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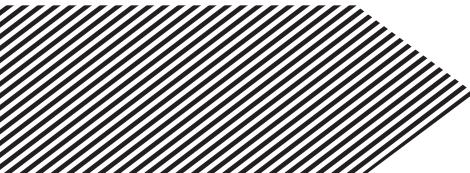
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PREFACE

This issue's first feature article presents the German Historical Institute's eighth Gerald D. Feldman Memorial Lecture, which was delivered by James Van Horn Melton of Emory University this past May. Melton's lecture on "Colonial Germans and Slavery on the Eve of the American Revolution: The Case of Ebenezer" examines the frontier community of Ebenezer in colonial Georgia, which was settled by exiled Protestant migrants from Salzburg in the 1730s and was for a time the most successful settlement in the colony. Exploring the question why the Ebenezer Salzburgers opposed slavery, Melton argues that their opposition to slavery had more to do with fear of enslaved Africans than sympathy with their condition. This fear was concerned not only with violence but with economic competition. It was precisely because the Salzburg settlers were not only farmers but showed great versatility in practicing a variety of crafts that they were concerned about competition from slaves. Melton's article therefore sheds new light both on the economic strategies of the Salzburg settlers and on their motivations for opposing slavery.

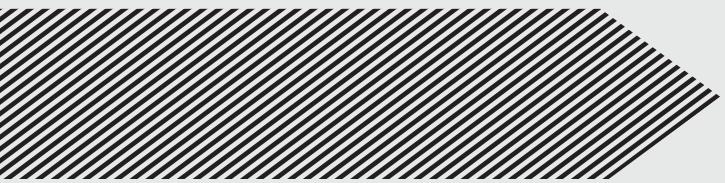
The remainder of our features section presents a special forum with five articles on "Diversity in German History" from the early modern era to the late twentieth century. This special section is introduced by Till van Rahden, Anthony J. Steinhoff, and Richard F. Wetzell, who co-organized the recent conference from which the articles presented here were drawn. The first article in this section, by Jesse Spohnholz, presents a case study of the city of Wesel in the post-Reformation era to demonstrate that informal practices of "mutual dissimulation" played a crucial role in facilitating inter-confessional coexistence. Next, Helmut Walser Smith's analysis of the writings of late-eighteenth-century travelers argues that travel accounts focused on observable, measurable, mapable surfaces — cities, states, territories, and people — gave way to a new way of seeing, namely a romanticization of landscape and a heightened attention to the senses that reflected a shift in the conception of nationhood from an exterior object to an interior identity. Moving forward into the nineteenth century, Nisrine Rahal's study of the Hamburg kindergarten movement of the 1840s argues that the kindergarten became a key avenue for social and cultural reform. Since women were to play a central role in the kindergartens, disagreements over women's proper roles led to growing divisions among kindergarten activists. H. Glenn Penny's article uses German schools in Guatemala City, Buenos Aires, and southern Chile as lenses to study the development of German communities in Latin America in the interwar era.

Arguing that “German spaces” were not limited to Germany, Penny contends 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. In the final article in this section, Christopher Ewing analyses the intersection of sexuality and race by examining the confluence of gay sex tourism and gay rights activism in 1970s West Germany. Even as sex tourism continued to promote racial stereotypes that exoticized men of color, the increased persecution of gay men in North Africa, Greece, and postrevolutionary Iran led the West German gay community to take part in creating an international gay rights movement that was premised on extending a universalist gay identity to same-sex desiring men around the globe.

The conference report section once again reflects the wide range of the Institute’s academic program. As part of its new focus on the history of knowledge, the Institute organized conferences on missionary knowledge since the sixteenth century, the role of knowledge in journalistic practices, and knowledge production in state, scientific, and commercial bureaucracies. Other conferences and seminars from the first part of this year included the Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar on German History, the Junior Scholars Conference in Jewish History, as well as a conference on youth and rejuvenation in the twentieth century and one on twentieth-century German visions of the future. In the “news” section, we have the pleasure to report that the Institute’s “German History in Documents and Images” project has received a major grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft that will help to fund its relaunch. We would also like to draw your attention to the GHI’s new “History of Knowledge” blog, likewise announced in the news section.

This fall will see two major milestones for the German Historical Institute. In October the Institute will celebrate its thirtieth anniversary. We are using this occasion to host a panel discussion that will take a critical look back at the GHI’s founding in the context of 1980s *Geschichtspolitik*. In November, the Institute will officially open “GHI West,” our Pacific Regional Office in Berkeley, California. The new GHI West office will give us the opportunity to intensify and expand our cooperation with colleagues and institutions in the Western United States and Canada. We are proud of what the GHI has accomplished in cooperation with its many academic partners over the past thirty years and look forward to productive and inspiring cooperation in the future.

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



Features

COLONIAL GERMANS AND SLAVERY ON THE EVE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: THE CASE OF EBENEZER

8TH GERALD D. FELDMAN LECTURE, DELIVERED AT THE GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE,
WASHINGTON DC, MAY 18, 2017

James Van Horn Melton

EMORY UNIVERSITY

In November of 1733, a group of 42 passengers boarded a ship in the port of Rotterdam destined for the newly founded colony of Georgia in British America. The passengers were former subjects of the prince-archbishop of Salzburg, all of them men, women, and children expelled from their Catholic homeland on account of their Protestant (specifically Lutheran) beliefs.¹ This was the first of four transports bound for Georgia and carrying exiled Protestants from Salzburg. They ultimately settled on the Savannah River, founding the community they called Ebenezer. Ebenezer's moment in the sun, as it were, was brief. It never fully recovered from the impact of the American Revolution, when it changed hands four times and was repeatedly raided and sacked.²

In the early years of the Georgia colony, however, Ebenezer was for a time the most successful settlement in the colony — much more so than the nominal capital in Savannah, which had been settled largely by English and Scottish colonists. The Salzburgers of Ebenezer are best remembered today for their staunch support of Georgia's ban on the importation of enslaved Africans into the colony. For almost twenty years, from Georgia's founding in 1732 by a group of British philanthropists until 1751, when the ban on slavery was finally lifted, it was the only one of the thirteen colonies that legally excluded slaves. For much of that period, Ebenezer's support for the ban proved crucial in upholding it.

Why did the Salzburgers oppose slavery? Why in 1739, just over five years after arriving in the Georgia colony, did they sign the second recorded anti-slavery petition in the history of the colonial South?³ What light do the experiences of Ebenezer's settlers shed on the larger history of German-speaking migrants in colonial North America? These are some of the questions addressed in my recent book,⁴ and this essay explores them further.

Salzburg, with its eponymous capital and mostly alpine hinterland, is today one of the nine federal provinces (*Länder*) making up the

- ¹ Still the best account of the expulsions is Mack Walker, *The Salzburg Transaction: Expulsion and Redemption in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Ithaca, NY and London, 1992).
- ² On Ebenezer and its fate during the American Revolution, see my *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier* (Cambridge, 2015), 282–293.
- ³ The first recorded antislavery petition in the Lower Southern colonies, also by Georgia colonists, was submitted just two months prior to the Ebenezer petition. The petitioners were Scottish Highlander soldiers from Darien, a military outpost on Georgia's southernmost border. On the Darien petition see Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery*, 208–09, and Anthony W. Parker, *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia: The Recruitment, Emigration, and Settlement at Darien, 1735–1748* (Athens, GA and London, 1997), 71–73, 126–7. Parker's book also includes the text of the Darien petition.
- ⁴ James Van Horn Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier* (Cambridge, 2015).

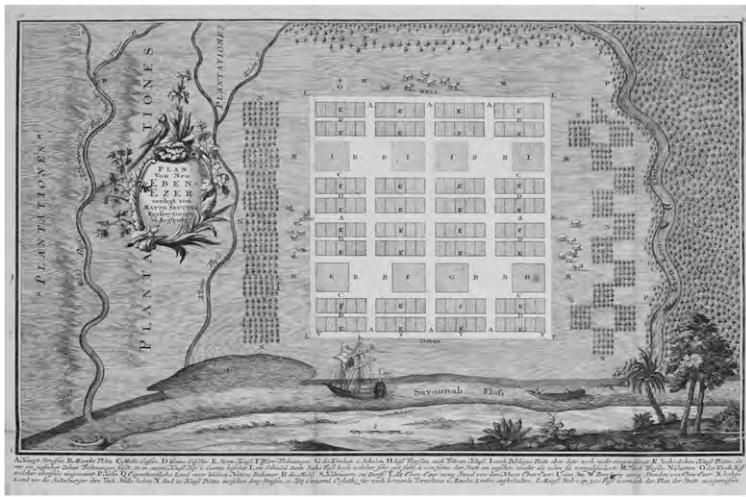


Figure 1. Map of New Ebenezer (1747). Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

Republic of Austria. Salzburger Land is popularly viewed as a quintessentially Austrian region (a reputation that owes much to the enduring popularity of *The Sound of Music*, the 1965 film musical). But for much of its history Salzburg was a separate ecclesiastical territory, ruled by a prince-archbishop

exercising temporal as well as spiritual authority over his subjects. Not until 1816, in the wake of Napoleon's defeat, was the territory definitively incorporated into Habsburg Austria.

Although Salzburg was in principle an ecclesiastical territory ruled by a Catholic prince, large pockets of Lutheranism had managed to endure two centuries after the Reformation. The survival of Protestantism owed much to Salzburg's alpine landscape. The most mountainous areas of the territory, or what Salzburgers today call the *Inneregebirg*, are located to the south, starting just below the capital and then fanning out toward Tyrol to the west and Styria to the east.

The shaded area on the map, denoting the alpine district known as the Pongau, is where most of the territory's Protestant population was concentrated. The Pongau was geographically remote and its infrastructure of Catholic parishes relatively weak, circumstances that had hindered the process of re-Catholicization in the region.

Also contributing to the survival of Protestantism in the Pongau had been its lucrative silver mines.⁵ Especially in the Gastein valley, an important center of much of the industry, miners had been solidly Protestant ever since the early years of the Reformation. Likely they had been a major conduit for the arrival of Protestantism in the Salzburg territory. Having sometimes been employed on a temporary basis to work in the mines of Saxony, the heartland of the Reformation, miners returning from the north would almost certainly

⁵ Karl-Heinz Ludwig and Fritz Gruber, *Gold und Silberbergbau im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit: Das Salzburger Revier von Gastein und Rauris* (Cologne and Vienna, 1987), 4.

have brought Protestant practices and beliefs back with them.⁶ Mining had long been a major source of revenue for Salzburg's Catholic rulers, who for much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had refrained from sustained persecution of Pongau Protestants. Despite occasional crackdowns, archbishops and their officials had generally preferred to look the other way rather than risk losing the skilled labor force on which production in the mines depended.

That began to change in the later 1600s, by which time the volume of silver and gold produced by Pongau miners had begun to fall precipitously.⁷ The declining profitability of mining in the region served in turn to weaken the economic incentives that had once mitigated religious persecution. Visitations and interrogations of suspected Protestants became more frequent, including house searches aimed at uncovering hidden troves of Lutheran Bibles, hymnals, and other devotional materials. The campaign intensified in 1727 with the accession of a new prince-archbishop, Leopold Anton von Firmian. Determined to uphold his responsibilities as a Catholic prince, Firmian proceeded to do what Counter-Reformation rulers had often done when confronted with recalcitrant heretics: he brought in the Jesuits. Actually there were only two of them, Michael Bauer and Michael Zech, but they were energetic and relentless in their efforts to expose secret Protestants. They stayed four years, from 1729-1733, conducting house searches and interrogating suspects. They also compiled a written record of their interrogations, almost five hundred interviews in the Gastein valley alone.⁸ Their efforts, along with those of local and territorial officials, yielded thousands of interrogations throughout the archbishopric, more than seventy cartons of which have survived in Salzburg's state and ecclesiastical archives. These

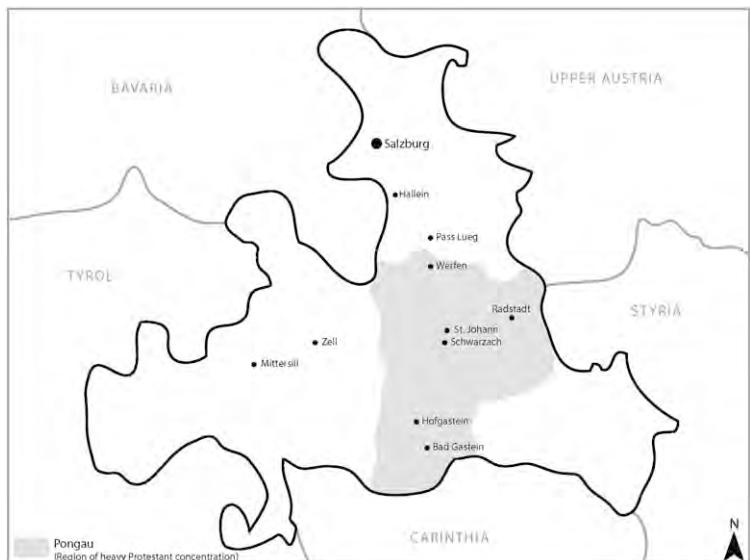


Figure 2. The Prince-Archbishopric of Salzburg in the Eighteenth Century. Courtesy of the Center for Digital Scholarship, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University.

⁶ Franz Ortner, *Reformation, katholische Reform und Gegenreformation im Erzstift Salzburg* (Salzburg, 1981), 34-5.

⁷ On the decline of mining in the region see Fritz Gruber and Karl-Heinz Ludwig, "Der Metallbergbau," in *Geschichte Salzburgs*, ed. Heinz Dopsch and Hans Spatzenegger (Salzburg, 1991), II/4:2606.

⁸ Detailed summaries by the two Jesuits, Michael Zech and Michael Bauer, are found in the Salzburger Landesarchiv: Emigrationsakten, Karton 28: "Miseralis Gasteinensis Status in tertia Missione detectus, & syncero descriptus calamo A. 1732, 3. Dec.", and "Compendium Relationes de Missione Gastunensi 1733."

records are an invaluable source on the lives of Salzburg Protestants prior to expulsion, including many of those who later emigrated to Georgia.⁹ Their testimony reveals much about their lives and beliefs, including matters like their social backgrounds and occupations, the illicit books they owned, the hymns they sang at their underground conventicles, or the incriminating conversations they were alleged to have had with neighbors and chance acquaintances.

Although these investigations confirmed the persistence of widespread non-conformity in the Pongau, those conducting them warned that efforts at identifying Protestants had only scratched the surface. The Jesuit fathers described the mountains and valleys of the Pongau as infested with crypto-Protestant miners, peasants, and farmhands who had learned to evade intermittent persecution by concealing their beliefs.¹⁰ Or to use modern parlance, they had learned the art of passing: they were baptized, married, and buried in the Catholic Church, they made a point of attending Catholic mass at least occasionally, they joined their local Marian brotherhood, some even sang in the parish men's choir. Privately, however, they worshipped together in clandestine Protestant conventicles, and many owned Lutheran books they kept hidden under piles of firewood, in shepherds' huts on remote alpine pastures, or in the walls and roofs of cottages and barns.¹¹

9 Salzburger Landesarchiv, Emigrationsakten, Kartons 1-103.

10 James Van Horn Melton, "Confessional Power and the Power of Confession: Concealing and Revealing the Faith in Alpine Salzburg, 1730-34," in *Cultures of Power in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. H.M. Scott and Brendan Simms (Cambridge, 2007), 133-57.

11 James Van Horn Melton, "Pietism, Print Culture, and Salzburg Protestantism on the Eve of Expulsion," in *Pietism in Germany and North America 1680-1820*, ed. Jonathan Strom, Hartmut Lehmann, and James Van Horn Melton (Burlington, VT, 2009), 229-51.

12 For a detailed account see Walker, *The Salzburg Transaction*, 31-188.

Having found conclusive evidence of entrenched crypto-Protestantism, the Jesuit team concluded that any further efforts at reconversion were fruitless. Exposure and expulsion, not persuasion, were the only way to cleanse the Pongau of heresy. Ultimately the archbishop and his advisors reached the same conclusion. The ensuing expulsions were destined to be the largest forced exile of a religious minority in eighteenth-century Europe.¹²

The numbers speak for themselves: in the five years that followed Firmian's *Emigrationspatent* of 1731, around 20,000 men, women, and children were forced to leave the territory and resettle elsewhere. Most emigrated to East Prussia, where Frederick William I, eager to repopulate a territory still recovering from plagues that had devastated the region during the Great Northern War, welcomed the refugees and allotted them farmland. The number of those who migrated to the Georgia colony was tiny by comparison, with some 150 settling in Ebenezer between 1734 and 1736. During the following two decades they were joined by around

350 additional German settlers from the Ulm region of Upper Swabia and from Palatine territories along the Upper Rhine. These immigrants were mostly from rural households and came to Georgia not as religious refugees but in search of land. The largest number of these arrived in 1751–52, just after the repeal of the ban on slavery.¹³ Hence in the 1740s, when Ebenezer's struggle to keep slavery out of Georgia reached its peak, most of the families living in the community were still Salzburgers.

In examining the lives of these settlers before and after exile, I relied on two sets of sources. One consisted of the interrogation records mentioned earlier, which I used to shed light on the settlers' lives before their migration to Georgia. The other set, which proved valuable for reconstructing their lives on the Georgia frontier, were the journals and diaries of Johann Martin Boltzius.

Boltzius was an ordained Lutheran pastor born in Lower Lusatia, at that time a part of Electoral Saxony. He was head of the Ebenezer community from its founding in 1734 until 1760, when for reasons of health he turned over leadership to a younger pastoral associate. Trained at the University of Halle, a center of the Pietist movement, Boltzius was a representative of the larger, non-separatist wing of Pietism. Halle Pietists were fervent champions of the Salzburgers, and played a key role in raising the funds needed to resettle the refugees following their expulsion. It was at the request of Halle's Pietist leader, Gotthilf August Francke, that Pastor Boltzius agreed to join the first transport of Salzburgers to Georgia as their leader and spiritual mentor.

Boltzius's journals, diaries, and letters document the history of the Ebenezer community during its first quarter-century. The journals were published during his lifetime, and an eighteen-volume American edition and translation (1968–95) included much of his diaries. The recent publication of his letters, along with materials housed in the Georgia section of the *Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen* in Halle,

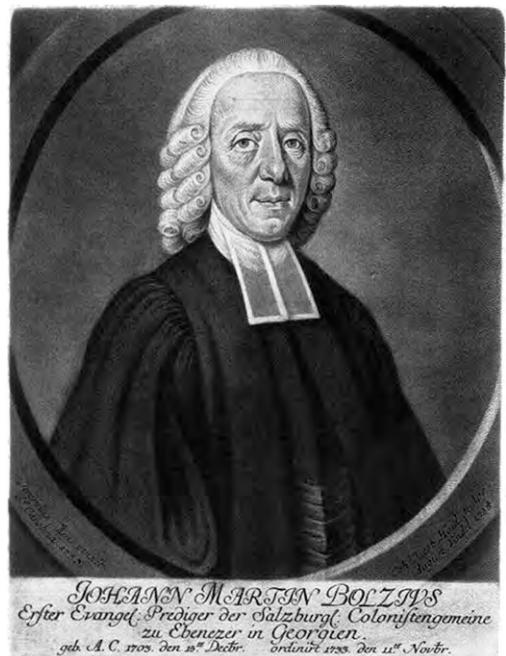


Figure 3. Johann Martin Boltzius (1703–65).
Illustration from Samuel Urlsperger, *Amerikanisches Ackerwerk Gottes; . . . , 4 vols.* (Augsburg, 1754–67), 1: frontispiece. Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington DC.

¹³ On these transports see Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery*, 239–40.

makes Ebenezer one of the best documented German-speaking communities in the colonial South.¹⁴

¹⁴ *Ausführliche Nachricht von der Königlichen Grossbritannischen Kolonie Salzburger Emigranten in America... herausgegeben von Samuel Urlsperger*, 3 vols. (Halle, 1735-52); continuation as *Amerikanisches Ackerwerk Gottes; oder zuverlässige Nachrichten, den Zustand der amerikanisch englischen und von salzburgischen Emigranten erbauten Pflanzstadt Ebenezer in Georgien betreffend...* 4 vols. (Augsburg, 1754-1767). The final volume was edited by Samuel Urlsperger's son, Johann August Urlsperger. For the American edition see George Fenwick Jones et al., *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America...* Edited by Samuel Urlsperger, 18 vols. (Athens, Ga., 1968-1993). For the recent American edition of his letters see *Letters of Johann Martin Boltzius, Lutheran Pastor in Ebenezer, Georgia*, ed. and trans. Russell C. Kleckley in collaboration with Jürgen Gröschl (Lewiston, N.Y., 2009).

¹⁵ See the figures in Russell R. Menard, "Slavery, Economic Growth, and Ideology in the South Carolina Lowcountry," in *The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period, 1763-1790*, ed. Ronald Hoffman et al. (Charlottesville, 1988), 259; Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 to the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1974), 146-47; and Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1998), 95.

¹⁶ On the rationale of the Trustees for excluding slaves from Georgia, see Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia, 1730-1775* (Athens, GA, 1984), 1-23.

Among other things they shed light on the role of Boltzius and the Salzburgers in efforts to prevent the introduction of slavery into Georgia. The Georgia colony was originally a utopian experiment, the creation of a group of London philanthropists known as the Trustees. In founding Georgia they were hoping to create a colonial society radically different from that of South Carolina, where a slavery-based plantation economy had been in place since 1700. That year fully half of South Carolina's population (excluding indigenous peoples) consisted of enslaved Africans, and by 1720 the percentage had risen to two-thirds. The percentage continued to rise, and by the 1730s, the decade of Ebenezer's founding, Charleston (or Charlestown as it was known prior to the Revolution) was importing on average two-thousand slaves per year.¹⁵

Military concerns loomed large in the decision to exclude slavery from Georgia.¹⁶ James Edward Oglethorpe, who is usually credited with articulating Georgia's founding vision, was relentless in emphasizing the dangers that slavery posed to the military security of British America's southeastern frontier. Oglethorpe conceived of Georgia as a buffer colony protecting the southern frontier of British America against possible attack by Spain from its colonial enclave in East Florida.¹⁷ The presence of slaves, he argued, would be dangerous for two reasons. First, he considered enslaved Africans a potentially seditious presence, a fifth column that the Spanish could enlist as allies in a military invasion from the south. Oglethorpe had good reason for concern: since the late seventeenth century, slaves in South Carolina had shown considerable ingenuity in manipulating Anglo-Spanish rivalry to obtain their freedom. In particular they deftly exploited Spanish policies, dating back to 1693, which sought to attract laborers to Florida by promising freedom and protection to fugitive slaves.¹⁸ Second, he was convinced that a society of slaveholders, small in number and enervated by luxury, would be incapable of defending Georgia from attack. Better for the colony to be settled by a populous class of yeoman smallholders, small

¹⁷ See James Edward Oglethorpe, *Some Account of the Design of the Trustees for Establishing Colonies in America*, ed. Rodney M. Baine and Phinizy Spalding (Athens,

GA, and London, 1990), 23. See also the statute (April 3, 1735) formally banning the importation of slaves into Georgia, in *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, ed. Allen D.

Candler et al, 32 vols. (Atlanta, 1904-89), 1:50.

¹⁸ Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana, IL, 1999), 29-60.

farmers willing and able to defend the southern frontier of British America.¹⁹ Here Oglethorpe voiced the concerns shared by some colonial observers in the lower South about the deleterious effects of an expanding, slave-based economy on the security and morale of European settlers.²⁰

In this respect, Oglethorpe had cause for welcoming the Salzburgers. As Protestant victims of Catholic persecution, they could be counted on to defend the colony in the event of a Spanish invasion. They were also hungry for land, and their rustic lives back in Europe made them ideal candidates for settlement on the frontier. The Salzburgers, in other words, embodied Oglethorpe's vision of a colony populated by a free, self-sufficient yeomanry able and willing to defend Georgia against the nefarious designs of a Catholic colonial rival.

The Salzburgers did not disappoint. Indeed, Ebenezer would become what one might call the poster child of Trustee Georgia. Economic success had much to do with it. Here the Salzburgers of Ebenezer stood in stark contrast with their English-speaking counterparts in Savannah. Like most German-speaking immigrants in British America, they came from rural backgrounds and had arrived in the colony with at least some of the skills necessary for survival on a remote frontier. By contrast, Georgia's English-speaking immigrants had mostly been urban dwellers. Only around fifteen to twenty percent of them seem to have arrived in the colony with much if any experience in agriculture.²¹

This difference in background soon became apparent. Ebenezer farmers required less time to clear their land, they placed it more quickly under cultivation, and by the early 1740s, when disaffected English and Scottish settlers were picking up stakes and moving to South Carolina, Ebenezer's Salzburgers had already achieved economic self-sufficiency. As William Stephens, the Trustees' chief correspondent and representative in Georgia, observed in 1743, "Ebenezer. . .we see grown to such maturity as to need no further leading strings hereafter: and I wish it could be said so of Savannah and its neighborhood."²²

Ebenezer's economic success gave the Trustees a useful rejoinder to the so-called Malcontents, the colony's disaffected proslavery faction, who were demanding a repeal of the ban on slavery. Consisting mainly of English and Scottish settlers in Savannah, the Malcontents insisted that slavery was necessary in Georgia because Europeans

¹⁹ The Trustees' restrictive (and highly unpopular) policies on land tenure were conceived in this spirit. Georgia's charter limited a household's holdings to fifty acres for "charity settlers" (those whose passage to the colony had been paid by the Trustees), and five hundred for those who had immigrated at their own expense. To prevent the consolidation of smaller tenancies into larger ones, inheritance in land was initially limited to males and landholders were forbidden to sell or mortgage their holdings. See Paul S. Taylor, *Georgia Plan: 1732-1752* (Berkeley, 1972), 22-30, 123-28.

²⁰ See Joyce E. Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730-1815* (Chapel Hill, NC and London, 1993), 37-40, 117-19.

²¹ This is my estimate, which I based on information provided in E. Merton Coulter and Albert B. Saye, *A List of the Early Settlers of Georgia* (Athens, GA, 1949), x-xii.

²² *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, 23:470.



Figure 4. This map of Georgia and South Carolina appeared in one of Samuel Urlsperger's installments of Boltzius's *Detailed Reports [Ausführliche Nachrichten, 13 Continuation, erster Theil]* (Halle and Augsburg, 1747). Although the map is credited to the Augsburg publisher and engraver Matthaeus Seutter, it is in fact a slightly modified copy of a map by the British cartographer Richard Henry Searle, *Georgia and Part of Carolina* (1741). From Philip Georg von Reck, *Sketchbook and drawings*. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, NKS 565 quarto.

were biologically unsuited for work in its hot and unhealthy climate.²³ This argument had become standard in proslavery discourse of the period. Advocates of slavery in South Carolina, for example, had maintained that the physical constitution of Europeans could not withstand the arduous labor required for the cultivation of rice. African-born laborers, they argued, were more accustomed to the oppressively hot climate of the Carolina Lowcountry, and less susceptible to diseases like malaria that flourished there.²⁴

The example of Ebenezer's Salzburgers gave the Trustees a ready-made response to this line of reasoning. If Europeans were biologically

23 The origins of the Malcontents date back to 1735, when a disaffected group of Savannah colonists submitted to the Trustees the colony's first petition demanding the right to own slaves. The petition is published in the *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, 20:364-7. See also the collection of sources in *The Clamorous Malcontents: Criticisms and Defenses of the Colony of Georgia, 1741-43*, ed. Trevor Reese (Savannah, 1974).

24 On these claims see Peter McCandless, *Slavery, Disease, and Suffering in »*

incapable of enduring the inhospitable climate of coastal Georgia, how did one account for Ebenezer's economic self-sufficiency? If Europeans were physically unsuited for the rigors of rice production, how was it that by 1740 the Salzburgers were cultivating rice along the banks of the Savannah River? Later the Trustees might also have mentioned Ebenezer's celebrated milling complex, with its gristmill and sawmills, or the groves of mulberry trees settlers had planted, which by the 1750s had made Ebenezer one of the largest producers of raw silk in the lower South. And — this was the coda of the Trustees' case — Ebenezer colonists had achieved all of this without owning a single slave.²⁵

Ebenezer's anti-slavery petition of March 1739 echoed this argument.²⁶ The petitioners brandished their economic success as proof that European settlers could thrive in the Georgia colony without importing slaves. As an example they pointed to their mastery of rice cultivation:

We were told by several people, after our arrival, that it proves quite impossible and dangerous for white people to plant and manufacture any rice, being a work only for negroes, not for European people, but having experience of the contrary we laugh at such a talking, seeing that several people of us have had in the last harvest, a greater crop of rice than they wanted for their own consumption.²⁷

One should not, however, imagine the Salzburgers as proto-abolitionists brimming with moral indignation over the brutal enslavement of Africans. Like the Trustees, the petitioners never framed slavery as a moral and religious issue. Economic concerns were partly at work: as yeoman smallholders they worried about their ability to compete with slaveholding planters. Fear of slave violence also fed their support for the Trustees' ban. Among other things the petition requested that "the Lord Trustees never allow Negroes to be brought to the vicinity of our town and used as slaves for the white people here, as we know from experience that neither houses nor gardens will be safe from theft, and that our very lives will not be safe from these savage people."²⁸ Ebenezer's petition voiced not so much an antagonism to *slavery* as it did an antipathy toward *slaves*, who were depicted as violent savages whose presence in the community would endanger the lives and livelihood of its members. Fear of slaves was paramount, not sympathy with their condition.

What accounts for this fear? The timing of the Salzburgers' arrival in the colonies had much to do with it. The 1730s was a violent decade in the West Indies, a world of which Ebenezer, like the rest of the

» *the Southern Lowcountry* (New York, 2011), 130-8.

25 For an example of the Trustees' response to the Malcontents, see Benjamin Martyn, *An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia* (London, 1741). Martyn was secretary to the Trustees in London.

26 Published in *Colonial Records of Georgia*, 3:428-31.

27 *Colonial Records*, 3:429.

28 *Ibid*, 3:430.

Lower South, was an integral part. Boltzius's journal records that the very day that he and the first transport of Salzburgers arrived in Charleston, where their ship first dropped anchor en route to Savannah — in other words, on their first day in British America — they entered a port rife with news of violent slave insurrections on the Caribbean islands of St. John and St. Thomas, where hundreds of European planters and their families had recently been massacred.²⁹

Five years later (1739) the Stono revolt in neighboring South Carolina, the only significant slave uprising to occur in the colonial South, would have further stoked the Salzburgers' fears. Six weeks after Stono these fears would have grown even more intense with the outbreak of war between Britain and Spain (the War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739-48), a part of which was fought in Georgia and involved efforts by the Spanish to take possession of the colony. Ebenezer colonists knew about the revolt first hand, since several of the runaway insurgents had passed through the settlement on their way to St. Augustine in Spanish East Florida. Oglethorpe, who considered Stono an object lesson on the threat slavery posed to the internal security of Britain's southeastern frontier, went out of his way to publicize the revolt and may have authored what remains our best source on it.³⁰ For Ebenezer settlers, the effect of the revolt was to confirm their image of enslaved Africans as a menacing and violent people who should be kept out of Georgia.

Efforts by the Trustees to uphold the ban suffered a setback in 1743 when Oglethorpe was summoned by the War Office in London to answer allegations of misconduct relating to his unsuccessful siege of St. Augustine. Despite his exoneration he chose for personal and career reasons to stay in England rather than return to Georgia. With Oglethorpe no longer there to oversee continued enforcement of the ban, evasion became widespread.³¹ According to Boltzius, Georgia's enslaved population had already reached 400 by 1748. The Trustees, convinced that enforcing the ban was no longer feasible, approved a series of measures that by 1750 had effectively rescinded the prohibition. Over the next two years they gradually relinquished their authority over the colony, which by the end of 1752 was directly subordinate to the crown. A quarter-century later, on the eve of the American Revolution, Georgia's social, economic, and racial landscape looked much like that of South Carolina.

Ebenezer nonetheless continued to prosper, at least up to the Revolution. Increased demand for farmland, stoked by the arrival of three more transports of German immigrants in 1750-52, gave rise to the

29 *Detailed Reports on the Salzburg Emigrants*, 3:311.

30 This document, the "Account of the Negro Insurrection in South Carolina," mentions the sighting of runaways in Ebenezer — *Colonial Records of Georgia*, 22/2:232-3. The account was first published in the *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer* 9 (March 1740): 151—152. Although the author is not identified, Peter Charles Hoffer, *Cry Liberty: The Great Stono River Rebellion of 1739* (Oxford and New York, 2010), 154, attributes the account to Oglethorpe.

31 *Detailed Records on the Salzburg Emigrants*, 12:23.

founding of more settlements beyond the Ebenezer core. In the process the population of the region more than doubled from around 250 to almost 600. Although some settlers proceeded to purchase slaves, rates of slaveholding in Ebenezer and its environs remained relatively low relative to the rest of the colony. In 1756 Boltzius counted no more than forty-two slaves in Ebenezer and its dependencies, which would have made the ratio of slaves to whites only about 1 to 10. In 1750, even before the ban formally went into effect, the ratio was already 1:5 and by 1761 it had reached 1:1.7. In 1769 the largest slaveholder in Ebenezer owned 23 slaves — a modest figure indeed compared with the roughly 200 enslaved Africans who labored on the rice plantations of the Savannah merchant James Habersham.³²

Comparisons with German-speaking households elsewhere in North America suggest that Ebenezer's low rate of slaveholding was not exceptional. Scholars have found similarly low rates among the Germans of Philadelphia as well as in heavily German rural counties elsewhere in Pennsylvania.³³ Statistics on German slaveholding after the Revolution present a similar picture. North Carolina's census of 1790 lists only twelve percent of German households as owning slaves, a percentage around three times lower than that of the state's population as a whole. Virginia's 1840 census shows slaveholding rates to have been only around ten percent in counties with a high percentage of German households.³⁴

How does one explain this disparity in rates of slaveholding? In Pennsylvania, the destination of around 80% of all German-speaking immigrants to British America,³⁵ the availability of indentured labor played a role. Since most of these immigrants came to the colony with some form of indenture, they offered a ready source of labor to more settled German families who had already acquired land. The wave of Germans who streamed into the colony between 1730 and 1756 yielded an especially abundant supply of labor, which in turn would have lowered the demand for the labor of enslaved Africans.³⁶

The rural backgrounds of most German immigrants may also have reduced their dependency on the labor of slaves. Eighteenth-century observers habitually praised German immigrants for their proficiency in agriculture. Jacques Pierre Brissot, the future Girondin leader who visited the United States on the eve of the French Revolution, remarked that "the Germans are regarded as the most honest, most industrious and the most economical of the farmers." Benjamin Rush, a native of Philadelphia and a signer of the Declaration of Independence,

³² See Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery*, 239–250.

³³ Gary P. Nash, "Slaves and Slave Owners in Colonial Philadelphia," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 30 (1973): 223–56; Jerome H. Wood, Jr., "The Negro in Early Pennsylvania: The Lancaster Experience, 1730–90," in Elinor Miller and Eugene D. Genovese, *Plantation, Town, and County: Essays on the Local History of American Slave Society* (Urbana, Ill., 1974), 441–45; Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life 1640–1840*, 2 vols. (Harrisburg, 1950), 1:117.

³⁴ Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary, *Slavery in North Carolina, 1748–1775* (Chapel Hill, 1995), 205; William Herman Gehrke, "Negro Slavery among the Germans in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 14 (1937): 307–324; Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville, 1969), 307–08.

³⁵ Georg Fertig, "Transatlantic Migration from the German-Speaking Parts of Central Europe, 1600–1800. Proportions, Structures, and Explanations," in *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500–1800*, ed. Nicholas Canny (Oxford, 1994), 201.

³⁶ Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderland, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York and Oxford, 1991), 16, 45–46; Nash, "Slaves and Slave Owners in Colonial Philadelphia," 227–32.

37 J.P. Brissot, *New Travels to the United States of America* (Dublin, 1792), 338; Benjamin Rush, "An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania," in *Essays, Literary, Moral and Philosophical* (Philadelphia, 1798), 225–28; "From Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, 9 May 1753," *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified June 29, 2017, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-04-02-0173>.

38 Werner Trossbach, *Bauern 1648–1806* (Munich, 1993), 36–38.

39 This figure is taken from Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717–1775* (Philadelphia, 1996), 2. For additional data on German migration to British America, see idem, "From Slaves, Convicts, and Servants to Free Passengers: The Transformation of Immigration in the Era of the American Revolution," *Journal of American History*, 85 (1998): 43–76, and Marianne Woakeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park, Pa., 1999), 37–58, 240–76.

40 Wolfgang von Hippel, *Auswanderung aus Südwürttemberg: Studien zur württembergischen Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1984), 50–51. See also Andreas Brinck, *Die deutsche Auswanderungswelle in die britischen Kolonien Nordamerikas um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1993), 131–32.

41 Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 114–15.

celebrated the Germans of Pennsylvania as exemplary farmers and compared them invidiously with their neighbors: "a German farm," he wrote, "may be distinguished from the farms of the other citizens of the state, by the superior size of their barns; the plain, but compact form of their houses; the height of their enclosures; the extent of their orchards; the fertility of their fields; the luxuriance of their meadows, and a general appearance of plenty and neatness in everything that belongs to them." Even Benjamin Franklin, well-known for his nativist response to the waves of German immigrants who arrived in Pennsylvania during the 1750s, nonetheless conceded that they were industrious, frugal, and productive farmers.³⁷

Their agricultural abilities certainly served the immigrants well, as has been seen in the case of Ebenezer. But in closing this essay, I want to suggest that focusing solely on their proficiency as farmers obscures another aspect of their background that proved more decisive for their success. Prior to emigration, most colonial German immigrants had not been "farmers" in the strict sense of the word. By 1700, full-holding peasants subsisting principally from their land and livestock represented a minority of households in the central European countryside. Most were cottagers settled on small plots of land that were insufficient for their subsistence, so that their economic survival depended on non-agricultural sources of income.³⁸ That was especially the case in southwestern Germany, particularly along the Upper Rhine and its tributaries, where the majority of the roughly 84,000 German-speaking immigrants to British America had lived prior to emigration.³⁹ There the growth of a rural, sub-peasant stratum had been closely tied to the prevailing system of partible inheritance (*Realteilung*), the practice of distributing progressively smaller parcels of land among surviving children. As Wolfgang von Hippel argued more than three decades ago, the fractionalization of farmsteads resulting from this process was the driving force behind much of the emigration from the German southwest.⁴⁰ In the case of migration to British America, the vicissitudes of geography facilitated the process. The region's proximity to the Rhine and its tributaries provided ready access to Rotterdam, the port of embarkation for most Germans migrating to the colonies. The Rhine waterway system also accommodated the flow of information between British America and the Rhine territories that helped recruit immigrants.⁴¹

The agrarian landscape of southwestern Germany, with its fragmented holdings, was to be sure a negative "push factor" driving

emigration from the region. In a more positive sense, however, the ways in which rural households had learned to meet their subsistence needs in the face of limited agricultural resources helped equip them for the challenges they faced as newly arrived immigrants. Economic conditions in their homelands had forced them to be resourceful and creative, which meant developing a range of disparate skills and a rugged capacity to adapt to unforeseen circumstances. In his research on early modern Neckarhausen (southwestern Württemberg), David Sabean described the myriad and creative ways rural households responded to economic pressures through practices like the recovery of waste areas, the use of more complex rotation patterns, and the adoption of new strategies related to the sexual division of household labor.⁴² And in an economic world where land was scarce, these were households that also moved flexibly between the plow and the loom, the garden and the spinning wheel. This elasticity was a hallmark of the Upper Swabian cottagers (*Seldner*) from the Ulm hinterland, a shipload of whom migrated to the Ebenezer area in 1751. Residing on plots less than half the size of a peasant farmstead, *Seldner* families typically practiced weaving and other trades to supplement their income from agriculture.⁴³ The rural community of Laichingen (Württemberg), the subject of Hans Medick's rich microhistory, offers a similar example. Medick estimates more than one-third of Laichingen households were subsisting at least partly from linen weaving in 1722, a percentage that would almost double by 1797.⁴⁴

Ebenezer's Salzburgers, even though they came from a different part of the Holy Roman Empire, also exhibited this kind of hybrid background. Back in their native territory, many appear to have had small gardens and a few livestock while also earning additional income through mine-related work. Some had been employed as pickmen or sack-carriers, others as lumbermen who felled, milled, or transported the wood necessary for smelting and shaft-bracing. Still others worked on the side as cobblers, carpenters, or smiths, usually in the winter months on the farmsteads of more well-to do peasant households where these skills were in demand.⁴⁵

Already accustomed to lives that entailed mastering a range of skills, the exiles would have brought with them a versatility that proved indispensable for building a viable frontier community. Boltzius often praised this quality in describing individual members of his congregation. Ruprecht Schrempf was familiar with the locksmith's trade "but can do almost every task asked of him," and "because he can make

⁴² David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* (Cambridge, 1990), 21-22.

⁴³ On *Seldner* see Werner Hacker, "Auswanderer aus dem Territorium der Reichstadt Ulm," *Ulm und Oberschwaben* 42/43 (1978): 190.

⁴⁴ Hans Medick, *Weben und Überleben in Laichingen 1650-1900: Lokalgeschichte als allgemeine Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1996), 38-39.

⁴⁵ The occupations of Salzburgers prior to emigration are listed in surviving ship manifests, which can be found in the Egmont Manuscripts, 14212, fol. 2628 (Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Library) and in *Henry Newman's Salzburger Letterbooks*, ed. George Fenwick Jones (Athens, Ga., 1966), 412-13. I was able to locate additional information on their occupational backgrounds in the voluminous interrogations housed in the Salzburger Landesarchiv: Emigrationsakten, and in parish baptismal registers (Bad Gastein, Hofgastein, Lichtenburg, and Saalfelden) located in the Salzburger Konsistorialarchiv.

all sorts of things, there is always enough work for him.” Stephan Rothenberger, “skillful in many things and of great usefulness to us,” was “undaunted in taking on all kinds of useful projects.” Gabriel Mauerer was valuable owing to his knowledge of both stonemasonry and carpentry, while Georg Kogler managed Ebenezer’s first sawmill and supervised the construction of its church.⁴⁶ Boltzius much preferred colonists like these to more specialized artisans: “The reason we do not want skilled craftsmen from Europe to join us here is that these people then insist on doing only what falls within the competence of their craft.”⁴⁷ Ebenezer settlers not only sowed and harvested wheat and corn; they practiced silk cultivation, established profitable milling complexes for lumber, grain, and rice, and earned income from various outside trades. Given their dependence on non-agricultural enterprises and trades, it is understandable that Ebenezer settlers would have considered slavery such a threat to their livelihood. Boltzius noted this aspect of their opposition when he observed that they did not want Georgia to become another South Carolina, where “negroes are taught every skill and then are used in all sorts of enterprises. This is the reason that white people have such a hard time earning their bread except if they become overseers of Negroes or keep slaves themselves.”⁴⁸

“And since they have learned to learn something apart from agriculture, through the mills which have been built and in many other ways, they have managed well with God’s blessing.”⁴⁹ Boltzius’s explanation for Ebenezer’s success underscored the hybrid blend of skills on which the survival of the community came to depend. This versatility deserves emphasis, especially given the prevailing image of early German immigrants as rustic peasants who prospered through their expertise as farmers. The stereotype of colonial German immigrants as practiced tillers of the soil is misleading, for survival on the frontier demanded more than an ability to raise crops and livestock; it required versatility, flexibility, and the capacity to improvise in a challenging environment. Colonial German immigrants were accustomed to a world where those qualities were essential. It would serve them well in their struggle to survive in, and adapt to, an unfamiliar and challenging environment.

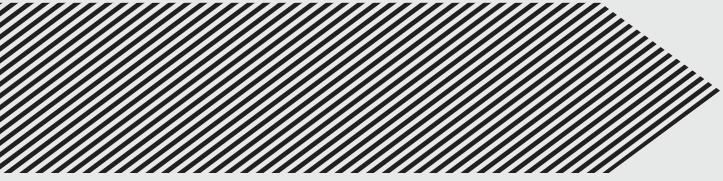
46 *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants*, 2:92, 9:54, 146, 11:16.

47 Ibid., 14:99.

48 Ibid., 11:90; cf. 14:95.

49 Johann Martin Boltzius, “Reliable Answers to Some Submitted Questions Concerning the Land Carolina,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 14 (1957): 260.

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Forum: Diversity in German History

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DIVERSITY IN GERMAN HISTORY: INTRODUCTION

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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 has been 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.” As observers such as Ferdinand Tönnies and Georg Simmel have noted, the passage from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* created new options for individual autonomy, above all in the context of the modern metropolis. Nonetheless, as Alexis de Tocqueville stressed in *Democracy in America*, democratic polities could be at least as hostile to difference as traditional rural or urban communities.

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. What would happen, though, if we viewed difference and diversity as constitutive of modernity itself? In this light, diversity might perhaps be more fruitfully understood as the inevitable effect of individual freedom rather than as a specter of alterity that haunts (liberal) modernity. How might this shift change our thinking not only about modernity, but also about how we as scholars have endeavored to make sense of difference and the narratives, practices and politics it has engendered since the religious crisis of the late Middle Ages? Indeed, how might attention to the conceptual history of “diversity,” as a category that is continually negotiated and navigated, enable us to move beyond the binary oppositions — insider/outsider, majority/minority, particular/universal, secular/religious — that have long dominated scholarly and public discourse on the subject?

It is with these paragraphs that we began a call for papers for a conference on diversity in German-speaking Europe from the Reformation

era to the present that was co-organized by the three editors of this “Forum” and co-sponsored by the German Historical Institute Washington, the Université de Montréal, and the Université du Québec à Montréal and took place in Montreal in April 2016.¹ As these lines intimate, our goal was to bring together scholars working from a variety of perspectives to explore diversity as concept and category and as experienced in time and space. We wished to provoke discussions about how Germans perceived diversity and how they reacted to different types of difference, while also encouraging reflection on how the negotiation of diversity, both formally and informally, has shaped economic, political, religious and social life in the German lands since the Reformation. The choice of a broad time frame was deliberate. In part, we saw this conference as an opportunity to rethink narratives about the relationship between modernity and diversity that presuppose major breaks between the early modern and modern eras. At the same time, we wanted to acknowledge and build upon the innovative contributions that historians of the early modern period have made to our understanding of diversity. In these ways, too, we hoped to cultivate a scholarly conversation about diversity that moves beyond the concept’s current political connotations in North America and Western Europe and concentrates instead on examining diversity both in the multiplicity of its manifestations and in the shifting valences attached to them across time and space. How did Germans construct and navigate gender differences, for example, in the sixteenth, eighteenth or twentieth centuries? How has law been employed to manage religious difference in the German lands since the Reformation? And with what consequences for notions of civil community?

The essays in this special issue of the *Bulletin* are the fruits of the rich discussions that took place in Montreal. Taken together, they reflect the conference’s topical and chronological breadth, but also its intellectual depth. Although each of these pieces returns to material presented in the respective authors’ papers for the conference, in every case the material has been reworked significantly (sometimes with a notable change in focus) to arrive at the versions published here.

The first essay, Jesse Spohnholz’s study of dissimulation in the city of Wesel after the Protestant Reformation, addresses one of the fundamental problems that the Reformation’s success posed for the German lands, both short and long term, namely, how to contend with the newfound religious pluralism and interconfessional coexistence. As Spohnholz reminds us, these were existential questions that affected

¹ A report on this conference was published in the *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 59 (Fall 2016): 121–128 and is available online at <https://www.ghi-dc.org/publications/ghi-bulletin>. We especially wish to thank the International Research Training Group “Diversity: Mediating Difference in Transcultural Spaces” for its support of this conference.

Germans in a variety of ways, both public and private. Whereas scholars have long underscored the legal attempts to regulate this religious confusion, above all by excluding confessional “others” from state and society to recreate at least the image of mono-confessional harmony, Spohnholz prompts us to pay attention to the informal practices that complimented but, critically, also undermined these formal strategies for the management of religious diversity. Indeed, in the interest of maintaining a certain degree of religious pluralism and public peace, Wesel’s residents and officials were willing to engage in duplicitous behavior that normally would have been deemed both morally and legally unacceptable. In this fashion, Spohnholz moves the discussion of religious difference past considerations of “tolerance,” which he brands as a form of institutionalized intolerance, to one that seeks to understand the modalities and ramifications of religious pluralism.

Helmut Walser Smith’s essay shifts the issue’s temporal frame forward into the eighteenth century. But it also proposes a novel, even radical prism through which to think about diversity in Germany: travel and travel literature. In one respect, he intimates, traveling is fundamentally about encountering, acknowledging and navigating difference. One travels to other lands, some nearby, some further away, in search of the foreign, the exotic, the other: customs, architecture, cuisine, landscapes. The travel accounts that Smith studies here, however, propose something different. Not only do they chart and report on Germany’s physical contours, they also reflect on the people inhabiting these lands: Protestants and Catholics, city folk and country folk, north and south Germans, Rhinelanders and Prussians, Saxons and Austrians. True, Smith concedes, the travel descriptions of such travelers as Johann Georg Keyssler, Friedrich Nicolai and Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder traded in stereotypes and prejudices. Nonetheless, this lack of objectivity affords us insights into how individuals in the eighteenth century conceived of “Germany” as a translocal community defined much more by the interplay of difference — confessional, economic, geographic, social — than by any overarching notion of unity.

In her piece on the kindergarten movement in mid-nineteenth — century Hamburg, *Nisrine Rahal* calls attention to a critical instrument that societies and states have used to navigate difference, namely educational policy. Normally, we tend to think about education and schooling as tactics for regulating, that is, downplaying

diversity. In this view, schools are sites above all for societal reproduction that aim to promote conformity, hegemonic notions of social order and, hence, patterns of inclusion and exclusion. Rahal confirms that this dynamic was also at work in Hamburg, above all in church and political leaders' responses to the emerging kindergarten movement. More importantly, however, she stresses that part of the kindergarten's radical image lay precisely in its intent to recast Hamburg's and, by extension Germany's, religious and political landscape. Already from an operational perspective, the schools championed a more inclusive, socially diverse vision. Not only did they enlist supporters across confessional lines, but they idealized women's contributions as educators, thereby deviating from the patriarchal, patrician line that dominated pre-1848 Hamburg. Moreover, through their curricular agendas and enrollment strategies, the kindergartens strove to promote social inclusion of another sort: opening up access to schooling, free from confessional dictates, to both boys and girls and to children from lower middle-class and lower-class families.

Schools also figure prominently in *Glenn Penny's* contribution to this issue, but the context in which he invokes them, namely immigrant German communities in Latin America, injects new elements into this discourse on diversity. At first reading, one might be tempted to gloss this as a case study of ethnic survival abroad, in that the German schools Penny examines initially aimed to provide Germans in such countries as Argentina, Chile and Guatemala access to high quality, "German" education. The support given to these schools from Berlin, especially in terms of curricular models, textbooks and even teachers, also suggests that these institutions promoted a unitary image of Germanness abroad. Yet, Penny argues that, when one looks at actual practices, the history of German schools in diaspora settings speaks much more to the negotiation of difference rather than the striving for a certain ethnic conformity. Not only was there no agreed upon definition of Germanness for the schools to propagate, but increasingly their survival depended on the good graces of the host societies, encouraging them to make their own demands on the schools. But the logic of Penny's argument goes well beyond the idea that the emigrant experience complicated Germans' sense of identity, imbuing it with a hybridity rapidly being lost on the European continent. Indeed, he proposes that emigration itself was a vital strategy that Germans exploited in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries to plot a course through an ever more diverse, and for that reason challenging social, political and economic environment.

In the final article, *Christopher Ewing* returns to the notions of travel and Germans abroad, which receive here a provocative twist that raises further questions about how we conceptualize and study diversity. In part, this is a study of the emergence of a public gay milieu in West Germany following the decriminalization of homosexuality there in 1969, defined above all by the rise of gay print media. At this level, we can read this as an essay on the growing inclusiveness in West Germany in the wake of the 1960s and continued economic prosperity. Prosperity, in particular, translated into travel opportunities, which the new gay magazines and travel guides thoroughly exploited. As gay men frolicked overseas, Ewing notes, they gained new perspectives on the world even if, as Smith similarly observed vis-à-vis eighteenth-century travelers, gay men's accounts of their trips and encounters routinely reproduced racist images and stereotypes. And yet, even as some of these stereotypes persisted, Ewing reveals, through their travels and increased knowledge of gays living in other parts of the world, West German gays also increasingly developed a political conscience and fought to oppose repressive sexual politics across the globe. In short, Ewing offers here a case study in how a legally marginalized social group strove to leverage its new-found social and legal capital to promote greater sexual diversity both at home and abroad.

