharina Scheffler, *Operation Crossroads Africa, 1958–1972: Kulturdiplomatie zwischen Nordamerika und Afrika*

## **3. World of Consumption (Palgrave Macmillan)**

Regina Lee Blaszczyk and Uwe Spiekermann, eds. *Bright Modernity: Color, Commerce, and Consumer Culture*.

## **4. Studies in German History (Berghahn Books)**

Andreas W. Daum, Hartmut Lehmann, and James J. Sheehan, eds., *The Second Generation: Émigrés from Nazi Germany as Historians*

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## **STAFF CHANGES**

**Sarah Beringer** joined the Institute as Research and Press Coordinator in May 2016. Before working at the GHI, she was a Research Associate and Lecturer at the Department of International Studies at Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg (2011–2015) and a Visiting Scholar at Florida International University in Miami (2012–2013). She studied Business Administration with a focus on Strategic Management, Marketing Communications and International Studies in Nürnberg and at the University of Florida and received her PhD in Economics and Social Sciences from the University Erlangen-Nürnberg in 2014.

**Anna Maria Boss** joined the GHI as Head Librarian in August 2016. She previously worked as a librarian with the German military's main information center (Fachinformationszentrum der Bundeswehr), assisting military organizations and individuals with their research as well as marketing the library's resources and services. Before that, she was Head Librarian at the Infantry School and United Nations Training Center of the German Army.

**Jessica Csoma**, who joined the GHI in 2008 as project coordinator of Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, left the institute in August 2016 in order to pursue a career as an ESL teacher.

**Evi Hartmann**, who joined the GHI as Head Librarian in 2013, left in August 2016 in order to take up a position as librarian at the Salem international private boarding school.

**Betsy Hauck**, who joined the GHI administration in 2007, retired in June 2016.

**Sally Hudson** joined the GHI as Administrative & Research Assistant in June 2016. She completed her Master's work at the BMW Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University and has a Bachelor's Degree from Bowdoin College. Previously, she worked in the field of translation as a project manager and linguistic editor.

**Axel Jansen** joined the GHI as Deputy Director in October 2016. He completed an M.A. in history at the University of Oregon and his doctorate at Goethe University Frankfurt where he remains a *Privatdozent*. He has held a number of fellowships (including a Fulbright American studies fellowship at the University of California, Los Angeles and a visiting fellowship at Wolfson College, University of Cambridge) and he has taught at several universities in the United States and in Germany, among them Frankfurt, Tübingen, Heidelberg, and UCLA. In his research, Axel Jansen focuses on United States history and on the history of science.

**Kerstin von der Krone** joined the GHI as a Research Fellow in January 2016. Her research is part of the German-Israeli research project "Innovation through Tradition? Jewish Educational Media and Cultural Transformation in the Face of Modernity," funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Her fields of research include Jewish history in Central Europe in the modern era, the history of Jewish thought, the transformation of knowledge and knowledge production in Jewish education and modern Jewish scholarship.

**Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson** completed her term as deputy director at the end of September 2016 and took up a professorship in Transatlantic Cultural History at the University of Augsburg.

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### Doctoral and Postdoctoral Fellowships

The GHI awards short-term fellowships to European and North American doctoral students as well as postdoctoral scholars to pursue research projects that draw upon primary sources located in the United States. We are particularly interested in research projects that fit into the following fields: German and European history, the history of German-American relations, and the role of Germany and the USA in international relations. These fellowships are also available to European doctoral students and postdoctoral scholars in the field of American history. The proposed research projects should make use of historical methods and engage with the relevant historiography. The fellowships are usually granted for periods of one to five months.



The GHI also offers a number of other long-term doctoral and postdoctoral fellowships with more specific profiles to strengthen key research interests at the institute, including: the history of knowledge, the history of race and ethnicity, the history of religion and religiosity, the history of family and kinship, the history of migration, and North American history. In addition to these opportunities, several new fellowship programs have been introduced: the Binational Tandem Research Program for “The History of Knowledge” and “Global and Transregional History,” and the Gerda Henkel Postdoctoral Fellowship for Digital History.

For further information about these programs and current application deadlines, please check our website at [www.ghi-dc.org/fellowships](http://www.ghi-dc.org/fellowships).

### **GHI 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 in the sense that the GHI tries to accommodate the interns’ interests, abilities, and goals. A two-month minimum stay is required; a three-month stay is preferred. There is a rolling review of applications. For further information, please check our web site at [www.ghi-dc.org/internships](http://www.ghi-dc.org/internships).

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## **RECIPIENTS OF GHI FELLOWSHIPS**

### **Tandem Fellowships in the History of Knowledge & Knowledge Cultures**

**Robert Fischer**, Universität Erfurt

*Border Knowledge(s): Regulating and Circumventing the U.S.-Mexico Border*

**Allison Schmidt**, University of Kansas

*Crossing Germany: Eastern European Transmigrants and Saxon State Surveillance, 1900-1924*

### **Tandem Fellowships in Global and Trans-Regional History**

**Shana Klein**, University of New Mexico

*The Fruits of Empire: Contextualizing Food in Post-Civil War American Art and Culture*

**Leonard Schmieding**, BMW Center, Georgetown University  
*Beyond Beer and Bratwurst: Immigrant German Food Cultures in San Francisco between Gold Rush and Great Depression*

### Doctoral Fellows

**Juliane Aso**, Deutsches Institut für Japanstudien Tokyo  
*Globale Wissenszirkulationen in der physischen Anthropologie: Das koloniale Vermächtnis in Japan während der ersten Hälfte des Kalten Krieges*

**Arno Barth**, Graduate School at Duisburg-Essen University  
*Population Policy as Risk Management of the Paris Peace*

**Anna Corsten**, Max-Weber-Kolleg Erfurt  
*Deutschsprachige Historiker im US-amerikanischen Exil und die Aufarbeitung der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit*

**Johanna Folland**, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor  
*AIDS and the Iron Curtain in Germany: Cold-War Epidemiologies and Postsocialist Transitions, 1948-2005*

**Clare Kim**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
*Visions of Form: The Making of Modern Mathematics in America*

**Marvin Menniken**, Max Planck Institute for Human Development / Freie Universität Berlin  
*Between Conservatism, Cold War and Counterculture: The American Legion in California, 1950 - 1980*

**Adrian Mitter**, University of Toronto  
*Localism and Transnationalism in the Free City of Danzig (1919/20-1933)*

**Kaete O'Connell**, Temple University  
*Feeding the Enemy: Humanitarian Aid and the Power of Hunger in Occupied Germany*

**Tobias Schmitt**, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg  
*Das verdeckte U.S.-Engagement zur Durchsetzung und Realisierung einer westdeutschen Wiederbewaffnung, ca. 1947-57*

### Postdoctoral Fellows

**Rebecca Brückmann**, Universität zu Köln  
*Empires and Belonging: Mixed Race People(s) and Racial Codifications in the United States and the Dominion of Canada, 1848-1918*

**Craig Griffiths**, University College London  
*Gay Rights as Human Rights*

**Tim Neu**, University of Göttingen

*Imperiale Geldströme: Krieg, public credit und die politische Ökonomie des British Empire (1680–1815)*

**Juliane Scholz**, University of Leipzig

*German Filmmakers in the United States: Transnational Identities between Migration and Exile*

### **Gerda Henkel Postdoctoral Fellow for Digital History**

**Gabor Toth**, Maximilianeum München

*Agency and Worlds of Probabilities in the Memory of Holocaust Survivors: The Computer assisted Analysis of Interviews and Witness Accounts*

### **Horner Library Fellows**

**Hans Leaman**, Yale University

*Whitefield among the Pennsylvania Pietists*

**Lisa Minardi**, University of Delaware

*Germans in the Quaker City: Ethnicity, Religion, and Material Life in Early Philadelphia*