As each of these essays reveal, the effort to understand and analyze how Germans have sought to navigate difference since the Reformation is inherently complex. It entails taking account of the concepts, metaphors, and languages Germans have employed to talk about diversity and how they have tailored them to match particular situations. In addition, it involves exploring the realm of practices: how has diversity been experienced, manifested, represented and negotiated? How have Germans identified and acknowledged difference? How have they responded and acted on that knowledge? And, of necessity, the quest demands a consideration of political life, a central space where the narratives and practices of diversity intersect. That is, how have Germans used politics to negotiate — define, channel, accept, tolerate, condemn, or embrace — difference? To what degree should we understand the anxieties that have arisen around diversity — its presence and its toleration — as reflecting the problems and insecurities arising from particular constructions of power rather than the presence of difference itself? Of course, the essays in this forum, much like the papers presented at our conference, can offer only initial reflections on this critical subject. But we hope that they

provoke further thought and inquiry and, in so doing, promote at once a more rigorous, yet broader and analytically productive understanding of diversity, and not just in German-speaking Europe.

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SOCIAL FICTION AND DIVERSITY IN POST-REFORMATION GERMANY¹

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During the Reformation, Christians across the German lands splintered into competing churches, which were defined by differences in theology as well as rituals — and increasingly by separate cultures. Leaders of Europe's four main branches of Christianity — Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and Anabaptist — developed mutually exclusive conceptions of religious truth and claimed to be the inheritors of the one true church of God. Preachers and theologians perfected the use of the printing press in their efforts to convince laypeople that their views were the proper ones. Advocates of these churches stood in pulpits as well as the streets, lambasting their enemies as agents of Satan. They penned songs and poems, plays and pamphlets, short treatises and lengthy theological tracts condemning one another's interpretation of the Bible, smearing each other's reputation, and accusing each other of moral crimes — often sexual mischief — in ways that painted their opponents as socially devious as well as theologically errant.

This situation was dangerous enough, but matters worsened because of the relationship between religious and political authority. This was an age of state building, during which rulers of relatively weak states were attempting to consolidate their authority relative to one another and to other forms of authority such as the feudal privileges of nobles and urban freedoms of city dwellers. In this context, the Reformation offered politicians a chance to align their authority with one of these competing churches. They could thus earn divine mandates from religious leaders, who had every interest in tying themselves to political authorities. Religious dissenters went underground, fled, or faced various degrees of physical and financial punishments. In short, post-Reformation German-speaking central Europe was characterized by deeply institutionalized intolerance.

Recent research, however, has revealed that in virtually every community and state across the Empire, the goal of uniformity of faith was never matched by reality.² Dissenters continued to persist almost everywhere. There emerged a deep chasm between the detested reality of religious and cultural pluralism and the desperately longed-for

¹ I wish to thank Peter-Ben Smit, Insa Kummer, and Todd Butler for helpful comments related to this article.

² Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 2007). David M. Luebke, *Hometown Religion: Conflict and Coexistence among the Christian Religions of Germany, 1553–1650* (Charlottesville, VA, 2016).

dream of religious and cultural purity. In this situation, two logically consistent responses would be 1) to abandon or revise one's intolerant ideals or 2) to kill or purge all difference. There are examples of both kinds of responses, of course, but neither was ever extensive enough to fully solve the problem.³

This article describes a third response to religious and cultural pluralism in the confessional age. Here I examine instances of lying, dissimulating, bending the truth, hiding in ambiguity, turning a blind eye, and omitting critical points, all of which created social fictions that in turn preserved political and social order in a world where the very existence of dissenting opinions posed a threat to that order. As we will see, politics in sixteenth-century Germany could be saturated by intentional and pervasive misrepresentations of fact in ways that created a shared social fiction that helped people balance the ideal and the real. Catholic and Protestant religious leaders alike railed against lying in matters of conscience, arguing that making a distinction between one's internal beliefs and one's external behavior constituted a betrayal of Christ and the church. And yet a whole host of motivations — saving one's life, protecting one's property, maximizing profit, ensuring political stability, protecting one's reputation, safeguarding one's authority — meant that few leaders and ordinary people ever fully lived up to these ideals. Perez Zagorin has appropriately called the Reformation era “the Age of Dissimulation.”⁴ This widespread willingness to accept social fictions as part of the mundane realities of life allowed politicians and neighbors from different backgrounds and of different faiths to avoid the systematic persecution that their laws and ideologies demanded.

3 For purgation, see Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge, 2015). For changing intellectual frameworks, see Gary Remer, *Humanism and the Rhetoric of Toleration* (University Park, PA, 1996).

4 Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, & Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 1990), 330.

5 This is the topic of my first book: Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars* (Newark, 2011). Some passages from that book have been reworked here, inspired by my more recent rethinking related to problems uncovering historical truth in Reformation history: Jesse Spohnholz, *The Convent of Wesel: The Event that Never Was and the Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 2017).

This article provides three sets of examples of dissimulation, each of which builds on the next, such that the reality experienced by ordinary people could be extremely confusing, even if the social fiction that they perpetuated suggested a relatively straightforward case of religious uniformity. To explain what I mean, allow me to take you to Wesel, the largest and wealthiest city in one of the states in the northwest of the Holy Roman Empire — the duchy of Cleves. Wesel offers a compelling example for looking at how people dealt with the uncomfortable realities of pluralism in the confessional age.⁵ Like other communities across the German-speaking lands, Wesel was deeply divided by the Reformation. But Wesel's location on the western border of the Empire, just a few kilometers from the Low Countries, also meant that French- and Dutch-speaking dissenters

fleeing persecution back home fled to the city in large numbers, posing serious challenges to the constitutional arrangements for managing increasing religious diversity in the Empire. The result of this inquiry helps us see just how unhelpful laws and theologies alone are for understanding the ways in which ordinary people navigated religious and cultural diversity in the German lands after the Reformation.

I. A Protestant City in a Catholic Territory

Once the Reformation began to spread, some German princes used this occasion to align with the new Lutheran church as a way of challenging the emperor's authority. When the emperor refused to accept either the new religion or challenges to his authority, war broke out in 1546. Initially, Lutheran princes faced devastating losses. By 1552, they launched a more successful campaign that forced the emperor to make concessions, which were formalized in the Peace of Augsburg of 1555. Critical to this treaty was the agreement that it was not the emperor who had the right to determine which church was the one official church, but the prince of each state.⁶ There was one critical limitation to this rule — the choice of the prince was limited to either Roman Catholicism or the so-called “religion of the Augsburg Confession.” Pretty much everyone agreed that Lutherans were included in this second category. Everyone definitely agreed that Anabaptists were not. The situation for Reformed Protestants, though, was a bit more complex because what might be meant by the “religion of the Augsburg Confession” remained ambiguous. The original statement of faith with this name was written in 1530 as a proposed declaration of religious unity between Lutherans and Catholics. It was only after the Catholic emperor had rejected it and most Lutheran princes had signed it that the document came to be seen as the definitive statement of Lutheran orthodoxy. Ten years later, in an effort to promote unity between Lutherans and Reformed Protestants, a revised version was penned, which some Reformed theologians were willing to sign. So while the Peace of Augsburg permitted churches that adhered to what it portrayed as a single document, in fact two versions of that document existed. As a result of these confusions, Reformed princes claimed that their churches were permitted by imperial law, even if they did not even use the 1540 version as a standard of orthodoxy in their territory. Thus, as Matthias Pohlig has shown, dissimulation came to be critical to the way that the Peace of Augsburg functioned in practice.⁷ The uncomfortable reality was that in imperial politics

⁶ The literature on the Peace of Augsburg is extensive. See Heinz Schilling and Heribert Smolinsky, eds., *Der Augsburger Religionsfrieden 1555* (Gütersloh, 2007).

⁷ Matthias Pohlig, “Wahrheit als Lüge – oder: Schloss der Augsburger Religionsfrieden den Calvinismus aus?,” in *Konfessionelle Ambiguität: Uneindeutigkeit und Verstellung als religiöse Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Andreas Pietsch and Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger (Gütersloh, 2013), 142–69.

the polarized rhetoric of good and evil, orthodoxy and heresy, could not be mapped neatly onto the more ambiguous distinction between legal and illegal.

As a city in the duchy of Cleves, Wesel was subject to the Peace of Augsburg. There was little doubt that Duke Wilhelm V continued to support Catholicism (though that did not mean that he always towed the line from Rome).⁸ Thus by imperial law and state law, Cleves remained Catholic. Yet in direct contradiction to imperial and state law, in October 1553 the magistrates of Wesel hired Protestant ministers and formally embraced the 1530 Augsburg Confession.⁹ These changes thus amounted to an implicit statement of civic autonomy.

The new church law also approved by civic officials at the same time offers a window into magistrates' strategy. The Church Ordinance of Hermann von Wied, the former archbishop of Cologne, was not quite Lutheran or Catholic, but somewhere in between. Wied had produced the work, usually known as *Einfältiges Bedenken*, in 1543 after he had abandoned his efforts to find unity among Christians in the empire.¹⁰ Instead, he adopted a compromise church order that would only apply within his archbishopric. The idea was to create a broad church that most Catholics and Protestants could accept. In

⁸ Susanne Becker, *Zwischen Duldung und Dialog: Wilhelm V. von Jülich-Kleve-Berg als Kirchenpolitiker* (Bonn, 2014).

⁹ In March of the previous year, magistrates designated the chapel of the Brothers of the Common Life for evangelical services, while the city's parish churches remained Catholic. In the fall of 1553, they transferred evangelical services to the Mathena church. The city's main church retained mixed Catholic-Lutheran services until magistrates removed its Catholic priest in October 1558. Stadtarchiv Wesel (henceforth as SAW) A3/50, fols. 48r, 55r.

¹⁰ Martin Bucer and Philip Melanchthon assisted Wied in the preparation of this work. Hermann von Wied, *Einfältiges Bedenken: Reformationsentwurf für das Erzstift Köln von 1543*, ed. Helmut Gerhard und Wilfried Borth (Düsseldorf, 1972). August Franzen, *Bischof und Reformation: Erzbischof Hermann von Wied in Köln vor der Entscheidung zwischen Reform und Reformation* (Münster, 1971).

By the mid-1550s, thus, *Einfältiges Bedenken* was something of a throwback. Wied had attempted, and failed, to create an umbrella church in which all Christians could be united within an institution that was broad and accommodating in scope. Though Lutheran enough to incite disapproval from Catholics, *Einfältiges Bedenken* was neither radical nor rigid in its stipulations. It embraced the doctrine of *sola scriptura* but was ambiguous on other Protestant doctrines. The

text lacks contentious or divisive language, often leaving considerable room for differences on theological issues and holding out hope for a general Christian council to resolve those differences. In matters of ritual, *Einfältiges Bedenken* limited the sacraments to only infant baptism and communion, but left the Catholic ritual calendar largely intact. It also gave considerable room for the use of images in worship as well as Catholic rituals like exorcism. *Einfältiges Bedenken's* emphasis on liturgical harmony and obedience over clarity and precision in theology had caused it to be rejected by Pope Paul III and Martin Luther alike.¹¹ And while to my knowledge, John Calvin never discussed the document, he wrote disparagingly of other such compromises that “mixed God’s truth with human vagaries and were guilty of deceit in their desire for a specious unity.”¹² In short, the church ordinance did not conform to the narrowly-defined models of confessional churches emerging by the mid-1550s, but was instead a product of the idealism of church unity that still existed in the early 1540s.

This broad ambiguous language is precisely why *Einfältiges Bedenken* appealed to Wesel’s magistrates. Their effort to use ambiguity to skirt the law was highlighted by the fact that in 1559 they hired as their chief pastor the duke’s own court chaplain, Nicolas Rollius.¹³ Rollius had been Catholic, though he was clearly flexible enough in his views to take the post in Wesel. In Wesel’s new church, ministers were banned from criticizing either Catholic or Lutheran doctrines, but were instructed, in the language of the city council’s repeated proclamations, to remain “united in doctrine” and “hold themselves in love and peace.”¹⁴ From now on, Catholics and Lutherans alike were required to worship in the city churches together. Magistrates intended this policy — ecclesiastical unity undergirded by ambiguity in matters of doctrine and liturgy — to provide the basis for social order under their paternal guidance. Yet claims that Wesel was religiously united — like claims that it conformed to the Peace of Augsburg — were a social fiction that everyone knew were bogus. Lutheran pamphlets produced by Wesel’s printers criticized Catholic doctrines. Meanwhile, members of Catholic religious orders attended services in the parish churches, but also continued to offer Mass in the privacy of their cloisters. Yet the social fiction of unity remained. Clearly, Weselers held social, political, and ecclesiastical unity as a higher priority than uniformity in theology or praxis.¹⁵ By adopting a church ordinance that harkened back to a time when unity between Catholics and Lutherans still seemed like a realistic goal,

¹¹ For Luther’s response, see Wilhelm Martin Lebrecht de Luette, ed., *Dr Martin Luthers Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken*, vol. 5 (Berlin, 1828), 708–09.

¹² Jean Calvin, *Le vraye façon de réformer l’eglise chrestienne* (1549), quote in Zagorin, *Ways of Lying*, 80.

¹³ Since 1557, the duke held patronage rights over both parish churches in Wesel. By naming Rollius, the magistrates usurped this right for themselves, but selected a candidate that implied allegiance to the duke. Emperor Ferdinand cautioned against Rollius’s appointment. Evangelisches Kirchenarchiv Wesel (henceforth as EKAW) Gefach 3.1,41; Gefach 65.1, fol. 123.

¹⁴ E.g. SAW A3/50 fol. 4v.

¹⁵ On this point for neighboring Westphalia, see Luebke, *Hometown Religion*, 1–19.

and retreating to ambiguous language of Christian unity and peace, Wesel's magistrates twisted the truth just enough that they were able to preserve the uncomfortable reality that Lutherans would continue to exist in a Catholic territory whose laws forbade their presence.

In 1595, when elected representatives of the citizens (called the *Gemeinsfreunde*) explicitly requested that Catholic Masses in the cloisters finally be halted, the city council even defended the private worship of Wesel's friars, monks, and nuns, though again on an erroneous legal foundation. Ironically, to defend private Catholic services they appealed to the Peace of Augsburg, the very document that, had it been instituted as written, would have made Catholicism the only legal church in the city.¹⁶ The fact that dissimulation was a shared social fiction can be shown by the fact that the prince accepted the magistrates' line of argument. Thus stretching the truth provided a pretense of legitimacy that helped Lutherans survive in a Catholic territory and Catholics survive in a Lutheran city. It also allowed the duke to remain a patron of Wesel's Catholics without provoking political dissent from leaders of the wealthiest city in the duchy.

¹⁶ Martin Roelen and Erich Wolsing, eds., *Weseler Edikte, 1324–1600*, vol. 2 (Wesel, 2005), 820. Magistrates in the Westphalian town of Warendorf presented a similar argument before the Imperial Chamber Court for decades. Luebke, *Hometown Religion*, 189–91.

¹⁷ Peter J. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, 2008).

¹⁸ On these migrations, see Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992). Achim Dünnwald, *Konfessionsstreit und Verfassungskonflikt: Die Aufnahme der niederländischen Flüchtlinge im Herzogtum Kleve, 1566–1585* (Bielefeld, 1998).

¹⁹ Repeated letters and edicts from the duke continued from 1567 to 1572. Ludwig Keller, ed., *Die Gegenreformation in Westfalen und am Niederrhein*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1881), rr. 61–67, 76, 80, 90. SAW A3/56 fols. 4v, 7r, 8r, 72v, 74r, 118r; A1/275.1, 5–6, fols. 10r–11v; A1/275.1, 11 fols. 16r–17v; A1/152.1, vol. 1, fols. 49r–62r; A1/275.1, 15 fol. 21r–v; 17 fols. 23r–v; 20 fol. 25r–v.

II. French and Dutch Reformed Protestants in a Lutheran City

Meanwhile, across the border in the Netherlands, a frenzy of widespread Reformed Protestant activity erupted in the summer of 1566. Reformed Protestants violently attacked Catholic churches and devotional images, sacked monasteries, attacked altars and burned Catholic books.¹⁷ When King Philip II's general, the duke of Alba, arrived in August 1567 with 10,000 troops and began arresting the rebels and heretics, tens of thousands of French- and Dutch-speaking refugees fled to the Empire. The largest numbers went to the duchy of Cleves or the county of East Friesland, and most of those went to the two largest cities in those territories, Wesel and Emden, respectively.¹⁸ The arrival of these migrants in the empire posed serious constitutional questions to the Peace of Augsburg, princely authority, and the nature of imperial order itself.

The waves of refugees arriving in Wesel caused anxiety both at the city hall and the ducal court. The duke also made it clear that the refugees' presence violated territorial and imperial law. Wilhelm repeatedly ordered magistrates to refuse entrance to rebels and migrants who "adhere to the Calvinist sect."¹⁹ Magistrates made some efforts to comply. They ordered a house-to-house investigation, assigned

an intensified guard duty, and ordered that innkeepers who housed rebels would lose their citizenship.²⁰ Newcomers were only allowed if they accepted the Augsburg Confession and *Einfältiges Bedenken* — which were the basis of the social fiction that preserved Lutheranism in Wesel. Reformed migrants also had to accept the liturgy of the town's churches. Many Reformed were willing to compromise on these points if the alternative was returning to a life of persecution. Key figures in promoting compromises among the refugees were the elders on two Reformed consistories — one for the French speakers and one for the Dutch speakers. Each body of eight elders monitored the orthodoxy of their members, but also worked to ensure obedience to local laws. Guided by the elders, Reformed Protestants began to fit themselves within the social fiction of religious unity in a city that was growing more diverse every day.

A key controversy that divided Lutherans and Reformed was disagreement on the doctrine of communion. Many Reformed argued that the ritual was an reenactment of Christ's Last Supper, but that Christ himself was not substantively present in the bread and wine that congregants ate and drank, but at God's side in heaven.²¹ Lutherans responded that this turned the act into an empty rite, and argued that Christ was in fact substantively present within the bread and wine.²² Keeping disagreement over communion from breaking apart Wesel's religious compromise demanded vigilance. Celebration of the Lord's Supper, after all, ritually symbolized Christian unity — a unity the city painfully lacked.

In Wesel, a chief task of French and Dutch elders was determining that members were suitably moral and theologically orthodox — according to Reformed standards, that is — to participate in the ritual of communion.²³ Controlling access to the sacrament was thus a tool for ensuring Reformed orthodoxy. Yet elders could not actually refuse someone admittance to communion, since members could simply reject their supervision and take the sacrament as ordinary Lutherans. Even those migrants who submitted themselves to elders' supervision still had to submit to an examination by town ministers, demonstrating that they conformed to the 1530 Augsburg Confession and *Einfältiges Bedenken*. Wesel's foreign Reformed communities thus operated as voluntary subdivisions within the larger civic church. In this situation, ministerial examinations had the potential to expose the reservations among many Reformed about the city's doctrines and worship. Dealing with the ministers' questions often required finesse

20 E.g. SAW A3/56 fols. 2r–v, 4v–6v, 7r, 72v, 74r.

21 On complaints in Wesel, see SAW A3/271.1 fol. 6v; A3/48, fols. 11v, 15r, 30r, 31v.

22 For Lutheran complaints, see Spohnholz, *Tactics of Toleration*, 139–45.

23 For ritual and theological conflicts between German Lutherans and Reformed during this era, including on the Lord's Supper, see Bodo Nischan, *Lutherans and Calvinists in the Age of Confessionalism* (Aldershot, 1999).

that ordinary refugees did not feel they had. Right before Christmas communion in 1573, the Dutch consistory, for which more detailed records survive, questioned members about why they had refused to attend communion. Hans van der Clocken and Bartholomeus Baert answered that they would only attend if an elder accompanied them to the minister's examination.²⁴ After receiving other such requests, in 1576 elders extended an open offer to arbitrate between troubled Reformed migrants and German clergy.²⁵ No records of these discussions exist (and that point is important — since no one wanted written record of religious disunity), but the elders' role was probably not so much defending Reformed doctrines to the ministers (which would have prompted arguments), but helping to find the best way for members to express their views in words that might be acceptable to their consciences and the expectations of the city's pastors.

In general, those Reformed migrants who complained about this situation expressed distaste for what they saw as excessive and ornate ceremonies — which probably had been initially maintained to help Catholics feel more comfortable with Wesel's compromise. Medieval forms of worship continued, like the placement of devotional candles by the image of St. Anthony. Many foreign Reformed saw these practices as superstitions. Accordingly, some simply stayed home during services. Truants summoned by the elders usually tried to avoid bringing unwanted attention to their objections by using vague language. In early 1574, for instance, Nicolas Reuvers reported that he had skipped communion for "secret reasons" that he would only explain in private to the senior-most elders.²⁶ In 1578, Nicolas Muller took a different approach by openly condemning the city's compromise liturgy. "Just as Christ brought the evil of the Pharisees to light," he viewed himself as responsible to condemn the elders' approval of what he called idolatry.²⁷ The elders' chief interest was keeping this kind of language outside of the public arena. And thus Muller's rigid objections remained in private — all civil and church records subsequently ignored him and he stayed home on Sunday mornings, while the services going on in his absence continued to celebrate religious unity. Using words reminiscent of those used by city officials in the city council minutes, elders in their own records repeatedly justified their efforts to convince Reformed migrants to conform to local worship by appealing to what they called "the unity of the church."²⁸ As long as everyone accepted this social fiction, Wesel's foreign migrants could find a home for themselves.

²⁴ EKAW Gefach, 72,1 fol. 8v. Hans van der Clocken later became elder of the Dutch church, suggesting his serious commitment to the Reformed faith. *Ibid.*, fol. 28r. Records from the French-speaking consistory only exist from the regional meetings of all the foreign Reformed communities in the region four times per year. The Dutch-speaking consistory records offer weekly reports on activities in Wesel.

²⁵ EKAW Gefach 72,2 fol. 35v.

²⁶ EKAW Gefach 72,1 fol. 9v.

²⁷ EKAW Gefach 3.3.28.

²⁸ EKAW Gefach 72,2 fols. 61r, 68r-v.

We can see more explicitly how this second example worked by turning to a political conflict between the city and the duke in the 1580s — a conflict that forced everyone to recognize the city's de facto pluralism. These events brought greater attention to the strained relationship between rhetoric and reality required for preserving the peace in a religiously-divided community during the Reformation era. The conflict began in 1580 when the duke issued an order, much like others he had sent to Wesel, banning Anabaptists, Calvinists, and other foreign "sectarians."²⁹ Magistrates gladly issued a proclamation against Anabaptism, but refused to extend the ban to Reformed, on the grounds the duke could not ask political rulers to make a theological determination on the differences between Lutherans and Reformed.³⁰ A carefully worded letter from the pastors, sent to the ducal court in late November 1580, asserted that "We were not born Calvinists or Lutherans, we are not baptized in [Calvin's or Luther's] name and they did not die for us."³¹ This language borrowed from phrasing used in First Corinthians, which urged Christians not to follow Cephas, Apollo or Paul, but only Christ. Wesel's ministers extended the logic of this passage to the confessional divisions of their own age. Ministers had been using the same rhetoric for decades to tamp down complaints from Lutherans and Reformed to the city's compromise worship services.³² This was the first time, though, that they used it with their duke.

Not surprisingly, Duke Wilhelm V was unwilling to accept this line of argument. In July 1581 he posted his edict without the council's consent, including the ban on "Calvinists," as well as "secret conventicles," which was a reference to the consistories and the French-language sermons offered in the city's Heiliggeistkapelle.³³ Representatives from Wesel protested that the duke had infringed upon local authority. In further negotiations in 1582, the prince's agents accurately pointed out that in many respects the foreign consistories acted as illegal independent churches.³⁴ The duke claimed, quite rightly, that, according to imperial law, he had the prerogative to restrict religious practice. But if he really had intended to implement the Peace of Augsburg, he would have included Lutherans too in his ban. Of course, in Wesel the implementation of the Peace of Augsburg had always been a social fiction between the duke and his subjects more than a matter of following the letter of the law itself.

Before magistrates responded to the duke's accusations, they gave the elders on the foreigners' consistories an opportunity to defend their

²⁹ SAW A3/60 fol. 20r-v.

³⁰ SAW A5/79 Missivenbuch 1580 fols. 90r-91v, 97r-100r.

³¹ EKAW Gefach 3,2,31a. The pastors drafted the letter initially for the magistrates, who forwarded it to the duke. SAW A3/50 fol. 23r.

³² J. F. G. Goeters, "Zum Weseler Abendmahlstreit von 1561-64," *Monatshefte für evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlandes* 2 (1954): 136. SAW A3/56 fol. 119r-v.

³³ EWAK Gefach 65,1,246 fols. 941r-943r. SAW A3/60 fol. 51r-v.

³⁴ SAW A1/343,1 fols. 97r-109v.

existence.³⁵ The elders denied that they had introduced a separate church to Wesel and insisted that they never made decisions that conflicted with secular law. There was some truth to their claim. While the elders made judgments on the access of Reformed to communion, marriage law, and business practices, their authority was only informal — only the city's ministers had the power to issue ecclesiastical punishments for sins or heresies and only the city's magistrates and judges had the power to issue secular punishments for crimes. The duke's agents argued that the very existence of the foreign consistories undermined the secular and religious hierarchy in his territory and the Peace of Augsburg itself.³⁶ They further argued that the Reformed effectively operated an alternative government, led by their own “senators” (which they said Calvinists called elders). This illegal body usurped imperial power structures by demanding that members “live and die by their religion.”³⁷

In their defense, representatives from Wesel insisted that they did not permit anyone to disparage the local church and that everyone was required to receive the sacraments from the pastors. This too was factually true. But the delegates were not being forthright when they claimed that the consistory merely functioned as an organ to provide poor relief to foreigners; it did much more than that and the city's envoys knew that perfectly well.³⁸ In follow-up negotiations in 1583, though, Wesel's delegates came equipped with specific examples to prove their point. They described the case of a woman whose husband had abandoned her. The consistory financially supported her, though the recovery of her husband's debts was dealt with in municipal courts. They claimed that this proved that the consistory only supported the poor and orphans but did “not infringe on any jurisdiction.”³⁹ Of course, it did nothing of the sort. Duke Wilhelm, well informed by his network of spies in the city, knew that Reformed migrants voluntarily subjected themselves to the French and Dutch consistories' rulings on matters of social conduct, marriage law, business practice, and doctrinal orthodoxy. Wilhelm also knew perfectly well that Wesel's magistrates and clergy tolerated this situation through ambiguous policies, informal negotiations, and expedient inaction.

The political conflicts about the right of the duke to regulate local religious policy only came to an end because more pressing matters arose. In 1583, the outbreak of the Cologne War, one of several short-lived regional religious wars in this era, diverted the duke. In

35 EKAW Gefach 72,1,12.

36 SAW A1/341 fols. 14v; A1/342,1 fol. 8r-v.

37 SAW A1/342,1, fols. 107r-v, 131r-v.

38 SAW A1/341,1,22 fol. 75r.

39 SAW A1/341,3 fols. 95r-96r; A1/342 fols. 90v-92v, 95r-v.

The woman eventually received a divorce, not from Wesel's magistrates, but from those of nearby Xanten. This outcome preserved magistrates' authority and the elders' regulation of marriage. Herbert Kipp, *Trachtet zuerst nach dem Reich Gottes': Landstädtische Reformation und Rats-Konfessionalisierung in Wesel, 1520-1600* (Bielefeld, 2004), 408.

the face of the prince's pressing need to collect funds to defend his territories, Wesel's delegates refused to pay taxes if the duke interfered in local matters. The duke compromised by agreeing not to compel anyone's conscience by force, even though he still refused to give Lutherans or Reformed any explicit legal recognition.⁴⁰ Wesel's delegates at the negotiations regarded this as a de facto victory, and the city began paying territorial taxes again. The confrontation with the duke marks the first time that magistrates openly acknowledged their toleration of Reformed refugees in the city, even if they still misrepresented the actual nature of that toleration. They were satisfied to let the elders govern their own community, as long as all French and Dutch Reformed refugees celebrated sacraments in their local churches, upheld civic decency (including regulating the newcomers' sexuality and drinking), and respected their jurisdiction. But because this agreement was always informal, when the duke's pressure forced town leaders to justify their actions, they could only defend themselves with a mix of ambiguities, half-truths, and outright lies.

III. Dutch Mennonites in a Reformed Church

My third example shows that the matter was still more complex. By the time that Weselers began their experiment in religious pluralism, Anabaptists — the last of the four major divisions of Latin Christianity after the Reformation — were nearly universally reviled. In the 1530s, the region had been home to Anabaptists whose followers had radical ideas about how to prepare for the imminent return of Christ. Driven by an apocalyptic fervor, many believed that they were responsible for creating godly communities on earth by taking over key cities. In 1535, these so-called Melchiorite Anabaptists led a successful takeover of the nearby city of Münster. Within a year, allied Catholic and Lutheran powers recaptured the city. The short Anabaptist rule in Münster was characterized by the practice of adult baptism, the elimination of private property and the introduction of polygamy.⁴¹ The movement shocked Wesel as well; thirty-five Melchiorites had been arrested in Wesel before they left for Münster. After a long trial, eight were executed, while the others were expelled.⁴² These Melchiorites left a powerful legacy for generations; Anabaptism continued to hold the reputation of threatening not just religious orthodoxy, but norms of behavior in politics, society, economics and sexuality.

In the 1550s a new stream of Anabaptism, largely influenced by Menno Simons, appeared in the region.⁴³ Preachers in the Mennonite

⁴⁰ For a record of the final arguments, see SAW A1/152,1 fols. 198–201. Keller, ed., *Gegenreformation*, vol. 1, nrs. 241, 246. Dünnwald, *Konfessionsstreit und Verfassungskonflikt*, 256–59.

⁴¹ Ralf Klötzer, *Die Täuferherrschaft von Münster: Stadtreformation und Welterneuerung* (Münster, 1992).

⁴² SAW A1/133,1 Mappe 6, unpaginated. Werner Teschenmacher, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Düsseldorf, 1962), 50–52.

⁴³ J. F. G. Goeters, "Die Rolle des Täufertums in der Reformationsgeschichte des Niederrheins," *Rheinische Vierteljahrsschriften* 24 (1959): 217–36.

tradition called for a simplified worship that emphasized internal spiritual reform, following the model of Christ, including pacifism, and withdrawal from the world, though they still rejected infant baptism.⁴⁴ Mennonites retained a pariah status, unable to cast off the memory of the radical Melchiorites of Münster. It is hardly surprising, then, that they remained banned by imperial, ducal, and civic law.⁴⁵ In August 1573 the magistrates even stiffened the punishment for following Anabaptism, in compliance with the ducal edict of 1565, pronouncing that all “Anabaptists, re-baptizers, and those belonging to the [sect] of Menno Simons” in his lands would have their property confiscated and should leave the territory within two weeks. If they would not renounce their faith or depart, they would be executed.⁴⁶

Yet despite civic, ducal and imperial pronouncements, the Mennonite community in Wesel persisted. Though magistrates and ministers prohibited public displays of Mennonite dissent, they often turned a blind eye to private devotions, which remained an open secret within the town. Meanwhile, Mennonites worked to safeguard themselves, as well as their sense of religious truth. This almost always required compromise, usually in the form of dissimulation and ambiguity. Reformed migrants, however, had every interest in presenting themselves as dutiful and obedient, to ensure that magistrates did not expel them. To do this, they often took a proactive role in helping magistrates seek out and punish Mennonites.

Curiously, upon arriving in Wesel, Mennonites (most of whom were Dutch-speaking refugees) sometimes joined the Dutch Reformed community. There is good reason to conclude that joining usually did not represent genuine conversion, but rather reflected a strategy to avoid unwanted attention. Consider the case of Andries de Braecker. Soon after arriving from the Netherlands, De Braecker came before the consistory in December 1573. The elders asked him if he was “still troubled” with Anabaptism, to which he simply answered “No” before he was accepted as a member.⁴⁷ Yet his conversion was hardly genuine; the next spring De Braecker was unwilling to baptize his infant son, until pressure from the elders convinced him to comply.⁴⁸ A similar case began in 1577, when the Mennonite silk weaver Jan Cuels arrived from Leuven.⁴⁹ At first, he asked to join the Dutch Reformed and accepted tutoring on the doctrines about which the two churches disagreed — infant baptism, the incarnation of Christ, the swearing of oaths, and obedience to secular authority — “so that he professed himself” the elders recorded in the consistory’s minutes,

44 For an overview, see S. Zijlstra, *Om de ware gemeente en de oude gronden. Geschiedenis van de dopersen in de Nederlanden 1531-1675* (Hilversum, 2000).

45 SAW A3/50 fol. 34r. *Weseler Edikte*, vol. 2, 458-59.

46 SAW A3/58 fol. 14v. EKAW Gefach 65,2,12.

47 EKAW Gefach 72,1 fol. 8r.

48 EKAW Gefach 72,1 fols. 26v, 35r.

49 EKAW Gefach 72,2 fols. 64v, 111r-v, 257r-v.

“to be good enough.” When the elders read him their statement of doctrinal orthodoxy, he confirmed his new faith with a simple “Yes” and was accepted into the community — and immediately asked the Reformed deacons to help him find employment. Within a year, his financial fortunes had turned and Cuels left for Amsterdam, where he immediately rejoined the Mennonites. That Mennonites found it convenient to give lip service to Reformed Protestantism to avoid harassment suggests a curious phenomenon, since Reformed migrants were not legally permitted in Wesel, but themselves conformed to Lutheran standards of orthodoxy that Wesel’s magistrates had adopted. To complicate matters further, according to imperial law even Lutheranism was not permitted in Wesel, because the town’s territorial prince remained Catholic. For the he Mennonites, the motivations to maintain the social fiction to preserve religious diversity were the same as in the earlier cases. Dissenters wanted to protect their lives and property, along with their conscience. Magistrates aimed to facilitate economic growth and protect their own authority, while they shared with the clergy an interest in securing ecclesiastical unity and orthopraxy. The difference is that as the dissenters moved further and further away from the standards that the social fiction demanded, the layers of dissimulation became correspondingly more complex.

The well-documented case of Oliver van der Vinct demonstrates how dissimulation could serve as an effective strategy for Mennonites struggling to survive the consequences of their beliefs.⁵⁰ The son of a Flemish merchant in Antwerp, Oliver apparently fell in with an Anabaptist teacher, Joris van Scamerbeke.⁵¹ Under the threat of persecution, Van der Vinct fled to Wesel, bringing with him an attestation from his guild that he was coming to Wesel for his apprenticeship and was not a sectarian or rebel. By early 1574 Oliver and his wife (whose name is not recorded) celebrated the birth of their first child. If Oliver hoped to avoid attracting attention to his unorthodox beliefs, his absence at the baptismal font in the following weeks made this impossible.

On February 15, when Dutch elders visited his house, Oliver proclaimed “that his child was already baptized in the blood of Christ” and had no need for a baptism of water, since there was no scriptural basis for infant baptism.⁵² Elders frequently encountered Reformed migrants who refused to have their children baptized in the local church, because of their objection to the rite of exorcism. But Oliver’s rejection of infant baptism itself may have surprised them. At their

⁵⁰ What follows is a summary of the Reformed elders’ report. EKAW Gefach 72,1 fols. 31r–33r.

⁵¹ While Antwerp was a center for Anabaptism in the 1550s and 1560s, I have found no reference to Van Scamerbeke. A. Verheyden, *Anabaptism in Flanders, 1530–1650: A Century of Struggle* (Scottsdale, PA, 1961). Guido Marnef, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550–1577* (Baltimore, 1996).

⁵² EKAW Gefach 72,1 fols. 24v, 31r.

next meeting, the elders came with a prepared response. They argued that the children of the faithful had a covenant with God, initiated by Abraham. A Christian could not refuse baptism, which was the sign of this covenant. In response, Oliver only pointed out that there was no divine command in the Scriptures that “Thou shalt baptize thy children.”⁵³ The elders replied by asking him to reflect further on the matter.

At their next meeting, five weeks later, Oliver maintained that there was no biblical command requiring infant baptism.⁵⁴ He asked whether “he should baptize his son in the established church, in order to avoid the anger of the brothers, even though it was against his conscience?” Although the elders admitted that they did not want to violate his conscience, they concluded that through his argument he only proved that “he did not know what a conscience was, because if he had once tasted it he would not have spoken so,” which he took, they noted, “very badly.” Oliver retorted that forcing him to accept infant baptism against his conscience would be “a papist superstition.”⁵⁵

53 EKAW Gefach 72,1 fols. 24v, 31r.

54 EKAW Gefach 72,1 fols. 26v, 27r, 31r–32r.

55 For Reformed Protestants, having a conscience meant submitting oneself to God. In contrast, Mennonites emphasized that conscience means that an individual had to make a voluntary choice. For competing understandings of the conscience in post-Reformation Europe, see Harold Braun and Edward Vallances, eds., *Contexts of Conscience in Early Modern Europe, 1550–1700* (London, 2004).

56 EKAW Gefach 72,1 fols. 27r, 32r.

57 Although the name of the midwife is not recorded, she was the wife of Bernaert van der Beke, who became a Reformed deacon the following year. EKAW 72,1 fol. 59r.

58 EKAW Gefach 72,1 fols. 27r, 32r.

Matters worsened for Oliver when, in their meeting of April 12, he stated that “he would not be erring if he belonged to the Anabaptists.”⁵⁶ When elders followed up by asking him about the nature of Christ’s incarnation, Oliver avoided the question by stating that “our conscience must be founded on God’s word,” the ambiguity of which did not satisfy the increasingly suspicious elders. They demanded that he describe the books where he learned his ideas. Oliver claimed he could not remember. The moment must have been tense. Everyone in the room knew that Oliver could well be subject to expulsion or death. The elders, realizing the repercussions of an impassioned response, asked Oliver to return home, write an explanation for why he would not baptize his child, and return to them.

Over the next several weeks Oliver repeatedly postponed composing this defense. After several rebuffs, the elders consulted the midwife who had attended the birth of his child.⁵⁷ Oliver seems to have made her promise not to inform the pastor that the parents had refrained from baptizing the newborn. When the elders confronted her, she denied that she had made such a promise, at which point Oliver denounced her as a liar. When the elders asked again why she had neglected the child’s baptism, the midwife declared, “I remain by what I did. If he would not do it, I would not do it either.”⁵⁸ Caught between Anabaptist parents and authorities, midwives could provide

the decisive testimony to turn in a parent who refused the ritual. In contrast, a sympathetic supporter in the birthing chamber who was willing to testify that she had administered an emergency baptism in order to explain away the parents' absence from the baptismal font could allow Anabaptist communities to survive undetected.⁵⁹

Without further recourse, the elders finally asked the midwife to report to the pastors. She must have done so, because on June 22, 1574, the town council threatened to punish Oliver van der Vinct as an Anabaptist.⁶⁰ Now under official governmental investigation, Van der Vinct quickly made a confession of faith before the minister and openly admitted his resistance to having his child baptized in the local church. But now he claimed "that he would be happy to bring his child to be baptized at Hörstgen. He said that the pastor at Hörstgen, named Simbertus [Loon], had told him that he would do it." Loon was a Reformed minister in the nearby noble enclave of Hörstgen. Devoted Reformed migrants living in Wesel sometimes traveled there to wed, baptize their infants, and receive the Eucharist in the Reformed manner.⁶¹ Van der Vinct's sudden claim that he was willing to have his child baptized in a more purely Reformed church represents some kind of bending of the truth, though it's hard to tell what kind. Was he lying about Loon? Was he honest about Loon, but lying about whether he would actually go to Hörstgen? Did he actually have Loon baptize his infant, passing himself off as Reformed in the neighboring village? Without baptismal archives from Hörstgen, there is no way of telling whether he followed through on his promise, though considering his earlier resolve, there is reason to doubt it. But he did apologize to the pastor and "promised to carry himself in all peace and unity as other Christians." He also confessed his guilt before the Bürgermeister, promising that "henceforth he would avoid similar things" and that he would bring his wife and child to the church "so that his honor would be restored."⁶²

Reformed elders stopped pursuing the case, "so that we not create any new confusion," but they continued to monitor Van der Vinct's behavior. In the following years, Oliver abstained from communion, and if he and his wife had any additional children, there is no record of this in the city's surviving baptismal registers. In December 1578, when they found him teaching Anabaptist ideas to a woman in town, the elders revived Oliver's case, to try again to bring him "to union with the church and Christian doctrine." But their repeated efforts were in vain. Oliver never again openly opposed the local church, but

⁵⁹ Myriam Greilsammer, "The midwife, the priest and the physician: the subjugation of midwives in the Low Countries at the end of the Middle Ages," *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 21 (1991): 307–11. Merry E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1986), 61–64, 73. Claus Peter Clasen, *Anabaptism: A Social History, 1525–1618* (Ithaca, 1972), 148–49.

⁶⁰ SAW A3/58 fol. 46v.

⁶¹ E.g. EKAW Gefach 72,2, fol. 4.

⁶² SAW A3/58 fol. 46v. EKAW Gefach 71,1 fol. 33r.

neither did he fully conform to it.⁶³ Still, magistrates were willing to grant Van der Vinct citizenship rights in July 1583, and he continued working in Wesel until at least the 1590s.⁶⁴ After the events of 1574 he had learned to avoid the troubles that his religious dissent could cause him, by falsely presenting himself as an ordinary discontented Reformed migrant, unhappy with the “superstitious” remnants in the city church. Meanwhile city officials and Reformed elders all accepted his claims, which they must at least have suspected were false, though they let the matter be so long as the social fiction of religious unity was left intact.

Conclusion

For men and women living through the decades following the breakup of Latin Christendom, tolerating people of opposing faiths posed something of a paradox. Toleration demanded that they compromise between a sincere detest for another’s beliefs, perhaps even his or her very presence, and the person’s unwillingness to kill or be killed for those differences.⁶⁵ The practice of toleration, in this sense, was not the opposite of intolerance, but one logical outcome of an attitude of intolerance. The other outcomes of intolerance — expulsion or execution — aimed to achieve religious and cultural purity. In contrast, the option described here — dissimulation — preserved a degree of religious and cultural diversity in the German lands. Of course, the diversity that resulted was bemoaned as evil, not celebrated as a *Multikulti* ideal. The examples I have described are not examples of lying in the classical sense that Augustine of Hippo defined: a malicious act of stating an untruth with the intention of deceiving another.⁶⁶ After all, the goal in most of these cases was not quite to deceive — which requires an assumption on the part of the liar that the listener might be fooled. In Wesel, everyone seems to have been aware of the untruths. The episodes described here, instead, provide examples of a mutual dissimulation — a social fiction — in which everyone understood there was a disjunction between the law and public rhetoric, which demanded religious uniformity, and the uncomfortable reality of religious pluralism. In sixteenth-century Germany, the legal and intellectual systems people had inherited from the Middle Ages provided no tools to cope with the increasingly diverse world of the Reformation era. Today we might not celebrate the forms of diversity that developed in Germany’s confessional age or the social fictions upon which they depended. But both suggest that humans can develop unwritten expectations for behavior that

⁶³ EKAW Gefach 72,2 fol. 120r, 123v, 125r, 126r, 164v.

⁶⁴ SAW A3/61 fol. 22r. EKAW Gefach 72,3 fol. 148.

⁶⁵ On the willingness to kill or be killed in the Reformation, see Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 1999).

⁶⁶ In Augustine of Hippo’s *De mendacio* (*On lying*). Printed in *Saint Augustine’s Treatises on Various Subjects*, ed. Roy J. Deferrari (Washington, DC, 2010), 52–110.

can help people survive the fear and anxiety that living with diversity sometimes stimulates, even in the absence of political or philosophical frameworks that support more robust cultures of pluralism.

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WHAT TRAVELERS SAW IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY

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In the late eighteenth century, a way of seeing Germany focused on cities, states, territories, and people — a surface observable, measurable, countable, and mapable — ceded ground to a conception of country ascertainable through means less fathomable, with poetry — not politics — its source, sound — not sight — its primary sense, and language — not geography — its principal idiom. In his epochal *Cosmos*, published between 1845 and 1862, Alexander von Humboldt suggested this transition, not by distinguishing between “the external world and the imaginative faculty,” or between “the domain of objects and that of sensations,” but in his emphasis, in volume two, on “the impression which the images received by the external senses produces on the feelings and on the poetic and imaginative faculties of mankind.”¹ Not merely outside, not just surface, the new way of knowing claimed the country was also something interior: perhaps even (though the word was not yet used) an identity.² Interior seeing also had profound repercussions for how travelers perceived difference.

I.

As a way to know one’s land, there was nothing novel about travel. Sixteenth-century humanists counted on travel to arrive at empirical observation. They walked or rode horses from town to town, and when they arrived in cities, their first order of business was to climb the stairs of the high bell towers — 332 steps in Strasbourg, 401 in Ulm — in order to see the city in the cradle of the land.³ Humanists surveyed, described, sketched, mapped, and painted the place they called “our Germany,” especially its cities.⁴ But after the initial “century of intense wonder,” as Stephen Greenblatt calls the sixteenth century, a long period of decline and destruction cut into the earlier curiosity.⁵ There is no precise measure of this decline. Yet the small number of travel accounts, geographies, and territorial descriptions between 1660 and 1760 suggest a century-long dearth in interest and knowledge about Germany; thereafter an increasing density, followed by an explosion of publications in the 1790s. One index of contemporary travel reports published by Germans about the

1 Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: A Sketch of the Physical Description of the Universe*, vol. 2, introduction by Michael Dettelbach (Baltimore, 1997), 19.

2 On the history of the term, see Lutz Niethammer, *Kollektive Identität: Heimliche Quellen einer unheimlichen Konjunktur* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 2000).

3 *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis through Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, France and Italy*, 1517–1518, ed. John R. Hale, trans. by Hale and J.M.A. Landon (London, 1979), 29, 50. On Ulm (before the spire’s nineteenth-century completion!), see Johann Georg Keyßler, *Neueste Reisen durch Deutschland, Böhmen, Ungarn, die Schweiz, Italien und Lothringen* (Hanover, 1751), 67.

4 “Our Germany,” in Erasmus to Reuchlin, Epist. 713, 15 November 1517, in *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, vol. 5, trans. R.A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thompson, annotated Peter G. Bietenholz (Toronto, 1979), 203.

5 Stephen Greenblatt, *Merveilous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago, 1991), 14.

German lands provides a rough measure: it lists three German-centered reports in the 1760s, twelve in the 1770s, twenty-eight in the 1780s, and sixty-seven in the 1790s.⁶

In the span of two and a half centuries, a quiet revolution in the experience of space and the sense of time had occurred. The change was especially evident in land travel.⁷ By the mid-eighteenth century, an extensive network of roads had been built, and the horse-drawn carriage had supplanted two human legs as the primary means of travel. It was also much faster, the increase in speed as much as four fold depending on the route.⁸ In 1500, the trip from Hamburg to Augsburg took roughly thirty days, but by 1780, with coach routes crisscrossing the old Empire, that journey could be completed in approximately eight. The sense of space also became more precise. If circa 1500, there were only rudimentary maps, no signs telling people where to go to, or whether they had entered such and such town, from the beginning of the eighteenth century excellent regional road maps helped travelers on their way. They were made in great quantities by the firms of J.B. Homann in Nuremberg or Matthäus Seutter in Augsburg, and then peddled by itinerant map sellers, or delivered through the mail, thus finding their way into homes and becoming among the most widely circulated representations of territorial space in the German lands.⁹ Travelers also carried distance displayers (*Meilenzeiger*), allowing them to see at a glance how far one city was from another, just as milestones precisely paced out distances along heavily trafficked routes. The number of postal stations, where horses could be exchanged, also increased: by the 1760s, there were some 900 separate stations, their location marked on the postal maps of Homann and Seuter with a bent horn.¹⁰ For well-off women, traveling by coach became an accepted form of transportation, as it did for students, merchants (including Jews), and a host of professions.¹¹

6 Rough calculation based on the extensive online bibliography at the Eutiner Landesbibliothek: <http://www.lb-eutin.de>. Not included in my calculation are works written by foreigners or works published posthumously, both very significant in terms of numbers.

7 Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*, Vol. 3, *The Perspective of the World*, trans. Siân Reynolds (London, 1984), 316. Wolfgang Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur: Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 2003), calls the shift a revolution.

8 Wolfgang Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, 664-5. The trip from Hamburg to Augsburg, which took roughly thirty days in 1500, took eight days three hundred years later.

9 Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, 499-508.

10 Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, 656, 40.

11 Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, 479.

12 See the memorable description in Johann Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters: Studien über Lebens- und Geistesformen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich und in den Niederlanden*, trans. Kurt Köster (Stuttgart, 1975), 2-3.

13 Carlo Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture* (London, 1967), 44.

A new sense of time accompanied the altered relation to space. In the age of Luther, most towns already sported public clocks. The bells tolling above the chaos of the day told people when to eat and when to pray, when to assemble and when to fight, and when to rejoice and when to mourn.¹² The more elaborate clocks ordered not just quotidian but also cosmological time. The enormous clock on the cathedral of Strasbourg, for instance, contained a moving calendar and an astrolabe documenting the changing position of the sun, moon, and planets.¹³ The conjuncture reminds us that time, like space, must be cut into equal and measurable units in order to make sense of it,

and just as artificial grids of longitude and latitude allows a visualization of an area's extent, the counting of time by hours, minutes, and seconds enables an estimation of duration. By the seventeenth century, clocks had shortened their daily error from fifteen minutes to fifteen seconds; and around 1690 many new clocks came with minute hands, suggesting that time was not just intermittent, the sound of the hourly church bell, but constant and precise. Clocks were also no longer the preserve of church towers and municipal halls. In the early eighteenth century, the Black Forest had become a center for the production of pendulum clocks designed for homes, a small fraction of which were the famous cuckoo clocks, in which the call of a bird announces the hours. Pocket watches also became widely available and a *de rigueur* accessory for a man of standing. The uninterrupted sound of pendulums and escapements reminded of the fast passing of time.¹⁴ A general increase in pace followed, signaled by the proliferation of schedules, timetables, directives for officials to keep to the minute, and enlightened admonishments not to waste time but to fill it with industry. Even barracked soldiers moved with greater purpose, their marching speed increasing from 60 steps per minute in the army of Prince Leopold I of Anhalt-Dessau at the beginning of the eighteenth century to 114 steps per minute a hundred years later.¹⁵ By the end of the eighteenth century, carriages often left major cities many times a day; and in the densely trafficked roads of southern Germany, arriving could be calculated to the hour.

The day was also extended. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, major cities, like Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna, Hanover, and Leipzig had installed public oil lanterns, providing sources of light to urban corners otherwise illuminated only by personal lanterns or when torchbearers walked by. One could not, as a student claimed of Amsterdam in 1690, "pass through the crowds of people just as in broad daylight."¹⁶ But the 1600 lanterns that went up in Berlin, to take one example, certainly changed the habits of the city, allowing public life, mainly for young men, to flourish into the hitherto dark hours. Taverns, coffee shops, and evening salons thrived in the new zones of illumination. The lighting remained restricted, however. Other cities adopted it only slowly. Frankfurt am Main did not put in public lighting until the Seven Years War, Nuremberg not until the end of the eighteenth century, and small cities and towns like Zwickau and Schwäbisch Hall were not illuminated until after the Napoleonic wars. Light, spectacle, perhaps in this sense enlightenment, remained tied to geographies of court and city,

¹⁴ In addition to Cippola, *Clocks and Culture*, David Landes, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge, 1983); and, for the impact of time-keeping on everyday life, Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift, *Shaping the Day: A History of Timekeeping in England and Wales, 1300-1800* (Oxford, 2009).

¹⁵ Michael Maurer, "Alltagsleben," in *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, ed. Notker Hammerstein and Ulrich Herrmann, vol. 2 (Munich, 2005), 36-7.

¹⁶ Cited by Craig Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2011), 135-136.



Figure 1. The travels of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, Johann Georg Keyssler, and Albrecht von Haller. © Helmut Walser Smith.

bypassing the rural world, where at least three quarters of the people still lived.

II.