**Joshua Brown**, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire

*Pennsylvania High German in Nineteenth Century America*

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## **GHI RESEARCH SEMINAR AND COLLOQUIUM, SPRING/SUMMER 2016**

**January 27**

**Mark Keck-Szajbel (European University Viadrina)**

An Open Audience: How Pornography Penetrated the East

**February 10**

**Jeroen Euwe (GHI Fellow in Economic and Social History)**

The Western Art Market between 1930 and 1950: Methodological Approaches Aiming at Transdisciplinary Research

**February 18**

**Elena Torres Ruiz (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)**

The Invention of Urban Farming: How the Food Reform Movement Came to Detroit

- February 24**      **Charlotte Lerg (John W. Kluge Center, Library of Congress)**  
All About Prestige: Academics and Diplomats in the Transatlantic Economy of Esteem
- March 2**          **Anna Echtermöller (Humboldt-Universität Berlin)**  
Rationing Tokens: Mary Douglas on Payment in Times of Scarcity
- March 24**        **Daniel Brewing (RWTH Aachen University)**  
“The Good Soldier”: Bilder vom “guten Soldaten” im politischen, wissenschaftlichen und öffentlichen Diskurs der USA im 19./20. Jahrhundert
- Oliver Werner (Leibniz-Institut für Regionalentwicklung und Strukturplanung Erkner)**  
Von Görings Vierjahresplanbehörde zur Weltbank: Der Finanzökonom Otto Donner und die Perzeption der deutschen Wirtschafts- und Wissenschaftselite in den USA von 1930 bis 1960
- Andreas Wolfsteiner (Stiftung Universität Hildesheim)**  
Sichtbarkeitsmaschinen. Zum Umgang mit Szenarien als deutsch-amerikanische Beziehung
- April 6**          **Piotr H. Kosicki (University of Maryland)**  
The Limits of Catholicism: The Case of Tadeusz Mazowiecki
- April 13**        **Isabel Richter (Universität Bielefeld)**  
The “Discovery” of India in the long 1960s: Entanglements of Migration and Tourism in Transnational Youth Cultures in Western Europe, the United States and India
- April 14**        **Timo Bonengel (Universität Erfurt)**  
“A disease that steals potential?” Drogenkonsum in den USA der 1970er und 1980er Jahre
- Sebastian Huempfer (University of Oxford)**  
The Political Economy of U.S. Trade Policy since the 1930s
- May 11**         **Annette Weinke (Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena)**  
Geneva, Nuremberg, Lake Success: European Émigré Lawyers and Their Conceptions of 20th Century International Law

- May 12**      **Cedric Bierganns (Universität Bonn)**  
 Die U.S. Information Agency und die Implementierung des NATO-Doppelbeschlusses, 1981-1987. Auswärtige Kultur- und Informationspolitik anhand der bundesdeutschen Amerikahäuser
- Stefan Huebner (Universität der Bundeswehr München)**  
 The Seven Seas of Oil: Offshore Oil Drilling, Afro-Eurasia, and the Transformation of the Ocean
- June 2**      **John William Rall (University of Tennessee, Knoxville)**  
 Nazi Charity: Giving, Emotion, and Morality in the Third Reich
- Viola Huang (Teachers College, Columbia University)**  
 Transformative Black Education in Harlem, 1960-1980
- June 8**      **Gautham Rao (American University)**  
 The Imperial Foundations of the American Federal Government: Regulating Taxes and Trade, 1756-1815
- June 23**     **Timothy Wright (University of California, Berkeley)**  
 Rituals of the Reborn: Theology and Praxis in Radical Protestantism (1690-1750)
- Brian Alberts (Purdue University)**  
 Beer to Stay: Brewed Culture, Ethnicity, and the Market Revolution, 1840-1873
- Alexander Korb (Stanley Burton Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, University of Leicester)**  
 Deutsche Journalisten: Transnationale Karrierewege, Kontinuitäten und Konflikte zwischen 1925 und 1975
- June 29**     **Nadja Klopprogge (Freie Universität Berlin)**  
 Love, Sex, Civil Rights: African American GLs in Germany
- Samantha Bryant (University of Nebraska-Lincoln)**  
 "Black Monster Stalks the City": The Thomas Wansley Case and the Racialized Politics of Sexuality from Civil Rights to Black Power, 1960-1975
- July 13**      **Sarah T. Phillips (Boston University)**  
 From Farm to Food Politics in 1960s America

## GHI CALENDAR OF EVENTS 2016/17

For a regularly updated calendar of events, please check our website at [www.ghi-dc.org](http://www.ghi-dc.org).