Perhaps the slow onset of nighttime illumination had something to do with the silence about rural towns, villages, and the people who lived in them. Until the 1770s, there were virtually no extended musings about the beautiful countryside, no appreciative hymns to the rural world, and no sympathetic reflections on the peasantry. Typical, instead, were the chronicles of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, polyhistor, student of Thomasius at Halle, who traveled through lower Saxony on his way to Holland and England in 1704. While giving extensive descriptions of cities and courts, he noted of the spaces in between only the distance traveled in German miles. In his extensive, multi-volume travel journals, Uffenbach mainly described curiosities, like the Greenland geese, two tigers, and a pair of lions (including an

especially endearing lioness) in the possession of the Duke of Hessen-Kassel.¹⁷ He also noted inventions, from massive cranes, to especially delicate weighing scales, to tiny mathematical instruments. He reported on newfound natural wonders, like Baumann's Cave, and listed artistic treasures, as if providing an inventory for future travelers. Most of all, Uffenbach paid close attention to architecture, inspecting in each city the major churches, monasteries, municipal buildings, armories, theaters, schools, libraries, mills, and ramparts.

Exceptions to the exclusive focus on courts and cities are few, partial, and revealing: one is the unpublished journal of Albrecht von Haller, a young Swiss medical student now famous for penning one of the earliest poems praising the Alps. In his journey of 1725–1727, Haller was much impressed by the bounty of the land and the piety of the people of Württemberg; he also commented on their economic welfare, thinking they would be advantaged if the princes did not cordon off so much forest and land for their hunting amusement, especially as “wild boars and fallow and common deer are here so common as tame domestic animals.”¹⁸ Haller also had an eye for the ruined landscapes of the war-torn Palatinate, where “the churches are mostly burned down, the houses patched, everywhere rubble, many vineyards deserted, and poverty all around.”¹⁹ Another exception, in part, was the published travel report of Johann Georg Keyssler, an enlightened scholar of antiquities. Keyssler’s account, *Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy and Lorraine*, published in 1740–1741, similarly hints at a new appreciation of natural beauty, correcting the many travelers who see in Switzerland “little else than a confused chaos of barren rocks, craggy mountains, perpetual snows and gloomy valleys.”²⁰ Like Haller, Keyssler remarked on social conditions, especially in Tirol, where “the commonality...are under a necessity of seeking bread in other parts,” and parents, before sending their young ones away, indelibly mark their child’s arms “with a needle or by point of knife” so that when they return many years later consanguinity may be ascertained.²¹ Yet if Keyssler’s keen eye rendered his account revealing and rich, his social insights made up the smallest part of his travel log. Mostly, he provided inventories of noble treasures, descriptions of the armories of minor princes, and lay accounts of architectural monuments.²²

When Germans travelled through Germany they overlooked — in the main and with the above qualifications — the people. Instead, travel reports recounted princely gossip, the condition of libraries, animals in zoos, and all manners of whalebones, sabre tooth tiger teeth, and

¹⁷ Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, *Merckwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland, und Engelland* (Ulm, 1753), 4. Uffenbach also described scientific curiosities, mining technology, and the buildings he saw. On the literature telling baroque travelers what to notice, see Justin Stagl, *Eine Geschichte des Reisens, 1550–1800* (Vienna, 2002). Also Bernard W. Heise, “Visions of the World: Geography and Maps during the Baroque Age, 1550–1750” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1998), 98–120.

¹⁸ Albrecht Hallers Tagebücher seiner Reisen nach Deutschland, Holland und England, 1723–1727, ed. Ludwig Hirzel (Leipzig, 1883), 10–11.

¹⁹ Albrecht Hallers Tagebücher, 22.

²⁰ Johann Georg Keyssler, *Travels Through Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy and Lorraine*, 2. On Keyssler, see Winfried Siebers, *Johann Georg Keyssler und die Reisebeschreibung der Frühauflklärung* (Würzburg, 2009).

²¹ Keyssler, *Travels through Germany*, 57.

²² Keyssler, *Travels through Germany*, 159–161.



Figure 2. Nicolai's travels through Germany in 1781.
© Helmut Walser Smith.

insects collected in curiosity cabinets. Travelers hazarded scattered remarks about religion, and sometimes took note of the bounty or barrenness of the land. Mainly, with respect to the rural world, there was silence. Diversity, as regards populations, was not considered. The people are not what travelers saw.

23 Friedrich Nicolai, "Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781," in *Gesammelte Werke* (Hereafter GW) 15, ed. Bernhard Fabian and Marie-Luise Speckermann (Hildesheim, 2001), vol. 1, 87.

III.

In 1769, the novelist, publisher, and *Aufklärer* Friedrich Nicolai set off on a journey whose "main goal," as he wrote "was: to observe people."²³ In the history of German travel, this was a *novum*. Packed with a host of inventions (including an odometer one could affix to the axle of the wagon, a writing table built into his coach, a fold out

bed, and “a kind of fountain pen one could carry in a pocket,” Nicolai took a land route south from Berlin, through Leipzig, Nuremberg, and Regensburg, then traveled by barge down the Danube to Vienna, where they spent four weeks in the “capital” of the Empire.²⁴ Thereafter, he doubled back towards Munich, Augsburg, Ulm, Stuttgart, and Tübingen, before heading southwest through the Black Forest and to Schaffhausen on the Swiss border.²⁵ It was not yet the halfway mark of the journey. Left were the cities of Switzerland, Strasbourg, and the route back through Frankfurt am Main and Hanover.²⁶ During the trip, which lasted seven months, Nicolai kept a diary, now lost, that served as the basis for the twelve volumes that stopped with Nicolai’s entry on Schaffhausen on the Swiss border; the twelve volumes, in other words, constituted only the torso of a travel journal whose surface thoroughness knew no equal.

Nicolai believed in encyclopedic knowledge and precise statistical counting. He therefore offered table after table on such diverse topics as the measurement of distances, the price of grain, natality and mortality, the numbers of secular and religious corporations, the volumes housed in public and private libraries, the tally of theatergoers, and much else. “Germany,” he wrote in a prefatory letter, “consists of so many large and small countries, in which everything is different, position, climate, constitution, physiognomy and character of the inhabitants, religion, science, art, industry, and customs.”²⁷ Its people, moreover, “are full of prejudices, mostly unfounded, against each other, and even hate each other, without truthfully knowing why.” Travel descriptions, Nicolai believed, would help Germans “bear and love one another.”²⁸

Like no other eighteenth-century German traveler before him, Nicolai thus framed and focused on diversity. Yet prejudice, especially thick across religious lines, marred his account. He perceived pious Catholics as dull-witted and superstitious, monks as vile creatures with faces “twisted and disfigured,” and pilgrimages as “disgusting, uninteresting spectacles,” in which “so much time is lost in such miserable pietistic idleness.” He saw a nation divided not only in belief

²⁷ Nicolai, GW 15, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 1, viii. The letter is addressed to Christian Konrad Wilhelm Dohm, who in 1781 published *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden*, the work that initiated the debate concerning Jewish emancipation.

²⁸ Nicolai, GW, 15, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 1, viii. On the national idea behind Nicolai’s travels, see Françoise Knopper, *Le regard du voyageur en Allemagne du Sud et en Autriche dans les relations de voyageurs allemands* (Nancy, 1992), 84-88. On Nicolai’s central role in the publishing of the Enlightenment, see Pamela E. Selwyn, *Everyday Life in the German Book Trade: Friedrich Nicolai as Bookseller and Publisher in the Age of Enlightenment* (University Park, PA, 200).

24 Nicolai, GW 15, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781*, vol. 1, 16, 21.

Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781, vol. 1, 16, 21.

Reise von der Schweiz nach Norddeutschland im Jahre 1781,” in *Sehen und Beschreiben: Europäische Reisen im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfgang Griep (Eutin, 1991), 212.

25 Nicolai, GW 15, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch*

26 The route was painstakingly reconstructed by Paul Raabe, “Friedrich Nicolais unbeschriebene

and religious practices but also in its folkways, reading habits, and appearances. There was nothing self-evident in Nicolai's emphasis on the impenetrable nature of what the historian Etienne François has called the "invisible border."²⁹ Traveling through the German southwest in the 1760s, the enlightened Catholic abbot Martin Gerbert noted instead the peaceful coexistence of religious groups, as in Biberach where Catholics and Protestants shared the same church, or the religious *convivencia* of any number of southwestern imperial cities, such as Lindau, Kempten, and Kaufbeuren.³⁰

Prejudice also occluded Nicolai's view of ordinary people. It is true that unlike most enlightened travelers, Nicolai wrote as much about commoners as about the dignitaries he met in the cities or the curiosities he encountered at court.³¹ Yet the view was typically a glance stolen as he sped through villages in his coach. Sometimes the glance lengthened into a gaze. Yet he always seemed to see dull faces, miserable huts, indolence and idolatry. When two round-hatted Tyrolean peasants with brown vests and suspenders boarded his ferry in the Upper Austrian town of Engelhartszell on the Danube, he "observed them long and precisely and hardly saw anyone so stupid and bigoted."³²

29 Etienne François, *Die unsichtbare Grenze: Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg 1648-1806* (Sigmaringen, 1991).

30 Martin Gerbert, *Des hochwürdigsten Herrn, Herrn Martin Gerberts ... Reisen durch Alemannien, Welschland und Frankreich: welche in den Jahren 1759, 1760, 1761 und 1762 angestelleet worden*, trans. from Latin by Johann Ludwig Köhler (Ulm, 1767). The term *convivencia* is taken from Thomas A. Brady, *German Histories in the Age of the Reformations, 1400-1650* (Cambridge, 2009), 233.

31 Nicolai, GW 15, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, 1781, vol. 1, 87.

32 Nicolai, GW 15, *Beschreibung einer Reise* 1781, vol. 2, 490.

33 Johann Casper Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntniß und Menschenliebe*, 8 vols. (Leipzig and Winterthur, 1775-1778), 21-22.

34 For Nicolai's own extended discussion of how to understand the physiognomy of people, see Nicolai, GW15, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 1, 130-134.

Nicolai based his deductions on the "science" of physiognomy, defined in broad terms as the "talent to discern from the outward appearance of a person his inner constitution," as the Swiss doctor Johann Casper Lavater put it, and in narrow terms as the study of a person's character by considering facial shape and expression.³³ With Lavater, Nicolai shared a materialist premise — not "I think therefore I am," but thinking presupposes the body, which is conditioned by the environment. He also believed the world is knowable by what appears to the senses; and that physiognomy, far from an exercise in prejudice, was a form of empiricism. Nicolai therefore followed Lavater's logic concerning the shape and slant of human heads, the curvature of the lips, and the tapering of the neck, and believed that people could be read in this way. In the context of the time, there was even something democratic about the procedure. Not what caste one belonged to, or even the color and finery of one's costume, but the exterior body, which humans share regardless of station, betrayed the nobility or baseness of a person's character.

Nicolai saw the divisions of Germany as refracted through faces, especially of women, who Nicolai believed were not as mobile and therefore less likely to alter their "national physiognomy."³⁴ Of the Catholic city of Bamberg, he noted that the faces tended towards "the

uniformity of a limited national physiognomy" whereas in neighboring Nuremberg and Erlangen, both cities Protestant, more people possessed "perpendicularity in profile."³⁵ In Linz, he noted that young people had "something delicate, fine, soft," but "when the years of their youth have passed, something fleshy, the muscles more hanging than taught."³⁶ The closer he came to Vienna, the more feminine the physiognomy of the people seemed — a result, he opined, of their tendency to enjoy delights and pleasures of all kinds. The femininity of the Austrians stood out against the Bavarians. "Here (in Bavaria) one saw among the common people many coarse, sure-handed guys with brown faces" and "lipless or very small lipped mouths; in Austria more pouting, kiss lips."³⁷ The admixture of Catholicism also altered the physiognomy of the people. In bi-confessional Augsburg, "the strangest of all the old cities," the Protestants can be differentiated from the Catholics at first glance," with the "Protestants approximating the Swabian national physiognomy, the Catholics the Bavarian."³⁸ For Nicolai, Swabian connoted mainly positive characteristics of satisfaction, calm, and generosity. The beauty of the women also impressed him.

If Nicolai's insights seem superficial, they conformed to common opinions of a period when silhouettes were a widespread fashion and the markers of human diversity not yet set. Physiognomy was but one expression of this indeterminacy. In the 1770s, European scholars also debated the importance of skin complexion as an inner marker of worth, with major figures, like Count Buffon, Carl von Linné, and the Göttingen naturalist Johann Blumenbach dividing humanity into dermatological classes. In the 1795 edition of his epoch-making *The Varieties of Mankind*, first published in 1776, Blumenbach referred to these differentiations as "the national differences of color," of which there were five: white, yellow, copper color, tawny, and tawny to jet black. In the well-powdered Europe of the 1770s, white skin still had a specifically aristocratic association, and was only beginning to be connoted in terms embracing European peoples to the exclusion of black Africans, Asians and the indigenous peoples in the Americas.³⁹ Through the writings of Johannes Winckelmann, who believed the whiteness of Greek statues reflected "the noble simplicity and quiet grandeur" of cultivated perfection, whiteness assumed a new aesthetic reification — in art, but also in the perception of human beauty, with the exterior reflecting an ideal of inner perfection.⁴⁰ Focusing on facial shape, skull size, and skin color, and the relationship of beauty to virtue, the German discussion of human variety partook of a wider, trans-Atlantic debate, conducted at the height of the slave trade and

³⁵ Nicolai, GW 15, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 1, 161, 230.

³⁶ Nicolai, GW 15, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 2, 256.

³⁷ Nicolai, GW 17, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 6, 488.

³⁸ Nicolai, GW 18, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 7, 32, 101, 62.

³⁹ On this, see Valentin Groebner, *Der Schein der Person: Steckbrief, Ausweis und Kontrolle im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1992), 99–102.

⁴⁰ On this subject, see Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton, 1996).

carried on in Latin, French, English, and Spanish.⁴¹ A modern thinker, Nicolai traveled through Germany with eyes conditioned by the fundamental assumption of this wider debate, and this was, as Immanuel Kant put it with respect to physiognomy: that one can “judge what lies within a man, whether in terms of his way of sensing or his way of thinking, from the visible form and so from his exterior.”⁴²

Nicolai spent four long volumes of his journal on Vienna, the capital of the Holy Roman Empire and easily the greatest city of eighteenth-century central Europe. Nicolai was not impressed with the city. He admitted that Vienna’s 3445 lanterns illuminated the night when Berlin remained sparsely lit.⁴³ And he conceded that Vienna’s art museums contained fine galleries of Dutch and Flemish painting, including van Dyck and Rubens, ordered according to school, so that looking at the masterworks effected more than “temporary amusement of the eyes.”⁴⁴ Otherwise, he thought Vienna closed to outside developments, impervious to enlightenment (except perhaps in music), hectic and cruel (he was especially critical of late baroque animal baiting), and loud (the church bells pealed without interruption). In literature and drama, the Viennese had little to boast — not one writer, in Nicolai’s opinion, that deserved the attention of the rest of Germany. He also complained that they engaged in constant gambling, eating, drinking, and merrymaking. In a word, the Viennese were shallow — not wrong, then, of the Viennese reformer Josef von Sonnenfels to call Nicolai’s judgment a “national insult.”⁴⁵

41 See *The German Invention of Race*, ed. by Sara Eigen and Mark Larrimore (Albany, 2006).

42 Cited in David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century* (Ithaca, 2002), 95.

43 On Erlangen, Nicolai, GW 15, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 1, 163; and on Vienna and Berlin, Nicolai, GW 16, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 3, 211-213.

44 Nicolai, GW, 16, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 4, 501.

45 Sonnenfels cited by Nicolai, GW, 16, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 4, 895.

46 Johann Kasper Riesebeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen über Deutschland*, ed. Jochen Golz (Berlin, 1976), 88-89; Georg Forster, *Werke*, ed. Gerhard Steiner, vol. 2, *Kleine Schriften zur Naturschichte, Länder- und Völkerkunde* (Frankfurt am Main, 1969), 404-5.

Nicolai also commented on the aesthetics of town and country in Germany. His descriptions were less sensitive and more predictable than those of talented contemporaries, such as Johann Kaspar Riesebeck, who in his pseudonymous *Letters of a Traveling Frenchman on Germany to his Brothers in Paris* (1783) depicted as sublime the mountain cliffs at the foothills of the Alps, or Georg Forster, who in his *Views of the Lower Rhine* (1791), hazarded an early, if guarded, appreciation of the decidedly un-classical, and therefore un-beautiful, and as yet unfinished cathedral of Cologne.⁴⁶ Yet Nicolai more faithfully reflected enlightened ways of seeing. He deemed ugly what seemed raw and uncultivated, like the Thuringian Forest, its mountains covered with pine trees “giving a monotonous and cheerless view,” or the “bad marshy fields, bearing only a miserable sour grass, which even the cows do not prefer,” west of Munich; or the “dense growths of pine and spruce” in the deep Black Forest, which Nicolai dismissed as “unfathomable woods not in the least handled by scientific

forestry.”⁴⁷ The darkness especially dismayed him. In the wooded hills near Schaffhausen on the Swiss border, he recounted “the shine of the moon, which stood high behind the mountains, providing just enough muted light between the dense dark trees and the high reaching cliffs to allow us to see how ghastly the place was.”⁴⁸

The *Description of a Journey through Germany and Switzerland in the Year 1781* was the most ambitious attempt of the eighteenth century to consider Germany as a whole, even if it mainly represented a north German, Protestant view on the Catholic south. Initially popular, the work started with subscriptions reaching over a thousand and early volumes going into multiple editions.⁴⁹ Subsequently, however, its popularity waned, a result perhaps of its sheer bulk, but also because it stood at the end rather than the beginning of a way of seeing Germany. “Nicolai still travels, he will travel long,” Goethe and Schiller wrote in a caustic distich, “but in the land of reason he can no longer find the way.”⁵⁰ The winds of intellectual change had left Nicolai unmoved, Goethe and Schiller opined, except that he remained the mortal enemy of all that was beautiful in the new art, poetry, and philosophy. Criticism more savage still came from the university town of Jena, where a young philosopher criticized Nicolai’s travel journal for pedaling banalities with regard to religion (“there are Catholics, and they really are Catholic”), and for the presumption that the Enlightener could comment on anything, whether he understood it or not, once he had simply seen it. “[Our hero] was simply incapable,” the sardonic critic wrote, “to go even a line under the surface and to the interior of whatever object.”⁵¹ The critic was Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and the elder Nicolai had written a persiflage of his and Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling’s idealism, rendering ridiculous their new “I philosophy.”⁵² The exchange, however impolite, got to the heart of the matter — whether a place can be known by examining its surface, as if moving along a life-sized map, or by probing its interior as expressed in its thought and literature. To understand a people, Fichte averred, one must probe deeper.⁵³

IV.

Genuine interest in the people was hardly self-evident. In early modern times, the people of a nation comprised different estates, with the mass of the people, the peasantry, constituting the lowliest and least important caste. Rustics might be pitied for their burdens, or examined for their exotic customs, but never extolled for their virtue. This had been true at the time of Luther, and a quarter of a millennium later little had changed. Travelers saw the common people from their fast-moving coaches:

⁴⁷ Nicolai, GW 15, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 1, 64; Nicolai, GW 18, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 7, 27; Nicolai, GW 20, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 20, 51.

⁴⁸ Nicolai, GW 20, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 12, 169.

⁴⁹ Horst Möller, *Aufklärung in Preussen: Der Verleger, Publizist und Geschichtsschreiber Friedrich Nicolai* (Berlin, 1974), 112.

⁵⁰ Friedrich Schiller, *Gedichte*, ed. Georg Kurscheidt, in Friedrich Schiller, *Werke und Briefe*, vol. 1, ed. Otto Dann et al. (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), 600.

⁵¹ Johann Gottlieb Fichte, “Friedrich Nicolai’s Leben und sonderbare Meinungen,” in Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, ed. Reinhard Lauth and Hans Gliwitzky, Series I, vol. 7, *Werke 1800–1801* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1988), 410, 381, 420.

⁵² Nicolai, GW 20, *Beschreibung einer Reise*, vol. 11, 121–2.

⁵³ Johann Gottlieb Fichte, “Spottgedichte auf Nicolai, Kettner und Biester,” in Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, ed. Reinhard Lauth and Hans Gliwitzky, Series II, vol. 6, *Nachgelassene Schriften 1800–1803* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1983), 21–29.

Keyssler pitied them; Lavater studied their shapes, and Nicolai reflected on how to improve their lot. No German *Aufklärer* wished to step out of his coach and walk among them. Yet by the 1770s, the period of *Sturm und Drang*, a sentimental sense of the people had begun to set in. One can see this in the contented, industrious English peasants in the paintings of Thomas Gainsborough, or in the depictions of upstanding French families rendered by Jean-Baptiste Greuze. Rousseau was the source of this new sentimentality, which also drew on the encounter with peoples in the South Pacific. One may speculate that the “agricultural revolution,” aided by the beginnings of a general warming of the climate, also contributed to a sense that the rural population was finally winning its battle against harsh nature. In England, where artists painted yeoman farmers in an unthreatening countryside, the scales had already tipped, with widespread undernourishment and even famine visiting the countryside less and less frequently.⁵⁴ The result, as the historian Wolfgang Hardtwig has suggested, was the coming to a close of a strict European division between the prosperous civilization of the cities and the raw fight for subsistence that characterized the countryside, so that for the first time denizens of cities could imagine their rural compatriots as belonging to the same cultural universe.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Europe*, ed. Stephen Broadberry and Kevin H. O'Rourke, vol. 1, 1700–1870 (Cambridge, 2010), 19. Robert William Fogel, *The Escape from Hunger and Premature Death, 1700–2100* (Cambridge, 2004), 6; Massimo Livi-Bacci, *A Concise History of World Population*, trans. Carl Ipsen (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 67–73.

⁵⁵ Wolfgang Hardtwig, “Naturbeherrschung und ästhetische Landschaft. Zur Entstehung der ästhetischen Landschaft am Beispiel der ‘Münchner Schule’,” in Hardtwig, *Hochkultur des bürgerlichen Zeitalters* (Göttingen, 2005), 176, 186.

⁵⁶ Johann Ernst Fabri, ed. *Neue Reisebeschreibungen in und über Deutschland* (Halle, 1786–1791), vols. 1–6, preface to vol. 1.

⁵⁷ Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths, *Meine Reise im deutschen Vaterlande: Aus Thüringen ins Riesengebirge zu den Elbquellen und durch Böhmen ins Erzgebirge* (Breslau, 1799).

In the German lands, the dramatic increase in travel reports, accelerating in the 1780s, taking off in the 1790s, reflected new possibilities of seeing and a new interest in both place and people. Books rolled off the press explaining how to travel, where to stay, and what to see, “since only a few years ago have people begun to understand that it is also beneficial to travel Germany,” as one collator of travel descriptions put it.⁵⁶ A few travel journals were written in the old style and described courts and cities. Some mixed the old and the new. In *My Travels in the German Fatherland*, Johann Christoph GutsMuths, a pioneer in gymnastics and the prophet of freer bodily movement, wrote especially detailed comments on Dresden and Prague, penned reflective accounts of the isolation of the *Riesengebirge*, and wrote of the miners in the Ore Mountains, even mentioning the pittance children earned in the mines.⁵⁷ Spurred by the French Revolution, a number of travel journals assume a decidedly critical stance: this was famously the case in Georg Forster’s *Views from the Lower Rhine*, which chronicled his journey with the young Alexander von Humboldt through the Rhineland and into revolutionary Holland and France; but it was true too of the unheralded Johann Ludwig Ewald, court pastor in Detmold who appended to a journal of his journey from Hamburg to Lübeck a reverie about a future — in 1898 — when the nations have arrived at an understanding of how to

maintain peace and standing armies are mainly engaged in civilian work.⁵⁸ Some travel accounts exemplified an altogether new sensibility about village life. Spurred on by the literature of *Sturm und Drang*, and by the travel writer Johann Kaspar Riesebeck's injunction that "one has to mix with all classes of people that one wants to get to know," young people ventured from cities and university towns into the rural countryside.⁵⁹ In his unpublished manuscript of his wandering with a friend into the Alb between Tübingen and Ulm, the theology student Friedrich Köhler recorded the appearance of the people, the condition of their dwellings (most houses still roofed with straw), customs of rough justice (in the village of Upfingen near Urach a so-called "whore's chair" [*Hurenstuhl*] was reserved for unwed mothers), village and peasant food (increasingly potatoes, not just grain, especially after the famine of 1771/2), and the style and color of regional costumes worn on Sundays and on special holidays.⁶⁰

V.

The profusion of travel reports, published and unpublished, tell of a country that in an enlightened age could be known by visiting cities, looking at the physiognomy of its people, inspecting its churches and great buildings, admiring its vistas, marveling at its gardens, viewing its art, and documenting its libraries: in short, by seeing the surface. There was also an interior, discernable in the country's basic rhythms in rhymes and folk songs, in the coarse, unmannered ways of its people, in the power of common poetry, and in the feeling of the landscape, melancholic and tragic in turn. By the 1790s, young intellectuals were beginning to bring the two ways of knowing together, creating a novel, interiorized sense of country.

In 1793, as Nicolai composed the final volumes of his travels through Germany, an as yet unknown nineteen-year-old student named Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder wrote a series of letters documenting his more modest travels to the forests, mountains, and cities of Franconia. A starker contrast between ways of seeing is difficult to imagine. Whereas Nicolai travelled speedily along well-trodden roads in a horse-drawn coach, Wackenroder rode on horseback or walked with his friend, Ludwig Tieck; the two galloped along paths, trekked up mountains, wandered through back alleys, and climbed into caves. A major intellectual figure, Nicolai intended his weighty volumes for an enlightened audience he had helped to create; Wackenroder, enrolled at the provincial University of Erlangen, wrote to his parents, and asked for money. Announced with great fanfare, Nicolai's volumes found an eager audience, and were

⁵⁸ J.L. Ewald, *Fantasien auf einer Reise durch Gegenden des Friedens* (Hannover, 1799), esp. 372-394.

⁵⁹ Johann Kaspar Riesebeck, *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen über Deutschland* (Berlin (O.), 1976), 8.

⁶⁰ Friedrich A. Köhler, *Eine Albreise im Jahre 1790*, ed. Eckart Frahm, Wolfgang Kaschuba, and Carola Lipp (Tübingen, 1979).

debated with *esprit*; by contrast, Wackenroder's letters remained locked in his family's papers and closed to the world.

Yet it is the travel letters, first published nearly a century after Wackenroder's untimely death from typhus in 1798, that signaled the turn in the imagination of place. The turn involved heightened attention to the senses, and the experiential immediacy of natural beauty. "Sensual beauty for the eyes can only be experienced completely by the eyes, in the original nature, or in the copying of the paint brush," Wackenroder wrote.⁶¹ His comparison of the experience of nature with art proved revealing. Four years later, Wackenroder and Tieck would publish one of the most important early documents of German Romanticism, *The Heartfelt Effusions of an Art-loving Monk*, in which the young authors insisted that the true love of art is necessarily opposed to the systematizing of art, that great art is of divine origin, and that the experience of looking at art was akin to prayer.

In order to experience the beauty of nature, Wackenroder and Tieck climbed the rounded peaks of middle Germany, such as the Ochsenkopf in the Fichtel Mountains, from which the two friends could see the source of the Main River. Precisely when the details were far and indistinct, the expansive views presented "much that is sublime," with Wackenroder likening the panoramas to paintings in a gallery.⁶² The son of a jurist interested in mineralogy, and an eager reader of Ossian, Wackenroder was also fascinated by the jagged caves of Franconian Switzerland, of which the recently discovered Rosenmüller Cave was for its stalactites and stalagmites "the most beautiful."⁶³ Whereas Nicolai had favored the flattened vistas of a well-ordered landscape, Wackenroder was drawn to the unpredictable, sometimes threatening, vertical formations of rock and cliff. But he did not long for nature untouched. Both Wackenroder and Tieck also sought out the ruins nestled among the craggy rocks and hills, such as the Burg Neideck, its medieval walls clinging to the cliffside.

The jagged mountain not the flowered field, ruins not palaces, the medieval not the modern, the suggestive not the complete: these pre-dilections defined some of the elemental differences, if still in embryo, between the young Wackenroder and the elder Nicolai. Stunning, too, was their perception of the people, especially in Catholic Bamberg. Although Wackenroder followed Nicolai in the enlightened critic's insistence that there was a Catholic physiognomy, he took an altogether different tone towards Catholic ritual, giving us a remarkably sympathetic rendition of holy services across the line of religious division — so

61 Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, "Reisebriefe," in Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, ed. Silvio Vietta and Richard Littlejohns, vol. 2 (Heidelberg, 1991), 158.

62 Ibid., 175.

63 Ibid., 177.

sympathetic, in fact, that a later owner of the letters, perhaps Tieck, struck the passages for purposes of publication.⁶⁴ In these passages, Wackenroder marveled at the activity in the crowded cathedral. “Some read abidingly in their prayer books, others prayed standing with the rosary, and still others knelt piously quite close to me,” he recounted, “and the ceremonies, which changed every minute, made a stronger and more wonderful impression on me

the more mysterious and incomprehensible they were.”⁶⁵ Influenced by Goethe’s aesthetics, Wackenroder also gazed at the many towers, spires, walkways, and statues of the Gothic cathedral, and while he admired the paintings by old German masters, he omitted mention of the famous Bamberg Riders, perhaps because the cathedral’s baroque craftsmen had painted the horse white and the king’s belt and crown gold.⁶⁶

Wackenroder was also the first to rediscover the Franconian city of Nuremberg. Travelers, including Nicolai, had passed through Nuremberg reading the polymath Christian Gottlieb von Murr’s then famous description of the imperial city’s curiosities; it listed all of the city’s scholars and artists, and many of its buildings, churches, and cloisters, evincing pride in Nuremberg’s achievements, but remaining silent, as Nicolai complained, about its decline and embarrassed about its crooked streets and late medieval Gothic appearance.⁶⁷ Precisely the old attracted Wackenroder, however. “I cannot but sufficiently wonder at the city,” he wrote, “because one cannot find a single new building, but many old ones, from the tenth century onward, so that one feels placed in ancient times and expects to meet a knight or monk or a townsman

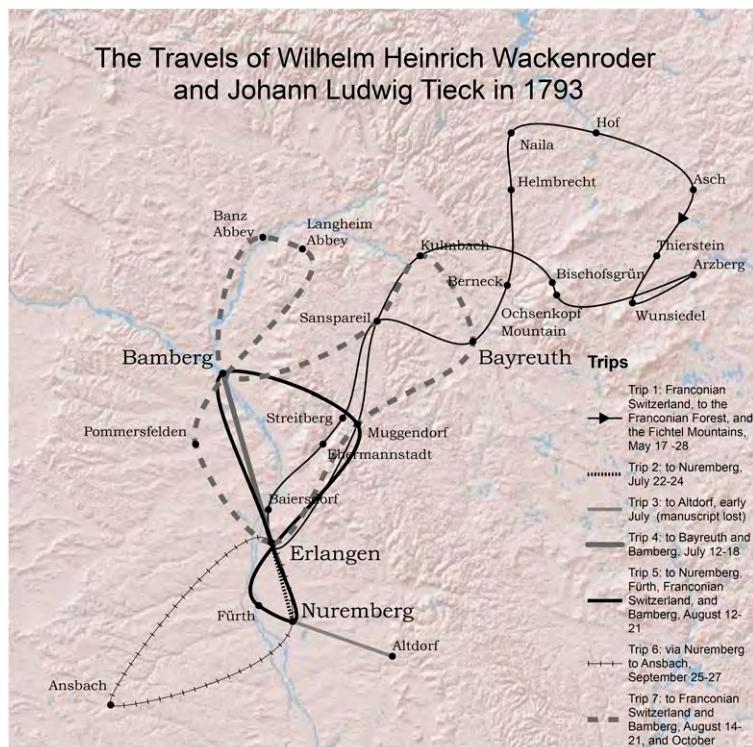


Figure 3. The travels of Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder and Johann Ludwig Tieck in 1793.
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⁶⁴ Editors’ commentary in *ibid.*, 577.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶⁶ Editors’ commentary in *ibid.*, 581.

⁶⁷ Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Beschreibung der vornehmsten Merkwürdigkeiten in des H.R. Reichsfreien Stadt Nürnberg und auf der hohen Schule zu Altdorf* (Nürnberg, 1778).

in old costume.”⁶⁸ Wackenroder called the city “Romantic” — for “with every step one has a view of ancient times and of a work of art in stone or color.”⁶⁹ It boasted an abundance of fountains — Nicolai had counted 112 — “some with small towers and many figurines,” and endless crooked streets and alleys flanked by houses confusedly shoved into one another.⁷⁰ Wackenroder also admired Nuremberg’s churches, especially St. Lorenz, its central nave narrow and high, and its windows almost all stained glass, “so that the colors seem to burn.”⁷¹ And of course he was astounded by its artists, especially Dürer, whose “Apostles” — in copy — showed Dürer to be a genuine genius, “a German Raphael.”⁷²

The gentle comparison suggests the quiet of Wackenroder’s national tone. It was not until the *Heartfealt Effusions* of 1797 that Wackenroder’s aesthetic sense took on the character of a statement about German art, and Nuremberg the qualities of a program for national renewal in the arts. There we read about “the art of our old fatherland,” and Nuremberg as its teacher, and observe Wackenroder daring the comparison with the city of Raphael: “Are not Rome and Germany both of this world?,” he asked.⁷³ But modern art in Germany remained too tied to the whims of princes, who prefer “a superficial exercise of the senses,” and it has lost its connection, visibly expressed in Dürer’s art, to “the serious and sublime.”⁷⁴ Unlike Albrecht Altdorfer and the painters of the Danube school, who had vanished from artistic discussion in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Dürer remained in public consciousness — but mainly as the German painter who had mastered Italian technique. Against this conventional wisdom, Wackenroder insisted that Dürer achieved greatness because he remained true to himself, a German at home more among Gothic vaults than Corinthian pillars.

68 Wackenroder, *Reisebriefe*, 187. He did not have the same view of neighboring Fürth, where in 1792 nearly a quarter of the population was Jewish, and remarked only that “Fürth is a town rife with artisans and Jews. Everyone is busy and has a trade. Jews offer all sorts of things to buy.” Wackenroder, *Reisebriefe*, 226. Aside from Fürth, Wackenroder did not report on any of Franconia’s so-called *Judendorfer*, villages where Jews made up a significant percentage of the population.

69 Ibid., 188.

70 Ibid., 187, 188.

71 Ibid., 222.

72 Ibid., 190.

73 Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder and Wilhelm Tieck, *Herzensergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, in Wackenroder, *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, ed. Silvio Vietta and Richard Littlejohns, vol. 1 (Heidelberg, 1991), 90.

74 Ibid., 92.

The turn to the medieval world of knights and ladies, the nostalgic longing for the past, and the praise of raw landscape — these features would soon take on greater meaning. In 1799, two years after Wackenroder’s passing, a remarkable group of young intellectuals came together in the small university city of Jena, at the time numbering no more than 5,000 souls. Students and writers, not one over twenty-five years old, they included Wilhelm and Caroline Schlegel; Friedrich Schlegel and his future wife, Dorothea Veit; Friedrich von Hardenberg (better known by his pen name Novalis); and Clemens Brentano and Wilhelm Tieck. There were also philosophers: Fichte had settled here in 1794, and would remain until 1799, when his subversive ideas concerning religion proved too radical for Karl August, Duke of Saxe-Weimar. There was

also Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling, whose early writings took idealism in a transcendental direction. And, in 1801, there was Hegel, as yet a philosophical mediator between Fichte and Schelling.

The intellectual hothouse of Jena dissolved in that year, principally with the early death of Novalis. In the following January, Schlegel would leave Jena and travel to Dresden, where he had first encountered classical art, and on to Leipzig, Weimar, and across middle Germany en route to Paris. In a series of epistles intended for Wilhelm Tieck, Schlegel described this trip as a personal journey, a *Bildungsreise*, in which he discovered his self and a new sense of his country, which for him was Germany. As he followed the landscape, he knew he could not describe each view, only a few stark impressions, of which the first, strongest, and most lasting was the sight of the Wartburg, perched upon “a single mountain surrounded by forest and enveloped by cliffs and valleys and hills.”⁷⁵ Abandoning empiricism, he related what the scene conjured — “the memory of the times, when poetry was here in full bloom and in all of Germany there was a general sense of life, love, and gaiety,” and “one still had a fatherland.”⁷⁶ Crestfallen that contemporary Germans, huddled in ordinary houses around country roads, had abandoned their heights, their poetry of old, and their life upon the cliffs, he conceded that “patience has become our primary national virtue and next to this modesty.”⁷⁷

Only one other encounter evoked such nostalgia: the first sight of the Rhine. Foreigners — whether the Gothic novelist Ann Radcliffe in her *A Journey Made in the Summer of 1794 through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany*, or Abbate de Bertola, poet, scholar, and mediator to Italy of the new German literature — had already word-painted the river in Romantic hues. In his *Viaggio sul Reno*, Bertola had described the colors and shades, shapes and turns, of the middle Rhine, much as would a “guide through an art gallery familiar to him.”⁷⁸ Schlegel, however, rendered the river as a source of “memories of what the Germans once were, and what they could become.”⁷⁹

The Romanticization of landscape evoked an interior, subjective, national feeling — not mere pride in the outstanding features of a country, but a deeper sense of an identity between subject and object, viewer and nature, person and place. If the prosaic starting point of this Romanticizing of the land was Rousseau, its philosophical bearing was in the “productive imagination” of Fichte. Its most faithful mirror was, however, reflected in Schelling’s transcendental idealism, which assumed — contra Fichte — that there really were objects out

⁷⁵ Friedrich Schlegel, “Reise nach Frankreich,” *Europa. Eine Zeitschrift*, vol. 1 (1803): 7–8.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 8.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 11.

⁷⁸ Abbate de Bertola, *Mahlerische Rheinreise von Speyer bis Düsseldorf* (originally published in Mannheim in 1796, reprinted in Heidelberg, with an afterword by Jörg-Ulrich Fechner, 2004), 6. Ann Radcliffe, *A Journey Made in the Summer of 1794, through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany* (London, 1795).

⁷⁹ Schlegel, “Reise nach Frankreich,” 15.

⁸⁰ Novalis *Schriften. Die Werke Friedrich von Hardenbergs*, vol. 2, *Das philosophische Werk*, ed. Richard Samuel in association with Hans-Joachim Mähl and Gerhard Schulz (Stuttgart, 1965), 545.

⁸¹ Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Land und Leute*, 8th ed. (Stuttgart, 1883), 52; Riehl, "Das landschaftliche Auge," in W.H. Riehl, *Culturstudien aus drei Jahrhunderten*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1959), 64-65.

there, and that they had an existence independent of the mind. If philosophy gave the new view shape, poetry gave it expression. "The world must be romanticized," the young, brilliant, poetically gifted Novalis wrote, in order to find again "its original meaning" and "to give the common a mysterious visage, the known the grandeur of the unknown, and the finite the appearance of the infinite."⁸⁰

From the very first, this was an operation of salvage, a project of recovery. The Romantics stood for, and pushed forward, a shift in the conception of nationhood from an exterior object of identification — the country one pictured, counted, and described from the comfort of a fast moving coach — to an interior identity, which one felt, and to which, however haltingly and still very qualified, one began to say, "this is who I am." Paradoxically, the dreamlike, backwards-looking, interiorized view led to more sympathetic accounts of the countryside and a greater appreciation, if still more in theory, for the people. At least in intent, the young Romantics tried to listen to common speech, to consider religious practices in a way that was not merely dismissive, to expand the sense of Germany's architectural and artistic riches, and to apprehend and experience nature with something more than its utility in mind. All of this led to eyes fixed on greater, if still qualified, diversity. The Romantics also slowed vision down. A half century later, one of Germany's most acute recorders, Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, understood this well enough. In a remarkable essay entitled the "The Landscape Eye," a short history of how Germans saw their own country, Riehl derided the "pony-tail period" for its preference for wide-open, neatly manicured, easily traversed, and precisely cultivated landscapes and its blindness to the beauties of the rougher land and its rural people.⁸¹ But Riehl wrote in the middle of the nineteenth century and walked through a small town countryside rapidly vanishing. It is too much to claim he was a Romantic camera. But his realism likewise took in greater diversity, and he understood that light as often obscures vision.

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A BATTLEFIELD FOR EMANCIPATION: THE HAMBURG KINDERGARTEN MOVEMENT AND THE REVOLUTIONARY 1840S

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On June 28, 1840 in the Thuringian town of Bad Blankenburg, Friedrich Fröbel, pioneering pedagogue, social reformer, and political radical, founded the first kindergarten. The kindergarten was imagined as a “garden of children” from which would sprout a “new spring of humanity.”¹ Articulating a liberal and national vision of education shaped by an anti-authoritarian dissenting Christianity, Fröbel hoped that the kindergarten would become a model institution for the growth of a new German community. In turn, activists across political and religious camps utilized the kindergarten as a space for furthering social and cultural reform.

This paper examines the kindergartens established in the city of Hamburg between 1849 and 1851 as a case study to examine how the early children’s education institution came to be seen as a revolutionary space that served as a model for activists who argued for emancipation and social reform. The kindergartens were opened predominantly by female activists who invoked an ideal of a new philanthropic womanhood that transcended confessional differences in order to advance social and cultural reform. Hamburg, in particular, provides us with an exemplary view of the movement. By the late 1840s and early 1850s, the city had become a center of both the kindergarten movement and revolutionary activity for religious, political, and social reformers. This was a period dominated by the demand for social and cultural change and the development of new associations throughout the city.² Between the unrest Hamburg saw in 1830, the Great Fire of 1842, and the revolutions of 1848–51, activists re-imagined ideas of belonging, class relations, and gender roles. Set against the backdrop of a need for political reform, the kindergarten came to serve as a model for a new future in the city, the state, and Germany as a whole.

I. The Kindergarten as a Platform for Revolutionary Ideas

The Bad Blankenburg kindergarten was founded on the anniversary of the invention of the Gutenberg Press on June 28, 1840. It was conceived

¹ Friedrich Fröbel, *Die Kindergärten als um- und erfassende Pflege- und Erziehungsanstalten der Kindheit, der Kinder bis zum schulpflichtigen Alter und der deutsche Kindergarten als seiner Musteranstalt dafuer insbesondere* (1841), 2–4.

² For more information on the period of reform and associational culture in Hamburg between the 1830s and 1840s see: Tillmann Sieve, *Der Kampf um die Reform in Hamburg 1789–1842* (Hamburg, 1993); Richard Evans, *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years 1830–1910* (Oxford, 1987); Mosche Zimmermann, *Hamburgischer Patriotismus und deutscher Nationalismus: Die Emanzipation der Juden in Hamburg 1830 – 1865* (Hamburg, 1982).

3 *Der 28 Juni 1840 — Ein Vierfacher Festtag in den Erziehungsanstalten für Kindheit und Jugend zu Blankenburg und Keilhau*. Archiv der Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung (BBF) am Deutschen Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung (DIPF), Berlin (hereafter: DIPF/BBF/Archiv): Nachlass Fröbel p. 5.

4 "Die Erziehenden Familien," *Wochenblatt für Selbstbildung und die Bildung Anderer*, Sonnabend, 11. Februar 1826 DIPF/BBF/Archiv Nachlass Fröbel 103, Heft 1-7, 90.

5 For example: "Aufforderung zur Begründung einer grossen Bildungs-Musteranstalt," *Allgemeiner Anzeiger der Deutschen* 4 June 1840, Nr. 151. DIPF/BBF/Archiv: Nachlass Fröbel; "Das Keilhau-Blankenburg Fest," *Cahlaisches Nachrichtenblatt*, 1 August 1840 No. 31. DIPF/BBF/Archiv: Nachlass Fröbel; "Noch Ein Gutenberg's Denkmal," *Privilegierte wöchentliche gemeinnützige Nachrichten von und für Hamburg*, No. 238, 7 October 1840. DIPF/BBF/Archiv: Nachlass Fröbel; "Zur Begründung einer grossen Bildungs- und Musteranstalt für Kindergärtnerinnen, Kindermädchen und Kinderwärterinnen, Erzieherinnen und Erzieher, Führer und Führerinnen der sogenannten Kleinkinderschule u.s.w." *Leipziger Tageblatt und Anzeiger*, 16 July No. 198 1840 DIPF/BBF/Archiv: Nachlass Fröbel.

6 Alexander Detmar, "Vortrag in der General-Versammlung des ersten Bürgerkindergartens am 2. Juni," *Friedrich Fröbel's Wochenschrift: Ein Einigungsblatt für alle Freunde der Menschenbildung*, No. 18., May 1850 DIPF/BBF/Archiv Nachlass Fröbel 138 Bd.1, 141.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

as a school for young children between the ages of three and seven. The kindergarten emphasized nature and free play as vital elements in early child development. Its founding was shrouded in the language of progress and change, as the pamphlet published on the occasion demonstrates: "this year we appropriately recognized Gutenberg Day as the day on which humanity celebrates its new birth."³

Fröbel's kindergarten was based on a revolutionary pedagogy. Fröbel emphasized the ways in which activities such as playing with toys and being outdoors enhanced children's awareness of their environment while at the same time developing their understanding of themselves as independent beings. A child's *Bewusstsein* (awareness and consciousness) is explored throughout Fröbel's writings as a sphere that undergoes constant development and activity. Rather than limit a child's propensity to explore his or her outer surroundings and environment, he sought to embrace this propensity as part of a larger teaching method. Fröbel believed that children maintained a special relationship to nature that should be shaped rather than broken, for "[i]n the child's activities lies its pursuit of self-awareness. Unconscious awareness, a sense of being."⁴ Liberal newspapers promoted the kindergarten as a special institution dedicated to the future. Throughout the German-speaking lands, articles celebrated the kindergarten as the dawn of a new era in German history and as a memorial to Gutenberg that would lead the way to a new Germany.⁵

The kindergarten soon garnered support from pedagogues of diverse backgrounds, who promoted the institution as the only one of its kind that focused on the development of children's physical and mental capacities rather than on merely supervising and disciplining them. Three pedagogues demonstrate this clearly in their writings. During the general meeting of the first *Bürgerkindergarten* in Hamburg the director of the Hamburg *Realschule*, Alexander Detmar, described the differences he saw between existing institutions dedicated to early child care such as the *Warteschule* (day care), and the kindergarten.⁶ As Detmar stated, "in the first few years the whole development of the physical and mental capacities of children must begin to develop. Other institutions are inefficient in achieving this goal."⁷ The "most important difference which can be made between the *Warteschule* and the kindergarten," he noted is "that the kindergartens seek the physical and mental development of children."⁸

The idea of the kindergarten as a space for mental and physical development of young children was also echoed by the Hamburg

pedagogue Wichard Lange. He observed that the bourgeois educational methods employed in Germany at the time found their extremes in Jesuit and Pietistic education. The “former sought the destruction of the individual through religious piety,” Lange noted, “while the latter wanted to turn humanity into a machine.”⁹ As one of the members of the Hamburg Association of Schools and a co-organizer of the petition to improve the circumstances for Hamburg teachers submitted to the senate in 1848, Lange was also vital in the move to improve education in Hamburg generally.¹⁰

Another Hamburg pedagogue, Heinrich Hoffmann, was crucial in promoting the kindergarten as a new ideal of education. Hoffmann emphasized the importance of this institution as a way of furthering the progress of society, beginning with children. Reporting from a meeting of pedagogues held in Bad Liebenstein from September 27–29, 1851, Hoffmann observed that “in Hamburg, Fröbel’s cause took the most root.”¹¹ By September 1851, six kindergartens were open with as many as 87 children enrolled in one kindergarten alone.¹²

The kindergarten’s radical pedagogy provided a platform to enact new ideals of community-building and citizens’ rights and to re-imagine relationships within the family and state during the revolutionary period of the 1840s. While the above-mentioned pedagogues highlighted the importance of the kindergarten in preparing children for the *Volksschule* (public elementary school) and raising a better-educated citizenry, other activists emphasized the ways in which it could contribute to raising citizens of the new society and state they envisioned.

Kindergarten activists across German-speaking Europe (predominantly in the Protestant north and middle Germany) advocated for kindergarten education as a path to a better understanding of human rights and emancipation. In this context educational reform was also seen as a form of citizenship and state reform. In her 1848 publication *Für deutsche Frauen* Thekla von Gumpert, a children’s book author and adherent of Fröbelian ideas, declared that education and the kindergarten were vital in the process of promoting human rights, “our whole new world epoch has recognized the realization of the idea of universal reason and human rights for our whole national being, the indefeasible right of national and civil life, the *Volksrecht* against *Fürstenrecht*, the right of religion and freedom of consciousness, the

⁹ *Volksblatt für das Herzogthum Meiningen*: Saturday, 10 March 1849 No. 20. DIPF/BBF/Archiv Nachlass Fröbel 176.

¹⁰ Staatsarchiv Hamburg 612-5/20 Gesellschaft der Freunde/ G.E.W. 721: Petition des Vereins Hamburger Gehilfs- und Privatlehrer an die Rat- und Bürgerdeputation vom 13.3.1848 über Verbesserung im Schulwesen.

¹¹ DIPF/BBF/Archiv Nachlass Fröbel 146-148, *Zeitschrift für Friedrich Fröbels Bestrebungen*, 10.

¹² Ibid. “In Hamburg, Fröbel’s cause took the most root. It was in spring 1848 when the first kindergarten was opened by Doris Lütkens and Allwina Middendorff, now tied with [Wichard] Lange. Initially it began with eight children. In 1848–49 Mr. Beit opened a private kindergarten. Jewish and Christian women had created the purest association in the name of love. Thus came into existence the Frauenverein. Friedrich Fröbel and his kindergartens were to have first priority. In the summer of 1848 the third institution [kindergarten] under me [Hoffmann] was established. In winter 1849/50, when Friedrich Fröbel was in Hamburg, the first Bürgerkindergarten was opened with 70 lower-class children enrolled. The second Bürgerkindergarten now has 87 children enrolled ... Another institution, the Hochschule für das weibliche Geschlecht led by Miss Krüger.” [Author’s translation].

freedom of the press etc.”¹³ Hamburg pedagogue and politician Anton Rée, one of the main advocates of Jewish emancipation in Germany, also viewed educational reform as a path to human emancipation. Not only Jews, who were barred from basic social and political rights, but also the lower classes, would be freed from prejudice and social ills through a new conception of education beginning with children.¹⁴ Such views were also echoed in Fröbel’s newspapers and weeklies that openly discussed ideas such as freedom, democracy, emancipation, and the need for a form of education that would promote progress and humanity.¹⁵

Wilhelm Middendorff, one of Fröbel’s closest associates, was vital in promoting the view of the kindergarten as a new educational and social space in the new Germany. In 1848 he wrote a pamphlet addressed to the Frankfurt Parliament highlighting the need to legislate and protect the kindergarten as a state-sponsored institution. In his view the kindergarten unified Germany’s diverse population, “noble and low, Jews and Christians, Protestant and Catholics, blessed side by side, free from prejudice, united for the children.”¹⁶ Families and communities would be strengthened by the institution of the kindergarten, as children learned from each other and from their teachers at this young age. Education thus provided a platform to think about the building of a new future for the new state. Middendorff wrote:

“We look for a new future ... we would like to invoke the unification of life, the unity of the fatherland. Where is the magic wand? ... It is education, it is the fact that we strengthen the feeling of accord in the budding hearts of our people.”¹⁷ The kindergarten was thus identified as a space that accommodated diversity among German citizens across class and confessional lines.

¹³ Thekla v. Gumpert, *Für deutsche Frauen* (Dresden, 1848), 175. DIPF/BFE/Archiv Nachlass Fröbel.

¹⁴ Manfred Asendorf, *Der Hamburger Pädagoge und Politiker Anton Rée: ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von Emanzipation und Bildung* (Hamburg, 1985), 14.

¹⁵ Katja Münchow, “The Relationship between the Kindergarten Movement, the Movement for Democracy and the Early Women’s Movement in the Historical Context of the Revolution of 1848–49, as reflected in *Die Frauen-Zeitung*,” *History of Education* 2006: 283–293.

¹⁶ Wilhelm Middendorff, *Die Kindergärten: Bedürfnis der Zeit, Grundlage einigender Volkserziehung* (Blankenburg bei Rudolstadt, 1848), 4.

¹⁷ Ibid, 33.