**August 16**

### **The People vs. Fritz Bauer**

Film Screening at Edlavitch Jewish Community Center of Washington, DC, Washington Jewish Film Festival  
Co-presented by the Goethe-Institut, the Embassy of Germany, the German Historical Institute, and the German School of Washington, DC.

**September 16-17**

### **Industrial Decline and the Rise of the Service Sector? How did Western Europe and North America cope with the multifaceted structural transformations since the 1970s**

Conference at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich  
Conveners: Sebastian Voigt (IfZ Munich), Stefan Hördler (GHI), and Howard Brick (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)

**September 28**

### **1990: An Epochal Break in German History?**

German Unification Symposium Lecture at the GHI  
Speaker: Martin Sabrow (ZZF Potsdam)

**September 29-  
October 2**

### **Migration and Knowledge**

Panel Series at the Fortieth Annual Conference of the German Studies Association, San Diego, CA  
Organizers: Simone Lässig (GHI) and Swen Steinberg (UCLA)

**October 20-22**

### **Creating Spatial Historical Knowledge: New Approaches, Opportunities and Epistemological Implications of Mapping History Digitally**

International Workshop and Conference at the GHI  
Conveners: Simone Lässig (GHI), Matthew Hiebert (GHI), and Stephen Robertson (George Mason University)

**October 20**

### **Toward a Spatial Narrative of the 1935 Harlem Riot: Mapping and Storytelling after the Geospatial Turn**

Lecture at the GHI

Speaker: Stephen Robertson (George Mason University)

- November 3**     **A Joint Past for Europe's Future: National Memory, Bilateral Reconciliation and the German-Polish Textbook Initiative**  
Panel Discussion at the GHI  
In cooperation with the German and Polish Embassies, Washington DC
- November 10**     **Benchmark Europe: Liberalism and Cultural Nationalism in the United States, 1900-1930**  
30th Annual Lecture at the GHI  
Adelheid von Saldern (Leibniz Universität Hannover)
- November 11**     **25th Annual Symposium of the Friends of the GHI**  
Award of the Fritz Stern Prize at the GHI
- December 8-9**     **Restricting Knowledge: Channeling Security Information in Recent History**  
Workshop at the GHI  
Conveners: Keith R. Allen (University of Gießen), Simone Lässig (GHI), Christian Ostermann (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars)
- December 8**     ***Kernwissen*: Nuclear Information and the Germans, 1939-1949**  
Keynote Lecture at the GHI  
Speaker: Michael Gordin (Princeton University)
- 2017**
- February 10-11**     **Mapping Entanglements: Dynamics of Missionary Knowledge and "Materialities" across Space and Time (16th - 20th Centuries)**  
Conveners: Sabina Brevaglieri (GHI) and Elisabeth Engel (GHI), in collaboration with the History of Knowledge Research Group at the GHI Washington and the GHI Rome
- February 23-25**     **German Past Futures in the Twentieth Century**  
Conference at the GHI  
Conveners: Arnd Bauerkämper (Freie Universität Berlin), Frank Biess (University of California, San Diego), Kai Evers (University of California, Irvine), and Anne Schenderlein (GHI)
- March 2-4**     **Observing the Everyday: Journalistic Practices and Knowledge Production in the Modern Era**  
Workshop at the GHI  
Conveners: Kerstin von der Krone (GHI) and Hansjakob Ziemer (Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin)



- March 23-25**      **Religious Rights, Civil Rights, and Human Rights in the German and American Contexts, 1948 – Present**  
Conference at Penn State University  
Sponsored by the GHI and the Max Kade German-American Research Institute
- March 30-April 1**      **Creating and Challenging the Transatlantic Intelligence Community**  
Joint Conference at the Woodrow Wilson Center and at the GHI  
Conveners: International Intelligence History Association, German Historical Institute, and the History & Public Policy Program of the Woodrow Wilson Center
- May 5**      **Workshop on Medieval Germany**  
Conference at the GHI London  
Organized by the GHI London in co-operation with the GHI Washington and the German History Society
- June 1-3**      **Beyond Data: Knowledge Production in Bureaucracies across Science, Commerce, and the State**  
Workshop at the GHI  
Conveners: Sebastian Felten (Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin), Philipp Lehmann (Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin), Christine von Oertzen (Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin), Simone Lässig (GHI)
- June 7-10**      **23rd Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar: German History in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries**  
Seminar at Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden, Hamburg  
Conveners: Anna von der Goltz (Georgetown University), Miriam Rürup (IGdJ, Hamburg), Richard F. Wetzell (GHI)

## GHI Library

The GHI library concentrates on German history and transatlantic relations, with emphasis on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In addition to providing essential literature for scholarly research, the library fulfills an important cultural mission: no other library in the United States offers a similarly condensed inventory of modern German history.



The library offers access to about 50,000 books, DVDs, CD-ROMs, micro-fiches, and 220 print journals. In addition, we offer access to about 500 e-books and 100 online journals.

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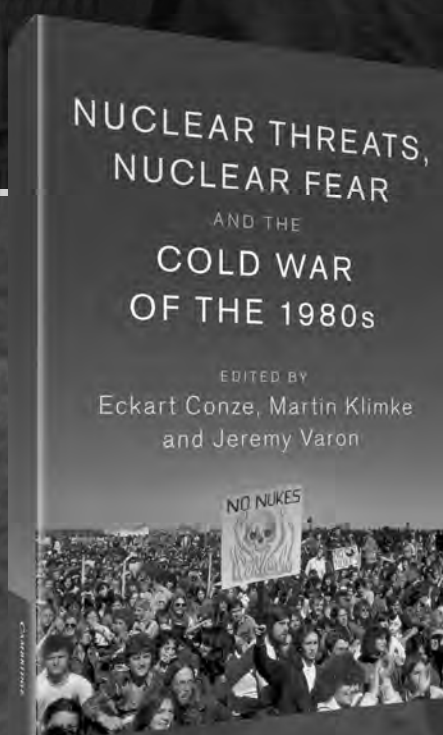
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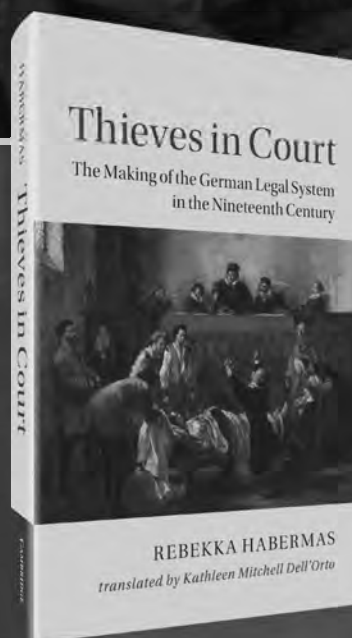
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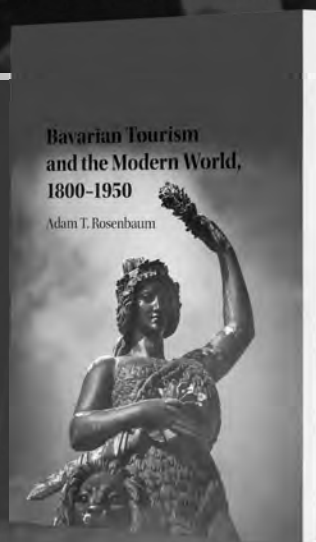
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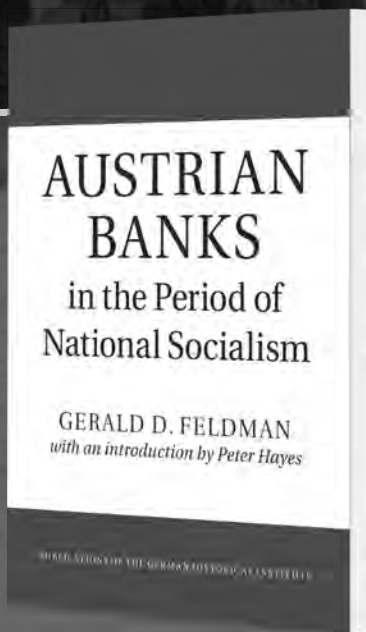