Debates on education and new rights for the citizens of a new state were common between 1848 and the early 1850s. The developments within the kindergarten movement mirrored debates in the Frankfurt parliament. The constitution proposed by the parliament sought to legally define the citizen without any distinctions related to religion or class. As article II section 137 states: “There is no distinction of class before the law. The nobility as a class has been abolished.” Religious freedom was codified in article V of the constitution. The new form of education embodied by the kindergarten reflected these new political rights.

The reformist pedagogical approach of Fröbel’s kindergarten made it attractive for social reformers yet suspicious to the state. While

each state regulated education in specific ways, all forms of education of young children were still the prerogative of the Church (and supervised by state authorities).¹⁸ Teachers were supervised and trained by church officials to ensure that children would receive religious instruction and be disciplined according to strict rules of conduct. The quality of schooling, the quality of living for the teachers, and the overbearing dominance of the Church (both Catholic and Protestant) in educational matters had radicalized teachers, leading to the development of teachers' associations across Germany. These associations often supported the revolutionary educational views promoted by the radical student movements that had been banned following the Restoration after 1815. To state authorities and pedagogues, the kindergarten belonged within this tradition of radical reform.¹⁹

By the 1840s the conflict between teachers and government and religious authorities had deepened. To police officials, the kindergarten was a haven for revolutionary pedagogues and activists who utilized the space to construct a new democratic and free Germany that sought to go beyond religious authority and class based society. Berlin police officials traded letters with Hamburg criminal police officials that documented the movement of the kindergarten teacher and activist Theodor Hielscher. According to the Prussian police, Hielscher used the kindergarten to spread his democratic views to children.²⁰ The man was not to be trusted and was an active supporter of fighting on the barricades.²¹ Ludwig Storch, kindergarten teacher, activist, and writer, was also forced to close down his kindergarten when it was declared illegal in Nordhausen, Thuringia on July 8, 1851.²² Another letter from Dresden written on July 14, 1851 argued the ways the kindergarten was used as a school for socialism, democracy, and atheism.²³ Taken together, this demonstrated a concentrated attempt by Berlin Police Chief von Hinkeldey to clamp down on revolutionary activity coming from what he called a socialist and atheistic "nursery of destruction."²⁴ On August 7, 1851 Prussian Kultusminister von Raumer issued a decree banning the kindergarten.²⁵

¹⁸ Marjorie Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School in Imperial Germany* (New York, 1989); Hildegard Milberg, *Schulpolitik in der pluralistischen Gesellschaft: Die politischen und sozialen Aspekte der Schulreform in Hamburg*

1890-1935 (Hamburg, 1970).

¹⁹ Thomas Nipperdey elaborates on the conflict among educational reformers and pedagogues with the Prussian state. See: Thomas Nipperdey,

Mass Education and Modernization – The Case of Germany 1750-1850. The Prothero Lecture, September 17, 1976. In Hamburg in particular the period of 1848 saw a heightened conflict between the church and educational »

»reform as well. See: Manfred Heede, *Die Entstehung des Volksschulwesens in Hamburg — Der langwierige Weg von den Schulforderungen der Revolution 1848/49 bis zum Unterrichtsgesetz von 1870* (Hamburg, 1982). Abigail Green further provides a chapter on "Educating Patriots" in her work *Fatherlands* that examines the dual inspiration for reform from both conservative modernists and revolutionaries. Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, 2001).

²⁰ Staatsarchiv Hamburg Polizeibehörde-Kriminalwesen, 331-2 1851 Nr. 1367 Band 2, Nr. 12 A. 1851 226.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Landesarchiv Berlin, A Pr.Br. Rep. 030. Nr.: 9817, 1-5.

²³ Landesarchiv Berlin, A Pr.Br. Rep. 030. Nr.: 9817, 6.

²⁴ *Die Repressionen des preußischen Staates ab 1824 gegenüber Friedrich Fröbel. Schreiben des Berliner Polizeipräsidenten von Hinkeldey vom 15. September 1851*, ed. Wolfgang Meretz (Berlin, 1990), s.1.1

²⁵ On the ban of the kindergarten, see Meike Sophia Baader, „Alle wahren Demokraten tun es.“ Die Fröbelschen Kindergärten und der Zusammenhang von Erziehung, Revolution und Religion,” in *Die Revolutionen von 1848/49*, ed. Christian Jansen and Thomas Mergel (Göttingen, 1998), 206-224.

II. The Role of Women in the Kindergarten Movement

Since the pedagogues of the kindergarten movement believed that maternal instincts and motherly love were vital to the care and education of children, women were required for this educational space to function. As a pedagogical method, the kindergarten sought to return to “natural” ideals of learning through institutionalizing the relationship between women and children.

Women and their supposed natural attributes were given high priority in this method. In stressing the importance of nature, kindergarten activists sought to emphasize the ways the family home was replicated in the kindergarten rather than destroyed or subverted. This is particularly the case with the pedagogical ideal of motherhood that was vital to kindergarten pedagogy. As early as May 1840, Friedrich Fröbel appealed to German women to participate in the *Pflege-, Spiel-, und Beschäftigungsanstalt für Kleinkinder* (to be renamed the kindergarten following the opening ceremony) in various newspapers across Germany. His plan for the realization of the kindergarten defined the role of women within this new institution: “for God has placed the physical as well as the spiritual continuation of the human race through childhood and emotions into the heart of women.”²⁶ Women’s nature was regarded as a vital element in this social reformist project centered on children. Fröbel emphasized that women’s role needed to be reconsidered and once again associated primarily with child rearing: “child care must therefore once again be entirely turned towards women’s life; women’s life and child care must be reunited, feminine minds and sensible child-rearing must become a reality again.”²⁷

26 Entwurf eines Planes zur Begründung und Ausführung eines Kinder-Gartens, einer Allgemeiner Anstalt zur Verbreitung allseitiger Beachtung des Lebens der Kinder, besonders durch Pflege ihres Thätigkeitstriebes DIPF/BBF/ Archiv: Nachlass Fröbel, S.

27 Ibid.

28 Entwurf eines Planes zur Begründung und Ausführung eines Kinder-Gartens, einer Allgemeinen Anstalt zur Verbreitung allseitiger Beachtung des Lebens der Kinder, besonders durch Pflege ihres Thätigkeitstriebes DIPF/BBF/ Archiv: Nachlass Fröbel, 8.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

Evidently this appeal to women was based on a preconceived notion of the role of femininity in the social and cultural development of children. The program for the Bad Blankenburg kindergarten stated, “it is only by mediating between the external female occupations, the social duties, and the demands of childhood that the original unity of female and motherly life with childhood can be regained.”²⁸ Such a fusion of different social roles of motherhood would produce a new type of woman to specifically care for small children in a professional capacity, as Fröbel continued: “*Kinderwärterinnen, Kindermädchen, Kinderführerinnen* and *Erzieherinnen* ... who mediate between the demands of the mothers’ heart, their desire and care, and the needs of the child.”²⁹ This would benefit not only mothers but also the child: “for the children then are, reach, and give what the mother herself cannot be, reach, and give to them, try as she might.”³⁰

Male activists primarily supported this new role for women in the kindergarten. One such activist stated: "only mothers, and women overall, can educate children at this young stage ... [their] nature and their maternal instinct provide significant work that is sufficient for the object of education."³¹ Women between the ages of 16 and 24 were to undergo formal theoretical and practical training as kindergarten teachers. "Every young girl after completing her training in the kindergarten would therefore be prepared as a mother for womanly professions such as early child care."³² Fröbel and other kindergarten activists promoted a new ideal of the female teacher as an individual who was vital in the mental, emotional, and physical development of young children outside the home.³³

Yet women were not only important as kindergarten teachers, but also as advocates and founders of kindergartens. In Hamburg, a number of women's organizations were instrumental in this process. The Hamburg chapter of the Frauenverein zur Unterstützung der Deutschkatholiken (Women's Association for the Support of the Deutschkatholiken)³⁴ represented an interreligious partnership that opened kindergartens to realize their goal of religious freedom and the pursuit of what they called "humane goals."³⁵ The Frauenverein zur Unterstützung der Armenpflege (Women's Association for Poor Relief) saw the kindergarten as an institution of charity and social reform. Meanwhile the Hochschule für das weibliche Geschlecht, an innovative and ambitious women's higher educational institution, established its kindergarten not only as a charitable institution, but also as an educational facility where its students could practice the profession they were training for.³⁶

31 Johannes Stangenberger, *Das Stäbchen oder: das Bilden und Gestalten durch Stäbchen als erstes Einführungsmittel des Kindes in die Schule. Verknüpfung des Lehrganges der Schule mit der entwickelnd-erziehenden Bildungsweise Friedrich Fröbels. — Ein Buch für die Familien und die Schule, allen Müttern, Erziehern und Lehren freundlichst dargeboten von einem praktischen Schulmann* (Bad Liebenstein, 1852). DIPF/BBF/Archiv Nachlass Fröbel 98, 1-2.

32 Ibid.

33 Ann Taylor Allen explores the ways the kindergarten and the importance of motherhood provided a space to articulate a new ideal of female activism in *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1991). Allen also provides a transatlantic comparison of the kindergarten in her work, *The Transatlantic Kindergarten* (Oxford, 2017).

34 The Deutschkatholiken were a sect of dissenting Christianity founded by Johannes Ronge in Breslau in December 1844. The movement sought to fight what it saw as irrational superstition within the Catholic Church. This criticism later grew against the power of the Protestant church as well. Historians have highlighted the importance of this sect in cultivating a religious ideal of politics: Andreas Holzem, »

35 Staatsarchiv Hamburg Wüstenfeld 622-1/113 Nr.4. Frauenverein zur Unterstützung der Deutschkatholiken, seit 1853 Frauenverein zur Förderung freier Christlicher Gemeinden und Humaner Zwecke (1847-1855).

36 The Hochschule für das weibliche Geschlecht was a school training young women to become kindergarten teachers founded by Karl Fröbel and conceived for female students aged 15-25.

» Kirchenreform und Sektenstiftung: Deutschkatholiken, Reformkatholiken und Ultramontane am Oberrhein (1844-1866), (Paderborn, 1994). Other historians have also highlighted the split within the movement from rationalist Christianity to all-out atheism. Historians focusing on the women's movement also highlighted the importance of this association in carving out a space for women's participation in revolutionary politics: Sylvia Paletschek, *Frauen und Dissens: Frauen im Deutschkatholizismus und in den freien Gemeinden 1841-1852* (Göttingen, 1990).

Founded by Fröbel's nephew Karl Fröbel, the school was open to women who "renounced the pleasures of sociability" and worked for "an eternal ideal of humanity."³⁷ Women between the age of 15 and 25 were encouraged to enroll and take courses in history, pedagogy, mathematics, and languages. The school aimed to ensure the cultivation of women's particular nature and their philosophical education through a combination of "human education" and "feminine education." In his pamphlet describing the school, Karl Fröbel compared the education of men and women thus: "The highest goal of men's education," he stated, was "the representation of spiritual unity in the multiplicity of life, domination of the mind over nature, the spiritualization of the physical."³⁸ Women's education by comparison was "inversely the embodiment of the spiritual."³⁹ For this reason, women had a vital role to play in constructing a new society, he argued: "The ultimate goal of female education lies in the unification of social life, in the family, the community, and in the larger societies."⁴⁰ The new education of women, Fröbel claimed, would lead to a new society:

This can only be done by women: they bind men's minds, always striving upwards towards the general, to the details of life. Women must be made part of our highest philosophical convictions, our most universal and grand purposes. They must think and feel about religious views, from God, providence, fate to immortality, the ultimate purpose of the individual as well as that of the human race as we men do. Then, and only then, do we approach the goal where truth, love and justice rule among human beings.⁴¹

³⁷ *Kindergarten und Hochschule für das weibliche Geschlecht in Hamburg*. Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 662-1/113 Emilie Wüstenfeld, Nr. 5.

³⁸ Karl Fröbel and Johanna Fröbel, geb. Küstner, *Hochschulen für Mädchen und Kindergarten* (Hamburg, 1849), 14.

³⁹ Ibid. 15.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid. 16.

⁴² Johanna Goldschmidt, *Rebekka und Amalia: Briefwechsel zwischen einer Israelitin und einer Adeligen über Zeit und Lebensfragen* (Leipzig, 1847); and *Die Wichtigkeit des Sozialen Strebens für die Frauen der Jetzzeit*. Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 662-1/113 Emilie Wüstenfeld, Nr. 5.

Karl Fröbel's ideal of women's education therefore went beyond class and religious differences. According to Fröbel, women possessed specifically feminine qualities that could be employed to spread justice and progress. The Deutscher Frauenverein (German Women's Association) in Hamburg mobilized this idealized womanhood that cut across class and confessional lines by promoting an interreligious "spiritual sisterhood." As articulated by two major Hamburg kindergarten activists, Johanna Goldschmidt and Emilie Wüstenfeld, such a sisterhood involved an association of women coming together across confessional divides to heal social fragmentation and lead society to a better future.⁴² Pedagogue Heinrich Hoffmann observed that "Jewish and Christian women had created the

purest association in the name of love. Thus came into existence the Frauenverein,” which was vital in promoting the first kindergartens in the city.⁴³

The development of this idealized and spiritual image of womanhood covers various religious and secular traditions. As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, advocates of *Haskalah*, the Jewish Enlightenment, noted the need to better educate women. In his July 1806 article “Letters on Respectable Women of the Jewish Religion,” published in the reform-minded Jewish journal *Sulamith*, Gotthold Salomon encouraged Jewish women to continue their education for the sake of progress.⁴⁴ As members of a matrilineal religion, Jewish women were vital in ensuring the continued existence of the faith. As mothers and sisters they were regarded as important members of the Jewish people who had to be educated about their duties and responsibilities for education. Salomon argued against past traditions of keeping women outside of the religious community, a subject vigorously debated in the Jewish Reform movement. Salomon criticized that women were stuck in a ceremonial past that was blind to “true religion.”⁴⁵

The notion of “true religion” and the position of women were also highlighted in Christian dissenting circles. In 1849, the charismatic dissenting Christian leader of the *Deutschkatholiken* movement, Johannes Ronge, spoke about the symbol of Mary and womanhood in Christianity to criticize the statements of the Catholic Church on women’s political participation in the Catholic Christian world. The limits placed on women were limits placed on the nation and God, he maintained. As Ronge stated, it was “established against the aspirations of women and their right to self-determination and against their participation in the fulfillment of humane aspirations and of God’s new empire.”⁴⁶

Hamburg kindergartens focused on the image of women as salvation for the community.⁴⁷ Pedagogues and teachers joined with Christian dissenters and Jewish emancipation activists who further promoted this ideal. A letter Johanna Goldschmidt wrote to Friedrich Fröbel epitomizes the idealized notion of women’s mission for social and cultural change. Approaching him on behalf of the Hamburg German Women’s Movement in March 1849, she wrote that “a small group of local women have the strong desire to bring your system of revival of the spirit of children into full effect in Hamburg and we ask you for advice and support.”⁴⁸

⁴³ DIPF/BBF/Archiv Nachlass Fröbel 146-148, *Zeitschrift für Friedrich Fröbels Bestrebungen*, 10.

⁴⁴ Gotthold Salomon, “Briefe an ein achtungswürdiges Frauenzimmer Jüdischer Religion,” *Sulamith, eine Zeitschrift zur Beförderung der Kultur und Humanität unter der jüdischen Nation*, July 1806, 216.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 215.

⁴⁶ Johannes Ronge, *Maria oder die Stellung der Frauen der alten und neuen Zeit* (Hamburg, 1849), 5.

⁴⁷ Salvation referred to the construction of the female kindergarten teacher as individuals who, if provided the right education and guidance, could help lead humanity to a better future.

⁴⁸ Johanna Goldschmidt, Verein Deutscher Frauen zu Hamburg, “Brief,” in *Mein Lieber Herr Fröbel! Briefe von Frauen und Jungfrauen an den Kinder- und Menschenfreund*, ed. Helmut König (Berlin, 1990), 108.

With Fröbel's support, this small group of women hoped to open a school to train women as kindergarten teachers, where they believed they could "achieve a higher goal when we ensure that young women learn children's play in the Fröbelian spirit and with the Fröbelian heart."⁴⁹ Fröbel's kindergarten, according to the Hamburg Women's Association, was key in the construction of a new pluralistic society. As Goldschmidt stated, "We intend to promote the kindergarten as well as the knowledge of your system ... The *Frauenverein* will pursue this goal with Christian and Jewish women."⁵⁰

The members of the *Frauenverein* viewed the kindergarten as a crucial platform to promote an ideal of womanhood that would work towards social harmony. Members understood their mission very much in gendered terms. A women's association brought women together for social and cultural reform. Rather than bring women together as individuals, they understood their existence as women who had a social mission to fulfill due to their perceived natural gender differences. Unlike men's associations that debated the freedom of the individual, women's associations understood themselves as associations brought together under female direction in order to spread the concept of "love." The historical definition of *Verein* referred to an association of free (usually male) citizens who came together due to shared interests. They became the places where sociologists theorized the development of free liberal civil societies and the functioning of democracy. Women's associations, however, were rather more complex.

The early women's associations of the nineteenth century were united by spiritual and religious ideals centered on femininity as a key force in history. The *Frauenverein* was supposed to fulfill a higher duty that would benefit mankind. This work brought together the private and public worlds of women, a concept that would be unthinkable in men's associations, "such action in one's own heart, in the family, in society, in the community, the people, the human race, in the life of the spirit and the mind in and of itself — that is what we need."⁵¹ This was a gendered social mission that men did not have to fulfill.

Through ideals such as "motherly love" and other supposedly feminine qualities, women would better the human race. Fröbel emphasized this ideal clearly when he claimed that "only through *Frauengemüth* and children's education can the unification of

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

mankind, the human race, the people, religious communities, and the family be saved.”⁵² The *Frauenverein* therefore fulfilled an important and “respectable purpose,” namely the “social convergence and unification of Jewish and Christian women in the interests of children at play, to deepen it, and it includes the cause of humanity.”⁵³ This ideal of going beyond a confessional identity exemplifies the common theme of *Seelenschwestern* (spiritual sisterhood) found in the writings of activists during the 1840s in Hamburg. The notion of spiritual sisterhood developed from the discourses on the peculiar position of femininity found among religious and secular reformist literature.

The various women’s associations in Hamburg utilized the philanthropic emotional role of women portrayed within all these traditions for the sake of social betterment. The Hamburg German Women’s association in 1847 called for the cultivation of women as a form of social progress and freedom for all, “the general purpose of the women’s association is to develop the feminine sex for its higher destiny through humane education, and with free self-determination to promote the spiritual, as well as the secular, well-being of humanity.”⁵⁴ The goal of religious and individual freedom held by the Women’s Association went well beyond the Christian faith.

III. Bridging Class Divides?

The kindergartens opened in Hamburg interpreted Fröbel’s pedagogical method and what that meant for social reform broadly. The families who sent their children to these institutions ranged from middle-class political moderates to radical activists. Each kindergarten’s approach to the state, women, and class differed while remaining true to Fröbel’s rhetoric and method. Three kindergartens exemplify this diversity: the *Bürgerkindergarten*, the kindergarten opened by the *Frauenverein für Armenpflege*, and the kindergarten of the Hochschule für das weibliche Geschlecht. A closer look at these institutions highlights the assumptions on class and gender that were vital within this reformist ideology and the conflicts that this would cause among activists.

The *Bürgerkindergarten* represented a more “middle-class” vision of the kindergarten movement. The first *Bürgerkindergarten* was opened in the winter of 1849 when Fröbel was visiting the city. Class was central to this type of kindergarten. While this institution aimed to attract children from all classes, it hoped specifically to attract middle- and lower-middle class children. As Hoffmann stated in his report on Hamburg kindergartens, 70 lower-class children were

⁵² F. an Johanna Goldschmidt in Hamburg v. 17.3.1849 (Dresden). SUB Hamburg: Literatur-Archiv, Fröbel, Friedrich, 1967 / G 59, Brieforiginal 2 Bl + 5 B 8° 24 S., 2 Sätze [aus 2V] zit. in KG 23 (1882), 51. Also printed in *Gesamtausgabe der Briefe Friedrich Fröbels* (<https://bbf.dipf.de/de/recherchieren-finden/online-editionen>)

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Staatsarchiv Hamburg Wüstenfeld 622-1/113 Nr. 4 on Frauenverein (1847).

enrolled at the time.⁵⁵ In a letter to Johanna Goldschmidt, one of the founders of the *Bürgerkindergarten*, Fröbel stated, “a kindergarten for the poor middle-class craftsmen is almost as important during this time as caring for the poor.”⁵⁶ The institution was therefore crucial in ensuring the continuation of middle-class values among those at risk of being relegated to the lower classes. Therefore the *Bürgerkindergarten* was not only a space to enact social reform, but its founders also sought to prevent social decline by strengthening middle-class identity.

This is evident in the announcement advertising the founding of the *Bürgerkindergarten*, which reads: “all those who know the Fröbelian kindergarten also know that it is mainly for middle-class needs.”⁵⁷ The exact nature of such needs was elusive, however. One can assume that it points to the *Bürgerkindergarten*’s emphasis on family, community, and the development of the individual’s capacity to learn. Fröbel reiterated this ideal of middle-class identity within the kindergarten in his speech at the opening of the first *Bürgerkindergarten* on March 5, 1850. “The German *Bürgertum*, and above all, Hamburg’s citizens, have striven for the longest time to make this evolving idea visible!”⁵⁸ It was the middle class, according to Fröbel, that was able to develop education as an emancipatory concept. He believed that “through education you can achieve human worth.”⁵⁹ Class and ideals of liberal emancipation were therefore ingrained within the *Bürgerkindergarten*. However, this did not negate the reality that it was also a space of discipline and organization.

Children attending the *Bürgerkindergarten* were to be physically fit, and their parents had to pay a weekly tuition of three schillings.⁶⁰ The founding statute of the *Bürgerkindergarten* stated that “children may not suffer from contagious rashes, epilepsy and physical disabilities, and must, during their attendance of the institution maintain the necessary cleanliness.”⁶¹

⁵⁵ DIPF/BBF/Archiv Nachlass Fröbel 146–148, *Zeitschrift für Friedrich Fröbels Bestrebungen*, 10.

⁵⁶ F. an Johanna Goldschmidt in Hamburg v. 29.9.1849 (Bad Liebenstein). BN Anh. 48, Bl PG 76 — PG 87, Abschrift 3 B 8° 12 S., ed. Müller 1929, 107–110. Also printed in *Gesamtausgabe der Briefe Friedrich Fröbels* (<https://bbf.dipf.de/de/recherchieren-finden/online-editionen>)

⁵⁷ Aufruf zur Gründung eines Bürger-Kindergartens DIPF/BBF/Archiv Nachlass Fröbel 230, 1.

⁵⁸ “Rede zur Eröffnung des ersten Bürgerkindergartens in Hamburg am 5. Mai 1850, von Friedrich Fröbel (im Locale des Bildungsvereins).” *Friedrich Fröbel's Wochenschrift. Ein Einigungsblatt für alle Freunde der Menschenbildung*, Nr. 12, 25 March 1850 DIPF/BBF/Archiv Nachlass Fröbel.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Aufruf zur Gründung eines Bürger-Kindergartens DIPF/BBF/Archiv Nachlass Fröbel 230, 1.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Konstitutionelle Blätter für Stadt und Land Rudolstadt, den 2. März. No. 18. 1850. DIPF/BBF/Archiv Nachlass Fröbel 230, 6.

The *Bürgerkindergarten* propagated childcare as a source for community-building and national regeneration that promoted individuality and implicitly criticized the traditional state and social structure. A Rudolstadt newspaper praised the fact that “in Hamburg, the founding of the *Bürgerkindergarten* was part of the public good,” an inseparable institution tied to the citizenry.⁶² The pedagogue Alexander Detmar further elaborated on the benefits of the *Bürgerkindergarten* for social change and freedom. “The clearer we men recognize the infirmities of our time and the freer we manifest in our occupations and struggles for

the welfare of the fatherland and the *Vaterstadt* [Hamburg], the more we must put our hearts into the idea of the kindergarten, the seed of a beautiful and free future.”⁶³ Detmar explained that this was the battleground for a new future and for emancipation: “There is much talk about the emancipation of women today! Here is the place where a worthy emancipation can be found; here is the battlefield where they can achieve victory — a victory more glorious than all the deeds of men on bloody battlefields.”⁶⁴ While the *Bürgerkindergarten* maintained a middle-class appearance, it nonetheless employed the rhetoric of emancipation and social reform through a new pedagogical approach that focused on women and children. Here the school benefited the fatherland and the future of the nation. By September 1851, 87 children were enrolled in a second *Bürgerkindergarten*.⁶⁵

The Frauenverein zur Armenpflege and the Hochschule für das weibliche Geschlecht provide us with two cases of kindergartens that worked within the more radical tradition of the movement. Both were understood as philanthropic institutions for the care of lower-class children who lacked proper education at home. Such a kindergarten was seen as a space to promote a new educational method as well as a seedbed for an egalitarian and free society. With these goals came a new ideal of womanhood. At the Hochschule, in particular, women were encouraged to practice a new profession based on “scientific” knowledge.

Theodor Hielscher, a teacher who had actively participated in the revolution and now worked at a kindergarten opened by the Frauenverein zur Armenpflege, defined them as institutions that would remedy the inefficient welfare and assistance lower-class children received. Directing his criticism at the existing *Armenschule* (charity school) and the dominance of church officials in schooling, he wrote: “The schools for the poor are crowded ... Classes have at least 70 students, a number that pedagogues and doctors agree is too much. How should the 70 (some classes as much as 110) children be supervised? What air fills the room? What kind of care is given the individual child? What becomes of the teacher?”⁶⁶

In comparison to the *Armenschule*, the kindergarten provided an alternative that would improve the education of poor children, because “children are separated into two classes led by women who have united in their call to help educate children.” According to Hielscher it could not be considered a real school, however, “not because these women have not demonstrated real self-sacrifice,”

⁶³ Alexander Detmar, “Vortrag in der General-Versammlung des ersten Bürgerkindergartens am 2. Juni,” *Friedrich Fröbel's Wochenschrift: Ein Einstigungsblatt für alle Freunde der Menschensbildung*, Nr. 18, May 1850 DIPF/BBF/Archiv Nachlass Fröbel 138 Bd.1, 141.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 152.

⁶⁵ DIPF/BBF/Archiv Nachlass Fröbel 146-148, *Zeitschrift für Friedrich Fröbels Bestrebungen*, 10.

⁶⁶ Staatsarchiv Hamburg Polizeibehörde-Kriminalwesen, 331-2 1851 Nr. 1367 Band 2, Nr. 12 A. 1851.

but because training and funding at these institutions fell short of what it needed to function properly.⁶⁷ This however did not limit the teachers, but pushed them to make the institution open to the public and gain more support.⁶⁸

To Hielscher, the kindergarten represented the benefits of moving away from confession-based education. “The institution is purely the work of charity, and so are the teachers, women from both confessions ... who successfully undertake this work not for the individual confession but for the general good. The children therefore come from both Jewish and Christian confessions.”⁶⁹ He described how “the children of both confessions, without difference separating them, simply humans, are educated as images of God to bring this likeness in them to consciousness and so to give them an inner support.”⁷⁰ Similarly to the *Bürgerkindergarten*, the class divide was ever-present. As charitable institutions, these kindergartens were expressions of philanthropic and educational action. Their founders hoped that bringing children into the kindergarten would allow them to move beyond their class identities and to create a new society where notions of class and religious divides would disappear.

The Hochschule für das weibliche Geschlecht and its associated kindergarten represented a radical extreme of 1848 that illustrated the ways in which the institution came to express new ways of imagining the nation and community. Opened in January 1850, the school was led by Karl Fröbel, while the kindergarten was headed by his wife, Johanna Fröbel and Amalie Krüger. Both Johanna Fröbel and Amalia Krüger had trained with Friedrich Fröbel. Together the women’s school and its kindergarten continued their call for a social revolution that specifically sought to educate women and children in an openly anti-patriarchal manner that would help stabilize a new state. Only through a new form of education, Karl Fröbel wrote, could the state, the family, and society change.⁷¹

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

71 Karl Fröbel and Johanna Fröbel, geb. Küstner, *Hochschulen für Mädchen und Kindergarten* (Hamburg, 1849), 3.

72 *Kindergarten und Hochschule für das weibliche Geschlecht in Hamburg*. Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 662-1/113 Emile Wüstenfeld, Nr. 5.

The Hochschule für das weibliche Geschlecht exemplified the revolutionary potential of Fröbel’s pedagogy. The kindergarten connected to the school also attempted to go beyond class identity as it was open to all children. In Johanna Fröbel’s view, the biggest failure of the *Bürgerkindergarten* was that it was too expensive and therefore very exclusive: “The children of the less well-to-do should be accepted, but it was only open for the wealthy.”⁷² She also criticized that the training the kindergarten teachers received at the *Bürgerkindergarten*

was merely superficial since it was limited to performing a duty rather than to fully developing an individual's capabilities.⁷³

The kindergarten of the women's school represented a new way to think about society that abandoned the moderate terms used in the *Bürgerkindergarten*. As an institution, it educated women according to a scientific form of education and became a place of charity and spiritual uplift for the children. This idea also legitimated the kindergarten teacher as a career.

In the early 1850s, as the political crackdown on revolutionary groups in German-speaking Europe intensified after the failed revolution, the differences between the various kinds of kindergartens became more marked. This was mainly a result of Friedrich Fröbel's desire to maintain the original goals of the kindergarten in the face of his nephew's and other activists' increasing politicization of the institution. In letters to moderates within the kindergarten movement, Fröbel harshly criticized the radical reformers at the women's school. In a letter to the Berlin activist Bertha von Marenholtz-Bülow, Fröbel was eager to distance himself from the more radical educators: "how can they call me a socialist? I do not understand. I barely handled a few philistines in Hamburg ... I haven't entered the Hochschule. Not even with those ladies that brought it into being."⁷⁴ Fröbel emphasized that he refused to have any contact with "philistines" in Breslau, the center of the *Deutschkatholiken* movement. In this disavowal of radical reform, Fröbel sought to distance himself from his nephew, Karl Fröbel, and the women of the Hochschule. Due to political pressure and lack of economic support following the conservative reaction of the early 1850s, the women's school had to close in January 1852.

Conclusion

The kindergartens' reformist ideology was strongly shaped by assumptions based on class and gender. Although women were to lead a new society, they had to conform to certain ideals of womanliness. How much a woman could be educated and what this education meant was controversial. Activists such as Johanna and Karl Fröbel believed in a scientific universal philosophical education that could lead to women's entrance into university while other activists disagreed and emphasized that women's first duty was to run the household and raise their children. The *Bürgerkindergarten* reflected a middle-class ideal of citizenship and belonging. Meanwhile lower-class children were still the objects of paternalistic charity motivated

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ F. an Bertha von Marenholtz-Bülow in Berlin v. 16.5.1850 (Marienthal) (SBB, jetzt UB Kraków, Varnhagen-Sammlung, 62, Brieforiginal 1 B 8° 2 S. + Adr.) (<https://bbf.dipf.de/de/recherchieren-finden/online-editionen>)

by hopes of spreading liberal middle-class values. Eventually the division among these gender and class assumptions led to rifts within the movement.

As an educational project, the kindergarten in Hamburg became a crucial avenue for social and cultural reform during the revolutionary 1840s. Pedagogues and social reformers across political, class, and confessional lines were quick to note the anti-authoritarian ideals within the method, not least its revolutionary potential, openly promoted by Friedrich Fröbel. As an associate pedagogue of Fröbel's earlier school in Keilhau (opened 1816) noted, "the spirit of 1815 was incarnate within it."⁷⁵ This spirit of revolutionary thought that developed during the Napoleonic wars encouraged teachers and pedagogues to see their roles as building a new future and nation. Teachers noted the importance of better training, better working conditions, and more independence from religious authorities. Teachers saw the kindergarten as a vital place for rethinking the role of education in ensuring the founding of the new state and the rights of citizens. Activists across Germany employed the rhetoric of the kindergarten to argue for a democratic and free Germany.

In Hamburg this was particularly evident. Several of the city's women's associations successfully promoted the kindergarten in partnership with Friedrich Fröbel and his kindergarten teachers. The pedagogues and activists in the city's kindergartens emphasized that the institution was good for the development of children as well as for the building of a new nation. Designed to reach beyond the divides of religion, class, and gender, the kindergarten was supposed to lay the groundwork for "real emancipation" of the city's citizens.

At the same time, Hamburg's kindergartens reflected the ways in which the pedagogical and social reformist model was malleable and open to different interpretations. Assumptions based on class and gender eventually divided radical and moderate activists. While the moderate middle-class *Bürgerkindergarten* exemplified a middle-class association of citizens who united together to promote an educational model that would propagate liberal virtues, the more inclusive kindergarten of the Frauenverein zur Armenpflege exemplified a socialist ideal of the kindergartens that hoped to move beyond the confines of class and create a new society where Jews and Christians would work together to save children. The Hochschule für das weibliche Geschlecht represented the most radical application of Fröbelian pedagogy. It saw the kindergarten as a space to realize a professional

⁷⁵ Johannes Barop, "Critical Moments in the Fröbel Community," in Emilie Michalis, ed. *Autobiography of Friedrich Froebel* (Syracuse, 1889), 127.

and scientific ideal of femininity for the sake of social reform. These differences demonstrated the divisions within the movement that only became stronger during the years of the conservative reaction in the 1850s when Friedrich Fröbel's institution was defined as a socialist and atheist institution tied to revolutionary upheaval.

Despite these divisions, the kindergarten movement reminds us of the importance of early childhood education for social and cultural reform. An analysis of the rhetoric used during the founding of these schools reveals a discourse of rights and emancipation based on the hope of educating a new generation of citizens. To pedagogues and activists, women and their relationship to children were key to ensuring that the ideas of the revolution lived on despite its failure. The history of the kindergarten movement during the revolutionary 1840s therefore reminds us to take seriously the history of education and teaching in Germany as an area where teachers and students were (and continue to be) key actors in constructing and shaping the nation, the state, and bonds of belonging.

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DIVERSITY, INCLUSIVITY, AND “GERMANNESS” IN LATIN AMERICA DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD

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At the outset of her anthology on being Korean in Japan, Sonia Ryang asks: “how many Koreans are there in the world today?”¹ Given that “Korea is a small nation,” she quips: “this question would appear to be a relatively simple endeavor.” Yet it is not. It involves a calculus of “demography” combined with “political allegiance, social affiliation, and cultural identity.” Moreover, while scholars can locate Koreans in many places, they can be difficult to count. Their numbers shift quickly, “reflecting temporary or permanent repatriation, migration, immigration, naturalization, acquisition of residence, and other residential arrangements.” Such problems will be familiar to anyone intent on pursuing Germans abroad. So too, at least for scholars focused on the period 1871-1933, will be her contention that depending on the “legal practices and demographic methods of the host nation” a “Korean” could be either a person of Korean ethnicity who claims citizenship in a host country, or a person of actual Korean nationality. Those designations are much like the notions of *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans living abroad) and *Reichsdeutsche* (German citizens anywhere) that became robust around the turn of the century. From there, however, the similarities tied to identifying Koreans and Germans abroad diverge markedly. For “the demographic map of Koreans residing outside of their homeland,” Ryang argues, “reveals the cartographic traces of colonialism, World War II, the Korean War, and the Cold War,” whereas the demographic map of Germans outside of the German nation-state reveals an altogether different set of traces.² The German story also comes with heavier political baggage.

Indeed, in the wake of National Socialism and World War II, pondering the kinds of questions Ryang so lightly raises has been terribly fraught in the German context. The mere contemplation of a German demographic map similar to Ryang’s Korean one is highly contentious.³ Even the language she employs is all but taboo. For scholars focused on the middle of the twentieth century, for example, the term *Volksdeutsche* often calls up visions of Nazi interests in eastern Europe and the horrific violence they unleashed upon it, leaving suspect any historical actors’ use of the term, even when it occurred decades before the Nazis gained power.⁴ There are good reasons for such

1 Sonia Ryang, “Introduction: Between the Nations: Diaspora and Koreans in Japan,” in Sonia Ryang and John Lie eds., *Diaspora without Homeland: Being Korean in Japan* (Berkeley, CA, 2009) 1-20, here 1.

2 Ibid., 1.

3 On the character of the taboos and reasons for overcoming them see: H. Glenn Penny and Stefan Rinke, “Germans Abroad: Respatializing Historical Narrative,” *Geschichte & Gesellschaft* 41 (2015): 173-196.

4 See *inter alia*: Doris L. Bergen, “The Nazi Concept of ‘Volksdeutsche’ and the Exacerbation of Anti-semitism in Eastern Europe, 1939-45,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 29 no. 4 (1994): 569-82.

associations and concerns; but they do little to help us understand the inclusivity of *Deutschtum* or “Germanness” during the interwar period or the great diversity of Germans who felt they belonged to a broader *Kulturgemeinschaft* (cultural community) long before the Nazis usurped that language, leaving it untouchable in the postwar era.

Moreover, worries about exclusionary, racist associations will do little to help us identify either the origins or breadth of the inclusivity inherent in terms such as *Deutschtum* and *Kulturgemeinschaft* — which were conglomerate rather than unitary categories that could accommodate a great deal of difference and multiple forms of hybridity. Those worries might even deter us from pursuing the kinds of global, diasporic networks that Stefan Manz has identified taking shape among Germans during the late nineteenth century into the interwar period or understanding how those networks emerged from inclusive notions of Germanness and an acceptance of diversity that evolved over the previous century.⁵ Yet both are worth doing for precisely the reasons Ryang has pursued Koreans and scholars such as Jun Uchida have done the same with Japanese.⁶

We know that as nation making and globalization merged during the first decades of the twentieth century it was often outside of the nation-state that notions of ethnic and national character and belonging, notions of Japaneseeness or Germanness, were most tested and defined.⁷ Yet in German history the historiographic focus has long remained on the rise of exclusionary forms of ethnic nationalism from the 1890s through the Weimar Republic and into the Nazi era. Has that focus misled us? In many ways it has. It has obscured the simultaneous promotion of inclusive forms of German cultural nationalism and the ways in which they fit into a global moment identified by scholars working on completely different parts of the world. It has also reified the complexity of diaspora nationalism in the German case.

5 Stefan Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora: The 'Greater German Empire', 1871-1914*, (Oxford, 2014).

6 Jun Uchida, *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011).

7 Sebastian Conrad, *Globalisierung und Nation im Deutschen Kaiserreich*, (Munich, 2006). See also Penny and Rinke, “Germans Abroad,” 175.

This essay draws on Germans in three Latin American states to engage this broader phenomenon of diaspora nationalism and to underscore the degree of diversity and inclusivity that was inherent in many German places that took shape abroad. Specifically, after a brief discussion of German polycentrism, this essay uses the information produced by and about German schools in three very different locations — Guatemala City, the provinces of Buenos Aires, Entre Ríos, and Santa Fé in Argentina, and southern Chile — as windows into German communities in those, and by implication, in other Latin American locations.

More than any other institution, German schools became sites where the consistencies and great varieties of Germanness that arrived and evolved in Latin America gained their clearest articulation. Because those schools were both centers of communities and nodes in a global pedagogical network that thrived during the interwar period, they allow us to trace out the diversity and inclusivity tied to the notions of Germanness that were being shaped by Germans abroad, by Germans in Germany or its neighboring European states, and by members of host societies who often sent their children to these schools. This essay uses the records produced by and about those institutions as its primary empirical base.

I. German Polycentrism in Europe and Abroad

To understand the inclusivity and diversity that Stefan Manz identified around the turn of the century and pursue it into the interwar period we must first acknowledge that Germany and German history have been polycentric since the age of the Holy Roman Empire, and that for centuries the dominant notion of *Deutschtum*, or Germanness, was a conglomerate rather than a unitary category, one that easily accommodated difference and multiple forms of hybridity.⁸ This is not a radical premise. Indeed, in her contribution to *The Oxford Handbook of German History* Celia Applegate argued that many who “sought to capture Germany’s essence by cataloguing its places . . . understood place not as would the single-minded hedgehog or the multi-visual, inattentive fox, but as some hybrid creature who knows the one through the many.”⁹ Moreover, as those people sought to map out the location of Germanness in Europe, they had difficulty delineating the boundaries containing its multiplicity. As one of her subjects put it, those boundaries must “correspond to a line beyond which manifestations of German life cease.”¹⁰ Yet such lines were challenging to draw. For during the nineteenth century one could find those places in central, eastern, and western Europe, in Russia, and across the oceans in many other lands.¹¹

German places, in short, were not always contiguous, and as Pieter Judson made clear with regard to the many inhabitants of such places in central Europe, the Germans living in them did not necessarily feel drawn to the German nation-state.¹² In part, that was because their communities predated its founding in 1871, but it was also because the Germans who lived within those communities often had little trouble reconciling their cultural nationalism as Germans with their political loyalty to the states in which they lived — although many of the central and eastern European states that emerged in the wake of

8 Alexander Maxwell and Sacha E. Davis, “Germanness beyond Germany: Collective Identity in German Diaspora Communities,” *German Studies Review* 39 no. 1 (2016): 1–15.

9 Celia Applegate, “Senses of Place,” in Helmut Walser Smith ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, (Oxford, 2012), 49–70.

10 Ibid., 49.

11 See for example, Krista O’Donnell et. al., *The Heimat Abroad. The Boundaries of Germanness* (Ann Arbor, 2005).

12 Pieter Judson, ‘When Is a Diaspora Not a Diaspora? Rethinking Nation-Centered Narratives about Germans in Habsburg East Central Europe’, in *ibid.* 219–47.

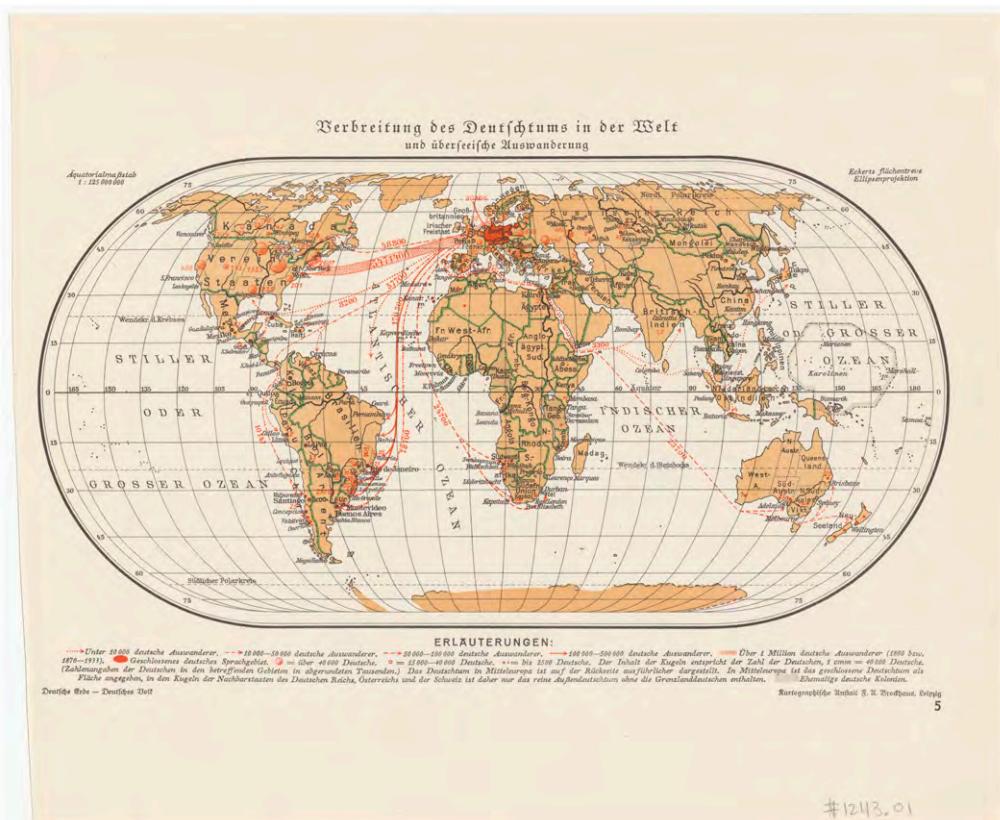


Figure 1. 1935 map illustrating the “proliferation of Germanness in the world.” From: Paul Gauss, *Das Buch vom Deutschen Volkstum: Wesen — Lebensraum — Schicksal* (Leipzig, 1935), 5. Cornell University — PJ Mode Collection of Persuasive Cartography.

World War I were much less accommodating to their hybridity than the empires that preceded them.¹³

One objective of this essay is to argue that the great diversity of German places identified by Applegate and others extended far beyond Europe and the German nation-state’s brief colonial possessions (1884–1918). Indeed, they were widespread across Latin America, and they could be found in Australia, North America, South Africa, and Russia as well. A second objective is to underscore that the communities inhabiting those places shared many of the characteristics identified by Judson among Germans in central Europe. Those characteristics mattered a great deal. For it was largely because of the ability of many Germans who went abroad to reconcile their cultural nationalism as Germans with their political loyalty to (or at least neutrality toward) the states in which they lived that such German places became common in Latin America by the end of the nineteenth century. Those places thrived because the German imagination easily accommodated this variety of

¹³ For a pithy discussion that draws on Judson and expands his arguments see: Maxwell and Davis, “Germanness beyond Germany.”

German places, and they most flourished where host societies found virtue in having Germans and German places in their states.¹⁴ During the interwar period, that included much of Latin America.

Comprehending the diverse and often interconnected nature of these German communities in Latin America requires understanding that Imperial Germany (1871-1918), much like the Italy portrayed by Mark Cohate, had become an emigrant nation by the early twentieth century.¹⁵ Just as the Italian state sought to make itself a global nation by tying itself to the millions of Italians who had left the peninsula by the turn of the century, Imperial Germany sought to capitalize on Germans abroad. Indeed, the central point of the 1913 German citizenship law was to formally bind German citizens who went abroad to the German state through the codification of *jus sanguinis*, which Nancy Green argues was "not simply an ethnicizing concept of citizenship but also a powerful way of constructing the nation even across space."¹⁶ Official German colonialism thus sat within a much broader engagement of Germans with the world and a more complex set of transnational entanglements, which predated the acquisition of those colonies and persisted with new vigor after their loss.¹⁷ In fact, Germans abroad, who were instrumental in initiating the citizenship law for their own reasons, redoubled their efforts at network building after the Weimar Republic replaced Imperial Germany in 1919.¹⁸

Moreover, Europeans and their nation-states were hardly alone in this effort to construct nations across space during the decades before and after World War I. The Chinese state, for example, anticipated the German effort, extending citizenship to Chinese abroad in 1909. It too sought to capitalize on the millions of Chinese living under the auspices of other states, and neither they, nor the Germans, nor the Italians acted in isolation. All this happened during a particular global moment, at precisely the same time Koreans and Japanese, as Ryang and Uchida note, were beginning their modern history of living among each other.¹⁹

The point, then, is that if the act of harnessing former nationals (or ethnic compatriots whose ancestors came from the territory bounded by a modern state) was widespread among emerging nation-states during the decades before and after World War I, in many cases, including the German one, nation-states followed rather than led those efforts. As a result, as we move into the interwar period, multiple actors in and outside of the German nation-state were promulgating an inclusive notion of Germanness, and that notion thrived in many parts of the world. Indeed, its production, as Manz has argued, was essentially global;²⁰ it

¹⁴ Penny and Rinke, "Germans Abroad," 182.

¹⁵ Mark I. Cohate, *Emigrant Nation: The making of Italy abroad* (Cambridge, 2008).

¹⁶ Nancy L. Green, "The Politics of Exit: Reversing the Immigration Paradigm," *The Journal of Modern History*, 77 (2005): 263-289.

¹⁷ That was particularly true in Latin America. Stefan Rinke, "Der letzte freie Kontinent: 'Deutsche Lateinamerikapolitik im Zeichen transnationaler Beziehungen, 1918-1933,' 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1996).

¹⁸ H. Glenn Penny, "Latin American Connections: Recent work on German Interactions with Latin America," *Central European History* 46 no. 2 (2013): 362-394.

¹⁹ Philip A. Kuhn, *Chinese among Others: Emigration in Modern Times* (New York, 2008), 243.

²⁰ Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora*, 4.

was made possible by global transformations in networks of communication, trade, and travel.²¹

II. Inclusivity under Siege: Guatemala City

In her contribution to a recent volume on German colonialism, Jennifer Jenkins argued that the flight of ethnic Germans from Russia into Iran during the interwar period led to tense discussions about Germanness in Tehran.²² “Issues of ethnicity and citizenship — how to define the first and how to grant the second — were central to how both the German and Iranian governments sought to manage the refugees.”²³ Given the wide mix of Germans among those refugees (including many Mennonites) and their long histories in Russia, that process of identifying, negotiating, sorting, and the stories that emerged “fit uncomfortably in the literature on German colonialism.”²⁴ To begin with, Iran, much like many of the places Germans settled outside of Europe, was never meant to be an official colony. The German government’s interest in the area, such as it was, remained economic from 1871 through 1933. Individual Germans went to Iran for commercial and economic interests, and the German and Iranian governments facilitated those efforts with treaties of friendship and trade. While those brought advantages to both states, Otto von Bismarck’s regime and those that followed remained eager to ensure that economic relations did not lead to political liabilities. Direct political intervention was not deemed advantageous or wise.

21 On the communication and trade networks and the ways in which they were quickly rehabilitated after WWI see: Michael B. Miller, *Europe and the Maritime World: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge, 2012). For a broader discussion of travel and Central and eastern European states’ attempts to negotiate these transformations see: Tara Zahra, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World* (New York, 2016).

22 Jennifer Jenkins, “Experts, Migrants, Refugees: Making the German Colony in Iran, 1900–1934,” in Bradley Naranch and Geoff Eley, eds. *German Colonialism in a Global Age* (Durham, NC, 2014), 147–169.

23 Ibid., 148. For similar debates about Germanness and refugees closer to Germany, see, for example, Winson Chu, *The German Minority in Interwar Poland* (New York, 2012).

24 Jenkins, “Experts, Migrants, Refugees,” 149.

25 Ibid., 150.

Nevertheless, German economic involvement increased during the first decade of the twentieth century. Ruling elites in Tehran were keen to work with the Germans and pleased to have some living there. As rulers in Latin American states also noted, such Germans brought advantages — capital, commercial connections, skills, and a variety of characteristics they and the Iranian elites associated with Germanness, such as efficiency, reliability, and a strong work ethic. German institutions and associations provided the groundwork for a small German community in Tehran, especially the German School, founded in 1907. As Jenkins explains, it was “conceptualized as a *Realschule*,” and it employed “eight German and eight Persian teachers for the teaching of three hundred Persian students.” Moreover, “with its scientific laboratories and sporting facilities,” it “symbolized in Iran what it meant to be ‘German’ and ‘modern’”²⁵ and it provided German and Persian children access to both.

Much the same could be said about the presence of Germans in Guatemala and the German school in Guatemala City, which became the most highly regarded school in Central America by the 1930s. As in Iran, the presence of Germans in Guatemala should not be confused with a German presence — a kind of political beachhead. The Germans who lived there were not sent or managed by the German state. Rather they arrived independently over decades, beginning before 1871, continuing through the interwar period, and becoming the largest concentration of Germans in Central America (Guatemala retains that distinction today). Here too, although their numbers were much greater than in Iran, their goals were economic and commercial, treaties of friendship and trade between the Guatemalan and German governments facilitated their efforts, and they shied away from direct political intervention.²⁶

Most importantly, Germans became a dominant force in the production and distribution of coffee — Guatemala's most lucrative export by the turn of the century. In fact, German-owned coffee plantations, which sold almost all their product on the Hamburg coffee exchange, were responsible for a huge percentage of Guatemala's gross national product.²⁷ The transnational and transcultural connections that produced these plantations benefited Germans on both sides of the Atlantic, and Guatemala's elites eagerly welcomed German capital and entrepreneurs, viewing them as integral to their liberal efforts at modernization and nation-making.²⁸

The German school was founded in Guatemala City in 1901, and much like the school in Tehran, it brought a coveted, high-quality education to a diverse community — surprisingly diverse given the ethno-national rhetoric of the age. Guatemalan elites eagerly sent their children there. Even the children of the Guatemalan president, Manuel Estrada Cabrera, attended the school during its first decade.²⁹ Its support was a priority for Guatemala's German community. It was an essential part of their efforts to maintain their Germanness abroad and foster ties with their hosts.³⁰ Consequently it promoted a highly inclusive notion of Germanness, of belonging, that could accommodate this diverse community with its multiple hybridities.