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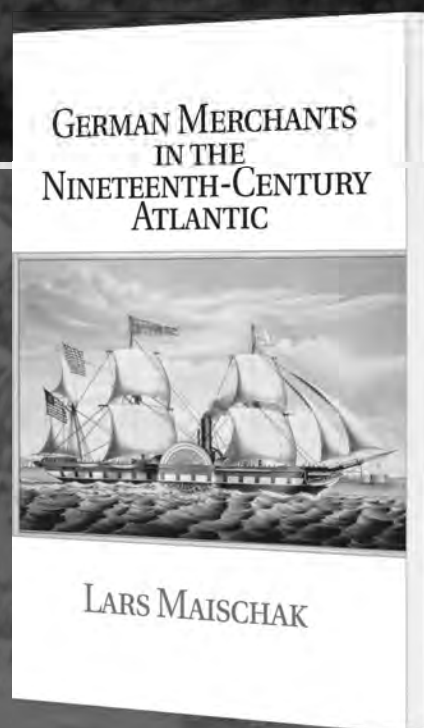


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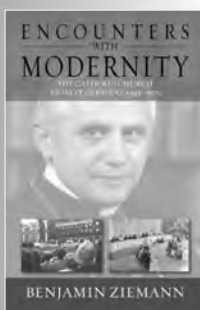
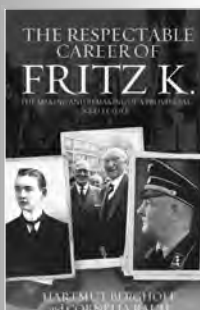
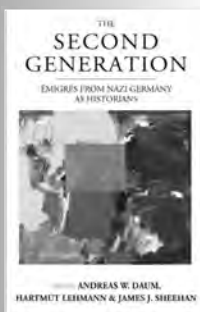
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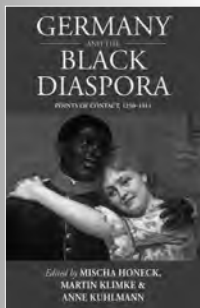
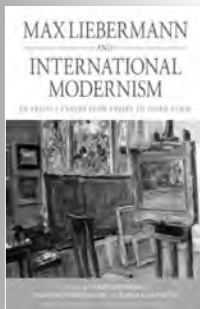
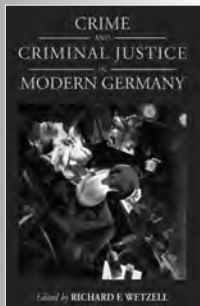
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Operation Crossroads Africa (OCA) war in den sechziger Jahren die größte in Afrika tätige private Freiwilligenorganisation. 1957 gegründet initiierte OCA zahlreiche Hilfsprojekte in verschiedenen Regionen Afrikas.

Auf der Grundlage umfangreicher Archivstudien und Zeitzeugeninterviews untersucht Katharina Scheffler die Anfangsjahre der Organisation. Sie beleuchtet ihre Gründung sowie die institutionellen und gesellschaftlichen Hürden, die es anfänglich zu überwinden galt. Ein besonderes Augenmerk gilt den Erlebnissen der Freiwilligen selbst und deren Rolle als inoffizielle Botschafter Amerikas auf der einen und als Vorreiter für interkulturelle Verständigung auf der anderen Seite.

In *Encountering Empire*, Elisabeth Engel traces how black American missionaries – men and women grappling with their African heritage – established connections in Africa during the heyday of European colonialism. Reconstructing the black American 'colonial encounter', Engel analyzes the images, transatlantic relationships, and possibilities of representation African American missionaries developed for themselves while negotiating colonial regimes. Illuminating a neglected chapter of Atlantic history, Engel demonstrates that African Americans used imperial structures for their own self-determination. *Encountering Empire* thus challenges the notion that pan-Africanism was the only viable strategy for black emancipation.



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Nach einer erfolgreichen Karriere im Kulturbetrieb der Weimarer Republik akzeptierte der deutsche Regisseur William Dieterle im Jahre 1930 ein Vertragsangebot der US-Filmgesellschaft Warner Bros. Pictures. Dort gelang ihm der Aufbau eines Netzwerkes deutschsprachiger Künstler, dem Persönlichkeiten wie Max Reinhardt und Fritz Kortner angehörten. Es entstanden außergewöhnliche Filme, die zum Kampf gegen den Nationalsozialismus und zur Repräsentation eines „anderen Deutschland“ in der Emigration beitrugen. Larissa Schütze beschreibt auf der Basis der Firmenunterlagen Dieterles Integration in die institutionellen Strukturen der Warner Bros. Studios und rekonstruiert die Produktionsgeschichte seiner dort entstandenen Filme unter Berücksichtigung der politischen, gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Rahmenbedingungen im Amerika der dreißiger Jahre.



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Vorstellungen von „guter Staatsbürgerschaft“ dominierten in den USA der Zwischenkriegszeit, die von einer restriktiven Migrationsgesetzgebung geprägt war. Die Einwanderungsdebatten waren mit strikten Amerikanisierungsforderungen verknüpft. Am Beispiel von Mitgliedern der Gymnastikorganisation *Sokol* sowie Sportler/innen des *Jewish People's Institute* (JPI) in Chicago wird gezeigt, wie tschechische und jüdische Migrant/innen und ihre Nachkommen Sport als Strategie der Legitimierung und im Kampf um Anerkennung nutzen. Ihre Handlungsoptionen standen dabei im Spannungsfeld von Adaption, Ablehnung und Umdeutung dominanter US-Staatsbürgerschaftskonzepte und beinhalteten die Integration kultureller Selbstbilder.

Ab der Wende zum 18. Jahrhundert engagierten sich protestantische Landeskirchen vermehrt im atlantischen Raum und veränderten so die nordatlantische Welt des Protestantismus grundlegend. Abseits der Pfade nationalhistorischer Interpretationen behandelt Alexander Pyrges diesen über kirchliche und herrschaftliche Grenzen hinweg wirkmächtigen Prozess.

Im Zentrum steht das Kolonialprojekt Ebenezer: Im Jahr 1734 gegründet wurde die Gemeinde Ebenezer in der britischen Kolonie Georgia jahrzehntelang durch anglikanische und lutherisch-pietistische Kirchenreformer in England und im Alten Reich gefördert. Die Studie gibt Aufschluss über die religiöse Verdichtung der nordatlantischen Welt im 18. Jahrhundert.



Alexander Pyrges

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Der amerikanische Militärsender *AFN* ist in Deutschland zur Legende geworden. Das *American Forces Network* soll mit populärer Musik und lässigen Moderatoren nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg junge Deutsche begeistert und „amerikanisiert“ haben. Anja Schäfers untersucht die Institutions-, Programm- und Wirkungsgeschichte des Senders bis Mitte der 1960er Jahre. Es wird deutlich, dass *AFN* kein reiner Musiksender war, sondern ein vielseitiges Programm mit Informationen, Bildung und Unterhaltung geboten hat. Nur ein Bruchteil der deutschen Jugendlichen hat *AFN* eingeschaltet und ihn meist selektiv wahrgenommen. Trotzdem spielte der Sender eine nicht unbedeutende Rolle in den gesellschaftlichen Auseinandersetzungen in West- und Ostdeutschland.



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