That inclusivity and diversity were thrown into stark relief when the school came under siege in 1933. Wilhelm von Kuhlmann, the German ambassador to Central America, made this abundantly clear. He complained to his superiors in the German foreign office in Berlin that Nazi supporters, most newly arrived, were organizing a Hitler Youth group

²⁶ The foundational work is: Regina Wagner, *Los Alemanes en Guatemala, 1828-1944* (Guatemala City, 1991).

²⁷ Christiane Berth, *Biographien und Netzwerke im Kaffeehandel zwischen Deutschland und Zentralamerika, 1920-1959* (Hamburg: PhD Dissertation, University of Hamburg, 2010); Justus Fenner, "Shaping the Coffee Commodity Chain: Hamburg Merchants and Consumption of Guatemalan Coffee in Germany, 1889-1929," *America Latina en la Historia Económica* 20, no. 3 (2013): 28-55.

²⁸ Those efforts, however, were based on a state-sanctioned plantation economy built on the legalization of debt peonage and what some scholars have termed neo-colonialism. Indeed, the history of that plantation economy and the Germans' role in it remains highly controversial today. J. C. Cambrares, *Coffee and Peasants: The Origins of the Modern Plantation Economy in Guatemala, 1853-1897* (South Woodstock, VT, 1985); Julie Gibbons, *Another race more worthy of the present': History, Race, and Nation in Alta Verapaz, Guatemala, c1860-1940s* (Madison: PhD Dissertation University of Wisconsin, 2012); Matilde González-Izás, *Modernización capitalista, racismo y violencia: Guatemala (1750-1930)*, (México, D. F., 2014).

²⁹ 3 December 1910, Geheim Militärischer Bericht über den Aufenthalt Ew. Majestät Schiff "Bremen" in Corinto und San José de Guatemala an Seine Majestät den Kaiser, in Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (hereafter: PAAA) RZ 508 R62670.

³⁰ Wagner, *Los Alemanes en Guatemala*.

in the German school in Guatemala City. That group, he explained with exasperation, excluded non-German children, German children from mixed marriages, and anyone Jewish. Those actions, he protested, were destroying the school, and they were undermining the German community. Parents were removing children; local elites were withdrawing support; and leaders of the German community and its school association, which had slowly, and painstakingly built up the institution over decades, were dismayed. Based on the inclusion of all kinds of Germans, and dependent on tenuous and intimate relations with Guatemalan elites, Nazi agitation threatened to destroy the community.³¹

At the heart of Kuhlmann's complaint was a conflict between two modes of Germanness: the first, which provided the foundation for the school and the community it served, was flexible, inclusive, and frequently flourished in places where Germans found themselves abroad. The rise of the second, however, has often obscured that inclusivity from our view. The second, of course, was a more exclusive, racialized nationalism — embraced, heightened, and promulgated by National Socialists — which was completely unsuited to German communities in Latin America. The central problem, as Kuhlmann and many others immediately recognized, was that there was no place for cultural, linguistic, and racial hybridity in this second notion of Germanness; more importantly from their perspective, there was also no place for German communities in Latin America without it.³²

The German school and its community developed organically and dialogically with Guatemalan society, and this school, like the thousands of German schools extant in Latin America during the interwar period, functioned as a nodal point in networks that connected Germans in

31 Kuhlmann to Auswärtiges Amt (AA) 14 November 1933 in PAAA RZ 508 R62673.

32 Kuhlmann spoke for the generation of Germans who had created this community. After his transfer to Ireland, they continued to lobby his successor and to warn that Nazi propaganda was undermining the German community and disturbing relations within and among families. Further, even those like the merchant Friederich Körper, who

had welcomed a Nazi electoral victory, agreed. As he and a dozen other leading members of the German community in Guatemala wrote: "It is not necessary for the promotion of the German school that German teachers act the part of registered Party members or even spread National Socialist propaganda among the children. German character, German *Kultur* and science are rich enough, so powerful and so well received among others, that further propaganda is

superfluous, even damaging to good developments and consensus, and it also could ultimately lead to the closing of the school here." This protest was signed and sent to the German Ambassador on 7 May 1934 "mit deutschem Gruss" by Körper and twelve other leading members of the German community, including the head of the German Club, G. M. Staebler. Friederich Körper Nachlass, Bremen Staatsarchiv, Karton 1: 7,13-1 Vermischte Korrespondenz.

Guatemala, and particularly Guatemala City, with people tied to other schools in and outside of Guatemala, as well as to associations of educators, groups of bureaucrats, and a wide range of institutions and organizations — churches, scientific associations, shipping companies, a variety of non-governmental support groups, such as the *Verein für das Deutschum im Ausland* (Association for Germanness Abroad — which began as an association to support German schools abroad), not to mention the German government and the governments of many German cities and states.³³ The city government of Hamburg, for example, contributed money directly to the school in Guatemala City. So too did German business concerns, shipping companies, and financial institutions, all of which recognized decades before the German national government that such institutions helped ensure the retention and growth of local interests in German products and trade relations with Germans and German companies on both sides of the Atlantic.³⁴

In order for the school to serve such a diverse set of interests, it had to be inclusive. It had to welcome the great variety of Germans who arrived in Guatemala, regardless of their confession, gender, place of origin, or class. Indeed, despite the considerable success of some Germans in Guatemala's coffee industry (as well as other areas of commerce), not all the parents of German children in Guatemala were wealthy. Many, in fact, could not afford the tuition demanded by the German school in Guatemala City (which was supported by donations, fundraisers, school board dues, and tuitions). Yet the success of the school's dual mission — to promote Germanness (i.e. German language, culture, and a sense of shared affinity) among the Germans who had settled there, and to champion German culture, industry, science and trade among Guatemalans, necessitated including the children of German craftsmen and laborers as well. In fact, as the directors of the school articulated in their reports, excluding German children from less prosperous families could have undermined the project of nurturing Germanness abroad by tipping the balance between native and non-native German speakers in the school. That, in turn, would have upset its curricula (bi-lingual plans based on Prussian models), further distanced it from German schools in Europe, reduced its ability to award coveted degrees recognized in Germany, Guatemala, and many other countries, and thus also diminished the school's status within the eyes of the Guatemalan state and Guatemala's elites.³⁵

Every year the German schools abroad issued reports on their affairs. Those reports not only detailed their finances and listed acquisitions,

³³ Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora*, 227-60. On the relationship between the *Verein für das Deutschum im Ausland*, which was created to support German schools abroad, see inter alia Jonathan Kwan, "Transylvanian Saxon Politics, Hungarian State Building and the Case of the Algemeiner Deutscher Schulverein (1881-1882)", *English Historical Review* CXXVII (2012): 592-624.

³⁴ Contributions are listed in the annual reports sent to the German foreign office from the succession of ambassadors to Central America. They are located in PAAA RZ 508 R62670-62673 and Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (BA), RZ 508 B39093-B39093.

³⁵ Ibid. Tuitions for poorer children and the importance of maintaining a majority of German speakers among students for the school's mission to promote Germanness is also discussed extensively in its annual reports.

donors, and important events, they also categorized their students. Those reports have much to tell us about the character of the German communities in places like Guatemala. The breakdown in the 1933 report from the Guatemala City school, for example, which boasted that it held the rank of a Prussian *Oberrealschule*, states that it counted 240 students. Of the 130 students who were citizens of Germany, ninety-four spoke German as a mother tongue, while thirty-six did not; seventy of the students were Catholic, forty-five Protestant, and thirteen were Jewish. Only eighteen of the total number of students in the school were Jewish (about 7.5 % of the student body). Two of those were from Cuba and were not native German speakers; one of the remaining three from the United States may have been. It is unclear. The report is ambiguous on that point because it lumps the Jewish and non-Jewish Americans together. The rest, however, is quite clear: of the seventy Guatemalan children listed in the tables, eleven were identified as native German speakers; of the thirteen Swiss eleven were German speakers; so too were two of the seven Dutch; one of the six U.S. citizens; two of the four British subjects; and the single Austrian was also a native German speaker. The three Italians, two Nicaraguans, one Colombian, one Czech, and one French student were not native German speakers, but they were learning the language.³⁶

Statistics can obscure as much as they reveal. For example, these numbers show that the student body was composed of about 50% native German speakers (119/240). We also learn that about 75% of the students (159/240) were Catholic.³⁷ Still, the chart does not tell us who “the Germans” actually were. Indeed, little was made of the distinctions between *Volksdeutsche* and *Reichsdeutsche*, indicating that such distinctions were of less consequence in this community than we might assume after the Nazis came to power. Perhaps that was because such a simple division could not accommodate its great diversity in 1933 any more than it could have in earlier decades. Nor could those categories help with the kinds of concerns that emerged in the annotations. Those notes explained that the children who spoke German in their homes included many from mixed marriages. The Spanish-speaking German children were “primarily” from mixed marriages as well, but they mainly spoke Spanish at home.³⁸ It remains uncertain, however, if the Spanish-speaking mothers in those families who spoke Spanish at home were European, of European descent (Ladino), claimed an indigenous background, or were something else altogether. When taken in aggregate, these statistics and notations also help to explain why Kuhlmann and other leading members of the community were so upset by the efforts

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Ibid.

of local Nazis to transform the school and how incompatible the Nazi vision of Germanness was with a community composed of families whose orientations were necessarily transnational and local.

Kuhlmann's warning against undermining the diversity of the German community in Guatemala, coupled with his suggestion that German teachers could do more for the German state by focusing on nurturing good relations with locals rather than aggravating them, only earned him a transfer to Dublin.³⁹ Moreover, the German foreign office and the organization created for directing Nazi Party groups outside of Germany [Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP, or NSDAP/AO] were embittered at what they considered the recalcitrance of the school board in Guatemala City, which adamantly opposed Nazi Party members.⁴⁰ After the initial scandal over the Hitler Youth group, the board resisted any effort to have members of the Nazi Party participate in the school, and it refused to allow even one of their representatives on the board. Threats from the German foreign office about cutting off the German government's contributions to the school had little impact, because the board stopped requesting them. Only when Erich Kraske, Kuhlmann's successor, refused to allow the five German teachers whose contracts ended in 1934 to be replaced with certified teachers from Germany, and then delivered threats from Berlin that the board members might lose their German citizenship, did he see results. Those, however, were not the results he wanted: the board resigned.⁴¹

A new board of Nazi Party members and their supporters quickly replaced them; but only for a moment. This overtly political act led to scandals in the Guatemalan press, the Guatemalan Minister of Education's refusal to recognize the results of the new school board election, and ultimately President Jorge Ubico's decision to close the school.⁴² Kraske issued his resignation shortly thereafter, while writing to his family that with the closing of the school they had lost the best possible propaganda for Germany, the best insurance for good interstate relations, and squandered the labors and successes of two generations of "the best of the Germans abroad."⁴³ That was not the half of it. By the end of World War II, there would be little of this community left in Guatemala.⁴⁴

III. Managing Diversity in Argentina

If Guatemala's diverse German community was small and vulnerable, and thus perhaps driven to its efforts at inclusion by a kind of negative

39 Kuhlmann to AA 21 November 1933 in PAAA RZ 508 R62673.

40 Report on Guatemala, 20 February 1936 in PAAA RZ 508 R63884.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 Bundesarchiv Koblenz, Kraske Nachlass: N 1139, Report of the Oberregierungsrat im Hamburgischen Staatsamt, Koch. 1936. For further discussion of the school's fate after it was reopened between 1938-1941, see Wagner, *Los Alemanes en Guatemala*, 326-335.

44 For a broader discussion of this demise see: Max Paul Friedman, *Nazis and Good Neighbors: the United States Campaign against the Germans of Latin America in World War II* (Cambridge, 2003).



Figure 2. The Belgrano School. From: Wilhelm Keiper, *Die Belgrano Schule in Buenos Aires, 1897-1927* (Buenos Aires, 1927). Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Berlin.

integration, the German community in Argentina was much larger, even more diverse, and spread across a broad landscape of industry and agriculture. Indeed, much of the technology one encountered in the city of Buenos Aires was the product of German firms, and there was no shortage of German banks, trading houses, and

other financial institutions and businesses.⁴⁵ There were many other markers of German culture as well: multiple German-language newspapers reported local and international news, much of the latter drawn from German sources elsewhere in the world. These newspapers were divided along political lines, they were often antagonistic, and they included the German-Argentine socialist newspaper *Vorwärts*.⁴⁶ That paper emerged and flourished because the class-antagonism characteristic of Imperial Germany at the end of the nineteenth century was also present among the tens of thousands of Germans in the city of Buenos Aires. Moreover, that only worsened during the interwar period when over 100,000 new German speakers poured into the city seeking employment after the war. There were also confessional divisions and many other factions — most of which had been made in Germany and became part of the diverse German-Argentine world.⁴⁷

Here too, Germans created schools. The city of Buenos Aires possessed some of the oldest and most respected of the German schools in Latin America, while across the region north toward Santa Fé and Misiones the schools varied widely with their communities: from the prestigious German school in Rosario, Argentina's second port city, to the many one-room school houses in the Russian-German villages. Indeed,

45 Silvia Kroyer, *Deutsche Vermögen in Argentinien, 1945-1965: Ein Beitrag über deutsche Direktinvestitionen im Ausland* (Frankfurt a. M., 2005).

46 Sandra Carreras, Horacio Tarcus, Jessica Zeller, eds. *Die deutschen Sozialisten und die Anfänge der argentinischen Arbeiterbewegung: Anthologie des Vorwärts (Buenos Aires 1886-1901)*, (Buenos Aires, 2008).

47 For estimates of immigration numbers see: Ronald C. Newton, *German Buenos Aires, 1900-1933: Social Change and Cultural Crisis* (Austin, 1977), 78-82. For greater discussion of the many divisions in the community see: Anne

Saint Sauveur-Henn, *Un siècle d'émigration allemande vers l'Argentine 1853-1945* (Cologne, 1995).

while Guatemala never had more than three German schools of note, Argentina had over sixty-five by the turn of the century, and hundreds by the 1930s.⁴⁸

We have the same kinds of statistics from Argentine schools as those compiled by the Guatemala City school — yearly reports testifying to the character of the student bodies and the communities that supported these many institutions. The upshot of these reports is that those communities varied greatly, and their diversity informed the debates over German study plans that took place in Argentina at the outset of the twentieth century. Reinhold Gabert, the director of the Rosario school, for example, underscored that diversity in the curriculum for his school, which later became the basis for his dissertation.⁴⁹ It opens with the argument, and the promise, that the German School in Rosario should offer “approximately the same level of educational material as a corresponding school in the homeland.” At the same time, however, he wrote that the school board must also bear in mind that German children and their needs are different in Argentina. They have to be “raised and educated like Argentinians, because they will live and work as Argentinians, their future lies here.” Consequently lesson plans produced for German schools in Argentina must give the Spanish language as much weight as the German, and given the importance of international trade for the families of children in the port city of Rosario, other languages must be integrated into the curriculum as well. Those considerations would necessarily increase the total amount of material covered in the plan. Indeed, any such plan must also take into account the climate in which the classes were conducted, the makeup of the student body, the degree to which the students were exposed to other languages and cultures at home, in the street, and in their spare time. According to Gabert then, each school — because of its particular student body and unique community — would require its own plan in order to ensure the proper balance between the demands of a German education, the conditions in the school, and the particular challenges posed by the local environment.

That was a tall order, and one that made standardization next to impossible. It also undermined the efforts by German-Argentine elites, the German ambassadors and consuls, as well as other leaders in the German community, such as Wilhelm Keiper, to integrate the great variety of Germans in Argentina under a clear rubric of *Deutschtum*.

Keiper worked on this problem for decades, and he reflected on it at length. He lived in Argentina from 1904 to 1938, and he held a number

⁴⁸ For further discussion see: Benjamin Bryce, *To Belong in Buenos Aires: Germans, Argentines, and the Rise of a Pluralist Society* (Palo Alto, 2017).

⁴⁹ R. Gabert, “Lehrplan für die Deutsche Schule in Rosario de Santa Fé” in Bundesarchiv R/901/38672. See also: Reinhold Gabert, *Das deutsche Bildungswesen in Argentinien und seine Organisation* (Ph. D. Erlangen University, 1908).

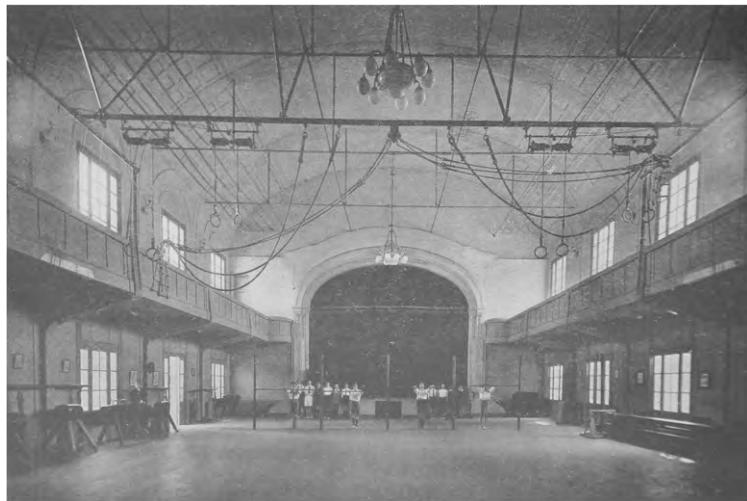


Figure 3. The Gymnastics Hall in the Belgrano School, which rivaled any in Germany. From: Wilhelm Keiper, *Die Belgrano Schule in Buenos Aires, 1897–1927* (Buenos Aires, 1927). Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Berlin.

and thus how to maintain their communities' ties to Germany. Ultimately, he became responsible for coordinating and directing higher school examinations in the country; he led an effort to centralize the German schools and their lesson plans; and the German foreign office often asked him to travel to German schools across Latin America that either applied for financial assistance or sought credentials that would allow them to confer higher degrees endorsed and recognized by the German ministry of culture. For nine years he also headed the Belgrano-Schule, one of Argentina's elite German schools in a neighborhood of Buenos Aires, and for many years he was the director of the city's German Scientific Association (Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Verein).

Most importantly, Keiper worked closely with the German foreign office to improve and expand German schools in Argentina as part of its effort to promote and maintain the Germanness of these highly varied German-Argentinean communities.⁵⁰ That was challenging, because as Keiper knew all too well, German speakers arrived in Argentina from many different places — Alsace, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, North America, Poland, Russia, Switzerland, other areas of central Europe, and other Latin American countries. Moreover, all of these groups changed once they settled in Argentina.⁵¹ After wrestling with this problem for decades, Keiper concluded that the very notion of "the German" had to be regarded as a "free and fluid concept," one that could not be clearly demarcated. It could only be precisely discussed in terms of "tribal origins" (*Stamm*) and "tribal

of leading positions in the German-Argentine community. He was the first director of the *Instituto Nacional del Profesorado Secundario*, helping the Argentinian government recast their teacher training. He also advised a series of German ambassadors on how best to manage and support German schools across Argentina,

⁵⁰ On Keiper's importance see Rinke, "Der letzte freie Kontinent," 356.

⁵¹ Wilhelm Keiper, *Das Deutschtum in Argentinien* (Berlin, 1943).

membership.” Even then, he lamented, precisely identifying those particular orientations “will always be hopeless” because of their fluidity. Germans did not arrive as eclectic groups and settle into stasis. They continued to develop as they combined into new groups, interacted with other groups of German and non-German Argentines, and as they adjusted to the Argentine environment. As they did that, they continued to develop their particular characteristics — adding variations to the themes of Germanness that were as fluid as culture itself.⁵²

Keiper did see consistencies within that fluidity. He was adamant, for example, that the great variety of Germans who were part of Argentina’s cultural mixing had contributed “in a German way” to the nation-state. Their Germanness, he noted, was most evident when they came together for festivals and public events. For example, when they gathered for the ubiquitous Christmas parties and national celebrations in German schools and clubs, varieties of Germans came together. They often appeared in native dress, which he recognized had been shaped by disparate histories. Each of the costumes encountered at a Christmas bazaar in a German school, for instance, stemmed from particular regions in Europe, marking the differences among Argentina’s Germans even as the collective singing, dancing, and use of “high German” during these festivities underscored their unity.⁵³

Within those circumstances, the greatest hope for nurturing the Germanness of these Argentineans, Keiper believed, was in the constantly renewed German neighborhoods of the big cities, with its incessant influx of new immigrants, or the kinds of rural isolation chosen by so many groups of Russian Germans, who far outnumbered those who wandered into Iran. In the city, one had constant access to the best German schools, the German-language theaters, newspapers, libraries, as well the many German associations, where German culture and German products were circulating freely, where Germanness was continually performed and renewed.⁵⁴ In the countryside, he realized, it was the home that mattered the most. Indeed, in many ways it was the settlements of Russian Germans that he found most exemplary. Although they were strictly divided into separate Catholic and Protestant villages with their own churches and schools, they all shared critical characteristics. In particular, he emphasized the material traces of Germanness, such as “whitewashed houses with green shutters, white curtains, and potted geraniums, friendly

⁵² Ibid., 36-40.

⁵³ Ibid., 221.

⁵⁴ For a broader discussion of these processes see: Franka Bindernagel, *Migration und Erinnerung: Öffentliche Erinnerungskultur deutschsprachiger Migrant/innen in Buenos Aires, 1910—1932* (Ph. D. Dissertation: Berlin, 2014).



Figure 4. The students and faculty of the German school in San Gerónimo, Argentina — which “faced constant difficulties without succumbing to them” since its founding forty years earlier in 1873. *Festnummer der Rosariner Zeitung*, 1913, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, RZ 508 R 62367.

gardens with fruit trees and flowers.” Everywhere one encountered “cleanliness and maintenance” and “good-natured, solidly-built” people in folk attire. In such settings, he wrote, “one believes to have encountered people from eastern Germany or eastern Pomerania or western Prussia.” Their “parlors and kitchens”

made equally strong impressions, and he praised the “old fashioned household tools,” many made of copper or tin, the freshly turned beds, all of which brought forth a sense of a “good, old farming culture,” one that was “taken to Russia in the 18th century,” and remained “loyally cared for and hardly changed” in Argentina.⁵⁵

The creation and support of their schools, Keiper wrote again and again, was essential for maintaining the Germanness of these communities, either rural or urban, and thus for retaining their ties to Germans in Europe and other places. The schools offered a correction for those families that could not afford the high culture of the cities or could not maintain the rigorous spirit Keiper and others had observed in many Russian-German homes.

During the 1920s, Keiper worked with some success toward a consolidation of the schools in Buenos Aires. Under his direction, the Belgrano School was integrated with another institute to create the Goethe School, which was soon able to award the highest of German degrees. As a result, he was able to claim in the school’s 1930 report that Buenos Aires now had an entire collection of schools that could allow students in the city to seek a variety of German degrees from primary through secondary schooling without leaving the city. Indeed, at that moment in time he was incredibly pleased. His efforts over many years had created a unified system, in which the Goethe school could be regarded as the ultimate institution for “an education in German culture and at the same time a preparation for life in Argentina.”⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Ibid. 276.

⁵⁶ 33. Bericht der Deutschen Schulvereinigung (Belgrano und Germania), 31 March, 1930, Buenos Aires, 18.

The exceptional position of the Goethe School in this network, however, belied the great diversity of communities and characters that one would encounter in both the hundreds of other German schools scattered across smaller cities, towns, and villages and the schools that served working-class Germans in Buenos Aires itself. Those schools also strove to be essentially German. Yet much like the homes of the Russian Germans Keiper and many other German officials admired, these schools were *bodenständig* (down home) rather than *bürgerlich* (bourgeois). Many shared a work ethic and a commitment to German character similar to that pursued by Keiper and his colleagues. Still, they had smaller budgets and fewer faculties than the wealthy metropolitan schools, many could offer only primary education, and in many cases they defined German character differently as well. Consequently, the directors of the hundreds of other German schools in Argentina had no more interest in his plans for centralization than the leaders of their disparate communities. Indeed, the great diversity rivaled even what one would have found in Weimar Germany where centralization was also unlikely, and where cultural affairs, and thus the schools, remained in the hands of the various *Länder* or regional states. But then finding unity in that diversity was the point, at home and abroad.

IV. Inclusivity, Fluidity, and Persistence in Chile

Keiper argued, perhaps unsurprisingly, that Chile, and German Chileans, were different than Argentina and German Argentineans.⁵⁷ Still, he had no problem including those differences within his understanding of German people and places. Like Argentina, Chile had groups of German traders and merchants in its big cities, especially in the capital, Santiago, and in the key port city of Valparaiso. Yet southern Chile and its chief cities of Concepción, Osorno, and Valdivia were distinct.⁵⁸ Southern Germans began settling in isolated regions of southern Chile during the middle of the nineteenth century. There, they cultivated and retained a vibrant *Deutschtum* supported by their churches and schools far from the auspices of the Chilean state.⁵⁹ Many things changed around them over the course of time: the German nation-state took shape and trade increased; southern Chile was tied to the north through roads to the sea; railways and eventually highways cut across the landscape tying them even more to the capital. Moreover, the descendants of those early settlers also spread to the north. That eliminated their isolation, and many thought it threatened the vibrant Germanness in the territory. Nevertheless, Germanness persisted in these regions.

⁵⁷ Keiper, *Das Deutschtum in Argentinien*, 528. For a broad discussion of Germans in Chile see: Jean-Pierre Blancpain, *Les Allemands au Chili, 1816-1945* (Cologne, 1974).

⁵⁸ Axel Borsdorf, *Valdivia und Osorno. Strukturelle Disparitäten und Entwicklungspräbleme in chilenischen Mittelstädten* (Tübingen, 1976).

⁵⁹ Peter Waldmann, "Conflict cultural y adaptación paulatina: La evolución de las colonias de inmigrantes alemanes en el sur de Chile," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 25 (1988): 437-453.

Would we include those regions in a map like the one Ryang has considered producing for Koreans? How much diversity and hybridity would we accept in our mapping? Indeed, would not the character of such a map be dependent on our notions of inclusivity as much as those of the historical actors? Narrating such a history poses great challenges. Those are present in the Argentine, Guatemalan, and other Latin American contexts, but they are perhaps most explicit in the Chilean case. In order to effectively narrate the history of Germans and German communities in Chile from the middle of the nineteenth century until the middle of the twentieth, one must reconcile the fluidity driven by global networks of communication and exchange described so masterfully by Michael Miller in his *Europe and the Maritime World* with the persistence of bilingual, German-Chilean communities (including their many divisions and local peculiarities) over the course of a century.⁶⁰

Thousands of Germans arrived in Chile during the nineteenth century.⁶¹ As German-Chilean communities grew, their members interacted and communicated with other individuals and groups — Germans and non-Germans alike. Indeed, the tens of thousands of Germans who lived in Chile by the turn of the century were never a unitary community. Much like those in Argentina, they were often fractured along class and confessional lines, and divided by political views, by the different immigration waves, even by their places of origin in German-speaking Europe. Moreover here, much as in the European locations studied by Judson, the vast majority integrated into the host society, becoming loyal Chilean citizens. In that sense, their communities were much like those fractured communities they had left in German-speaking Europe, except that they lived within settings (particularly the urban locations) that often included a majority of non-Germans together with the descendants of earlier German settlers, new German-speaking immigrants, as well as numerous German sojourners, travelers, and during the interwar era and through the Second World War, over 13,000 German-Jewish exiles — all of whom were integrated into Chilean *Deutschstum*.⁶²

60 Miller, *Europe and the Maritime World*.

61 George F. W. Young estimates that some 10,000 Germans arrived during the second half of the nineteenth century, and that their numbers more than doubled by the outbreak of World War I. Poor immigration and census records, however, make it very difficult to establish precise population numbers. Young, *The Germans in Chile: Immigration and Colonization, 1849-1914* (Staten Island, 1974), 1-10, 159.

62 Irmtrud Wojak, "Chile," in *Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration 1933-1945*, ed. Claus-Dieter Krohn (Darmstadt, 1998), 193-204.

If the German communities within the Chilean nation state were in flux — ebbing, flowing, expanding, dividing, uniting — so too was the character of the cities, towns, and regions they inhabited. Migrations and technical innovations were constantly transforming them. The reverberations of the railroad that eventually cut across southern Chile in 1912 were perhaps the most striking manifestation of this more general trend. Even during its planning, German merchants and their advocates in Imperial Germany underscored the value of gaining and retaining footholds in Chile's southern port cities, such

as Puerto Montt.⁶³ They wrote excitedly about the strategic economic and political investments that were to be made by supporting German communities and especially their schools in that dynamic region.⁶⁴

Here too, much as in Rosario or Guatemala City, financiers, industrialists, merchants, officials, shipping companies and many others in Imperial and later Weimar Germany lent support to German schools in the hope of tying new German emigrants and established German-Chilean communities to German-speaking Europe. Those cultural and economic ties, they consistently argued, would provide German industries with access to southern Chile's wealth of natural resources and raw materials as well as markets for their goods among the South's more prosperous inhabitants.⁶⁵ In short, a wide variety of players had a stake in promoting Germanness in Chile.

At the same time, however, the eventual creation of the railroad led to ever-greater cries of fear, as a wide variety of people moved in and out of the region together with the raw materials and finished goods transported on those rails between Puerto Montt and Santiago. That movement of people ended the isolation of German settlers in the south. Many observers not only perceived the ethnic mixing that followed as a threat to the region's German character but also to German industry's continued access to the region's materials and markets and a loss of economic interconnections between Germans in Chile, Europe, and other parts of the world. That too led to renewed support for the schools, regarded as the very anchors of Germanness in this and other regions of the state, and thus the anchors of the economic ties from which many Chileans, Germans, and German Chileans profited.⁶⁶

As a result of that on-going financial support and those economic connections, Germanness remained, as George Young noted, "decidedly apparent" in the region.⁶⁷ While completing his book on the history of Germans in Chile in 1973, he wrote with appreciation that one could still hear German in the streets of Osorno, Puerto Montt, Temuco, and Valdivia. Much of the built environment, the houses and stores, testified to the history of German settlement as well. Moreover, he noted enthusiastically, it was still possible to gain an "entire primary and secondary education ... in German schools where even the very language of instruction is German!" Chile, he exclaimed, "is the only country in both Americas ... where that can happen today [1974]."⁶⁸

Young argued that the isolation of the German settlements and the efforts of German officials in Berlin, Santiago, and Valparaiso were

⁶³ See, for example, Deutscher Gesandter in Santiago to Reichskanzler Caprivi, 6 June 1894, in Bundesarchiv Licherfelde West (BA) R/901/38857.

⁶⁴ See inter alia: Kaiserlicher Deutscher Generalkonsul to Dr. Schmidt at the AA, 11 April 1909 in BA R/901/38850.

⁶⁵ This was a consistent and general argument. For a typical articulation see: Deutscher Gesandter in Chile to Bilow, 1 February 1904 in BA R/901/38849; for a public statement of the same see: Gustav Lenz, "Die deutschen Schulen in Chile," *Das Echo* No. 1103, 22 December 1903.

⁶⁶ See inter alia: Kaiserlicher Deutscher Generalkonsul to Dr. Schmidt at the AA, 11 April 1909 in BA R/901/38850.

⁶⁷ Young, *The Germans in Chile*, 144.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 153.



Figure 5. Valdivia School (with shops on the ground floor). From: "Bericht über das 72. Schuljahr (1930) der Deutschen Schule zu Valdivia," Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, RZ 508 R 62600.

Europe. That drew them together and set them apart. There were no schools, for example, in southern Chile when settlers from southern Germany arrived in the 1850s; and during the first decade of the twentieth century, even after considerable pedagogical reform, and despite the fact that Chile had more public schools than either Argentina or Brazil, over 60% of Chileans remained illiterate.⁶⁹ That distinguished all factions of German-Chileans from their neighbors through the interwar period. It affected the characteristics attributed to people included in the category “German,” and it provided them with a consistency that ran across the confessional, economic, and political factions in their communities. As a result, the schools that emerged within German communities in Chilean cities, towns, and villages became ever-stronger focal points of German communities, grounding and linking them over time.⁷⁰

69 Christel Converse “Die Deutschen in Chile,” in *Die Deutschen in Lateinamerika: Schicksal und Leistung*, ed. Hartmut Fröschle (Tübingen, 1979), 301–72, here 321–23.

70 Indeed, Kerstin Hein notes that the schools in Santiago became the center of its German community and held it together across the twentieth century and into the period of her sociological study. Kerstin

Hein, *Hybride Identitäten: Bastelbiografien im Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Lateinamerika und Europa* (Bielefeld, 2006), 196–98. For discussion of such hybrid identities and the schools during the early postwar era, see Carlos Grandjot and Ernesto Schmidt, *Die beiden Heimatsprachen der Chilenen deutscher Abstammung* (Santiago, 1960); and Marianne Lapper “Die Stellung der deutschen Sprache an den Auslands-

schulen in Lateinamerika,” *Der deutsche Lehrer im Ausland* 2 no. 2 (1955): 37–38. See also: Harry Werner, ed., *Die Deutschen Schulen in Chile: Beiträge zu ihrem Verständnis und Selbstverständnis, zu ihrer Kritik und Selbstkritik* (Köln, 1970). For a short history of the school in the capital that agrees with Hein’s study see: Nora Lucidi, *Die Deutsche Schule Santiago de Chile: Gründung und frühe Entwicklung* (Berlin, 2009).

The Chilean state also played a role. It actively encouraged the creation of these schools, and it helped support them financially. As Gustav Lenz wrote in *Die Deutsche Schule im Auslande* in 1903, many German schools received stipends from both the Chilean and German governments.

The Chilean state often provided the schools with funds in exchange for educating numbers of non-German Chileans. It also took German schools as a model for its public schools; it hired many German teachers to work in them; and it also hired German pedagogues to reshape their pedagogical institutions.⁷¹ Already in 1903 there were thirty-two German schools in the country, and some, such as those in Osorno, Valdivia, and Valparaíso dated back to the 1850s. Valdivia, a year before Lenz published his essay, had the largest German school outside of Germany, boasting 430 students, 20 teachers, and lesson plans based on Prussian models.⁷²

Thus even after the financial crises following World War I forced the Chilean state to discontinue its financial support for the schools, and despite the loss of German stature following Imperial Germany's demise, German Chilean schools and their communities thrived during the interwar period. They did so, however, because it was never these nation-states, or the Argentinian or Guatemalan states, that made and nurtured these schools. It was the German communities themselves and the ties they retained with a diverse collection of locals in their host societies as well as other Germans, or variants of Germans tied together by ever-faster sea lanes, communications networks, international German-language press, and global pedagogical networks that, focused on the world outside the German nation-state since their inception in the 1880s, sustained German schools and their communities across radical political ruptures and geopolitical shifts, or helped to re-establish them in many cases.

Nevertheless, the nation-states did matter a great deal, and Keiper was correct when he wrote that Chile was different. Thus while



Figure 6. As Keiper would have expected, school festivals in Chile also included events in folk costumes and performances of William Tell. “Deutsche Schule Valparaiso, 1932” (Jahresbericht), Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, RZ 508 R 62607.

⁷¹ Professor Dr. Gustav Lenz (Darmstadt), “Die Deutschen Schulen in Chile,” *Die Deutschen Schulen im Auslande* 2 no. 11 (1903): 499–504. An expanded version also appeared as “Die deutschen Schulen in Chile” in *Das Echo No. 1103*, 22 December 1903.

⁷² “Bericht über die deutsche Schule in Valdivia,” 21 July 1902, in BA R/901/38862.

scandals erupted around Chilean schools from 1933 through 1936 that were much like those in Guatemala and later in Argentina, Chile offered the German schools and their communities a uniquely safe environment that allowed most to survive into the postwar era. That was not the case in Brazil, Argentina, or many other Latin American states, which, like Guatemala, purposefully closed German schools for internal political reasons, in response to U.S. pressure, out of a desire to support the Allied powers, or some combination of all three.⁷³ Chile did sever diplomatic relations with the Axis powers in 1942, but it never declared war on Germany or closed the German schools.

As a result, many of their communities and interconnections remained. Thus, not long after the new West German government developed a respectable budget for the German foreign office, its officials quickly turned to Germans in Chile to reestablish relationships.⁷⁴ To do that, they immediately offered support for Chile's thirty-three German schools. Consequently, by 1964 those schools, which instructed some 9,800 students, boasted 150 "verbeamtete" (civil servant status) German teachers, and another 230 German-speaking teachers.⁷⁵ The character of those schools, like schools in Germany, changed over time, yet as Kerstin Hein has noted in her study of German Chileans who attended these schools at the end of the twentieth century, many things remained the same. Most strikingly, many of the children who came out of these institutions retained the kinds of vibrant cultural hybridity that was integral to their existence a century earlier. They described, as they spoke to Hein, how they occupied multiple subject positions, and how German they were in Chile, even if they seemed somewhat less so to the Germans living in the Federal Republic. From their point of view, their notion of Germanness was more inclusive than that of West Germans, accommodating greater diversity. Indeed, their notions of Germanness were more akin to the ideas brought to Chile by some of their ancestors, ideas that many scholars who remain focused on a German history centered on the nation-state, are largely unable to see.

73 Friedmann, *Nazis and Good Neighbors*.

74 Georg Dufner, *Partner im Kalten Krieg: Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Chile* (Frankfurt, 2014); on schools in particular see: Hein, *Hybride Identitäten*.

75 See: Dziembowski to Franke, "Instruktion für den neuen Missionschef der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Santiago de Chile," 9 June 1964, in PAAA B 93 Band 372.

Conclusion

There are a number of revealing consistencies in these tales of German schools and their communities in Latin America during the interwar period. Taken together, they have broad implications. The diversity of Germans in Latin America and the inclusive notion of Germanness that tied them together from the Imperial period through the Weimar Republic matters: it reminds us that there were competing discourses of

Germanness during the interwar period, and that they did not all succumb to the exclusionary racial vision of National Socialism. Indeed, many Germans abroad, as we can see most clearly in the Guatemalan example in this essay, pushed back against that vision. So too did many others, and as a result, Nazi efforts to create a uniform set of party groups in Latin America was an unmitigated failure. In case after case, local concerns trumped directives from the putative center of Berlin.⁷⁶ That is not only important for our understanding of the interwar period but also for the ways in which the global interconnections that tied interwar Germans together could be so quickly reconstituted after economic disasters, regime changes, and the world wars.⁷⁷ Multiple, local actors with transnational interests made that happen.

One of the implications of these observations is that German history also took place outside of the German nation-state, and thus it must be pursued outside of what Sebastian Conrad has called “container-based paradigms.”⁷⁸ In some ways, that should not surprise us. Modern national histories look different through a global lens, be they Uchida’s Japanese history, Ryang’s Korean history, or Thomas Bender’s re-cast history of the United States.⁷⁹ To my mind, however, that global lens should not simply be a means for rethinking or re-spatializing those national histories. It is not enough to re-cast the container. For as my examples hopefully illustrate, the Germans at the center of my narrative participated in a combination of simultaneous and interconnected histories, much of which was driven by individuals, groups, and non-governmental organizations that shared common notions of Germanness, and thus senses of affinity and belonging across great distances and over a long period of time.

That, more than the actions of states, explains the persistence of these communities in places such as southern Chile, and it helps us understand the speed with which transnational networks established before World War I could be so quickly re-established afterwards. It was not simply that interwar Germans turned, as Stefan Rinke once argued, to the last colonial opportunities, which were putatively in Latin America.⁸⁰ It was that many, in places such as Hamburg and Bremen, reconnected with associates, compatriots, and co-nationals, and worked jointly with others who had benefited from their global interconnections before World War I and suffered from their destruction during the war.⁸¹ That included, as their parents well knew, the children in these many German schools abroad as well as the diverse communities that created them. By the interwar period, that community also included many adults who had themselves attended these schools.

⁷⁶ For a broader discussion see: Jürgen Müller, *Nationalsozialismus in Lateinamerika: Die Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP in Argentinien, Brasilien, Chile und Mexico, 1931-1945* (Stuttgart, 1997).

⁷⁷ Rinke, “Der letzte freie Kontinent;” Miller, *Europe and the Maritime World*.

⁷⁸ Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (Princeton, 2016), 4.

⁷⁹ Thomas Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, 2002).

⁸⁰ Rinke, “Der letzte freie Kontinent.”

⁸¹ Miller, *Europe and the Maritime World*.

Moreover, this is not, indeed, it cannot be, a Eurocentric story, even if many of the things in it, the ships, the school books, the teachers, and some of the students were arriving from Europe. As I argued above, these were never simply German schools, they were Argentine/Chilean/Guatemalan-German schools filled with people whose orientations were necessarily transnational and local. Thus this is not only a tale of German history happening elsewhere. It is a tale of simultaneous histories, filled with actors — Gabert, Keiper, Kuhlmann, and others — who knew that the German children in these schools were all living transnational lives, developing affinities that tied them together and linked them with other German children around the world, even as they were preparing to join distinct, non-German polities. Indeed, a vast majority of the Germans who appear in this study were citizens, or their children were citizens, of these Latin American nation-states. They were not just German. Nor were they always identified by their respective hyphenated identities. They were, for example, as much Chilean as German-Chilean. That is why the school directors were so consistently adamant about preparing good German citizens for these states, endowing the non-German students with those same characteristics, encouraging them to share in their sense of transnational affinity as they also became part of aggregate Latin American communities. Many of the German parents or their ancestors had done the same in Europe. Many of their contemporaries were doing the same in Europe until the Nazis came to power and then transformed much of the continent. Thus, as we conceptualize diasporic nationalism and the situational identities that characterize such people in these and other settings, it is worth listening to these planners, students, teachers, and supporters as they articulate their affinities. They shared a clear and accommodating sense of self that may well help us understand the actions and motivations of other people in similar circumstances.

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"TOWARD A BETTER WORLD FOR GAYS": RACE, TOURISM, AND THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE WEST GERMAN GAY RIGHTS MOVEMENT, 1969-1983

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By almost all accounts, the early 1970s marked a watershed moment for homosexual men and women in West Germany. In 1969, the West German parliament voted to reform the penal code, decriminalizing sexual acts between men and liberalizing a law that had been used to persecute same-sex desiring men since German unification in 1871.¹ While several homophile groups and homosexual-oriented publications existed in West Germany prior to 1969, the legal reform both allowed for the foundation of new gay activist organizations and publications and dramatically expanded sexual freedoms for same-sex desiring men.² After 1969, gay-oriented publications were also openly sold in public, rather than distributed by mail-order subscriptions alone.³ It was then in the period between 1969 and 1983, the year the first AIDS case was diagnosed in Germany, that we see the expansion of gay scenes and contacts, as well as the eventual incorporation of the West German gay rights movement into international gay politics.

Nevertheless, certain continuities remained. Following a long legacy of Western European tourism in search of exotic pleasures, West German gay men traveled around the world during the 1970s, often looking for sexual contacts and "human" connections with men of color. In doing so, West German men constructed some of their destinations as paradises, alternately describing Thailand, the Philippines, Haiti, and other destinations as places of sexual freedom where locals lived "without taboos." However, expanded publishing possibilities affected both the framing and accessibility of gay travel. Published travel reports in magazines like *du&ich* and *him* as well as popular gay guides like *Spartacus* and *The Golden Key* reinforced and rearticulated long-standing racial stereotypes, such as happy

1 Paragraph 175 was imported into the German penal code from Prussian law, but was by no means evenly enforced at all moments of German history. As Robert Beachy and others have shown,

homosexual activists at the turn of the twentieth century and during the Weimar period occasionally collaborated with law enforcement. In 1935, however, the Nazi government strengthened

the law and added Paragraph 175a, which provided for harsher punishments in instances of assault, prostitution, and sexual acts with a subordinate or person under 21. The Nazi »

» version of these laws remained on the books until 1969, making legal reform an enormous victory for homosexual men. Robert Beachy, *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a Modern Identity* (New York, 2014). For more on prosecution and the lives of homosexual men in West Germany prior to 1969, see Andreas Pretzel and Volker Weiß eds., *Ohnmacht und Aufbegehren: Homosexuelle Männer in der frühen Bundesrepublik* (Hamburg, 2010); Clayton Whisnant, *Male Homosexuality in West Germany: Between Persecution and Freedom, 1945-1969* (New York, 2012).

2 Despite legal reform in 1969, it was only late the following year that direct action-oriented gay activist organizations began to form, influenced as well by the success of Rosa von Praunheim and Martin Dannecker's 1971 film, *It Is Not the Homosexual Who Is Perverse, but the Society in Which He Lives*. For more on gay activism in the early 1970s, see Craig Griffiths, "Sex, Shame, and West German Gay Liberation," *German History* 34 (2016): 445-467; Andreas Pretzel and Volker Weiß eds., *Rosa Radikale: Die Schwulenbewegung der 1970er Jahre* (Hamburg, 2012).

3 For more on West German gay publications, see Sebastian Haunss, *Identität in Bewegung: Prozesse kollektiver Identität bei den Autonomen und in der Schwulenbewegung* (Wiesbaden, 2004). Peter Rehberg, "Männer wie Du und Ich": Gay Magazines from the National to the Transnational," *German History* 34 (2016): 468-485.

and primitive Africans, bisexual Arabs, and effeminate Asians, for a 1970s West German gay audience. However, as opposed to the idyllic construction often offered during the era of high colonialism or even the first two decades after the Second World War, some gay men began to discuss once-popular travel destinations in North Africa, particularly Morocco and Tunisia, with a growing ambivalence as reports of corruption, police raids, and unabashed prostitution were published alongside enticing ads. By the early 1980s, North Africa no longer functioned as a “refuge” from European constraints, while the construction of new vacation paradises was dependent on Orientalist perceptions of the “primitiveness” of the men who lived there. As Joseph A. Boone makes clear in *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*, these stereotypes were neither new nor unique to Germany. Instead, “the regularity with which these tropes reappear over time and across regions discloses a compass and depth that attests to the resilience, as well as elasticity, of the homoerotic connotations.”⁴ 1970s West German reports and guides thus reflect what Edward Said more broadly calls the “redoubtable durability” of Orientalism, in which exotic locales, in this case, are cast as spaces of immense same-sex pleasure in contrast to structured, everyday life in West Germany.⁵

4 Joseph Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* (New York, 2014), 51.

5 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978), 6.

6 Rita Chin, “Guest Worker Migration and the Unexpected Return of Race,” in Rita Chin, Heide Fehrenbach, Geoff Eley, and Atina Grossmann, eds., *After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and Democracy in Germany and Europe* (Ann Arbor, 2009), 82. For more on the guest worker program, see Jennifer A. Miller, *Turkish Guest Workers in Germany: Hidden Lives and Contested Borders, 1960s to 1980s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming 2017); and Ulrich Herbert and Karin Hunn, “Guest Workers and Policy on Guest Workers in the Federal Republic: From the Beginning of Recruitment in 1955 until Its Halt in 1973,” in Hanna Schissler ed., *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968* (Princeton, 2001).

In addition, in the 1970s West German gay men found themselves operating in a decisively different social and political landscape from even a few years before. Large-scale migration from southern Europe to West Germany through the guest worker program of 1955 to 1973 elicited mixed reactions from West German gay men. While some used the opportunity to seek out sex with exoticized men in their own backyard, others demonstrated significant sexual aversion toward new national minorities whose differences, as Rita Chin argues, were increasingly racialized.⁶ Both reactions, however, hinged on an understanding of a West German gay scene that was implicitly white. At the same time, legal reform placed West Germany alongside a growing number of European countries and American states that had decriminalized homosexuality. The publications and activist groups that formed in the wake of legal reform then paid close attention to the situation of same-sex desiring men under more repressive regimes, calling on West German gays to support their “brothers and sisters” in other countries. With the formation of the International Gay Association (IGA), groups like the General Homosexual Work Group (*Allgemeine Homosexuelle Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, AHA) Berlin as well as publications like *du&ich* and *him* framed

West German gay activism in an international context, arguing that it was the duty of West German and Euro-American gay activists to fight on behalf of gay men and lesbians in more repressive countries. In 1979, the IGA argued that Greece's petition to join the EEC should be rejected unless it withdrew its proposed law on venereal disease that would target Greek homosexuals, framing gay rights as prerequisite for joining an increasingly integrated Europe.⁷ West German gay groups, often working in the context of an IGA-led international movement, could thus claim a universal gay identity shared by their "brothers and sisters" around the world *and* maintain the privileged position of Western Europe and North America as regions of relative freedom.

However, the IGA and West German gay activists rarely criticized the exploitative or exoticizing effects of sex tourism, while gay publications and guides often viewed sex tourism as not only compatible with the campaign for international gay rights, but in many ways constitutive of it. The confluence of international sex tourism, conflicts over immigrants within West Germany, and attention to the situation of same-sex desiring men and women around the world allowed West German gay groups and publications to position gay life in West Germany in opposition to racialized sexual practices and repressive sexual politics in the Global South.⁸ The tensions they explored, between paradise and corruption, inclusion and exclusion, and, in the case of immigrants in West Germany, desire and disgust, far from undermining the transnational project of creating a "better world for gays," helped undo the longstanding image of a permissive colonial idyll. By the early 1980s, West German gay activists and publications largely construed Western Europe and North America as bastions of sexual progressivism, in opposition to sexual repression around the world attributed alternately to fascist authoritarianism, communist dictatorship, or Islamic fundamentalism.

I. Touring for "Exotic" Men

The decriminalization of male homosexuality in 1969 allowed for not only the open dissemination of gay publications but also the ability for travel agencies to more easily advertise to a gay market in these publications. Enthused by this possibility, *du&ich* advised its readers in August 1973 to check out these "One Man Travel Bureaus" that specialized in gay tourism.⁹ By 1974, agencies such as Partner Tours and Swing Tours were advertising travel especially for gay men to

⁷ Harold Pickett, "Making Our Movement International," *Gay Community News* January 26, 1980.

⁸ More than just a placeholder for terms like "the Third World" or "developing/underdeveloped countries," the term "Global South" references geopolitical power instead of cultural or economic differences to delineate regions outside Europe and North America whose shared history of colonialism and economic exploitation maintains large inequalities in living standards and access to resources. Nour Dados and Raewyn Connell, "The Global South," *Contexts* 11 (2012): 12-13.

⁹ "Urlaub Tips," *du&ich*, August 1973, 14.



Figure 1. "Urlaub '76," advertisement from *du&ich*, March 1976.

places like Bangkok and Tunisia.¹⁰ While there were certainly many reasons why gay men might want to travel, Partner Tours made its purpose explicit in a 1976 *du&ich* advertisement offering “young, magnificent Tunisians.”¹¹ Smaller travel agencies took advantage of this as well, such as the Munich-based Henry Probst Travel Service, which advertised a range of “s-exclusive” gay yacht cruises in *him* in 1973, again selling a mixture of leisure and sex for West German gay tourists.¹²

At the same time, some magazines, in particular *du&ich*, organized their own trips for their readership, which often centered on making connections with “exotic” men. In 1973, *du&ich* organized its first trip to Beirut, offering its readers the opportunity both to experience “the 5,000 year old culture city of the Phoenicians” and to “get to know interesting people, for whom there are no prejudices against homosexuals.”¹³

In 1975, *du&ich* organized another trip to Togo. The editors argued that, as a gay magazine, they were well equipped to lead such trips as they could “limit [themselves] to only a few destinations, which, after fundamental testing, seem to [them] to be suited for homosexual tourists.” Togo apparently fit the bill as a “vacation paradise” where gay tourists would be able to meet the men (and boys) who lived there.¹⁴ In March 1977, *du&ich* organized another trip to Bangkok, reportedly at the request of hundreds of readers. The editors again stated that they could organize a trip “like no travel agency in all of Europe.”¹⁵ Perhaps this was in fact the case, as that year *du&ich* expanded its travel services to include a “travel computer” that would generate personalized travel recommendations. All the reader had to do was fill out the survey attached to the March 1977 issue of the magazine and send it in to avoid being “bitterly disappointed” by a poorly planned vacation.¹⁶

10 “Traumreise nach Bangkok,” *du&ich*, November 1974, 20.

11 “Urlaub — Partner Tours,” *du&ich*, February 1976, 34.

12 “him kontaktete,” *him*, March 1973, 38.

13 “Arabische Nächte,” *du&ich*, May 1973, 7.

14 “auf nach TOGO,” *du&ich*, October 1975, 38.

15 “Etwas völlig Neues: der totale Liebesurlaub,” *du&ich*, January 1977, 18.

16 “Urlaub ,77 — Wohin?,” *du&ich*, March 1977, 12-13.

While *du&ich* was perhaps the mostly deeply invested in the vacations of its readers, it wasn’t the only gay publication or organization in the Federal Republic to become involved in gay tourism. While not

organizing its own tours, the Munich-based Association for Sexual Equality (*Verein für sexuelle Gleichberechtigung*, VSG) did cut a deal with Alltours in 1974 to offer reduced rates to its members.¹⁷ Between 1972 and 1974, the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) Cologne ran a series in its informational pamphlet titled “Vacation Tips from A to Z,” offering advice for travelers to the Canary Islands, Mykonos, and Morocco.¹⁸ In a similar manner, the magazine *him* offered its readers guides of the best gay-friendly hotels, bars, restaurants, erotic shops, and clubs in cities such as New York, San Francisco, and West Berlin.¹⁹

In doing so, magazines like *du&ich* and *him*, as well as gay political organizations like VSG and GLF Cologne were participating in an international gay tourism market that was experiencing a boom during the 1970s.²⁰ With the advent of commercial jet travel, destinations that had previously been out of reach for middle-class tourists became increasingly accessible. According to Hasso Spode, by 1968 the majority of West Germans were vacationing abroad, which, as Magdalena Beljan points out, had broad implications for gay travel and the proliferation of published travel reports.²¹ That is not to say that travel around the world was tremendously cheap. According to *du&ich* in 1977, a plane ticket from Zurich to Bangkok would run approximately 1400DM (or about \$2,410 in 2017), while a ticket from Bangkok to Manila would cost an additional 300-500DM (\$516-\$860 in 2017).²² Nevertheless, travel was faster, easier, and within reach of more German consumers.

Furthermore, international gay guides were becoming increasingly sophisticated and widely available. During the 1970s, *Spartacus International Gay Guide* became one of the most popular. Founded in 1968 in Brighton, UK by John D. Stamford and relocated in 1971 to Amsterdam, *Spartacus* relied on readers to send in tips about gay locales in either their hometowns or places they had traveled.²³ By the late 1970s, *Spartacus* was receiving about 12,000 recommendation letters annually to assemble a guide that, by 1982, was speculated to have sold 250,000 copies in that year alone.²⁴ *Spartacus* included translations in French, German, and, after 1977, Spanish. Bars, clubs, bookstores, and saunas

¹⁷ “Nur für Mitglieder,” *VSG-Information* (1974): 14.

February 1973, 5-7; “Urlaub-Tips von A-Z,” *Köln GLF Journal*, February 1974, 14-15.

similarly involved in the establishment of a gay scene through travel. See Lucas Hilderbrand, “A Suitcase Full of Vaseline, or Travels in the 1970s

²⁴ John D. Stamford, *Spartacus International Gay Guide* 8th ed. (Amsterdam, 1978), 9; David Roper, “Good Man Guide,” *Event* 1982.

¹⁸ “Urlaub-Tips von A bis Z,” *INFO GLF Köln*, February 1972, 5; “Urlaub-Tips von A bis Z,” *Information Köln GLF*,

¹⁹ During the 1970s, gay magazines in the United States also offered readers travel guides and were

²⁰ That is not to say that travel was not part of homosexual life prior to the 1970s. As both Robert Aldrich and Ian Littlewood point out, travel and transience were central to homosexual life in Euro-American contexts even before the twentieth century. Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (New York, 2003), 5; Ian Littlewood, *Sultry Climates: Travel and Sex since the Grand Tour* (London, 2001), 129.

²¹ Hasso Spode, “Der Aufstieg des Massentourismus im 20. Jahrhundert,” in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Claudius Torp eds., *Die Konsumgesellschaft in Deutschland, 1890-1990* (Frankfurt, 2009), 127; Magdalena Beljan, *Rosa Zeiten? Eine Geschichte der Subjektivierung männlicher Homosexualität in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren der BRD* (Bielefeld, 2014), 162.

²² Jan Kok, “Die süßen Jungen von Manila, oder: ein Paradies rückt näher,” *du&ich*, August 1977, 3-5.

²³ In 1986, *Spartacus* was bought by Bruno Gmünder, one of the largest gay publishing houses in West Germany, and subsequently relocated to West Berlin.

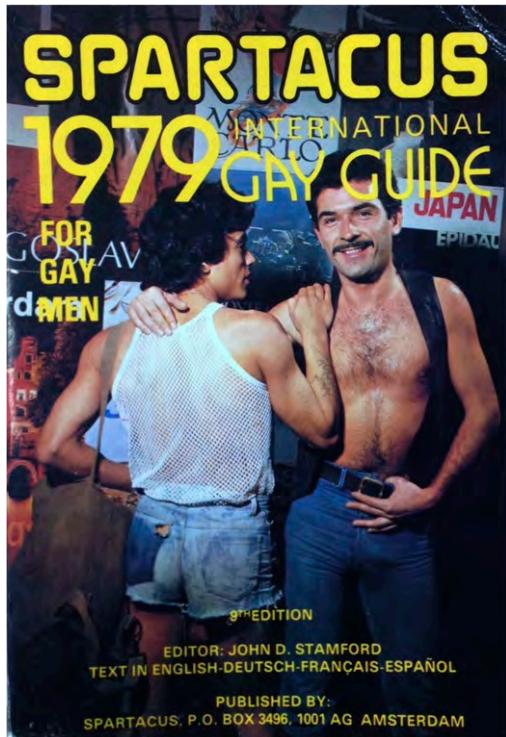


Figure 2. *Spartacus International Gay Guide*, 9th ed., 1979.

across West Germany (and Western Europe) sold the guide and *him* and *du&ich* frequently advertised in it, while *Spartacus* advertised in *du&ich* and *him*, further integrating West German gay men into an international tourist scene, a scene that was often focused on cultivating sexual contacts abroad.

Although *Spartacus* stated in its 1975 edition that its new motto would be “Toward a Better World for Gays,” the guide was in many ways involved in the production and rearticulation of racial stereotypes that exoticized men of color for international consumption. In a similar vein to *Spartacus*, both *du&ich* and *him*, along with magazines like *DON* and *ADAM*, coupled their tourism suggestions, travel agency ads, and trip organization with an erotic mixture of travel reports, travel fiction, and images of scantily-clad, non-white youths in exotic settings, pointing to the close connection between specifically West Ger-

man and broader Euro-American processes of racialization that depended on experiences and fantasies of sex tourism. In almost all of these publications, the distinction between adult, youth, and child was blurred. Not only did the age of consent vary between different countries, but publications rarely stated the exact age of the youths supposedly available for sex, preferring instead vague terms like “youth” (*Jugend*) or “boy” (*Knaben*). A reader might guess that some of the images in magazines like *du&ich* depicted boys well under the age of 18; however, not only would this be impossible to prove, but the legal code of 1975 that legalized the distribution of pornography only explicitly criminalized imagery of overtly sexualized children under the age of fourteen. The ambivalence of magazines and guides, reinforced by West German and international legal ambiguities, allowed for racialized fantasies of youth sexuality that sidestepped the problematic of pedophilia and pederasty, which troubled West German gay politics in the 1970s.²⁵

This image of the happy, friendly native, which had existed for centuries, permeated 1970s travel accounts.²⁶ In November of 1974,

²⁵ Beljan, 124–5.

²⁶ Aldrich, 135.

du&ich published two travel reports, one about Senegal and one about Morocco. Not only did these reports serve as guides to tourism in countries where homosexuality was illegal, but they also contained detailed descriptions of the pleasures to be found there, including friendly youths (described in Senegal as between the ages of 17 and 20) who were ready to approach Europeans. In Senegal, these boys supposedly expected little in return, while in Morocco, the urban boys would try to swindle tourists, although rural boys still offered possibility for a “human” experience.²⁷ *Spartacus* similarly distinguished between boys in different parts of Tunisia. Although boys in urban areas “usually expect to be paid,” boys in the south of Tunisia “may expect a gift, rather than money.”²⁸ In advertising *du&ich*’s upcoming trip to Togo in 1975, the author also referenced the anti-erotic impacts of civilization, describing the men in Togo as “extremely primitive” (*urprimitiv*) although upbeat and happy, unlike “us [Europeans], who are all the slaves of civilization.”²⁹ Naive willingness could also apparently be found in South and East Asia. *du&ich* suggested Bangkok in 1976 for German men who “like young, friendly Thai-boys” and in 1978 described the youths of Sri Lanka as possessing “endless great charm”—though did not specify whether the “Thai-boys” were over the age of 18 and only mentioned that, in Sri Lanka, there was no law regulating sex between adult men or between adult men and youths.³⁰

As Beljan argues, this search for willing, exotic boys was often coupled with a search for more than just sex, namely a “human” or authentic experience of at least temporary partnership, as already seen in the case of rural Moroccan boys.³¹ This wish to be desired shaped how West German tourists perceived men and boys around the world, and it was linked to the enduring appeal of regions supposedly untouched by European civilization.³² *Spartacus* described southern Tunisia as more appealing largely because of the lack of tourists and implored its readers, “not to offer money to boys in the South of Tunesia [sic] as this is one of the few areas in the world where money is not expected—let us try to keep it that way.”³³ In a 1978 article, *du&ich* mentioned that one of the great attractions of Sri Lanka was that it offered respite from the “often frequented vacation domiciles of the overcrowded beaches of Europe.”³⁴ Earlier that year, *du&ich* warned its readers away from the “flood of tourists” that covered Mykonos and suggested that its readers visit Rio, as men from there “know what friendship means.”³⁵ Reporting on the many charms of Haiti in June 1977, *du&ich* further linked this ideal of reciprocal desire to the image of the happy primitive, writing that

27 “Abenteuer Senegal,” *du&ich*, November 1974, 16–17; “Reiseberatung,” *du&ich*, November 1974, 40.

28 Stamford, *Spartacus International Gay Guide* 3rd ed. (Amsterdam, 1973), 306.

29 “du & ich — Gruppenreise 76,” *du&ich*, October 1975, 38.

30 Wir von du&ich sind in Bangkok zu Hause,” *du&ich*, June 1976, 47; “Ceylon: exotisch — erotisch,” *du&ich*, November 1978, 4.

31 Beljan, 164.

32 Aldrich, 411.

33 *Spartacus* (1973), 306.

34 “Ceylon,” 2.

35 “Wohin im nächsten Urlaub,” *du&ich*, January 1978, 16.



Figure 3. "Haiti Intim,"
du&ich, March 1978.

"the natives know no sexual taboos at all."³⁶ In its March 1978 grand report on Haiti, *du&ich* offered a racial essentialist explanation, claiming that Haitians had no sexual taboos because "black eroticism is considered to be something natural."³⁷

These descriptions were often paired with exoticizing imagery. *du&ich* published its 1975 report on Togo alongside two images of African boys with captions that read together, "a vacation paradise with the goal...to really sow one's wild oats."³⁸ The magazine also published a number of covers that eroticized non-white bodies, including a naked youth holding a stack of bananas looking enticingly over his shoulder at the camera in September 1977 and another cover with a dark-haired, brown-skinned youth in the same position, but surrounded by jungle and

wearing short blue shorts in August 1978.³⁹ In 1982, along with its article on German tourism in Japan, *Gay Journal* published an image of a Japanese man in the same backwards-looking position.⁴⁰ In addition to these images, gay magazines published photographs of Arab and Latin American men in traditional garb or in exotic surroundings to emphasize their otherness for German eyes.⁴¹ In doing so, these publications created a visual repertoire that perpetuated ideals of non-white men in foreign countries as ready and willing to have sex with West German men.

Nevertheless, these magazines did contain a diversity of representations of exoticized men, as men of color in the United States were covered quite differently from men in the Global South. New York and San Francisco were often portrayed as liberal paradises where, according to GLF Cologne in 1973, gays had more freedom in everyday life than in Europe, despite the fact that anti-sodomy laws existed in 45 states.⁴² Nevertheless, race was still quite present in discussions of travel to the U.S. and racial diversity could even be a compelling reason for West Germans to visit. In his 1976 report on his trip to New York and Los Angeles for *him*, contributor Ingo Harney described his experience at an

³⁶ "Urlaubsrenner 77," *du&ich*, June 1977, 61.

³⁷ "Haiti Intim," *du&ich*, March 1978, 4.

³⁸ "Gruppenreise 76," *du & ich*, January 1976, 38.

³⁹ "Cover," *du&ich*, September 1977, 1; "Cover," *du&ich*, August 1978, 1.

⁴⁰ "Japan Schock für Fremde," *Gay Journal*, February 1982.

⁴¹ "du & ich Fotogalerie: Achmed," *du&ich*, January 1978, 44-45; "Cover," *du&ich*, March 1976, 1.

⁴² "Emanzipationsbewegungen in Amerika: Eindrücke und Erfahrungen," *Köln GLF Journal*, May 1973, 10-12.

outdoor party in New York as “dreamlike, never before have I seen so many beautiful people. It abounds with thin, dark-skinned boys (*Knaben*) and gazelle-like, fiery-eyed girls. Puerto Rico, Costa Rica, Jamaica, all of the Caribbean is represented in its exoticism.”⁴³ Unfortunately, Harney was assaulted and robbed both at this party and later in Los Angeles. However, he never lost his affection for men of color. Closer to home and with fewer references to racial diversity, The Netherlands were described in *du&ich* as a “paradise for homosexuals” and Amsterdam-based *Spartacus* in turn stated that West Germany’s gay scene “stands head and shoulders above the entire flock,” even in comparison to other Western European countries.⁴⁴ Ever in search of a paradise for gays, *Spartacus*, together with West German gay magazines, interpreted Western Europe and North America as possibilities due to more liberal legal environments in comparison to other parts of the world.

Even when looking to travel destinations in the Global South where sexual encounters with exoticized men could be had, we can see differences in how individual countries were depicted. As Beljan argues, expectations about sexual encounters with men in different countries differed based on racial stereotypes. East Asian men and boys were supposed to be effeminate and passive while black and Arab men and boys were supposed to be virile and active, although these roles were usually up for negotiation. The desirability of different countries as travel destinations also changed over the course of the 1970s. Depending on the legal and social situation, *du&ich* and *him* alternately advertised Haiti, Togo, Sri Lanka, and Thailand as places where opportunities for sex were plentiful and, just as importantly, where genuine reciprocal desire existed. Following a 1975 trip to the Philippines, John D. Stamford became enamored with the country and advertised it as the “gay paradise of Asia,” encouraging readers to visit during a reported spell of unrest in Thailand between 1975 and 1978.⁴⁵ Despite Stamford’s warning, however, the editors of *du&ich* still reported in 1976 that they felt “at

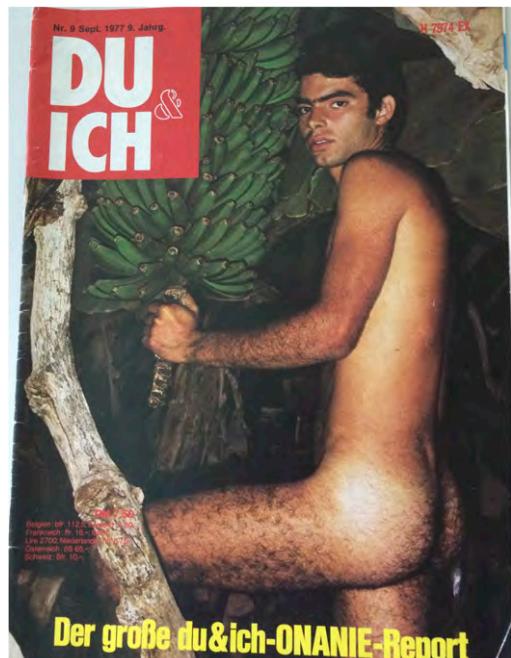


Figure 4. Cover of *du&ich*, September 1977.

⁴³ Ingo Harney, “Im Westen nichts Neues,” *him*, December 1976, 18.

⁴⁴ That’s not to say that *du&ich* and *Spartacus* had the rosiest relationship. In calling The Netherlands a “paradise,” *du&ich* is making the point that it is only seen as such because Dutch society was more tolerant in comparison to other countries, not because of emerging reports of boy prostitution that were linked to John Stamford. “Ich kann mich ja auch geirrt haben...” *du & ich*, June 1977, 7; Stamford, *Spartacus International Gay Guide* 8th ed. (Amsterdam, 1978), 28.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 50; Stamford, *Spartacus International Gay Guide* 6 (Amsterdam: Euro-Spartacus, 1976), 560.



Figure 5. Cover of *du&ich*, August 1978.

home in Bangkok.”⁴⁶ While Swing Tours advertised trips to Sri Lanka up until 1981, in 1982 *Spartacus* removed its entries on the country both at the request of the Sri Lankan government and because tourists would likely face police harassment at the places that were listed.⁴⁷ Not only then was reporting and advertising contingent on shifting political circumstances, but it also often depended on the personal preferences of editors.

North African countries, however, took on a more ambivalent role in the shifting political landscape of the 1970s. Prior to the criminalization of sexual contact between men in 1962, Morocco had served as a refuge for same-sex desiring Western Europeans who were fleeing anti-sodomy laws in their own countries. This was true of Morocco as well as other former European colonies where, as historian Robert Aldrich

demonstrates, prosecution of male homosexuality was often uneven and offered greater possibilities for expression of dissident sexualities.⁴⁸ The French colonies of North Africa were especially attractive destinations for European men, because, in contrast to British colonies, male homosexuality was often decriminalized, or at least persecuted less systematically.⁴⁹ Although the French protectorate of Tunisia criminalized male and female homosexual acts under Article 230 of the 1913 penal code, Europeans were rarely prosecuted for same-sex contact. However, following independence in 1956, Tunisia retained Article 230 under President Habib Bourguiba while the changing legal situation in neighboring countries led some European homosexual men to wonder if Article 230 would now be systematically enforced.⁵⁰ These changes triggered an outcry from *Der*

46 “Wir von du&ich,” *du&ich*, June 1976, 47.

47 “Anzeigen,” *du&ich*, February 1981, 36. David Roper, “Good Man Guide,” *Event* (1982).

48 Aldrich, 185.

49 For systematic analyses of anti-sodomy statutes in British colonies and their impact on de-criminalization in post-colonial countries, see Enze Han and Joseph O’Mahoney, “British Colonialism and the Criminalization of Homosexuality,” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 27 (2014): 268–288; William J. Spurlin, “Shifting Geopolitical Borders/Shifting Sexual Borders: Textual and Cultural Renegotiations of National Identity and Sexual Dissidence in Postcolonial Africa,” *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 13 (2013): 69–79.

50 Maike Voorhoeve, “The Struggle for Greater LGBT Rights in Tunisia is Still an Uphill Battle,” *Muftah* October 26, 2015 <https://muftah.org/the-struggle-for-greater-lgbt-rights-in-tunisia-is-still-an-uphill-battle/#.WVIZmHd7GgQ>, accessed on July 2, 2017.

Kreis, one of the most prominent German-language homosexual-oriented publications of the moment. Warning its readers of the new legal situation in Morocco, the editors of *Der Kreis* wrote in February 1966 that “adventures in Morocco have ended.”⁵¹ Three months later, it expanded this warning to all tourists traveling to the Maghreb, writing that although “there is scarcely a region in the world where homosexuality is so widespread,” Europeans had to take special precautions in the wake of new laws because authorities were cracking down on “immoral” Europeans to protect “innocent Arab youths.”

Despite these concerns, West German gay men continued to visit Morocco and Tunisia, as well as Egypt throughout the 1970s. North African men were still often described as widely available for sex. In 1974, GLF Cologne reported that in Marrakesh, “any guy (or almost any guy) is ready to have sex with you.”⁵² In 1977, Air France invited Alexander Ziegler, the head editor of *du&ich*, to board a Concorde from Paris to Casablanca in order to “report on the country where you can still feel free as a homosexual.”⁵³ In 1979, in an attempt to convince skeptical editors that Cairo was a worthwhile destination, Swing Tours claimed that “you could meet up with practically any boy,” echoing a 1976 *du&ich* report that “human encounters [in Cairo] with natives were so many and so intense.”⁵⁴

By the early 1980s international gay guides as well maintained the (centuries-old) consensus that Arab men were generally bisexual, though rarely “passive.” In 1977, *The Golden Key*, an English- and German-language guide based in Copenhagen and advertised heavily in *du&ich*, advised readers about Tunisian men that “as in all Arab countries they absolutely only want to fuck men and are therefore exclusively active.”⁵⁵ In 1978, *Spartacus* claimed that “throughout North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean [including Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey], there is a traditional bi-sexual heritage.”⁵⁶ However, *Spartacus* still carefully made the distinction that “Greece, and to a lesser extent Turkey, are not as rough as the Arab nations,” where European tourists would be expected to take on the passive role.⁵⁷ In the 1982 edition of the Frankfurt-based *Gay Reiseführer*, the guide used the same language as *The Golden Key* to claim that “as in all Arab countries — and I’m counting Morocco among them — bisexual behavior among men is common.”⁵⁸

However, as already seen in *Spartacus* reports, sex often came at a price. Continuing its 1974 report on Marrakesh, GLF Cologne advised its members that you had to be ready to pay, and, even when you

51 “Marokkanische Gesetzgebung,” *Der Kreis*, February 1966, 7; “Die Strafbestimmungen in den Ländern des Maghrib,” *Der Kreis*, May 1966, 4-5.

52 “Urlaub-Tips von A-Z,” 15.

53 “Blick hinter die Kulissen der Redaktion,” *du&ich*, January 1977, 17.

54 “Swing Tours International Mainz,” *him*, January 1979, 54; “Arabische Nächte,” *du&ich*, February 1976, 16.

55 *The Golden Key* (Copenhagen, 1977), 343.

56 Stamford, *Spartacus International Gay Guide* 8th ed. (Amsterdam, 1978), 42.

57 Ibid.

58 Founded in 1977 and still in its early days in 1982, the Kurt-Joachim Foerster publishing house went on to acquire ADAM, DON, and ADONIS, making it one of the largest gay publishing houses in Germany by the mid-1990s. Kurt-Joachim Foerster, *Gay Reiseführer* (Frankfurt am Main, 1982).

did, “your wishes are of no interest” to Moroccan men and boys who “want to get off and nothing more.”⁵⁹ That same year, *du&ich* also reported that sex in the big cities of Morocco “has become strongly commercialized. In other words, whoever has money gets practically any youth in bed, whoever has no money remains alone.”⁶⁰ Some reports linked this to larger problems of widespread criminality in these countries, as well as police and government repression of homosexuality, which somewhat undermined what Said cites as the association “between the Orient and the freedom of licentious sex.”⁶¹ Although Air France hoped to capture a gay tourist market for its Paris-Casablanca route, Ziegler was less than impressed. He described Casablanca as, “the dirtiest city that I have ever seen” and “full of messed-up male prostitutes, dubious street dealers with crusty faces, and police raids against homos are part of both the daily and nightly routine.”⁶² In its 1976 report on Cairo, *du&ich* reassured readers that “homosexuality is illegal like in all Arab countries, however it is largely tolerated.”⁶³ Nevertheless, the contributor reported that one had to be careful, as two young Egyptian men claiming to be students had swindled his British friend.⁶⁴ The editors of *him* were less than impressed with Cairo, despite the reassurances of Swing Tours, reporting that the hotel was dirty and cramped, the tour guide did not show, and they were left entirely stranded in a foreign city.⁶⁵ In Tunisia, not only was it difficult to find reciprocal desire in cities, but in 1977 *du&ich* reported that one British man had been jailed for a week for homosexual conduct and ended up being fined the equivalent of 300DM, causing *du&ich* to wonder whether Tunisia was “dangerous as a vacation spot.”⁶⁶ Enno Krentler, contributor to the informational bulletin of the AHA Berlin, tried out Tunisia for himself in 1980. He found it dirty, expensive, and complained of the boys between 8 and 13 trying to sell goods on the beach, eventually vowing “never again Tunisia!”⁶⁷ In short, while some gay men, travel agencies, and even Air France continued to claim that North African countries were enticing destinations, fears of dirty cities, youthful criminals, and police raids often prevented gay tourists from fully experiencing their own version of “Arabian Nights.”

59 “Urlaub-Tips von A-Z,” 15.

60 “Reiseberatung,” *du&ich*, November 1974, 40.

61 Said, 190.

62 “Blick hinter die Kulissen der Redaktion,” 17.

63 “Arabischen Nächte,” 17.

64 Ibid.

65 “Swing Tours Internationaler-Mainz,” 54.

66 “Ist Tunesien als Urlaubsort gefährlich,” *du&ich*, June 1977, 61.

67 Enno Krentler, “Tunesien – ein schwules Reiseparadies?” *AHA Info* (1980): 14-15.

68 Jarrod Hayes, *Queer Nations: Marginal Sexualities in the Maghreb* (Chicago, 2000), 24.

II. Desire, Disgust, and "Exotic" Encounters in the Federal Republic

As Jarrod Hayes points out, the potential for “exotic” sex and a certain form of “sex tourism” could also be found within Western Europe.⁶⁸

This was certainly the case for France, where, as Todd Shepard demonstrates, Arab men, primarily from Algeria but also from Tunisia and Morocco, held a particular erotic appeal for white gay men, on account of both exoticized difference and the authentic revolutionary role ascribed to men from the former colonies.⁶⁹ In West Germany, the guest worker program brought the possibility of sexual encounters with exotic others in the Federal Republic. While some gay men sought out southern European immigrants in gay meeting places and personal ads, others saw sex with “southerners” (*Südländer*), a term often used to refer to those from Mediterranean countries, as repellent or even threatening. By 1978, discrimination within gay communities led *du&ich* to publish a report on the particular situation of southern European “guest workers.”⁷⁰ Calling out the hypocrisy that it saw among some gay men, *du&ich* wrote that,

The “Papagallos” with black, curly hair from southern Italy, the temperamental Spaniards, Yugoslavians, and Greeks, those who, when we encounter them in their homeland are “such charming, friendly people,” but as soon as they linger in our latitudes, we almost always ignore them because they, as Cologne police officer Rainer G. (28) said, “bring chaos among the general population.”⁷¹

du&ich then reported on the “notorious xenophobe” Martin L. from Düsseldorf, who refused entry to Spaniards, Yugoslavians, and Turks in his gay bar because they did not consume enough alcohol and made a mess, and had the police throw out a Spanish man the week before he was interviewed by *du&ich*, because he felt “obligated to take care of the local customers.” The magazine then included (edited) testimonials of men from Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Turkey who had experienced such discrimination in the gay scene. Fabrizio M., a 24-year-old Italian, discussed how he had been removed from a gay locale in Düsseldorf by armed policemen who brought him “to the police station like a hard criminal,” allowing the reader to see the other side of Martin L.’s story.⁷² Pedro, a 19-year-old from Barcelona, discussed how he had difficulty finding German partners because, “as soon as they hear that I speak Spanish, they leave me alone because I have a strong accent, even though I speak German very well.”⁷³ Pedro, a 17-year-old from Rome, had more success finding a partner but was unable to turn sexual encounters into long-term relationships because, “for them [Germans] we are only ‘Papagallos,’ who, when one takes them home, one never takes their eyes off of them, because otherwise they’ll steal something.”⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Todd Shepard, “Something Notably Erotic”: Politics, ‘Arab Men,’ and Sexual Revolution in Post-decolonization France, 1962-1974,” *The Journal of Modern History* 84 (2012): 113-114.

⁷⁰ Although the guest worker program officially ended in 1973, the term was still used to describe recent immigrants from southern Europe and Turkey, particularly those in search of low-wage jobs.

⁷¹ Valentino Rhonheimer and Ferenze Bauer, “Papagallos sind auch Menschen,” *du&ich*, November 1978, 11.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Train stations, a major site of same-sex encounters since the *Kaisereich*, were particularly dangerous for immigrant men. 20-year-old Angelo Bertoni noted, “The police make short work of us foreigners” while Manuel G. from Madrid observed, “If I go cruising in the train station and get caught, then they’ll send me on the next train back to Spain.”⁷⁵ While their West German peers marginalized these men, they faced starker consequences for living out their homosexual desires because of their vulnerability as immigrants. As an unnamed 18-year-old Turkish man working illegally outside of Würzburg made clear, if his boss and his wife ever found out he was a homosexual, they would throw him out.⁷⁶

What is particularly important about this report is the emphasis that *du&ich* placed on sexual intimacy. The testimonials of Marco Pedrazzoli, Angelo Bertoni, Manuel G., Pedro, and the unnamed Turkish man all discussed sexual dissatisfaction, marginalization, or general isolation. According to a survey *du&ich* conducted of 53 West German men in two gay clubs in Cologne, scarcely any were ready to have a long-term relationship with a “foreign guest worker.”⁷⁷ The reasons these men gave “ranged from general prejudices like ‘those guys all stink’ to private anxieties like ‘my landlord would never allow something like that’ to the racist expression ‘southerners have no character.’”⁷⁸ In addition, *du&ich* included pictures of dark-haired, young men, whose captions featured quotations from the testimonials. In one picture, the man is shirtless, and the caption reads: “I have many friends — but they only want to sleep with me”; in another, the man is completely naked and recumbent. It bears the caption, “The worst is the sexual misery. We can’t cruise around the train station, so therefore only masturbation remains.”⁷⁹ In mixing the eroticization of sexually frustrated men with calls for more than just sex, *du&ich* used sex and intimacy both to work against discrimination and to perpetuate elements of these men’s objectification.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid., 13.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid., 12-13.

80 “Immer mehr Türken als Sex-Täter,” *Gay Journal*, January 1981, 6.

In 1981, the magazine *Gay Journal*, which often took on a tabloid character, moved beyond the notion that “southerners have no character” to argue that southerners were criminally homophobic. One article claimed that Turks were attacking gay German men, alleging that “the starkly different moral imagination between Turkey and central Europe is causing increasingly more young Turks so much confusion that they quickly fall into hard criminality.”⁸⁰ The piece thus echoes the criminalization of immigrants that appears in both Martin L.’s claims as well as immigrant men’s experiences

with the police. But *Gay Journal* also seeks to frame this as a broader southern phenomenon, writing that “youths from the southern countries have learned that they can let off steam on homosexuals in the Federal Republic and prove their strength — in defense of their ‘manly honor.’”⁸¹ By singling out Turks and reiterating a perception of fundamental “southern” difference, *Gay Journal*, like the notorious xenophobe Martin L., asserted racialized reasons to explain why certain groups of immigrants were inherently hostile to West Germany’s gay scene.

That said, we should remember that the readers’ sexual desires did not always match the porn and the politics of the magazines. Instead, we see a diversity of sexual desires coming from gay men at this moment, especially as exhibited in personal ads. Even before *du&ich* published its report on racism toward “guest workers,” many gay men were enthusiastically non-discriminating in personal ads. Throughout the 1970s, men seeking other men through personal ads in *du&ich* included phrases like “gladly including foreigners” (*auch gerne Ausländer*), or who were “delighted by foreigners too” (*auch Ausländer angenehm*), or, to emphasize the point “especially delighted by foreigners too” (*auch Ausländer besonders angenehm*).⁸² Some Germans in fact positively discriminated, searching for “an army boy or a foreign boy,” or writing that they “preferred foreigners” (*Ausländer bevorzugt*).⁸³ While one man from Celle specified in 1974 that he was looking for a “colored foreigner” (*farbige Ausländer*) and another man from Hamburg was looking for a “rocker guy or a southerner” (*Südländer*) in 1978, rarely did these men explicitly state from where they would like their desired “foreigner” to be.⁸⁴ More often men submitting personal ads simply wrote “also foreigners” (*auch Ausländer*), “nationality irrelevant” (*Nationalität egal*), or “nationality and skin color unimportant” (*Nationalität und Hautfarbe unwichtig*).⁸⁵ One man from North Rhine-Westphalia wrote in 1976 that being “bi[sexual] or a foreigner would not be an obstacle.”⁸⁶ Although relatively few men specifically searched for a southern European man, even rarer were men who identified as such. While one man in 1976 wrote that he was “dark, appearing southern European,” the vague term “dark” (*dunkel*) was more common, possibly pointing to the hesitancy some men had about at least initially identifying as a member of a racialized and marginalized group.⁸⁷ In addition, it is unlikely that many working-class immigrants could purchase magazines or buy a personal ad, as in 1976 *du&ich* cost 7.50DM (about \$14 in 2017) while placing an ad up to 20 words

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² “Freundschafts Anzeigen,” *du&ich*, August 1974, 20; 23; “Freundschafts Anzeigen,” *du&ich*, March 1976, 23; “Freundschafts Anzeigen,” *du&ich*, November 1978, 19; “Freundschafts Anzeigen,” *du&ich*, December 1978, 16; “Anzeigen,” *DON*, January 1974, 41.

⁸³ “Freundschafts Anzeigen,” *du&ich*, December 1978, 17.

⁸⁴ “Freundschafts Anzeigen,” *du&ich*, August 1974, 23; “Freundschafts Anzeigen,” *du&ich*, December 1978, 18.

⁸⁵ “Freundschafts Anzeigen,” *du & ich*, August 1974, 20; 34; “Freundschafts Anzeigen,” *du&ich*, November 1978, 21; “Freundschafts Anzeigen,” *du&ich*, December 1978, 18, 19; “Freundschafts Anzeigen,” *du & ich*, March 1976, 25; “Freundschafts Anzeigen,” *du&ich*, November 1978, 23.

⁸⁶ “Freundschafts Anzeigen,” *du&ich*, March 1976, 25.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 29.

cost 17.50DM, plus a fee of 7.50DM (a total of about \$40 in 2017), and each additional word cost 1DM. Those that did might run into language barriers or the challenge of storing gay magazines in shared housing.

Black men in West Germany were also met with desire and sometimes revulsion, sentiments that both often hinged on their perceived racial otherness. Although Afro-Germans were rarely spotlighted in West German gay magazines, images of black men, both in “exotic” settings that referenced tourism and in neutral settings that could be anywhere in West Germany, permeated the pages of *du&ich* and *him*.⁸⁸ In addition to printing these images and publishing travel reports to places like Togo, Senegal, and Haiti, where contact with black men was seen as the goal, *du&ich* advertised American porn magazines like *Mandingo 3 — Black Leather, Black Adonis 2*, and *Black Sugar* that, as their names might indicate, featured black men and especially “super-strong Negro models with magnificent measurements.”⁸⁹ However, desire did not always mean sexual contact. A survey conducted in German saunas of 790 gay men and published in October 1977 in *du&ich* showed that 93% of the men interviewed had never had an “intimate relationship” with a black person. 56% however were “very interested” in such a relationship while 8% found the idea of sex with a black man to be “revolting (*scheußlich*) and unthinkable.”⁹⁰ It is impossible to know if this survey was representative of West German gay men or even of *du&ich*’s readership. It is also impossible to know how truthful respondents were, as *du&ich*’s exposé on the lives of immigrant men in West Germany suggests that sexual attraction to non-white men was a good way to fight discrimination. The survey does however point to the multiple and competing ways racial otherness could be interpreted. At the same time, these moments of contact or possible contact within West Germany highlight other racial stereotypes of “dirty southerners” and “revolting” black men that do not show up in accounts of foreign travel.

88 This was by no means the case for all West German print media, which had anxiously discussed the existence of black Germans since at least the 1920s, when France used colonial Senegalese troops to occupy the Rhineland, some of whom fathered children with white German mothers. During and after the American occupation of parts of Germany in the wake of the Second World War, West German publications focused on the “problem” of the mixed-race children of African-American GIs and white German women. For more on the position of mixed-race children in postwar German society, see Heide Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler: Black Occupation Children in Post-war Germany and America* (Princeton, 2007). For more on the anxieties generated by black occupation soldiers in Germany, see Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill, 2002).

89 “Mandingo 3,” *du&ich*, June 1977, 17; “Lieferung von Magazinen + der neuen top-sex-Prospekte nur gegen Alter + Unterschrift,” *du&ich*, November 1977, 5.

90 “Noch nie mit einem Neger,” *du&ich*, October 1977, 53.

III. Growing Attention to Gay Rights around the World

Anxiety about same-sex desiring immigrants in West Germany as well as the legal constraints gay tourists might encounter abroad were linked to a growing concern regarding the situation of same-sex desiring men around the world, particularly under authoritarian regimes. Already in the early 1970s gay action groups were paying close attention to their “brothers and sisters” in other parts of the world.

The situation of gays in communist countries was of particular interest to left-leaning gay activists, given their claim that, in the words of Homosexual Action West Berlin (HAW), “discrimination against homosexuality is incompatible with the struggle for socialism.”⁹¹ In early 1973, two HAW members traveled to Poland to “get a picture of the situation of our Polish co-sisters [Mitschwestern].” The situation was bleak indeed. According to the three gay men with whom the West German activists met, “Homosexuality is almost completely taboo in Poland.”⁹² HAW also attempted to establish contact with gays in East Germany, but their efforts apparently were met with little success.⁹³ The less radical GLF Cologne used the example of socialism to make an opposite claim. In 1973, it argued that, “In the Soviet Union, in China, Cuba but also Israel — that is, in socialist social systems — homosexuals are discriminated against at least as much as in capitalist countries.” Consequently, West German leftists could not blame discrimination against homosexuals on capitalism or the FRG’s social system.⁹⁴

While different gay action groups used the situation in communist countries to shore up competing claims about capitalism and sexual repression, action groups and publications interpreted repression of same-sex activity in other parts of the world in a more unified manner. Not only were such reports oftentimes calls to solidarity, but they also helped position Western Europe and North America as places of relative freedom while simultaneously reinforcing racialized understandings of men of color, not unlike accounts of sex tourism. The difference between reports on political repression and travel reports was the former focused mainly on how anti-gay laws affected local men (and sometimes women), rather than the Euro-American tourists who wanted to sleep with them.

Of particular interest was the situation of homosexual men in Greece, who had reportedly faced repression since the military coup of 1967. In 1973, GLF Cologne reprinted an article from *Der Spiegel* about the “wave of cleansing against homos and prostitutes.” This was particularly concerning since, “according to the view of the Greek military, loving friendship between men in the cradle of pederasty [Knabenliebe] does not belong to the desired masculine ideal that is being cultivated in Greek barracks and cadet academies.”⁹⁵ In June of that year, DON also reported that the military crackdown on “pornography, prostitution, nudists, and pederasts” constituted a “hunt for homosexuals.”⁹⁶ In November 1973, gay activists organized a demonstration in Frankfurt together

⁹¹ “Homosexuellen-Diskriminierung ist mit dem Kampf für Sozialismus unvereinbar,” November 14, 1972, Folder: Homosexuelle Aktion Westberlin, Schwules Museum Berlin.

⁹² “Schwule in Polen: ein Reisebericht von S. und M.,” *HAW Info*, July 1973, 16–17.

⁹³ Jochen Gebauer, “Außenkontaktgruppe,” March 1973, Folder: Homosexuelle Aktion Westberlin, Schwules Museum Berlin.

⁹⁴ Maurice O’Brien de Clare, “Übrigens...,” *Information Köln GLF*, January 1973, 2.

⁹⁵ “Letzte Meldung!” *Information Köln GLF*, January 1973, 8.

⁹⁶ “Jagd auf Homos in Griechenland,” *DON*, June 1973, 12.

with “Greek comrades” against military persecution of homosexuals.⁹⁷ Although the military regime collapsed in 1974, the proposal of new anti-gay laws in 1979 elicited further outcry from gay activists, particularly AHA Berlin, which reported trouble in the “gay dreamland Hellas.”⁹⁸ In positioning the actions of the Greek government as contradictory to the country’s history of homosexuality, gay (and straight, in the case of *Der Spiegel*) publications and groups advanced a *Spartacus*-like idea of same-sex desire as being native to Greece. At the same time, the claim of gay groups not just in West Germany, but across Western Europe, that the EEC couldn’t accept Greece’s membership application if it implemented this law, positioned the Greek government’s actions as contradictory to the ideals of a liberal Western Europe.⁹⁹

97 “Veränderung unserer Zwischenmenschlichkeit,” *Schwul*, May 1974, 28.

98 “Ärger in Griechenland,” *AHA Info*, November 1980, 17.

99 *Ibid.*

100 Javier Fernández Galeano, “Is He a ‘Social Danger’?: The Franco Regime’s Judicial Prosecution of Homosexuality in Málaga under the Ley de Vagos y Maleantes,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 25 (2016): 1–31; Stamford, *Spartacus International Gay Guide* 5th ed. (Amsterdam, 1975), 500.

101 “Internationale Nachrichten,” *Köln GLF Journal*, February 1974, 6; “gay nachrichten,” *him*, February 1976, 4; “Brennpunkt,” *him*, July 1976, 5.

102 Stamford, *Spartacus International Gay Guide* 5th ed., 6.

103 “Über die Freiburger Tagung vom 28.-30.11.75,” January 4, 1976, Collection: Deutsche Aktionsgemeinschaft Homosexualität, Schwules Museum Berlin.

Various gay groups and publications similarly paid attention to the changing political landscape of Spain and Portugal. *Spartacus* in particular was concerned with reports of persecution of homosexual men coming out of Spain. Although Javier Fernández Galeano has shown that under the Franco regime there were loopholes, particularly for tourists, *Spartacus*’ concern went beyond how repression affected tourists and, in 1975, it asked its readers to write to the Spanish embassies in their countries and send money to the exiled *Movimiento de Liberación Homosexual Español* in New York.¹⁰⁰ Following the collapse of the Portuguese and Spanish dictatorships, GLF Cologne rejoiced in 1974 that, “Portuguese homosexuals can now step out of the shadows.” *him* also monitored these developments as well as the 1976 formation of the Spanish gay group Christian Brotherhood for Friendship (*Fraternidad Christiana de la amistad*).¹⁰¹

During and following the processes of liberalization in Portugal, Spain, and Greece, gay groups and publications focused on South American countries, particularly Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, as places where anti-gay repression was particularly harsh. In the same 1975 edition in which it encouraged readers to support Spanish gay groups, *Spartacus* implored its readers also to write to Chilean embassies to protest the “barbaric evils perpetrated against our gay brothers and sisters” and, more generally, to send letters of encouragement and financial support to gay organizations in “countries where oppression exists in a serious way.”¹⁰² In November of that year, a meeting of action groups in Freiburg established the Argentina campaign to raise money for the Homosexual Liberation Front (*Frente de Liberación Homosexual*) in exile in New York and to develop other strategies to help “Argentine brothers and sisters.”¹⁰³ In

March 1979, the editor-in-chief of *him*, Hans-Peter Reichelt, called for solidarity “with our friends in Rio de Janeiro,” particularly the magazine *LAMPIAO*, which was reportedly being threatened by the “half-dictatorial regime.”¹⁰⁴

These calls for action and solidarity reflect conflicting impulses of inclusion and exclusion. In visiting Polish “co-sisters,” demonstrating with “Greek comrades,” protesting persecution of Chilean “gay brothers and sisters,” and raising funds for “Argentine brothers and sisters,” West German gay organizations and publications asserted a universalist gay identity that not only could be found around the world, but mandated action in solidarity with gays in countries “where oppression exists in a serious way.”¹⁰⁵ At the same time, though, it established a dichotomy between Western European (and North American) liberalism and communist/Third World repression such that Greece could join the EEC *only if* it rejected proposed anti-gay laws. This tension seems to contradict processes of exclusion stemming from sex tourism and exotic imagery that hinged on essentializing representations of race. While it was politically advantageous to include all same-sex desiring men and women in an international gay community, travel reports and accounts of immigrants in West Germany often positioned people of color outside an implicitly white West German gay community. Gay publications did not recognize this as a contradiction. Instead they often published calls for solidarity alongside exoticizing images of men of color and travel reports on the charming and happy “natives” of Togo, Haiti, and the Philippines.

By 1979, West German publications increasingly described West Germany and, by extension, Western Europe and North America as places of greater sexual liberalism. Attention to persecution around the world reinforced this perception, as gay groups and publications claimed that it was their duty to help their “brothers and sisters” in other countries. Not only did this place Western Europe and North America as paragons of sexual progressivism, but they mapped a universalist gay identity onto diverse sexual experiences around the world and established a mode of resistance that centered on group organization. This process became even more pronounced after 1979 as the Iranian Revolution highlighted Islam as another source of sexual repression and the International Gay Association, founded in 1978, helped position West German organizational tactics in an international framework.

104 Hans-Peter Reichelt, “Gegen brasiliанische Presse- und Polizei-Willkür,” *him*, March 1979, 6–7.

105 As Bradley Boovy points out, however, German terms ranging from *gleichgesinnt* (like-minded) to *schwul* that have also been used to indicate a cohesive identity based on same-sex attraction could (and can) also inherit racialized notions of sameness and in fact exclude people of color around the world. Bradley Boovy, “Troubling Sameness,” *Women in German Yearbook* 32 (2016): 152–3; Western European women’s movements have also expressed this idea of kinship with oppressed groups in the so-called “Third World,” calling women in countries of the Global South “sisters” while simultaneously remaining blind to the specific cultural and national contexts in which these women lived. Sarah Gracke has further shown how these concepts can be applied to European contexts to argue that “Muslim sisters” in places like the Netherlands are in need of saving from Muslim men. Sarah Gracke, “From ‘saving women’ to ‘saving gays’: Rescue narratives and their dis/continuities,” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 19 (2012): 241.

IV. The Iranian Revolution and the Formation of the International Gay Association

Prior to the Iranian Revolution of 1979, West German gay groups and publications rarely noted the persecution of same-sex desiring men in Middle Eastern and North African countries. There were some scattered reports of repression against homosexuals in North African and Middle Eastern countries. In 1974 GLF Cologne reported Gaddafi's new prison sentence for sexual contact between adult men, and in 1979 *him* reported that three men were sentenced to death in Saudi Arabia because they raped and killed a young man.¹⁰⁶ In addition, publications and groups were concerned about what the changing legal situation in North Africa might mean for European and North American tourists. However, it wasn't until the Iranian Revolution in spring 1979 that West German gay activists began calling for solidarity with gays in a Muslim-majority country and started to see Islam as a possible source of anti-gay repression, alongside Eastern European communism and Latin American dictatorships.

The Iranian Revolution, which established an Islamic Republic in the country in April 1979 and installed Ruhollah Khomeini as Supreme Leader, was met with a reaction of confusion and dismay by many West German gay activists. While the rule of the Pahlavi dynasty was heavily contested in West German gay activist circles and publications prior to 1979, the former Shah had "never been accused of harming the homos," as one HAW activist sarcastically put it.¹⁰⁷ Under the new government, this was no longer the case, yet the regime also did not proceed to suppress uniformly all same-sex practices. As part of the general reversal of the sexual reforms of the 1960s and 1970s, the new regime began to crack down on clandestine urban gay communities, while simultaneously permitting (or, more accurately, ignoring) the continuation of same-sex emotional and even sexual intimacy in sex-segregated spaces.¹⁰⁸ However, those whom the government did choose to prosecute were quickly tried and often executed, eliciting outrage from both West German and Western European activists.

Already in June 1979, when the status of the revolution was still unclear, *him* reported that a revolutionary court found six men guilty of running a homosexual prostitution ring and sentenced them to execution by firing squad.¹⁰⁹ In that same issue, *him* elaborated that in Shiraz, three young men were executed for "sodomy" and four

¹⁰⁶ "internationale nachrichten," *Köln GLF Journal*, February 1974, 5-6. "Andere Sitten," *him*, January 1979, 14.

¹⁰⁷ "Zu einem Brief von D.M. Specht (Chefred. von 'him') an HSM Münster den Indizierungsantrag gegen das Magazin 'him' betreffend," October 29, 1972, Homo-sexuelle Aktion Westberlin, Schwules Museum, Berlin.

¹⁰⁸ One Iranian gay activist in the 2000s even called Iran a "homosexual paradise," since before the revolution, it was only possible to establish sexual contact with other men in elite hotels and bars, while afterwards it was relatively easy to find willing men in parks. Janet Afary, *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran* (Cambridge, 2009), 289.

¹⁰⁹ "Iran," *him*, June 1979, 9.

young men were sentenced to death for sexually assaulting another man in Tehran (which, *him* admitted, “would also be punished in democratic countries, though not with death”).¹¹⁰ In August 1979, *him* reported that 150–200 people in Tehran had been imprisoned for “insulting Islamic morals,” while 16 people had been executed on these grounds.¹¹¹ These accounts were then echoed in other magazines. In 1980, *du&ich* wrote that concubinage had been reintroduced as a legal practice, while *Gay Journal* claimed in 1983 that Iran had introduced a “new world of concentration camps” to house its prisoners, including homosexual men, and in 1984 reported that women convicted of adultery were liable to be stoned.¹¹²

These reports of imprisonment and execution based on assault, “sodomy,” and “insulting Islamic morals” underscore the difficulty of determining who had been convicted because of consensual relations under a law that did not distinguish between consensual sex and rape. At the same time, as Janet Afary has stressed, “the popular notion that Islamism has enforced a harsh form of sexual repression on the Iranian people does not convey the complexity that has taken place.”¹¹³ While that is not to deny the brutality that some Iranians faced under the new regime, it does point to a general lack of information on a new sexual economy that allowed for some forms of same-sex sexual activity and women’s participation in the public sphere while suppressing others.

To account for these contradictions, some West German gay publications pointed to Islam as the cause of this reported violence — indeed, the use of Islam was central to the making of the revolution and revolutionary Iranian identity.¹¹⁴ In reporting on a string of executions, *him* claimed that, in addition to the “famous” punishment for thieves, Islamic law mandated that any homosexual be thrown from the roof of his house.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, it was difficult at this moment for gay publications to claim that homophobia was inherent to Islam, given the ongoing tradition of seeking out same-sex intimacies in Islamicate countries. In August 1979, *him* called the Iranian suppression of homosexuals part of its “medieval clerical fanaticism,” while, in the same article, calling Iran one of “the birth places of homophilia,” which, in just three months of revolution, had turned homosexuality into an abnormality, sickness, and perversion.¹¹⁶ While for centuries European scholars had attempted to draw distinctions between Persian “civilization” and “foreign” Islamic influences, *him* made no such move, arguing that Iran’s “long and honored gay culture” was part of the Middle East’s “Islamic tradition.”¹¹⁷

¹¹⁰ Kurt Rauschen, “Im Namen Khomeinis: Schwulenhatz in Teheran,” *him*, June 1979, 52.

¹¹¹ Peter Larsen, “Revolution im Iran,” *him*, August 1979, 34.

¹¹² “Konkubinen wieder zugelassen,” *du&ich*, 1980 [unknown month], 30, clipping in Richard Plant Papers, Box 21, New York Public Library; “Folter im Iran,” *Gay Journal*, April 1983, 16; “Khomeinis Terror geht weiter,” *Gay Journal*, January 1984, 7.

¹¹³ Afary, 325.

¹¹⁴ Shabnam J. Holliday, *Defining Iran: Politics of Resistance* (Surrey, 2011).

¹¹⁵ Rauschen, 52.

¹¹⁶ Larsen, 34.

¹¹⁷ As Joseph A. Massad points out, one of the clearest cases of this can be found in Ernest Renan’s 1883 lecture, “Islamism and Science,” in which he argues that the only exception to the “intellectual” nullity of “states governed by Islam” was Persia, which had retained its “genius.” Joseph A. Massad, *Desiring Arabs* (Chicago, 2007), 12–13.; Larsen, 34.

In January 1980, *him* used the example of Iran to make a case about gender and sexuality in North Africa. Admitting that there existed nothing comparable to Khomeini and his regime in other “Muslim states,” *him* did claim that “the oppression of homosexuals belongs to an everyday picture of an environment that is marked by the teachings of Mohammed.”¹¹⁸ While *him* did claim further that “it would be altogether false to speak of a systematic hunt for homosexuals” in North Africa, it reached the conclusion that, “strictly religious Arabs” viewed European women’s and gay liberation movements as a sign of “moral decadence.”¹¹⁹ In referencing the extreme and well-documented case of Iran, *him* claimed that across Southwest Asia and North Africa Islam generated homophobia and misogyny, in opposition to the liberation movements of Europe. Nevertheless, according to *him*, a man who had a sexual relationship with women but also slept with men on the side “has no social repression to fear,” thereby attempting to account for both Iranian/Islamic sexual repression and Arab bisexuality/pederasty.¹²⁰

The Iranian Revolution, which helped to influence this perception of Islam as a tool of the sexually repressive state, coincided with the formation of the International Gay Association (IGA). Founded in Coventry, England in August 1978, the International Gay Association aimed to organize gay rights organizations around the world and pressure national governments and international bodies to recognize gay rights as human rights.¹²¹ By 1980, the IGA included among its 45 member organizations the Action Group Homosexuality Bonn, the Gay Action Committee Cologne, the Gay Liberation Front Cologne, the General Homosexual Work Group Berlin, the German Green Party, and the German Study and Work Group Pedophilia.¹²² Because of the timing of its founding, the IGA paid close attention to the unfolding situation in Iran. Already in March 1979, Enzo Francone, a representative of the IGA and the Italian gay group FUORI!, went to Iran to protest oppression of homosexuals there with a one-man demonstration and press conference in front of Tehran’s central prison. Unsurprisingly, Francone was quickly arrested. This triggered immediate action from IGA networks in Western Europe and the United States, which contacted Iranian embassies demanding his release. Francone was released within 90 minutes. Although it is unclear whether the IGA influenced the decision to release Francone, *him* determined that the dramatic sequence of events required a detailed account in its July issue.¹²³ In terms of extra-national protesting of the Iranian government,

¹¹⁸ “Islam Nordafrika,” *him*, January 1980, 54.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 54-55.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 55.

¹²¹ “Internationale Pläne der IGA (International Gay Association) beschlossen auf der Sitzung in Bergen aan Zee (Nederland) Ostern 1979,” April 1979, Box: International Gay Association, Schwules Museum Berlin.

¹²² As mentioned, the issue of whether pedophilia or ephebophilia (desire for adolescents) were acceptable identities and should be incorporated into national and international gay rights movements was highly visible during the 1970s and lasted into the 1980s. According to Magdalena Beljan, it was only in the context of the AIDS crisis of the 1980s that the “P-question” fell into the background in publications like *du&ich*. Beljan, 162.

¹²³ “Konzertante Aktion in Teheran,” *him*, July 1979, 27.

Clint Hockenberry, the IGA's American liaison, and Edmund Lynch, the IGA Informational Secretary, credited the IGA with putting into place a snowball telephone system which, in late 1979, reportedly brought out 2,000 Danish people to protest arrests in Iran.¹²⁴ West German gay activists and publications were thus participating in both national and international activist frameworks that paid close attention to Iran and looked for ways to resist its regime.

However, the IGA regarded Iran as just one of a number of countries that oppressed homosexuals. In 1979, for example, the *tageszeitung* reported that the organization was attempting to inform the International Human Rights commission in Strasbourg of conditions in Iran, the Soviet Union, Finland, Brazil, "and other countries with extremely sexually repressive regimes."¹²⁵ In 1980, Francone took his demonstration to the Red Square in Moscow to protest the criminalization of homosexuality in the country that was hosting the Olympics.¹²⁶ As part of its ongoing attempt to convince Amnesty International as well as national governments to recognize homosexuals as "prisoners of conscience" in certain countries and therefore eligible for asylum, the IGA announced at its second annual meeting in 1980 in Barcelona a particular commitment to Iranian and Argentine refugees.¹²⁷ While Islam may have been to blame for repression of homosexuality in Iran, in a 1984 interview with *Schauplatz*, IGA General Secretary Jean-Claude Letist argued that, "there's a big problem in Latin America because of the typical masculine ideal there, that of the 'macho'."¹²⁸

In other words, Islam, in particular Islam in Iran, became only *one* lens through which the repression of homosexuality around the world might be interpreted. However, this focus on repression also in the Global South did help to coalesce an understanding of Western European and North American countries as particularly tolerant of homosexuality; consequently, gay groups located in those countries — also as represented in the IGA — had a particular responsibility to help gay people in other parts of the world. The AHA Berlin used its English-language report on a 1980 IGA conference workshop to make precisely this point. Criticizing what it saw as West German gay political apathy, the AHA Berlin argued that, "The number of those who have given up any social interest and are living an exclusively narcissistic [sic] life has increased alarmingly in recent years. This has been especially the case in those western countries with relatively liberal legislation for homosexuals."¹²⁹ Rather than using the

¹²⁴ Harold Pickett, "Making Our Movement International," *Gay Community News* January 26, 1980.

¹²⁵ "Der Widerstand formiert sich" *taz* November 28, 1979.

¹²⁶ Brochure, "IGA: International Gay Association of Lesbians/Gay Women & Gay Men European Regional Meeting" 1983, Box: International Gay Association, Schwules Museum Berlin.

¹²⁷ Minutes of the First Plenary Session, Saturday 5 April 1980, Box: International Gay Association, Schwules Museum Berlin.

¹²⁸ *Schauplatz?* 1/84 "IGA Konferenz" Claus Gillmann, 12.

¹²⁹ Workshop concerning the social and political views of IGA, c.1980, Box: International Gay Association, Schwules Museum Berlin.

traditional understanding from the first half of the 1970s that gays needed to mobilize to counter discrimination within West Germany, the AHA Berlin here made a case that, because Western countries were more tolerant of homosexuality, gays in West Germany had a duty to mobilize on behalf of those living in more repressive lands. West German gay groups, gay publications, and even mainstream publications both helped construct this international framework in the late 1970s and early 1980s and fostered awareness of the IGA's activities and of repression in other countries to the West German reading public.

Conclusion

By the early 1980s, the expansion of international sex tourism, increasingly racialized representations of southern European, particularly Turkish, immigrants in the Federal Republic, and collaboration with gay activist groups in Western Europe and North America generated contradictory discourses of inclusion and exclusion that nevertheless privileged Western Europe and North America as regions of considerable sexual freedom. The diversity of gay politics, sexual practices, and desires was evident in reports of sex tourism as well as in travel guides themselves. As travel became cheaper and more accessible for middle class West Germans in the late 1960s and early 1970s, West German and Western European gay men were able to travel the world in pursuit of exoticized men. While *du&ich* preferred Bangkok, John Stamford of *Spartacus* could not recommend the Philippines enough. North Africa, once a place of refuge for homosexual Europeans, was met with increasing ambivalence by West German tourists who found Casablanca dirty and the men of Cairo deceitful. Nevertheless, the fantasy of Arabian Nights in North Africa and the Middle East remained. Despite the wide range of experiences and desires articulated in the pages of West German gay magazines during the 1970s, travel reports and images of men of color often relied on old, Orientalist understandings of non-white sexuality that were nevertheless compatible with anti-racist politics.

¹³⁰ Although it is undeniable that West Germany underwent a demographic shift in the decades following the Second World War, as other contributions to this collection will show, Germany had been a place of political, religious, and racial diversity for centuries.

At the same time, some West German gay men applied racialized understandings to immigrant men living in the Federal Republic, navigating West Germany's supposedly new racial diversity through sexual practices and desires.¹³⁰ *du&ich* advocated building sexually intimate relationships with men from southern Europe, and some

white West German men sought out men of color through personal ads. However, others were unsettled by the presence of black men or men from southern Europe in West Germany, as indicated in personal ads, published surveys, and published reports. Although it was met with different answers, the question of whether immigrant men “belonged” in gay spaces reinforced the dichotomy between an implicitly white German gay subject and “foreigners,” increasingly marked as Turkish. This question emerged alongside a growing attention to the situation of same-sex desiring men outside North America and Western Europe. West German gay activists and publications often ascribed these men a universalist gay identity, which ignored the diversity of sexual experiences around the world, while simultaneously positioning Western Europe and North America as regions of greater sexual freedom. While the boundaries of Western Europe were fuzzy and, over the course of the 1970s, grew to include Spain, Portugal, and Greece, by 1979 the tension between an inclusionary gay identity and an exclusionary understanding of Western Europe as sexually progressive permeated West German gay politics.

The Iranian Revolution of 1979 helped to position Islam alongside other factors contributing to the repression of sexual dissidence around the world, including communism in Eastern Europe and China and authoritarian dictatorships in South America. It would be misleading to assert (not to mention almost impossible to prove) that gay activists and publications saw Islam as the most important factor contributing to sexual repression or that they even held a unified interpretation of the relationship between Islam and homosexuality. Nevertheless, by the early 1980s, some gay activists and publications used Islam to interpret sexual repression in opposition to Western freedom in a way that would have been virtually impossible even a decade before. Not only were Islamicate countries for centuries perceived as refuges from repressive European laws and sites of “deviant” pleasures, but even when the legal situation began to shift after the Second World War, police raids, corruption, and imposition of new laws were rarely, if ever attributed to Islam prior to the late 1970s.

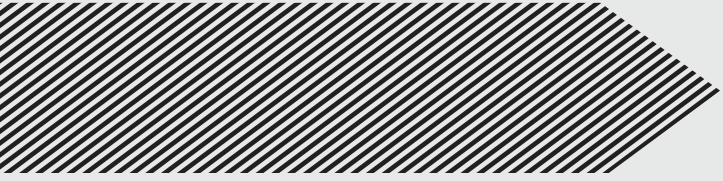
Whether in the Middle East, South America, or Eastern Europe the tension between the inclusive extension of a universalist gay identity to same-sex desiring men around the world and the exclusive privileging of Western Europe and North America centers of sexual progress helped bolster the transnational project of the IGA and its

¹³¹ In addition to Beljan, for more on AIDS in West Germany, see: Peter-Paul Bänziger, "Vom Seuche- zum Präventionskörper? Aids und Körperpolitik im deutschsprachigen Raum der 1980er Jahre," *Body Politics* 2 (2014): 179-214; Günter Frankenberg, "Germany: The Uneasy Triumph of Pragmatism," in David Kirp and Ronald Bayer, eds., *AIDS in the Industrialized Democracies: Passions, Politics, and Policies* (New Brunswick, 1992); Sebastian Haus, "Risky Sex — Risky Language: HIV/AIDS and the West German Gay Scene in the 1980s," *Historical Social Research* 41 (2016): 111-134.

West German affiliates. By granting same-sex desiring men a gay identity and conceptually distancing them from their repressive governments, West German gay activists could pursue a progressive political agenda that sought the establishment of liberal governments around the world. At the same time, West German gay activist organizations and the IGA largely refrained from criticizing sex tourism and its concomitant perpetuation of Orientalist representations, while gay publications and guides viewed sex tourism as compatible with, or even directly supporting, the push for gay rights around the world.

These developments laid the political groundwork for the following decade, when, in 1983, the arrival of AIDS in West Germany became a chief concern of gay activists and publications alike.¹³¹ Faced with threats of government repression, societal homophobia, and death, gay activists and the newly-founded German AIDS Help (*Deutsche AIDS-Hilfe*), looked for ways to collaborate with activists and health workers in other affected countries as well as members of other affected groups, particularly sex workers, intravenous drug users, hemophiliacs, and immigrants. In this context, the competing dynamics of inclusion and exclusion produced by the multiple ways in which the gay rights movement had internationalized during the 1970s would have far-reaching consequences as anti-racism and anti-xenophobia (re)emerged as a central focus for many gay activists. It wouldn't be until the early 1990s, however, that debates over the exploitative and racist elements of sex tourism emerged among mainstream gay activist groups as a universalist approach to anti-racism became central to both German and international gay rights activism.

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Conference Reports

THE UNITED STATES AND WORLD WAR I: PERSPECTIVES AND LEGACIES

39th annual conference of historians in the German Association for American Studies (DGFA/GAAS), held at the Heidelberg Center for American Studies, February 10-12, 2017. Conveners: Manfred Berg (University of Heidelberg) and Axel Jansen (German Historical Institute Washington). Participants: Dirk Bönker (Duke University), Manuel Franz (University of Heidelberg), Mischa Honeck (GHI), Andreas Hübner (University of Kassel), Jennifer Keene (Chapman University), Ross A. Kennedy (Illinois State University), Charlotte Lerg (University of Münster), Jörg Nagler (University of Jena), Elisabeth Piller (Trondheim University), Helke Rausch (University of Freiburg), Lara Track (University of Heidelberg), Matthias Voigt (University of Frankfurt), Katja Wüstenbecker (University of Hamburg/University of Jena).

The year 2017 marks the centennial of the United States' entry into World War I. The Great War had a profound impact on the U.S. Domestically, the period between 1914 and 1918 represented both the climax and the turning point of the Progressive reform movement. Internationally, the conflict shifted the global balance of power to set the stage for what has been called the "American century." This conference provided an opportunity to reassess the war's significance in American history.

In their opening remarks, Berg and Jansen introduced the conference theme by drawing a parallel between World War I and current political events. Toward the beginning of the welcome speech, they addressed the elephant in the room — Donald J. Trump. Indeed, it seems only natural to keep in mind recent political developments when reflecting on the transformative years of early twentieth-century U.S. history. World War I usually is considered as the event that turned the U.S. into a world power, even if the country initially shied away from this role after the war. Warning against presentism, however, Berg and Jansen emphasized that the past should be studied on its own merits in order to make such analysis fruitful for questions of the present. The conference presentations picked up on this core idea and studied America's involvement in the "European War" from various fascinating angles, comparing developments during the period of U.S. neutrality to decisions taken when the U.S. had joined World War I.

The conference's first panel, titled "Preparing for War," focused on the American debate over proper defense measures that followed the outbreak of the European conflict in 1914. Dirk Bönker analyzed the U.S. naval leadership's vision for American global power that was reflected in the goal to create a navy "second to none." Bönker argued that World War I actualized the Navy's already existing ambitions for global mastery and reinforced its understanding of world politics as a struggle for supremacy. Having identified commercial strife as the most pressing issue of international relations, naval elites regarded the American fleet as an instrument of economic geopolitics. Their unilateral view of the United States as an imperial power in a competitive milieu of global empires, Bönker highlighted, stood in sharp contrast to the Wilsonian language of anti-geopolitics. Manuel Franz explored the key role of civilian defense societies in the American preparedness movement. By surveying their activities, pamphlets, and lobby work, he highlighted how the groups shaped the public debate on national security and acted as principal agents of preparedness. As such, defense societies did not end their propaganda campaign once the United States entered the war or even after the Allies' victory but intensified their activities in 1917 and in 1918. Viewing the movement through the lens of its civilian branch, Franz argued against historiography's traditional periodization of the defense debate. The historiographic time frame of preparedness, he emphasized, cannot be limited chronologically to America's years of neutrality, but must include the period after 1917.

In his keynote lecture, Ross A. Kennedy analyzed the strategic calculations of Woodrow Wilson's neutrality policy following the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The President's harsh reaction toward Germany's submarine warfare, he argued, was highly influenced by Wilson's view of the war's impact on U.S. national security. Kennedy explained that the President's strategic calculations profoundly differed from those of his Secretary of State, who would resign over this disagreement. William Jennings Bryan's approach of impartial neutrality toward the belligerents was based on the fundamental assumption that, regardless of who won the war, America's security would be assured due to its remote geographic location and its great military potential. Wilson, on the other hand, believed that a victorious Germany would pose a vital threat to the American way of life, though he deemed a German victory to be unlikely. Wilson concluded that the best policy was to keep up good relations with the British to ensure the Allies would agree to an American-mediated settlement once they began

to prevail over the Central Powers. Wilson's strategic calculations in the submarine crisis, Kennedy outlined, led him to define American rights at stake in the most inflated way possible. The President's shift toward a more genuinely neutral position in mid-1916 came too late to avert the ultimate escalation in German-American relations in early 1917.

Opening Panel II, which centered on the topics of mobilization and propaganda, Elisabeth Piller spoke about the impact of war relief campaigns during the neutrality period. She reflected upon the question whether American relief work could be considered a factor of war culture and repudiated the leading opinion that relief work was motivated by pure humanitarianism and, thus, apolitical. By focusing on two camps of humanitarian aid providers, who supported either German or Belgian victims of war and famine, she demonstrated that their proponents held differing beliefs about the war in Europe and the belligerents. Notions about who was innocent and thus deserving of help prominently played into relief work, which was, as Piller elucidated, all but an impartial humanitarian effort. Thus, war relief campaigns directed emotional alliances and constituted an integral precursor of mobilization. Following Piller's talk, Katja Wüstenbecker commented on the Committee for Public Information's strategy to brace the American public for war. Discussing George Creel's roots in progressive journalism, Wüstenbecker portrayed the CPI as an example of how government can make use of the media to influence public opinion. By demonstrating that the majority of Americans received material by the CPI, and that this same material fueled stereotypes about citizens of the Central Powers, Wüstenbecker made a strong case for the CPI's crucial role in American propaganda.

Focusing on the urban context of a Northern and Southern metropolis, the third panel dealt with the perspective of German-Americans during World War I. Jörg Nagler reassessed their experience in New York City during the neutrality period. He outlined how the perception of German-Americans transformed, in less than three years, from a role model immigrant group into the enemy within — a process Nagler called "metamorphosis." As the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915 and the Black Tom Explosion in July 1916 fueled the anti-hyphenated fever, German-Americans had to react to the challenge of dual loyalties. The war, Nagler argued, became an agent of change that forced immigrants to constantly negotiate their identities — often with ambiguous results. Andreas Hübner explored the German-American

community of New Orleans during the neutrality period. He illustrated how the European war mobilized the immigrant community and created new networks of patronage. Often supported by state and city officials, German-Americans engaged in war relief activities and waged a campaign to reintroduce German language classes into the city's high schools. Spearheaded by the German Society of New Orleans, they vigorously challenged pro-Allied propaganda to support the fatherland. Their cultural and intellectual responses to the European war, Hübner concluded, revitalized the immigrant community and made New Orleans a stronghold of German-American filiopietists.

In the second keynote lecture of the conference, Jennifer Keene explored the impact of World War I on social justice movements, focusing on civil liberties, female suffrage, and African-American civil rights. While acknowledging that actors for social change faced oppression in the war period, Keene argued that the situation also created moments of innovation and the impetus for many activists to reconsider organizational structure and strategies. The Civil Liberties Union, she pointed out, was born out of the movement against conscription. Keene directed her focus toward the question of how social movements prospered in the war. She illustrated that patriotic endeavors helped legitimate activists' positions. Members of the National Union of American Women, for instance, succeeded in making the women's vote appear respectable by getting involved in home front activities and thus improving their public image. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had experienced a growth in members before the war. While African-Americans continued to face extreme violence and oppression during and after the war, civil rights activists gained valuable experience in local organizing and developed strategies to fight against lynching on a judicial level. The NAACP further profited from a rise in publicity that would, in the long run, contribute to its success as the chief organization in the fight for African-American civil rights. Keene concluded by reinforcing her thesis that the war created opportunities for social movements. A new sense of citizenship that grew out of the war marked a turning point in their history and a basis for successes later in the century.

The fourth panel explored new perspectives on the social impact of the war. Mischa Honeck discussed the demographic and symbolic capital that societies assign to children in wartime. While acknowledging the

interdependence of class, race, gender, and regions, Honeck focused on the category of age in his analysis. He explored ideas about childhood in contemporary representations of children and adolescents and shed light upon their wartime experiences. These included a range of patriotic leisure activities, as well as opportunities, particularly for young people of color, to participate in protests for a safe America. Finally, Honeck made the case for viewing children as historical actors and for using childhood as an analytical framework. Matthias Voigt presented a paper on Native American soldiers fighting in World War I. Analyzing their enlistment motives, wartime experiences, and veteran activities, he illustrated how their participation in the conflict made the men reinvent their masculine subjectivities. The Great War, Voigt argued, transplanted existing notions of tribal warriorhood into U.S. military service, thus syncretizing both Native and Western martial traditions. Subsequently, the conflict not only brought a cultural revitalization of Native Americans' martial heritage, but set a precedent of American Indian service in a white man's army.

The conference's final panel dealt with the legacy of World War I. Charlotte Lerg reassessed the war's impact on interpretations of academic freedom. Focusing on collective actors such as the Association of American University Professors (AAUP), Lerg argued that, although German influence was undeniable and *Lehr-* and *Lernfreiheit* had long been admired concepts, the war provided both a challenge and an opportunity to define a new social purpose, as well as inciting unity, for American academia. While academics felt responsible for keeping the nonpartisan nature of academic freedom alive, pressure on American universities to take a stand for their country increased during the war. Two distinct versions of academic freedom emerged that served as the basis for legal and public arguments, institutionalized academic freedom, emphasized the autonomy of the individual scholar, and, therefore, shaped American academia for decades to come. In the conference's final presentation, Helke Rausch explored how World War I influenced the establishment of American philanthropy. Centering on the Rockefeller Foundation, Rausch identified philanthropic efforts during wartime, including funding for health campaigns and war relief, as hitherto unknown opportunities for science-led interventions abroad. She demonstrated that philanthropists challenged the idea of neutrality even before the beginning of hostilities and continued to strive for mobilization once the United States had entered the war. Furthermore, Rausch revealed that the experience philanthropists had gained under the particular

conditions of war inspired their endeavors in the 1920s and onwards, thus building a foundation for global American philanthropy in the twentieth century.

Over the course of the conference, it became clear that World War I furthered a socializing process by mobilizing various segments of society: women and men, children and adults, native, hyphenated, and mainstream Americans, soldiers and civilians, nationalists and global philanthropists, and even academics. Thus, the war functioned as a catalyst for social change that shaped U.S. society for decades to come.

Manuel Franz (University of Heidelberg) and Lara Track (University of Heidelberg)

MAPPING ENTANGLEMENTS: DYNAMICS OF MISSIONARY KNOWLEDGE AND "MATERIALITIES" ACROSS SPACE AND TIME (16TH TO 20TH CENTURIES)

Workshop at the German Historical Institute Washington (GHI), February 10-11, 2017. Conveners: Sabina Brevaglieri (GHI Rome), Elisabeth Engel (GHI) in collaboration with the History of Knowledge Research Group at the GHI Washington and the GHI Rome. Participants: Ana Rita Amaral (University of Lisbon), Martin Baumeister (GHI Rome), Eva Bischoff (University of Trier), Christopher Blakley (Rutgers University), Manuela Bragagnolo (Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte, Frankfurt), Sabina Brevaglieri (GHI Rome), José Casanova (Georgetown University), Otto Danwerth (Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte, Frankfurt), Jeffrey M. Diamond (Clarion University), Elisabeth Engel (GHI), Fabian Fechner (Fernuniversität Hagen), Cécile Fromont (University of Chicago), Rebekka Habermas (University of Göttingen), Richard Hözl (University of Göttingen), Florence Hsia (University of Wisconsin-Madison), Simone Lässig (GHI), David Lazar (GHI), David Lindenfeld (Louisiana State University), Anne Mariss (University of Regensburg), Maud Michaud (Université du Maine, Le Mans), John O'Malley (Georgetown University), Senayon Olaoluwa (University of Ibadan), Federico Palomo (Universidad Complutense, Madrid), Irina Pawlowsky (University of Tübingen), Ines Prodöhl (GHI), Justin Reynolds (Columbia University), Regina Sarreiter (Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin), Chandra C. Sekhar (English and Foreign Languages University, Hyderabad), Ulrike Strasser (University of California, San Diego), Stefano Villani (University of Maryland), Kerstin von der Krone (GHI), Guillermo Wilde (National Scientific Council of Argentina, Buenos Aires).

Investigations into the history of missionary societies constitute an expanding field in colonial and global historiography. Contributing to this body of research, this workshop focused on a specific aspect of missionary history. It examined missionaries as key actors of production and transfer of knowledge across cultural, geographical, and social boundaries. As such, the workshop, adopting the perspective of the history of knowledge, aimed at providing new insights into the entangled history of the modern world. It was divided into six panels, each focusing on a specific aspect of missionary knowledge production.

The first panel on “Negotiations” examined the ways and means in which missionaries contributed to the production of scientific

knowledge about the colonial Other. Christopher Blakley investigated the link between missionary plantation economy, slavery, and anatomical knowledge on eighteenth-century Barbados. Richard Hözl reconstructed the production of ethnographic knowledge about intimate bodily practices by members of the Catholic mission in German East Africa, arguing that missionaries created an alternative body of ethnographic knowledge that did not enter academic discourses and curricula. Similarly, Maud Michaud demonstrated how anthropological knowledge gathered by the missionaries as well as the material artefacts that represented it were displayed in missionary exhibitions across the British Empire to promote the religious work of the societies. She revealed how these displays established a domain in which ethnographic knowledge circulated beyond the academic sphere.

In the second panel on “Translations and Transformation” three case studies investigated a key aspect of missionary work, namely negotiating the complexities of cultural translation. Stefano Villani retraced the steps of early Quaker traveling ministers and their activities in Catholic Europe. Fabian Fechner reconstructed how Jesuit compendia of medicinal plants were employed in nineteenth-century efforts to establish South American nation states as “imagined communities.” He emphasized the political and symbolic value of manuscripts as sources for the newly established national historiographies and as diplomatic gifts. Senayon Olaoluwa demonstrated how Ogu converts in southwestern Nigeria translated the biblical story of original sin into narratives of the royal python in pre-Christian Ogu culture, thereby resolving questions about the serpent’s ambiguous role as God’s instrument and seducer of mankind.

In her keynote lecture, “Mapping Entanglements: Missionary Knowledge in Colonial Times,” Rebekka Habermas discussed three characteristics of missionary knowledge and its connection to processes producing knowledge around 1900. The first element of missionary knowledge was its secular side. Bringing the gospel to future Christians involved building a corpus of practical knowledge instrumental to a mission’s success, namely developing an (at least basic) understanding of local languages and of the mindset of prospective converts. Colonial rule as well as many academic fields in the humanities and social sciences (most prominently linguistic disciplines and anthropology) benefited from the information gathered by missionaries “in the field.” Secondly, Habermas pointed out, it is important to acknowledge the religious character of missionary knowledge.

Although arising from the practical necessities of missionary work and often in collaboration with local intermediaries, it was deeply structured by the missionaries' religious beliefs and values. This aspect becomes most obvious in considering the materiality of knowledge production: Missionaries not only collected cultural artefacts but also destroyed those they identified as fetish objects. In a seemingly paradoxical move, they created knowledge by demolishing cultural heritage. Simultaneously, missionaries shaped and reinforced a specific knowledge of boundaries (civilized-primitive, Christian-heathen, superstition/magic-religion, sacred-secular) by displaying cultural artefacts in self-organized exhibitions, for instance at fundraising events or church gatherings. As such, knowledge produced by religious exhibitions was different from that organized on the academic level — spreading a clear vision of boundaries and identities. Despite these differences, Habermas argued in her third and last point, there were many commonalities between academic and missionary knowledge. Both were marginalized in society — and missionary knowledge was in turn marginalized in academic discourse. This assessment holds particularly true in the field of anthropology — ironically along a distinction introduced by missionaries themselves, namely the one between the sacred (religion) and the secular (science). None of the three aspects discussed in her presentation, Habermas pointed out, have been explored by historians in their entirety, leaving ample room for future researchers to explore.

The third panel took a closer look at the “tools” of missionary knowledge production: maps (Irina Pawlowsky), images (Cécile Fromont), and statistical questionnaires (Justin Reynolds). A close examination of these instruments reveals their ambivalent character, as Fromont demonstrated with regard to engravings decorating the manuscripts of Capuchin friars who traveled west central Africa (today's Congo and Angola) during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Her “close reading” revealed that these illustrations not only represented European conceptions of the continent but also the interactions between central Africans and the missionaries entering their world and the processes of negotiation and translation resulting from their engagement.

The contributions to panel four, entitled “Co-productions,” presented, first, the results of a scholarly collaboration, namely Manuela Bragagnolo's and Otto Danwerth's investigations of norms and mediatic forms employed by the Spanish crown in late sixteenth- and

early seventeenth-century Ibero-American codices (the so-called *pragmatici*). Secondly, Florence Hsia inquired into the co-production of missionary knowledge and academic sinology in adopting a materialist approach to knowledge artefacts. Interpreting notes, notebooks, letters, or diaries not as texts but as material traces of cultural encounters and exchanges, she demonstrated how Sino-Jesuit book production created a hybrid place of knowledge that combined two traditions: European-style codices and Chinese-style boxed fascicles.

The following presentations of panel five, “Presence and Materialities,” continued the investigation into the material aspect of knowledge production. Chandra Sekhar opened the discussion by giving an overview of his efforts to reconstruct Dalit social history, a topic marred by scarcity of source material, through studying missionary archives and the information their records provide about the everyday life and social practices of Dalit converts. Anne Mariss analyzed how Jesuits employed objects (Christian Catholic as well as Mexican) in their attempts to establish their missions and to implement the Catholic faith in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mexico. More often than not, Mariss argued, the missionaries’ efforts resulted in a complex process of negotiation between indigenous peoples and Europeans. Ana Rita Amaral investigated the role of missionary museums and anthropological collections as training facilities for Catholic missionary personnel in twentieth-century Portugal, more particularly the recruits of the Spiritan Fathers between 1930 and 1960.

Panel six, entitled “Polycentrism and Circulations,” retraced the lines along which missionary knowledge circulated by focusing on two core areas of missionary expertise: linguistic and ethnological knowledge. Federico Palomo demonstrated that linguistic missionary knowledge did not flow in a unidirectional way from the colonial periphery to the metropolitan core but circulated amongst multiple centers of missionary activity, among them cities of the Global South such as Goa or Rio de Janeiro. Regina Sarreiter’s paper explored the practices, discourses and movements linking human and non-human actors in the ethnological collection of German Benedictine missionary Meinulf Küsters.

All papers presented at the conference derived directly from recently concluded or still ongoing research projects. They discussed Catholic and Protestant missionary societies alike. A substantial group among the papers discussed Jesuit missionary work (six out of eighteen presentations), thereby emphasizing the early modern era

in favor of other periods such as the twentieth century. In addition, the overwhelming majority of papers focused on knowledge about non-Europeans produced by missionaries; the exceptions being Olaoluwa's investigation of processes of cultural translation, and Sekhar's reconstruction of Dalit social history. Tellingly, both scholars tapped into additional repositories of historical information for their research: They conducted oral history interviews. Clearly, following the paper trail of missionaries and their organizations only carries so far in reconstructing the history of missionary knowledge. Unlocking additional sources beyond missionary archives will thus be imperative for the development of the field. Despite these limitations, the cross-denominational, *longue durée* perspective on missionary work adopted by the conference conveners offered valuable insights into the nature of missionary knowledge: It was, as many speakers pointed out, instrumental knowledge, gathered to facilitate Christianization. All areas of missionary expertise developed out of necessity and pertained, in addition to linguistic knowledge, to knowledge to influence and regulate the converts' conduct, his or her body and soul. As such, it was "pastoral knowledge," to employ a Foucauldian term, which supported colonial governmentality. Secondly, missionary knowledge was also pedagogical and performative knowledge. It was produced not only to expedite conversion but also to instruct future missionaries as well as to educate the general Christian population of the respective motherlands about missionary organizations, their goals, their work in the field, and their successes in order to raise funds and legitimize their work. As a result, missionary knowledge addressed colonizers and colonized alike, introducing and enforcing boundaries, and creating notions of belonging and identity.

Eva Bischoff (University of Trier)

GERMAN PAST FUTURES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Conference at the German Historical Institute Washington (GHI). Conveners: Arnd Bauerkämper (Free University of Berlin), Frank Biess (University of California, San Diego), Kai Evers (University of California, Irvine), Anne Schenderlein (GHI). Participants: Jennifer Allen (Yale University), Colleen Anderson (Harvard University), Wolfgang Bialas (IES Berlin), Sindy Duong (Free University of Berlin), Philipp Ebert (University of Cambridge), Elisabeth Engel (GHI), Kai Evers (UC, Irvine), Rüdiger Graf (ZZF Potsdam/University of Bochum), Jeff Hayton (Wichita State University), Joachim C. Häberlen (University of Warwick), Alexander Honold (University of Basel), David Jünger (Zentrum Jüdische Studien Berlin-Brandenburg/Free University of Berlin), Anna Pollmann (Berlin), Terence Renaud (Yale University), Elke Seefried (IfZ Munich/University of Augsburg), Adelheid Voskuhl (University of Pennsylvania), Pierre-Frédéric Weber (University of Szczecin), Richard Wetzell (GHI).

This conference brought together historians and literary scholars to explore the relationship between experiences of the past and anticipations of the future in twentieth-century Germany. The first panel discussed broader conceptual and theoretical issues of writing the history of past futures. Literary scholar Alexander Honold gave the first presentation on “Yesterday’s Tomorrow: Modern Literature as Time Machine.” In his wide-ranging talk, Honold drew on Robert Musil, Thomas Mann, and Franz Kafka to demonstrate how futures proliferated in the literary imagination before 1914. Drawing on, but also transcending Reinhart Koselleck’s seminal contributions (especially his twin notions of the “space of experiences” and “horizon of expectations”), Honold depicted futures as highly contingent entities in the work of these novelists. They also tended to either accelerate or slow down temporal perceptions. In his suggestively entitled paper “Ignorance is Bliss: The Pluralization of Modes to Generate the Future as a Challenge to Contemporary History,” historian Rüdiger Graf analyzed how historical syntheses of contemporary history approached the problem of an open and uncertain future. He then suggested to expand Koselleck’s concept of a “horizon of expectation” to allow for four different ways of generating the future: future by expectation, by design, by risk, and by conservation. Arnd Bauerkämper introduced yet another set of conceptual terms in order to analyze the interrelationship of past and future. He developed the idea of “contingency” as a “structured space of agency that human

action can change.” While contingency can point to new possibilities and hope, it can also engender uncertainty and crisis. Contingency is thus also related to “cultures of security,” the second concept that Bauerkämper introduced. He then proceeded to probe the analytical benefit of these terms by pointing to the ways in which negative experiences of contingency as well as the quest for security informed the history of twentieth-century Germany. The panel thus began to revise, refine and/or further develop Kosselleck’s foundational conceptual terms — a task that was taken up in later sections as well.

The second panel dealt with “Futures of the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany.” In his talk, Kai Evers highlighted anticipations of the future between promise and threat. Analyzing works of Alfred Döblin and Franz Kafka, Evers demonstrated that the new genre of the “literature of risk” led to a “futurization” of the future that was shaped by reconstructions of the recent past. A literature of risk seeks to acknowledge simultaneously the awareness of culturally and socio-politically preeminent present future scenarios and the unpredictability of any future present. Adelheid Voskuhl traced the emergence of engineers as a new technological elite. Investigating “poet engineers” such as Max Maria von Weber (1822–1881), she emphasized the proximity of practical philosophy and engineers who used visions of technological progress as weapons against bourgeois culture. Concluding this section, David Jünger analyzed German Jews’ “shattered consistency of time” between 1929 and 1939. Understanding the year of 1931 as a *Zeitenwende*, German Jews turned to the past and interpreted steps towards emancipation in the nineteenth century as stages of history. As the reality of the Nazis’ advance was unprecedented in the late Weimar Republic, however, the relationship between the past, the present, and the future lost its coherence. Jewish writers such as Stefan Zweig were therefore convinced that their lives had become fragmented as well.

The contributions to the third section of the conference concentrated on “Socialist Futures in East Germany (1949–1990).” In her talk about East and West German political posters from 1949 to 1961, Colleen Anderson demonstrated that the leaderships of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) in the GDR as well as the politicians of the Christian and Social Democrats in the Federal Republic of Germany, respectively, claimed to build a better future. Referring to the past as a negative foil, the posters reflected teleological views of the future. As highlighted in the discussion, the interrelationship between the East and

West German posters was surprisingly weak. In the following talk, Wolfgang Bialas elaborated on the role of utopias and dystopias in the science fiction literature of the GDR. Gert Prokop's crime stories, for instance, promised a glorious future in the 1980s, anticipating the advance of communism in the United States. Moreover, science fiction writers sought utopias of socialism in outer space. Influenced by the growing disillusionment and frustration in the GDR, however, "paradise on earth" was increasingly questioned as a bright future. In the last resort, science fiction stories turned dystopian and excluded change. Philipp Ebert investigated expectations of and plans for German reunification in the FRG. Transitional justice generally aimed at criminal persecution as well as the rehabilitation of political prisoners. Yet the fall of the GDR had not been expected as a possible future by West German actors, as the debate on the *Zentrale Erfassungsstelle der Justizverwaltungen* demonstrated from 1984 to 1989. The discussion concentrated on the role and features of transitional justice in reunited Germany in the early 1990s in comparative perspective. In particular, its punitive character was highlighted.

The fourth panel examined West German visions and, in particular, emotions related to the future. In his paper, Pierre-Frédéric Weber examined a postwar West German emotional culture of fear with a special focus on the country's foreign policy. He argued that Germany suffered from a complex array of fears emanating from military defeat and occupation, which produced fear of other's fear of Germany as well as fear of oneself. Weber explained that FRG politicians adopted an attitude of self-limitation, which manifested itself in three ways: concessive, assertive, and retarding. Using different concrete foreign policy examples, such as the *Alleinvertretungsanspruch* as an assertive form of self-limitation, he argued that these self-limiting attitudes served as a sort of "post-traumatic stress valve" that compensated for some of the fears and allowed hopes for a better future. Frank Biess focused on the role of fear in postwar West Germany, too. In particular, he highlighted how anxiety was present in the 1960s — a time generally seen to be one of optimism and progress after the FRG's political stabilization and at the height of the economic miracle. Analyzing what he called "democratic" and "modern fears," he related anxious anticipations of West Germany's possible economic and political futures to shifting memories of a catastrophic past. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, these memories were especially the collapse of Weimar and the rise of Nazism. Biess argued that these fears and the debates about them and new processes such as on automatization

were essential to West Germany's democratization. In the last paper of the panel, Jennifer Allen argued that, after a profound period of anti-utopianism in the West, a new revisionist utopianism emerged in West Germany in the 1980s. Allen framed developments such as the *Geschichtswerkstätten*, grassroots Green Party efforts at environmentalism, and the *Stolpersteine* project as micro-utopias which were characterized by imminent practice. In this way, she demonstrated the close interconnections between past, present, and future.

The panelists of the fifth section on "Social Conflicts and Cultural Milieus" discussed diverging attempts of the 1970s and 1980s to anticipate future developments in governance, public policy, and new conceptualizations of the self. Sindy Duong took debates on an emerging "academic proletariat" in these two decades as a case study to analyze changing attitudes toward the reach and limits of scientific prognoses for planning public policies. She argued that rather than predicting future trends on the academic job market accurately, these prognoses primarily served the purpose of influencing and legitimizing contemporary political decisions. In his presentation on "The Future of the Self: Dystopias and Utopias about the Self in the West-German Alternative Left", Joachim C. Häberlen examined autobiographical writings of the alternative left in the 1970s. As he demonstrated, these reflections on and proposals for different, more fluid understandings of masculinity and femininity contributed to changing modes of subjectivity in the West German Left. Jeff Hayton took a closer look at the West German punk scene of the 1980s. He argued that the movement's fearful anticipation of a possibly already occurring transformation of the Federal Republic of Germany into an undemocratic state shaped by efforts to control and surveil its populace was informed equally by their views of the end of the Weimar Republic and their reception of dystopian novels like Orwell's *1984*. The equation of West Germany with the failing Weimar Republic served as a justification to engage in violent, oppositional activities vis-à-vis the West German state. The discussion about these presentations dealt with the question of how the prognostications of academic unemployment compared to other models of forecasting general unemployment and which theories and concepts of the self shaped debates of the alternative left. Moreover, it was discussed how particular to the punk movement the fear of an emergent surveillance state might have been in West Germany in the 1980s.

The contributors to the sixth section concentrated on "Utopias and the Past in Twentieth-Century Germany." In her presentation on

“Remainders of Apocalyptic Experience: Günther Anders and the Fragments of the Twentieth Century,” Anna Pollmann outlined how the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and its implications for future warfare led philosopher Günther Anders to a reconceptualization of apocalyptic thinking. Anders’ concept of a “profane apocalypse” marks the culmination of his intense reflection on the concept of history and its boundaries, which Anders began in the 1930s and continued until the early 1990s. Two contemporaries of the philosopher, Fritz Sternberg and Ossip Flechtheim — who both spent the 1940s in American exile as well — stood at the center of Terence Renaud’s presentation on “Crisis Theory and Futurology in the 1940s.” Analyzing the early phase of “futurology” (a term introduced by Flechtheim), Renaud proposed that the apparent contradiction in these scholars’ work between the urgency of decision demanded by their anticipations of political and economic crises and their interest in future scenarios that the crisis itself generated disappears when one interprets prognosis not primarily as a prediction of future trends and events but as a guide for political action. In her talk on “Shaping the Future. A Short History of Future Studies since 1945,” Elke Seefried extended the history of future studies all the way to the present. Paying particular attention to the first three decades after the Second World War, Seefried differentiated between three approaches within future studies. A normative one was influential especially in France (de Jouvenel). A critical and emancipatory approach prevailed primarily in Scandinavia and West Germany (Jungk and Galtung). In the 1960s, a third empirical and positivistic approach began to dominate especially in the U.S. and West Germany (Kahn and Steinbuch). While Seefried observed a general decline of the premise that the future could be planned and controlled since the 1970s, she detected a partial return to the technologist idea of ‘steering’ in future studies for the 1990s and 2000s in the wake of digitalization and the new media. Among many other topics, the discussion addressed in particular the questions how the experience of the recent past, especially the shared experience of living in exile, shaped the new critical approaches to future studies from Anders to Jungk.

The concluding discussion highlighted some of the key insights of the conference, while also pointing out areas for future research. Several participants underlined the importance of relating memories of the past to anticipations of the future as one of the original contributions of the conference. The possibilities and limitations of employing

Reinhart Koselleck's terms "space of experiences" and "horizon of expectations" also constituted another emphasis of the debate. The conversation of historians and literary critics proved fruitful yet also revealed disciplinary differences: while historians tend to orient their analysis toward already existing master narratives, literary critics appear to have abandoned such narratives altogether. Several participants suggested to shift the focus of investigations from the content of imagined futures to an analysis of different modes of generating the future, also with attention to the shifting medialization of the future. Other participants missed a more extensive discussion of the concept of "generation" or pointed out the absence of less privileged voices — especially women, minorities, and immigrants — in analyses of the future. Overall, participants praised the open, collegial, and productive discussions on a subject that appears to enjoy increasing attention among scholars in the humanities and social sciences.

Arnd Bauerkämper (Free University Berlin), Frank Biess (University of California, San Diego), Kai Evers (University of California, Irvine), and Anne Schenderlein (GHI)

OBSERVING THE EVERYDAY: JOURNALISTIC PRACTICES AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION IN THE MODERN ERA

Workshop held at the German Historical Institute Washington (GHI), March 3-4, 2017. Organized in collaboration with the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin (MPIWG). Conveners: Hansjakob Ziemer (MPIWG) and Kerstin von der Krone (GHI). Participants: Lisa Bolz (GHI Paris), Norman Domeier (University of Vienna/University of Stuttgart), Mary Helen Dupree (Georgetown University), Elisabeth Engel (GHI), Eric Engstrom (Humboldt University, Berlin / Max Planck Institute of Psychiatry, Munich), Tom Ewing (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University), Alexander Korb (University of Leicester), Elena Matveeva (University of Heidelberg), Petra McGillen (Dartmouth College), Moritz Neuffer (Humboldt University, Berlin), Ines Prodöhl (GHI), Annie Rudd (University of Calgary), Anne Schenderlein (GHI), Susanne Schmidt (Cambridge University/MPIWG), Daniel Siemens (University of Bielefeld), Andie Tucher (Columbia Journalism School, New York City), Heidi Tworek (University of British Columbia, Vancouver), Richard Wetzell (GHI).

In 1903, the Austrian journalist Emil Löbl observed in his book *Kultur und Presse* that “many of today’s readers” see their newspaper as a “universal encyclopedia,” the study of which, they believed, helped them fulfil their duty as “cultivated people” (*Kulturmenschen*) to stay informed. Whether or not this was a positive development, journalists needed to recognize that “modern readers expected of newspapers the greatest degree of universality, the widest variety, the most complete abundance of content.”

Löbl’s account reflected the growing self-awareness of journalists regarding their profession and the societal impact of their work. His book was part of a professionalization process that saw the founding of professional associations and training and research institutions in Europe and North America in the early twentieth century such as the Columbia School of Journalism (New York) in 1912 or the Institut für Zeitungskunde (Leipzig University) in 1916. This process entailed claims to a kind of epistemological authority that derived from the work of journalists, as they produced new knowledge for their readers instead of merely conveying undigested facts.

Hansjakob Ziemer took Löbl’s reflections as his starting point at a two-day workshop in early March entitled “Observing the Everyday:

Journalistic Practices and Knowledge Formation in the Modern Era” held at the German Historical Institute in Washington, DC, in cooperation with the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science (Berlin). It brought together European and North American-based scholars from disciplines such as history, media studies, cultural and literature studies, intellectual history, and the history of medicine.

The workshop explored many facets of the history of journalism and mass media in Europe and North America, scrutinizing how journalism and journalistic practices not only disseminated information but also shaped our knowledge about the world. Presentations shed light on the role of journalism in knowledge transfers, the impact of technology on journalistic practices and writing techniques, and the self-understandings of journalists and journalistic communities in different historical contexts.

The role of journalistic practices in processes of knowledge transfer were discussed in two panels. First, Tom Ewing and Eric Engstrom highlighted encounters between the medical professions and journalism. Ewing discussed how news of the “Russian influenza” spread at the end of the nineteenth century through medical journals and newspapers, oscillating between sensationalized reports about the rich and famous, statistical data on the spread of the disease through Europe and North America, and its perception either as an epidemic or a media-induced hysteria. Engstrom’s presentation showed how journalists like Herman Heijermans challenged the perception of psychiatry and the representation of mental asylums by introducing new investigative methods. Heijermans had sneaked into a Berlin asylum and published an eye-witness account of the treatment and living conditions of psychiatric patients. Ewing and Engstrom both highlighted how mass media challenged professional boundaries, which subsequently led to questions about authority, not only with respect to journalistic and medical professionals, but also with respect to state and local officials. Who could gain access to information and who controlled the message?

The second panel on knowledge transfer broadened the perspective to other professional and intellectual arenas. Daniel Siemens discussed the role of courtroom journalism in early twentieth century, drawing on cases from Germany, the United States and China. Although these reports were part of the growing genre of human-interest stories, they provided more than entertainment. Rather courtroom journalism offered information on social realities and produced social knowledge in times of change. Siemens also showed that journalists were not

neutral observers but active participants of trials. As such they challenged expert knowledge of lawyers and other professionals involved in cases, argued against or in favor of the accused, and in some cases could provide agency to those who lacked a public voice. Siemens emphasized as well that the emotional dimension of some trials and the lack of trust in legal procedures and institutions contributed to the scandalized courtroom “drama.”

Susanne Schmidt addressed the role of journalism and journalists in the production, transmission, and representation of expert knowledge and highlighted the multiple roles journalists could take on. She elaborated on journalist and writer-researcher Gail Sheehy’s book *Passages* (1979) and her use of methods and findings in contemporary social sciences. Sheehy’s work was strongly opposed by social scientists at the time. Her research methods were contested and her work labeled as “pop psychology,” which reinforced professional boundaries between academia and journalism. Schmidt explicitly showed how much the reception of Sheehy’s work was also based on a gender bias that contributed to harsh criticism of the quality of her research and her qualification as a writer-researcher.

Moritz Neuffer discussed the interplay between postwar critical theory and journalistic practices in intellectual journals, also known as “theory journals,” since the mid-twentieth century. These journals were places of collaboration between journalists and academics, intellectuals and philosophers and made equal use of academic and journalistic textual modes. Similar to other papers, Neuffer highlighted the blurry lines between journalism and other professions, the multiple roles authors played, and the multiple epistemic practices they used, which in this case included not only the production of texts, but also their visualization in the form of artful print designs.

Newspapers were the first mass medium, promoted in part by technological developments that were the subject of the papers given by Lisa Bolz, Annie Rudd, and Heidi Tworek. Bolz discussed the telegram, which not only conveyed the latest news but inspired new journalistic techniques and practices. Rudd highlighted to increasing importance of photojournalism in the interwar period, drawing on the highly influential work of Erich Salomon and his “candid camera”. Tworek emphasized the blurred lines and potential misconceptions of news gathering by spies and intelligence agencies, on the one hand, and journalists and news agencies, on the other, with journalists sometimes working for both or being accused of doing so.

With the emergence of mass media since the late nineteenth century journalists had to work out an understanding of their profession and define a set of shared standards and ethics. Hansjakob Ziemer in his paper analyzed a survey among German journalists in 1929 which showed that they predominantly understood journalism as a calling (“*Berufung*”). They contended with the standards of journalistic training, the level and kind of knowledge a journalist required, and how it could be acquired. Or was one simply born to become a journalist, as some of those surveyed maintained? Ziemer’s as well as Alexander Korb’s paper explored the formation of journalistic identities, considering individuals and journalistic communities and taking into account biographical and generational characteristics and commonalities.

Alexander Korb explored the fate of conservative and right-wing journalists who became leading voices of postwar (West) Germany such as Hermann Proebst, Peter Haerlin, Giselher Wirsing, and Klaus Mehnert. Korb highlighted their socialization in conservative and “völkisch” circles and their early careers in Nazi Germany, where they often served in occupied territories. This practical and political knowledge became a valuable resource once they rose to become editors of leading German newspapers. Korb showed how journalists employed self-fashioning strategies which enabled some of them not only to establish themselves successfully but to continue their work under a different political regime.

Elena Matveeva and Norman Domeier addressed similar questions when discussing the international dimensions of journalism. Matveeva presented the career of Maurice Hindus both in the United States and his native Russia, which spanned revolution, romanticism, and Cold War ideology. Hindus’ bilingual and bicultural competence became an asset in his career and allowed him to return to revolutionary Russia as a foreign correspondent. Here he established the idea of revolutionary journalism, through which he hoped to humanize the image of revolutionary Russia and which shaped his early work on Russia and the Soviet Union. Hindus authored journalistic articles, essays, and various books on Russian and Soviet affairs that helped to foster his career not only as a journalist but as an expert and adviser on the subject in Cold War America.

Norman Domeier also addressed the role of foreign correspondents and the impact of extreme political and social change on journalism and its international and transnational ties. His paper dealt with the

fate of the Associated Press (AP) Germany office after 1941 when the United States entered the Second World War, which led to the internment of all American journalists, who were then formally exchanged for German officials and spies. New archival findings by Domeier showed how AP Germany was quickly transformed into a German photo agency under SS control, led by Helmut Laux, a German photojournalist who had previously worked for AP. The so-called *Büro Laux* not only had access to AP Germany's photo archive and technical equipment, to some degree it also remained part of the international network of AP offices and was engaged in a daily picture exchange with the AP headquarters via offices in Lisbon and Stockholm. *Büro Laux* was closely connected to the highest levels of the Nazi regime. Pictures sent by AP first circulated among the inner circle before they were used and misused in the German press. After the war Laux and other journalists concealed their close relations to the highest circles of Nazi Germany, rather successfully it seems, as all continued their careers.

The historical themes of this workshop resonate all the more because they call to mind debates in our own time about journalism and its broader social and cultural relevance. Since the papers explored journalistic practices and their relationship to truth and authenticity, secrecy and transparency, scrutiny and credibility, it is perhaps unsurprising that the issues of “fake news” and “faking” came up, too. Nineteenth-century “faking,” discussed by Andie Tucher and Petra McGillen, did not necessarily entail the complete fabrication of news, although it did garner attention in the professional debates among writers and journalists.

In Andie Tucher’s presentation we encountered some “Advice to Newspaper Correspondents,” published in 1887 in *The Writer* and including the notion that “‘faking’... is not exactly lying.” The author of this advice, William H. Hills, maintained that every journalist and editor should be capable of distinguishing between the two. Faking meant “embellishing” with “unimportant details” in order to flesh out the account and make it more accessible and appealing to the reader. Petra McGillen provided another example for such grey areas between truth, authenticity, and falsehood by drawing on Theodor Fontane’s correspondence reports for the *Neue Preußische Kreuzzeitung*. These reports were “false” because the paper claimed that they were written by a correspondent on the scene, whereas the reports were really products of “armchair reporting” based on compilations of foreign newspaper accounts.

The workshop saw papers on individual journalists and the journalistic community, discussed their professional and personal networks and the intellectual and social contexts of journalistic practices. Collaborations and alliances characterized these relationships, as did competition and conflict. Questions of authority, credibility, and respectability lay at the heart of such tensions. Similarly complex was the relationship of journalists to the state and its officials. Journalists needed access to the state's representatives in order to acquire information and knowledge, whereas the state became engaged in its own news gathering operations characterized by espionage and public relations efforts aimed at controlling what was known and what remained hidden.

Not claiming to be comprehensive or representative, this explorative workshop was intended to start a conversation on the interplay of journalistic practices and knowledge production. On that note, some in the concluding discussion highlighted the need to go beyond the geographical, political, and cultural confines of this workshop, although there was also a strong argument for the local. These discussions during the workshop at the GHI will be continued with a second meeting at the MPI for the History of Science in Berlin in June 2018.

Kerstin von der Krone (GHI)

An earlier, abbreviated version of this report was first published on the German Historical Institute's "History of Knowledge" blog on April 26, 2017. See <https://historyofknowledge.net/2017/04/26/journalistic-practices-and-knowledge-production/>

**FIFTH JUNIOR SCHOLARS CONFERENCE IN
GERMAN-JEWISH HISTORY
RICH AND POOR, JEWS AND GENTILES:
WEALTH, POVERTY AND CLASS IN THE NINETEENTH
AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES**

Conference held at Indiana University, Bloomington, March 30-31, 2017. Co-organized by the German Historical Institute Washington (GHI), the Institute for the History of the German Jews, Hamburg, and Indiana University. Conveners: Miriam Rürup (Institute for the History of the German Jews, Hamburg), Anne Schenderlein (GHI), and Mirjam Zadoff (Indiana University, Bloomington). Participants: Tim Corbett (University of Vienna), Iona Dascultu (USHMM), Moti Gigi (Sapir College), Kristoff Kerl (University of Cologne), Constanze Kolbe (Indiana University, Bloomington), Avigail Oren (Carnegie Mellon University), Hanna Shaul Bar Nissim (Brandeis University), Jakob Stürmann (University of Potsdam), Aaron Welt (NYU), Maja Gildin Zuckerman (University of Southern Denmark & Stanford University).

Whereas the recent economic turn in Jewish history has inspired numerous works on questions such as production, consumption, commerce, and capitalism, social class has received much less attention, whether as an analytical category or as lived reality or self-identification. Scholarly interest in class as a category of analysis in Jewish historiography has seen a recent revival with works exploring Jewish philanthropy in global perspective, Jewish wealth and poverty, but also the role of Jews in shaping leftist movements globally. Jews are seen here as active participants in negotiating class boundaries.

In March 2017, scholars from Germany, the U.S., Israel, and Romania met at Indiana University to explore when, how, and why social inequality, wealth, poverty, and class mattered in Jewish and non-Jewish history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The workshop participants examined how individuals and communities across different religious orientations as well as national and trans-national contexts dealt with social inequality.

In the first panel, Kristoff Kerl in his paper “The Aristocratic and Jew Money-lending Classes: Antisemitism, Class, and Family in Southern Populism” explored how the southern nineteenth-century Populist world view used anti-Semitic notions of a financial conspiracy of “the Rothschilds” and “Shylocks” and gendered perceptions of a crisis

of farmers' families to make sense of an economic crisis. He argued that Populists constructed "the aristocratic and Jew money-lending classes" as a force undermining the Republican order by a financial conspiracy, and, by extension, by destroying the yeomanry and the "American Home." Thus, Populist antisemitism was clearly linked to perceptions of a fundamental crisis of the yeoman, the farmer's home and family, and, by extension, of the societal order of the United States. As such, antisemitism was part and parcel of the Populist world view. In a paper titled "The Shtarkers of Progressive Era New York: Labor, Crime, and Capitalism in an Era of Mass Migration, 1890-1930" Aaron Welt explored Progressive Era campaigns to end organized crime in the Jewish immigrant sections of New York City during the first two decades of the twentieth century. He showed how the Kehillah-Jewish Community of New York and its Bureau on Social Morals (BOSM) collaborated with the New York Police Department (NYPD) and District Attorney's office (DA) in an effort to curtail Jewish underground crime. As such, the boundaries of the Kehillah area of influence expanded from mere communal affairs to crime enforcement. Wealthy "uptown Jews" blended strands of older, even feudal pre-migration Jewish politics with the progressivism and modern social scientific standards of contemporary American philanthropies. In an effort to eliminate shtarkers (Yiddish-speaking labor racketeers) they actively collaborated with the NYPD. The Progressive debate ultimately gravitated towards who ought to possess supreme policing and surveillance powers, not whether these were adequate tools to address urban crime in the industrial city — an oversight to which we today, in postindustrial cities of the early twenty-first century, may also have to plead guilty.

Avigail Oren presented "Where Philanthropists Meet the Poor: The Divergence of Class Interests in the Jewish Community Center." The paper zoomed in on three New York Jewish Community Centers (JCC), arguing that decisions about whom the JCC would serve depended on how (and how much) Jewish philanthropists wanted to spend their wealth. Faced with a challenging social, ethnic, and class environment, the JCC adapted by also serving non-Jewish members, shifting their role from a primarily Jewish institution to one serving broader needs. Private philanthropy paid for Jewish programming for children and families, while the government paid for non-sectarian senior centers and day care classes for the older members and needier families of the community. For the many workers and lay leaders in the JCC movement, this proved an ideal but fraught compromise; they could serve the entire community as long as they retained a majority-Jewish

membership and provided programs that encouraged members' identification with Judaism, Jewish culture, or the state of Israel.

The second panel focused on "Transnational Networks and Philanthropic Networks." Jakob Stürmann presented "Multiple Affiliations of Eastern European Jewish Socialists in Exile." Looking at three biographical case studies, he argues that Jewish socialist intellectuals from eastern Europe, who for more than a decade lived in exile in Berlin after the First World War, adhered to different social and cultural identities. All of them were less integrated into the Yiddish space while they lived in western Europe compared to the time before the First World War. However, due to multilingualism, the eastern European Jewish Socialists acted in Jewish and non-Jewish spaces within the international socialist movement. Stürmann analyzed how the spaces they frequented in exile depended on factors like knowledge of language, self-positioning, political focus, and time period.

Constanze Kolbe's paper, "Corfiote Jewish Merchants and Transnational Philanthropic Networks," explored how Corfiote Jewish merchants established a transnational philanthropic network during the nineteenth century. Examining the ways in which individual merchant benefactors built on established business ties to create philanthropic ties to their island of origin, this paper looks beyond institutions such as the Alliance Israelite Universelle or well-known western philanthropists such as Moses Montefiore. The paper argues that by looking at these merchant philanthropic ties (that operated outside the Alliance and the other institutions) we see that they had nothing inherently "Jewish" about them, but they resembled the Greek Orthodox and Armenian diaspora's philanthropic networks. The merchant philanthropists did not just support Jewish institutions, nor were they addressing Jewish issues. Rather they were tied to locality, in this case, to the support of the Corfiote Jewish and non-Jewish community. As such they resembled other merchant diaspora networks that also lacked a national center such as the Armenians or the Orthodox Greek, which during the nineteenth century were still living primarily in Ottoman territories.

The third panel examined "Philanthropy and National Culture." Hanna Shaul Bar Nissim's paper, "The Philanthropy of the Jewish Federations: Democratization and Communal Participation," explored the changes in organized Jewish philanthropy and its implications for democratization and diversification of communal philanthropic behavior and civic engagement. Looking at the United Jewish Federation of New York, the largest local philanthropy in the world, Nissim

shows how over a period of one hundred years the organization integrated new Jewish subgroups into its array of activities — individuals and communities enjoying the services funded by the Federation, and eventually donors for potential leadership. Some of these new groups included Sephardic Jews, Russian-speaking Jews, modern Orthodox, Israelis, and more recently LGBTQ and interfaith families.

The paper presented by Maja Gildin Zuckerman, “Giving and Receiving: Zionist Relief Work and Class Assertions,” looked at western Zionist relief work towards eastern Jews and the ways in which this work consolidated class differences and barriers between Jews. Rather than following the Zionists’ own self-described image of an egalitarian effort to bring eastern European Jews out of their misery, Maja suggests analyzing Zionist relief work through the actual dynamics and practices that played out between givers and recipients. Looking at Danish Zionist relief work prior to World War One, Maja shows that Zionist relief work, on the one hand, aspired to bring together Jews as a united and solidary people that stood up for each other as equals, and, on the other hand, imposed norms, values, and expectations that emphatically distinguished the immigrants from the “native” and “sedentary” Jews.

In her keynote lecture, “Imagining Remigration & Return: Translating Experience and Utopia into Film in Postwar Germany,” Miriam Rürup showed how statelessness was part and parcel of the post-1945 cultural and movie scene. The talk dealt with the ways in which statelessness was reflected on the screen and how the personal experiences of migration, persecution, and remigration of those writing plays and acting on screen were translated into the fictional world.

The last panel, “Space and Segregation,” brought together three scholars to look at the ways in which space and segregation interacted. In “The Establishment of the Cinémathèque in Sderot: Class, Space and Ethnicity,” Moti Gigi examined power and economic relations in Israel between the residents of Sderot and those of the Sha’ar Hanegev’s Regional Council from 1950 to 2012. The paper analyzed the conflicts between the development towns and the kibbutzim in Sderot. While the development towns were mainly inhabited by Mizrahi Jews of modest socioeconomic backgrounds, the kibbutzim were populated by the Ashkenazi elites. The opening of the Cinémathèque in Sderot was meant to bring both groups together. Moti asks how the historic power relations between Sderot and Sha’ar Hanegev were shaped and shows that the historical changes that

occurred in the social, political, and economic spheres as well as in social identities provide some answers.

Iona Dascultu presented a paper titled “Social Dynamics in the Shargorod Ghetto during the Holocaust,” in which she addressed the issue of agency of Holocaust victims. She focused on the city of Shargorod, which was occupied by the Germans in 1941 and annexed by Romania later in the same year. Both local and foreign Jews were kept in the Shargorod ghetto. Dascultu argues that the presence of the local, Suceava Jews in the ghetto impacted the lives of all the inhabitants. Without the money of the Suceava community, the opening of several relief institutions existent in the ghetto would have been delayed, resulting in a higher mortality rate. Also, the tactics engaged by an experienced leader in the ghetto improved living conditions. Even though some of the deported Jews reported experiencing minor tensions with the local Jews, both groups worked on their issues and eventually helped each other to adjust to the new reality: surviving in a ghetto.

The last paper, by Tim Corbett, entitled “Religious Culture, Social Standing, and Reflections of Belonging in Nineteenth-Century Viennese Sepulchral Epigraphy,” examined the Jewish sepulchral epigraphy of various Jewish cemeteries in Vienna. Tim suggests that the sepulchral culture in Vienna’s Jewish cemeteries evinced parallels with contemporaneous Christian sepulchral culture in that city, especially amongst the burgeoning middle and upper middle classes of the nineteenth century. Corbett offered a comparative analysis of the sepulchral discourses to be found on grave-memorials in surviving Jewish and Christian cemeteries in Vienna, and of how Christian and Jewish identities were constructed in accordance with — or in competition to — concurrent developments in class, social standing, and various other facets of belonging in nineteenth-century imperial Viennese society.

Altogether, the papers showed that Jews were central to shaping philanthropic, political, and social processes. Jews did not merely “enter” the middle classes, as the historiography has shown, but they were crucial in shaping these classes. Furthermore, various papers have noted the contingency of space and place and the intersectionality of the resultant identities. Touching upon “space” ranging from Israel, to Romania, the Mediterranean, the U.S., and eastern Europe, this conference shed light on some new, innovative historical research that grapples with these themes.

Constanze Kolbe (Indiana University, Bloomington)

FOREVER YOUNG? REJUVENATION IN TRANSNATIONAL AND TRANSCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVE, 1900-2000

Conference at the German Historical Institute Washington (GHI), May 11-13, 2017. Supported by a Conference Grant from the German Research Foundation (DFG). Conveners: Kristine Alexander (University of Lethbridge), Mischa Honeck (GHI), Isabel Richter (University of Bremen). Participants: Andrew Achenbaum (University of Houston), Anne Leonora Blaakilde (University of Copenhagen), Catherine Carstairs (University of Guelph), Birgit Dahlke (Humboldt University, Berlin), Silke van Dyk (University of Jena), Josef Ehmer (University of Vienna), Kenneth Kidd (University of Florida), Till Kössler (University of Bochum), Susan Miller (Rutgers University), Jane Nicholas (St. Jerome's University), Leslie Paris (University of British Columbia), David Pomfret (University of Hong Kong), Franziska Roy (ZMO Berlin), Paul Schweitzer-Martin (GHI), Michelle Smith (Deakin University), Heiko Stoff (University of Hannover), Nicholas Syrett (University of Northern Colorado), Melanie Woitas (University of Erfurt).

The purpose of this conference was to advance scholarship on various historical strands of rejuvenation that are often examined separately. The conference pursued three broad aims: First, it sought to tease out unrecognized connections within a growing body of literature that explores how conceptions of youth and old age are socially constructed and shaped by cultural perceptions. Second, it aimed to insert age as a category of social, cultural, and historical analysis into fields of research (e.g. economics, politics, international relations) where questions of youth, aging, and rejuvenation are rarely studied systematically. Third, contrary to most scholars who focus on social constructions of age in advanced industrial societies, this conference wanted to critically engage the tacit assumption that the “war on aging” was primarily a Western phenomenon. A combined transnational and transcolonial approach thus appeared particularly suited to appreciate rejuvenation as a historically contested and multifaceted phenomenon.

The first panel featured three papers that laid the theoretical groundwork. Leslie Paris offered a panoramic overview of major “body projects” in industrial societies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, at a time when new technologies of physical improvement and an expanding consumer market propelled new opportunities and pressures for youthfulness. Fusing key institutions and ideologies,

Paris connected individual projects of self-improvement to national projects of civic renewal, in which the body politic has been imagined as both susceptible to harm and open to repair. Nicholas Syrett's paper on the relationship of rejuvenation and the rise of chronological age addressed the increasing significance of birthdays in U.S. popular and legal culture since the mid-nineteenth century. As a result of greater age segmentation, the celebration of milestone birthdays became more popular, yet negative cultural connotations about ageing also led more people to refuse to identify with specific ages they associated with physical decline. Adding perspectives from sociology, Silke van Dyk focused on the fact that while youth and old age have received ample attention in the interdisciplinary field of age studies, the categories of midlife and adulthood are important pieces in the scholarly puzzle that often lack critical reflection.

The first panel was followed by David Pomfret's keynote lecture, "Springs Eternal: Youth, Age, and Global Histories of Rejuvenation." Spanning entire continents and centuries, Pomfret addressed a dazzling variety of rejuvenationist projects ranging from the supposed degenerative impact of tropical climate on white bodies and Serge Voronoff's medical experiments with monkey testicles to Benito Mussolini "as the youngest of all" since fascism was closely tied to the myth of youth. The last example brought up the interesting question of what happens when rejuvenation movements grow old. In sum, Pomfret demonstrated how broad the field of rejuvenation is and just how many aspects can be analyzed.

The second day began with a panel that traced the role of discourses of rejuvenation in the arts, letters, and sciences. Birgit Dahlke examined the ways in which "juvenescence" was both an object of celebration and a symptom of crisis in German literature and culture around 1900. In Dahlke's assessment, Wilhelmine artists and writers — most of them male and middle-class — idealized youth to not only distract from fears of emasculation and imperial decline but also to imagine a realm of infinite possibilities for social and national renewal. Moving from the rejuvenation of a nation to the rejuvenation of an academic discipline, Kenneth Kidd's paper focused on the International Philosophy for Children's movement (P4C) in the latter part of the twentieth century. By appreciating children as critical thinkers in their own right, the protagonists of this movement, according to Kidd, sought to revitalize philosophy as a socially relevant intellectual endeavor, especially in opposition to modern disciplines such as anthropology

or psychology. In her comment, Kristine Alexander probed the extent to which P4C could be understood in postcolonial terms. Additionally, Alexander stressed similarities between Dahlke's analysis of the cult of youth in Wilhelmine Germany and in other modern empires.

The next panel examined efforts to renew bodies through dental hygiene and physical exercise, with a particular emphasis on these projects' class-based and gendered dimensions. Catherine Carstairs took up the subject of oral health improvements in twentieth-century Canada to provide a more positive, though not uncritical, perspective on rejuvenation. While the expansion of quality dental care allowed an aging population to enjoy their food more and live with less pain, keeping one's teeth for a lifetime also made possible the gleaming smiles that were part of the pressures placed on the elderly, especially elderly women, to look young in a youth-centric society. A post-industrial body project of a different sort stood at the center of Melanie Woitas's paper. Revisiting the heyday of aerobics in the United States and West Germany during the 1970s and 1980s, Woitas analyzed the quest for the "aerobic body," with its emphasis on female muscularity and youthfulness, as an intensified striving for self-realization in times of economic uncertainty and the re-emergence of conservative gender roles. Heiko Stoff then placed these two examples of physical rejuvenation alongside several other modern body projects. For Stoff, most of these projects were a response to the perceived crisis of the productive body and emerged inseparably from demands made upon citizens in various imperialist, nationalist, and capitalist regimes that they be healthy, efficient, and youthful, irrespective of their actual age. Rejuvenation, thus, should not be conflated with the prolongation of life.

The commodification of young and rejuvenated bodies was the object of investigation of the fourth panel. Investigating letters of advice for young working women published in early twentieth-century Canadian periodicals, Jane Nicholas showed how young women played an active role in shaping idealized modern femininities through the confident embrace of a variety of fashion and skin care products. At a time when more women became concerned about their economic independence and sexual autonomy, the time they spent on enhancing their physical appearance no longer just served to attract the positive attention of men. Instead, as Nicholas underlined, women who managed to retain youthful looks were celebrated as exemplars of a nation defined as possessing vitality, energy, and enthusiasm. Michelle

Smith shed additional light on the nexus of femininity, rejuvenation, and beauty products with a presentation on Victorian and Edwardian print culture and the problem of cosmetics. Highlighting the ways in which girlish beauty was naturalized as healthy and attractive in the period's advertisements and beauty manuals, Smith recalled that the excessive use of visible cosmetics still invited negative assessments of a women's character, and that older women's attempts to recapture beauty were cast as ever more futile. In her comment, Isabel Richter drew attention to how these types of age (and gender) engineering can illuminate the shifting and historically contingent boundaries of youth and old age beyond traditional markers such as education, marriage, and retirement.

The fifth panel approached the modern history of rejuvenation from the perspective of aging societies. Josef Ehmer gave a broad and statistically informed overview of developments in Europe in the second half of the twentieth century regarding changing patterns and images of work over the course of a person's life. Ehmer defined youth as a time of passage that included several markers of maturation such as finishing school, leaving home, and joining the labor force, yet he also stressed the fluidity of the concepts of youth and old age in advanced industrial societies where an increased appreciation of leisure activities and the growing attendance of institutions of higher learning rearranged transitions into and out of adulthood. Andrew Achenbaum reflected on the role of ageism in developments leading up to the 2016 election of Donald Trump. Some liberal commentators, according to Achenbaum, were inclined to describe the fact that pro-Trump sentiments were disproportionately high among baby boomers as a senile form of protest against a youth-centric society. Achenbaum, however, rejected this reading because it bore the seeds of pathologizing an entire generation. Anne Leonora Blaakilde then added a Danish perspective in her comment that focused on the politics of aging in Denmark. In particular, Blaakilde problematized how the Danish social system provided incentives for retirees to migrate to southern Europe in ways that unsettled social and economic relations in both regions.

The final thematic panel of this conference engaged questions concerning the rejuvenation of collective bodies in the arena of state politics. Mischa Honeck wove together different postwar moments in the first half of the twentieth century to investigate how rejuvenationist narratives of a fresh start helped societies across the

divides of geography and ideology to recuperate from the ravages of modern warfare. Honeck argued that youth rallies, such as the world jamborees of the international Boy Scout movement or the communist-sponsored World Festivals for Youth and Students, offered rites of passage in reverse for old elites who sought to absolve themselves of responsibility for imperial and great-power conflicts that had resulted in unspeakable suffering. Combining anti- and postcolonial perspectives, Franziska Roy addressed the relationship of nation-building and the (de)mobilization of Indian youth during the country's independence struggle and the Cold War. Emphasizing the malleable contours of who and what counted as young, Roy used the case of anticolonial Indian nationalism to show how state-builders of various leanings drew upon a seemingly ageless ideal of youth to develop a metaphysical politics of progress. Underscoring the significance of the early twentieth century for developing a political grammar of youth, Till Kössler agreed that more research was needed to grasp how nationalist and internationalist movements were (de)legitimized in age-specific terms. At the same time, Kössler cautioned scholars against ignoring the spiritual and religious connotations of rejuvenation in an age of secular politics.

The concluding roundtable made clear that while the human desire to conquer aging and, ultimately, death may have been a transhistorical pursuit, rejuvenation needs to be understood as a distinctly modern phenomenon. As such, it comprised a series of historically specific projects of regeneration and repair designed to reenergize both individual (male, female) and collective (nations, professions, empires) bodies that resonated across social, political, and geographical boundaries. Rejuvenationists, whether they marched under the banner of science, public health, physical education, state-building, war, or world peace, tended to cast their ventures in glaringly utopian colors. However, their ventures produced formulas for stopping or reverting the aging process that were neither universally accessible nor applicable. As a result, some schemes magnified existing inequalities of class, race, and gender, while others projected functionalist visions of society that were blatantly misogynist and ageist. Rather than laying bare a panoply of innocuous lifestyle choices, research on the histories of rejuvenation can help us better understand the relationship of age and age engineering to evolving patterns of power, privilege, and (dis)ability.

Mischa Honeck (GHI) and Paul Schweitzer-Martin (GHI)

BEYOND DATA: KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION IN BUREAUCRACIES ACROSS SCIENCE, COMMERCE, AND THE STATE

Workshop at the German Historical Institute Washington (GHI) in co-operation with and co-sponsored by the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin (MPIWG). Conveners: Sebastian Felten (MPIWG), Philipp Lehmann (MPIWG / University of California Riverside), Christine von Oertzen (MPIWG), Simone Lässig (GHI). Participants: Maria Avxentevskaya (MPIWG), Rüdiger Bergien (Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung, Potsdam), Dan Bouk (Colgate University), Maura Dykstra (Caltech), Anna Echterhölter (Humboldt University, Berlin), Elisabeth Engel (GHI), Devin Fitzgerald (Harvard University), Tom Ewing (Virginia Tech), Adam Fulton Johnson (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor), Kyrrill Kunakhovich (University of Virginia), Anindita Nag (University of Calcutta/MPIWG), Kathryn Olesko (Georgetown University), Simon Ottersbach (University of Gießen), Chris Phillips (Leeds Trinity University), Martha Poon (Columbia University/New School), Theodore Porter (University of California, Los Angeles), Axel Jansen (GHI), Renée Raphael (University of California Irvine), John Sabapathy (University College London), Hanna Turner (Simon Fraser University), Richard Wetzell (GHI), Chelsea Zi Wang (Claremont McKenna College).

This workshop was a collaboration between the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin and the GHI. The GHI's new focus on the history of knowledge gelled with the MPI's longstanding interest to bring historians of different disciplines into a dialogue on how, through which means, and to what ends data is collected, stored, and transformed — this time applied to bureaucratic frameworks, a human endeavor that, just like science, produces knowledge in highly structured ways.

The workshop explored how bureaucratic practices of making and using knowledge emerged and evolved in a broad range of settings — from local administrations to mining offices, from colonial trade companies to insurance firms, and from the Middle Ages to the recent past. By bringing together scholars from diverse historical disciplines, the workshop addressed questions that are difficult to answer through individual case studies alone: Did the need to know shared by government, commerce, and science result in similar material practices of collecting and transforming large amounts of data? Or did the divergent internal logics of these domains produce

idiosyncratic approaches? In what ways did tools to classify, order, and process information migrate from one institutional context to another, and how did they change? Do we have to specify — and possibly diversify — our notion of knowledge when the aim of information processing is not so much getting the facts straight but making decisions?

The seven panels were structured thematically to stimulate thinking across domains, regions, and periods. The presenters in panel I, “Antagonizing Logics,” explored how state-bureaucratic and economic tools and practices of knowledge production, as well as the values and rhetoric substantiating them converged or clashed. In his opening talk, Dan Bouk traced the rise of depreciation accounting systems for public utilities based on actuarial models for machinery alongside the development in corporate life insurance of human life valuations intended to support public health expansion. By focusing on this technical aspect of large-scale management, he troubled our narratives of state/corporate antagonism by revealing how much U.S. state and corporate bureaucracies learned from one another. Sebastian Felten explored the role of “bureaucratic imagination” to explain why the rationality of bureaucrats and business people can be at odds sometimes. Using the failed attempts by a Saxon mining official to secure capital in Amsterdam as an example, Felten explained that objectives such as transgenerational “sustainability” were fully rational only when many mines and long timespans were condensed in one imaginative grasp, which Saxon officials routinely did. Chris Philips demonstrated that the First World War was an industrial war not just in terms of the weaponry produced and used, but also regarding the relentless pursuit of industrial productivity and efficiency on the ground where diagrams, graphs, and formulae became key components of an “information infrastructure” decisive for evaluating battlefield performance and success.

In his keynote lecture, Theodore Porter reflected on how and to what ends commercial and state bureaucracies collected and processed numerical information. Drawing on rich source material from his work on the struggle over cure rates in nineteenth-century asylums, Porter demonstrated how numbers become sites of contestation when used for official assessments of institutions. Presenting facts in numerical form is not so much an export of science but emerged through tools and means developed within bureaucratic and political frameworks to reconcile central control with local autonomy. The

unruly outcomes of such struggles were often “funny numbers,” which concealed the evasion of goals and corruption of measures. The mismatch between the “boring” appearances of statistics and dishonest backstage manipulations of numbers, Porter concluded, presents a danger evident in many recent efforts to decentralize the functions of governments and corporations using incentives based on quantified targets.

The presenters of the second panel, “Laws of the Local,” focused on the knowledge practices that empires deployed to exercise control in far-away localities. Maura Dykstra reconsidered bureaucratic reporting and reviewing practices in the Qing legal system. To reconcile local autonomy with imperial law, the Qing established a procedure in which most local cases were kept outside of the law. However, the “local case” is a focal point for examining how central, provincial, and local institutions combined in the everyday search for justice. The distinction between legal and local entailed a distinct set of reporting procedures that created fundamental differences between those cases which were summarized for legal review and those which were not slated for scrutiny by supervisory officials. Anna Echterhölter explored the tension between universal measurement units and local realities in the statistical reports that the colonial government in German New Guinea sent year after year to Berlin. Local systems of counting, indigenous measures of value, and calculated imprecisions proved valuable instruments of colonial administration, as officers on the scattered islands often showed a profound ignorance about the conditions on the ground. Adam Fulton Johnson investigated how ethnological knowledge production in the U.S. was transformed during the nineteenth century from a bureaucratic archival technique into a contextual and often idiosyncratic practice of documentation: scribbled field notes and miscellaneous anecdotes. The conventions of knowledge inscription established in these ethnographic encounters structured both the development of disciplinary anthropology as well as the continuing relationship that southwestern Indian communities had with the U.S. bureaucratic state.

In Panel III, “Promise of the Pattern,” presenters addressed how bureaucracies engage in big data collection, infrastructure, and how they derive knowledge from these data. Rüdiger Bergien explored if and to what extent computerization by the West German Police and the East German Ministry of State Security led to a change in their particular information management and knowledge production. He

found that computerization did not turn these organizations into almighty surveillance instruments. Rather than overcome the issue of uncertainty, as intended, computerization reproduced existing and even introduced new uncertainty, e.g. about who should be given access to the database. Tom Ewing reflected on the ways in which the 1889 New York “Russian influenza” epidemic posed a unique challenge to knowledge production in bureaucracies involved in public health, medicine, and social policies. Not the agencies alone, but also daily newspapers, medical journals, and doctors’ meetings debated what was viable information and how it should be analyzed and disseminated. Martha Poon focused on Microsoft’s current concerns to pursue a new data-driven business model based on cloud computing. Poon argued that this may be a result of shifting dynamics in global financial markets, and not just of technical innovation, with fundamental impact on the architecture of the commercial system of data-driven administration — a business model that some are calling “surveillance capitalism.”

Panel IV, “Noise and Signal,” highlighted the media of bureaucratic data collection and dissemination. Anindita Nag discussed how in 1902, the Colonial Office established its Visual Instruction Committee to produce photographic evidence of Britain’s improvement of its colonial territories, mostly in the form of lantern slide lectures for British classrooms, lecture halls, and libraries. In identifying visualization as a significant way to think about bureaucratic knowledge production, Nag shed light on the technological, representational, and aesthetic enterprise of the British state in India. Simon Ottersbach demonstrated how Radio Free Europe (RFE) accumulated a wealth of data, which was used for short — or long-term analyses of societal, cultural, political, or economic processes in the “East.” Unparalleled in the Cold War media landscape, research emerging from this archive was shared not just in-house but also with governmental task forces, university lecturers, and global media entities, thus shaping what the West knew about the East. Devin Fitzgerald discussed the nature of translation in the early Qing (1644-1720) archive, after the Manchu invasion in 1636. Manchu materials constituted a different “stream” of documents, and only entered the “open archive” when the state disseminated them in histories, proclamations, and institutional compilations. While the Chinese side of the state archive functioned much as it did prior to 1644, the “open archive” for the integrated Qing Empire only existed with direct court participation.

Panel IV, entitled “Keeping Track of the Field,” focused on the workflow and frictions that arose between state institutions and those they employed to collect but also interpret data and specimens. Philipp Lehman examined how data from the notes and recordings of officials in German Southwest Africa traveled to Berlin, were the Foreign Office assumed a gatekeeper function, forwarding or withholding particular data (e.g. weather observations to the naval observatory). Lehmann used these data journeys to discuss the often tense relationship between different interests groups among the institutions of the German empire. Hannah Turner examined how at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of Natural History, material technologies such as the circular, the ledger book, and the catalog card played a role in establishing what information was “valid.” Knowledge originating in the North American indigenous communities was often excluded. While practices have changed at the museum, Turner argued that the collected objects and the information associated with them came to form fundamental concepts in anthropology and material culture research upon which we still rely.

Panel VI, titled “Answers and Answerability,” examined the material forms in which bureaucracies elicited answers to their questions, both from the people they governed and from their own officials. Kyrill Kunakhovich traced the rise and fall of public opinion polling in Soviet bloc Poland and East Germany. Public polling data became increasingly important in the 1960s and 1970s, as communist regimes sought to project responsiveness to the people’s will whilst struggling to reconcile popular desires with their political agendas. By the 1980s, Soviet bloc leaders began to ban public opinion research altogether and even to disseminate made-up statistics known as the “propaganda of success.” Renée Raphael showed how many of Philip II’s subjects sought to participate in the Spanish “paper state” by penning their own discourses. Using one 39-page booklet detailing the discovery of the famous mining region in Potosí (Bolivia) as an example, Raphael argued that such interventions highlight a particular feature of the Habsburg bureaucracy: that individuals with good ideas were thought to have the duty to present them directly to the king. John Sabapathy analyzed a range of inquiries that southern French lawyer (and later pope Clement IV) Gui Foucois (d. 1268) was involved in. Sabapathy showed how distinctive such practices were between spheres (ecclesiastical and secular) and countries (France and England), shedding new light on questions of state formation and the role played there by bureaucratic knowledge and investigative questionnaires.

The presenters of the last panel, “Finding a Common Language,” investigated how imperial bureaucracies incorporated and channeled knowledge so that it could be put to use. Maria Avxentevskaya examined how technical translation, mostly from Western languages such as Dutch, influenced the Russian Enlightenment by transforming the realms of both practical knowledge and state management. Focusing on the letters and papers of Peter the Great, Avxentevskaya showed how the “localization” of knowledge through translation influenced institutional and educational practices, while newly acquired values of translation affected the conceptualization of practical knowledge, as well as the development of Russian imperial humanism. Kathryn Olesko explained how Prussian officials managed the empire’s extensive eastern “frontier” resulting from the Polish Partitions in 1772, 1793, and 1795. Self-trained technicians swept across this new landscape gathering data, creating an “information order” of the Prussian frontier and contributing to the illusion that this space could be controlled. Olesko argued that this marked a turning point in the evolution of Prussia as a scientific and technical state. The final speaker, Chelsea Zi Wang, presented a peculiar solution to the problem of data synchronization in imperial China. “Layered quotations” found as early as the eighth century and well into the twentieth century eased document storage and retrieval within the confines of a single text. Long dismissed as excessively repetitive, this particular use of administrative language, as Wang argued, allowed the Chinese state to keep track of previous communications as a case moved up and down through different levels of government.

Taken together, the range of case studies was dazzlingly diverse, a fact that proved highly productive from the very start of the meeting. During the lively and inspiring discussions, participants focused on similarities and contrasts among the cases presented and identified recurring themes. In the final discussion these were condensed into four general observations, which seem particularly relevant for the history of bureaucratic knowledge. First, in most cases, the bureaucracies at hand spent considerable resources not only on knowing the territory, populations, markets etc., that they considered their environment, but also on knowing themselves — sometimes explicitly by creating reports and organizing reviews, sometimes implicitly through the structure of their media (e.g. in the Chinese case of “layered quotations”). Second, language emerged repeatedly as a problem for actors at the boundary between the bureaucratic “self” and its environment. Incomprehension and the need to translate were

prompted not only by the difference between “natural” languages (e.g. Dutch and Russian) but — even more importantly — between the technical language employed by the bureaucrats in official communication, and the language used by everybody else. Third, in all of the cases considered bureaucracies engaged in practices of abstraction. Some of the authorities were so far removed from the Weberian ideal type of bureaucracy that concepts inherited from sociology and political science made it harder rather than easier to understand their workings. However, what appeared as a common theme was that their mode of domination was based on abstraction and technical language. At the same time, this is where the historicity of the different cases appeared most clearly. While the medieval Church, the Qing Empire and the German colonial governments all abstracted from local realities, they did so in bewilderingly different ways. Fourth, the history of bureaucratic knowledge — showcased here as if through a kaleidoscope — might provide a meaningful framework to reconsider Big Data as a recent social, political and economic phenomenon. When current practices of gathering, storing, and analyzing mounds of data are taken as the latest expression of a long quest to rule by abstraction and technical language, they may seem less new, less puzzling, and perhaps also less difficult to control.

Sebastian Felten and Christine von Oertzen (MPIWG)

23RD TRANSATLANTIC DOCTORAL SEMINAR IN GERMAN HISTORY: GERMAN HISTORY IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Seminar at the Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden, Hamburg, June 7-10, 2017. Co-organized by the German Historical Institute Washington and the BMW Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University in cooperation with the Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden, Hamburg. Conveners: Anna von der Goltz (Georgetown University) and Richard F. Wetzell (GHI), in cooperation with Miriam Rürup (Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden). Faculty Mentors: Peter Becker (University of Vienna), Annika Mombauer (Open University, United Kingdom), H. Glenn Penny (University of Iowa), Annette Timm (University of Calgary). Participants: Lisa Eiling (University of Gießen), Reiner Fenske (Technical University of Dresden), Sheer Ganor (University of California, Berkeley), Peter Gengler (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill), Björn Grötzner (University of Potsdam), Sebastian Huebel (University of British Columbia), Susanne Korbel (University of Graz), Stefanie Krull (Emory University), James McSpadden (Harvard University), Nisrine Rahal (University of Toronto), Sarah Schwab (University of Konstanz), Kerstin Schwenke (University of Munich & Zentrum für Holocaust Studien des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte), Olga Sparschuh (Free University of Berlin), Simon Unger (University of Oxford), Teresa Walch (University of California, San Diego), Brian van Wyck (Michigan State University).

The twenty-third Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar in German History, co-organized by the German Historical Institute Washington and the BMW Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University, was dedicated to nineteenth- and twentieth-century German history and generously hosted by the Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden in Hamburg. As always, the seminar brought together eight doctoral students from North America and eight from Europe, all of whom are working on dissertations in modern German history. The seminar was organized in eight panels, featuring two papers each, which opened with two comments by fellow students, followed by discussion of the pre-circulated papers. Meeting in the Institute's lovely building with the memorable address "Am Schlump," the seminar was characterized by a congenial combination of scholarly rigor and friendly collegiality.

The first panel examined two different aspects of the history of education in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany. Nisrine

Rahal's paper "A Real Nursery": The Pedagogical and Revolutionary Construction of the Kindergarten" argued that Friedrich Fröbel's kindergarten focused on a reconstruction of the mother-child relationship that, Fröbel hoped, would have repercussions beyond the kindergarten. The space of the kindergarten and the bodies within it, Rahal argued, were abstract universal figures mobilized for social, cultural, and political reform that mirrored the revolutionary upheaval of 1848-49. The kindergarten was therefore a site of conflict among the various activists. Moving from the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth century, Brian van Wyck's paper, "Gastarbeiter im Schuldienst: Turkish Teachers in West Germany, 1961-1989," examined the policies and practices related to Turkish teachers in West German schools, who were tasked with educating pupils in Turkish language, history, and culture. Focusing on the 1970s, Wyck's paper argued that shifting assumptions about the Turkish students' futures and the nature of their situation as Turkish citizens in West Germany led German education officials, school administrators, and Turkish parents to revise their expectations of what kind of knowledge teachers were supposed to impart to the students.

The second panel further pursued the topic of migration. Susanne Korbel's paper "Die Ähnlichkeit der Differenz: (Wahrnehmungen von) Migration in der Populärkultur zwischen Budapest, Wien und New York um 1900" examined the influence of migration on popular culture in Budapest, Vienna and New York between 1890 and 1930. Conceptualizing performance venues as "Jewish and non-Jewish Spaces," Korbel investigated the effect of Jewish mass migration on the content and form of popular culture, especially theater, in these three cities. Sheer Ganor's paper "Comic Relief: Humor and Displacement in the German-Jewish Diasporic Experience" analyzed examples of humor and comedy produced by German-speaking Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany. Humor, Ganor argued, afforded a common ground for mitigating the challenges of displacement as well as a flexible medium for overcoming but also for accentuating otherness in new surroundings.

The third panel brought together two papers on the intellectual history of the interwar era. Simon Unger's paper "Being Small in the Face of the Great": The Protestant Journal *Eckart* and its Readers, 1924-1960" analyzed the ambivalent attitudes toward and interpretations of National Socialism among religious intellectuals in the circle around the Protestant journal *Eckart*. The key question for Unger

was to understand how critics of the regime could identify with certain aspects of National Socialist ideology while rejecting the Nazi movement at large. Lisa Eiling's paper "Im 'Dienst an den deutschen Belangen in der Welt': Arbeit und Gemeinschaft im Werk des Kieler Nationalökonom Bernhard Harms (1876-1939)" analyzed Harms's writings on labor as well as related correspondence in order to argue that the notion of labor as service for the national community emerges as a coherent central theme in Harms's life and work.

The fourth panel explored the interwar era in transnational perspective. In his paper, "National Parliamentarians on the International Stage: Private Diplomacy and Political Cooperation in Interwar Europe," James McSpadden demonstrated the existence of informal international political networks among socialist, bourgeois, and German nationalist politicians during the 1920s and 1930s. These networks, he contended, could be used by various political actors to shape policymaking and political outcomes during the interwar period. Reiner Fenske's paper "Zwischen imperialer und transnationaler Geschichte: Die Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft und der Deutsche Ostbund im Kontext des Deutschlands der Zwischenkriegszeit" argued that both the Kolonialgesellschaft and the Ostbund pursued the goal of a settler colonialism that was intended to be racially and ethnically restricted to Germans and whites.

The fifth panel examined the role of sociability in two very different historical situations. Sarah Schwab's paper „Deutsch unsere Geselligkeit in deutschen Vereinen": Vereine, Klubs und Feste. Engagement, Geselligkeit und Ethnizität unter deutschen Südafrikanern, ca. 1918-1960" examined the role of sociability in the ethnically organized associations set up by Germans in South Africa. Practices of sociability, she argued, promoted social contact and cohesion among the group's members, while at the same time marking certain social activities as specifically "German." The associations thus created a social space located between private and public in which ethnicity was articulated in the form of sociability. Teresa Walch's paper "Gaststätten in Nazi Berlin: Pubs and Cafes as Sites of Transgressions" explored public houses and cafes in Nazi Berlin that eluded attempts by the Gestapo and police to completely control what was done and said in such public places, thus becoming "sites of transgression." Despite closures, surveillance, and denunciations, she argued, pubs remained places where Communists and Socialists criticized the regime and where homosexuals continued to meet.

The sixth panel focused on the National Socialist era. Sebastian Huebel's paper "Jewish Masculinities and the Importance of Work in the Third Reich" examined how the Nazis sought to emasculate Jewish men and how, in turn, Jewish masculine self-understandings changed. When their adherence to hegemonic practices of masculinity were challenged, Huebel argued, many Jewish men turned to despondent behaviors, but others developed coping mechanisms that allowed them to defy emasculation and adapt to their marginalized status as men. Kerstin Schwenke's project "Besuche in nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern" investigated visits to Nazi concentration camps, which took place in a variety of vastly different contexts. Presenting a case study of the visits by representatives of foreign regimes that were ideologically aligned with Nazi Germany, Schwenke argued that official camp visits were always staged in order to focus the visitors' attention on carefully selected aspects of the camps.

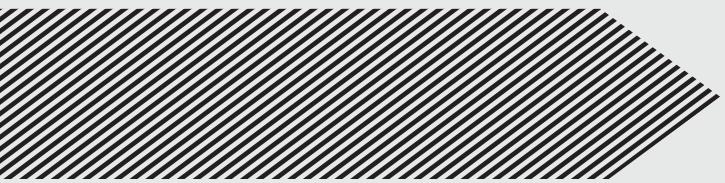
The seventh panel returned to the topic of migration, now focusing on the post-1945 era. Peter Gengler's paper "'Germany's No. 1 Problem': 'Flight and Expulsion' Narratives and the Struggle for Recognition in Postwar Germany, 1945–1955" examined the widespread hostility that expellees faced upon their arrival in Germany as well as their responses. In the years before the foundation of the Federal Republic, Gengler argued, expellees articulated their experiences in "sympathy narratives" in order to argue for social recognition and material aid. In doing so, they cultivated an identity of a unique "community of fate," which provided a platform for the politicization of "flight and expulsion" during the 1950s. Stefanie Krull's paper "'Belated Germans': *Aussiedler* Migration from Poland to the Federal Republic, 1975–1985" investigated West Germany's May 1976 integration program for ethnic remigrants and the subsequent 1977 public relations campaign. Rather than simply implementing policies for integration, Krull argued, these initiatives crafted an image of ethnic German remigrants as the "worthiest" immigrants to West Germany. By casting the ethnic remigrants as victims and contributors, the government aimed to expedite their acceptance.

The eighth panel combined the topics of migration and international relations in the second half of the twentieth century. Olga Sparschuh's paper "Turiner und Münchner Migrationsregime im Konflikt zwischen Stadt, Land und EWG: Liberalisierung der Migration seit 1961" offered a comparative analysis of the consequences of

the European Economic Community's first regulation implementing freedom of movement for workers throughout the EEC. Whereas in Italy the new EEC regulation resulted in the abolition of Fascist-era legislation restricting internal migration, West Germany's labor shortage led the German government to liberalize migration beyond what was required by the EEC regulation. The EEC rules, Sparschuh argued, created a situation in which migration from the south of Italy to Turin and Munich can be compared as two cases of European internal migration. Björn Grötzner's paper "Footprints on the Sands of Time": *Regierungswechsel und außenpolitische Kontinuität im Dreieck Bonn-Paris-Washington, 1969-1981*" presented a case study of the international conflicts deriving from the 1975 German-Brazilian nuclear deal — an agreement to export German nuclear technology to Brazil, to which the incoming Carter administration resolutely objected — in order to probe the relative importance of the actions of individual political actors versus structural transformations in international relations in explaining the trajectory of relations between Germany, France, and the United States in the 1970s.

In the concluding discussion participants reflected on whether one could discern common patterns in the themes and approaches of the papers presented at the seminar. It was noted that migration history and diaspora studies were especially prevalent among the papers; many also addressed the issue of German identity and national belonging; and quite a few projects approached their subjects from a transnational angle. Most of the research projects were not responding to major historiographical debates, which seems indicative of the current moment in the historiography of modern German history. The final discussion also provided an occasion to discuss the mechanics of writing and of giving oral presentations. One of the mentors, Annette Timm, even prepared a guide with writing advice based on her reading of the papers. The completion and publication of the excellent dissertation projects presented at the seminar is eagerly awaited.

Richard F. Wetzell (GHI)



GHI News

GERMAN HISTORY IN DOCUMENTS AND IMAGES RECEIVES DFG GRANT FOR RELAUNCH

In August 2017, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) awarded the GHI a generous grant in support of the relaunch of the *German History and Documents and Images* website. The three-year grant, which was awarded through the “Infrastructure for Electronic Publications and Digital Science Communication” program, will support the creation of a new technical platform for the website, as well as the revision and expansion of GHDI’s content. Together, these changes will transform a popular legacy site into a new digital resource that responds to the current state of technology, historiography, and methodology.

GHI HISTORY OF KNOWLEDGE BLOG

This past winter, the GHI launched *History of Knowledge*, a blog intended to spread awareness of the subject, foster discussion of it, and explore its analytical and synergetic potential. The blog understands the history of knowledge as a big tent that can accommodate many perspectives. The one constant is the recognition that knowledge is not something that simply exists, awaiting discovery and use. Instead, it is formed, adapted, forgotten, rejected, superseded, expanded, reconfigured, and more by human beings. Knowledge is social. It is central to most or all purposeful human practices, whether at work, in the family, or for worship, whether implicitly or explicitly, whether passed down by hands-on training or through books and other storage and retrieval systems. Both product and basis of human interactions, knowledge has a history. Indeed, human history cannot be understood apart from the history of knowledge. For more on this project, including editorial contacts, corresponding social media accounts, and how to contribute, please visit <http://historyofknowledge.net>.

NEW GHI PUBLICATIONS

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

Anna von der Goltz and Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson, eds., *Inventing the Silent Majority in Western Europe and the United States: Conservatism in the 1960s and 1970s*

Ute Planert and James Retallack, eds., *Decades of Reconstruction: Postwar Societies, State-Building, and International Relations from the Seven Years' War to the Cold War*

Devin O. Pendas, Mark Roseman, and Richard F. Wetzell, eds., *Beyond the Racial State: Rethinking Nazi Germany*

2. Other Publications Supported by the GHI

Simone Lässig and Miriam Rürup, eds., *Space and Spatiality in Modern German-Jewish History*. New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2017.

Simone Lässig and Swen Steinberg, eds. *Knowledge and Migration*. Special Issue of *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 43, no. 3 (September 2017).

STAFF CHANGES

Christoph Bottin, IT Manager since 2005, left the GHI in 2017.

Christiane Geidt joined the GHI in September 2017 as Administrative Assistant and Receptionist. She previously worked as a language and cultural instructor for the Foreign Service Institute.

Mischa Honeck, Research Fellow since 2012, left the GHI in 2017 in order to take up a position as lecturer in history at Humboldt University in Berlin.

Mary Lane, Administrative Associate since February 2014, left the institute in July 2017 in order to pursue a career as an ESL teacher.

Lemlem Meconen-Anderson, Assistant to the Director since 2012, left the institute in August 2017 in order to start a position with ARD German Radio and Television.

Ines Prodoehl, Research Fellow since 2008, left the GHI in 2017 in order to accept a post-doc position in the D-A-CH research project "Lives in Transit" at the University of Munich.

Atanas Vasilev joined the GHI as IT Manager in May 2017. He previously held the position of IT/Systems Administrator at billiger-mietwagen.de in Cologne.

Andrea Westermann joined the GHI West as a Research Fellow and Head of the GHI West – Pacific Regional Office in October 2017. She will support the GHI's efforts in establishing the new research focus on “Knowledge in Transit: Migrants’ Knowledge in Comparative Perspective.” In her own research, she studies the future-related knowledge of environmental migrants in Spain, California, and Chile. She is currently working on her habilitation titled “Earth Matters: Geologie um 1900 zwischen menschlichem Maß und Erdmaßstab.” Before joining the GHI she held a teaching position at the University of Zurich.

GHI FELLOWSHIPS AND INTERNSHIPS

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, the role of Germany and the USA in international relations, and American history (European doctoral and postdoctoral scholars only).

The proposed research projects should make use of historical methods and engage with the relevant historiography. We especially invite applications from doctoral students and postdoctoral scholars who currently have no funding from their home institutions. 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 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 fellowships programs have been introduced: the Binational Tandem Research Program for “The History of Knowledge” and “Global and Trans-regional 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.

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 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 website at www.ghi-dc.org/internships.

RECIPIENTS OF GHI FELLOWSHIPS, 2017/18

Tandem Fellowships in the History of Knowledge & Knowledge Cultures

Juliane Braun, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn
Translating the Pacific: Imperial Imaginations, Nature Writing, and Early Modern Print Cultures

Benjamin Fagan, Auburn University
Insurrectionary History: Time, Space, and Black Atlantic Revolution

Tandem Fellowships in Global and Trans-Regional History

Anke Ortlepp, Universität Kassel
Transnational Architecture: The New Brutalism in Great Britain, the United States, and Brazil, 1950s-1980

Bryant Simon, Temple University
The Contradictory Appeal of the Public in Urban America

Tandem Fellowships in the History of Migration at GHI West in Berkeley

Albert Manke, Universität Bielefeld
Transnational Strategies of Californian Chinese during the Exclusion Era: Business Associations and Secret Societies in Latin America and North America

Lok Siu, University of California, Berkeley

Hemispheric Internment: Ethnicity and the Politics of Un-Belonging for Japanese Latin Americans

Doctoral Fellowships

Sören Brandes, Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung/ Freie Universität Berlin

Der Aufstieg des Marktpopulismus: Die Medialisierung des Neoliberalismus in den USA und Großbritannien, 1940–1990

Anna Danilina, Max Planck Institut für Bildungsforschung, Berlin/ International Max Planck Research School (IMPRS) for Moral Economies in Modern Societies

Ethiken der Essenz: Zur emotionalen Produktion 'rassischer' Subjektivität in völkischen Siedlungen (1890–1935) (Arbeitstitel)

Andrew Kless, University of Rochester

Infighting at the Front: Officers, Bureaucrats, and Politicians at War in German-occupied Russian Poland, 1914–1915

Christoph Nitschke, University of Oxford

The Panics of 1873 and U.S. Foreign Relations

Jakob Schönhagen, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg

Weltflüchtlingspolitik 1950–1973

Carolyn Taratko, Vanderbilt University

Feeding Germany: Nutrition and the German Countryside, 1871–1923

Matthias Thaden, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin

A Challenge for Liberal Democracy? Croatian Emigré Activism in the FRG

Lara Track, Universität Heidelberg

Zwischen Frieden und Frauenrechten: Women Strike for Peace und die Zweite Welle des Feminismus in den USA

Postdoctoral Fellowships

Kristoff Kerl, Universität zu Köln

Politiken des Rausches: Eine transnationale Körpergeschichte westlicher Gegenkulturen von den 1960er bis in die 1980er Jahre.

Justus Nipperdey, Universität des Saarlandes

Early Modernity – Periodization and the Emergence of the Modern World in U.S. Historiography

Horner Library Fellows

Rebecca Lott, University of St Andrews

Charitable Ethnic Societies in Philadelphia and Charleston, 1740s-1810s

Adelheid Voskuhl, University of Pennsylvania

Engineers' Philosophy: Industrialism, Theories of Technology, and Social Order in the Second Industrial Revolution (c. 1890 to 1930)

RESEARCH SEMINAR AND COLLOQUIUM, SPRING/SUMMER 2017

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| January 25 | Matthew Hiebert (GHI Washington)
“What is Canada?” The Creation of Canadian Cultural Knowledge in the Long Sixties |
| February 15 | Kerstin von der Krone (GHI Washington)
Educating the Modern Jew and the Loyal Citizen: Re-Defining Jewish Religion and Knowledge in the Nineteenth Century |
| February 16 | Juliane Aso (Freie Universität Berlin)
Global Circulation of Knowledge: The Concept of Race in Japan from 1920s to 1970s |
| March 8 | Rebecca Brückmann (Universität zu Köln)
Empires and Belonging: Mixed Race People(s) and Racial Codifications in the United States and the Dominion of Canada, 1848-191 |
| March 9 | Markus Krah (Universität Potsdam)
“First we take Berlin, then we take Manhattan”: Salman Schocken’s Publishing Activities for Post-1945 American Jews |
| March 23 | Vanessa Ogle (University of Pennsylvania)
Archipelago Capitalism: Tax Havens, Offshore Money, and the State, 1920s-1980s |
| | Björn Blaß (Freie Universität Berlin / Max Planck Institute for Human Development)
Environments of Disposal. Moralities, Practices and Localities of Waste (1880 - 1930) |
| | Arno Barth (Universität Duisburg-Essen)
Population Policy as Risk Management of the Paris Peace |

Sarah Hagmann (Universität Basel)

Creating a Jewish Space through Organizing Relief?
The Jewish Relief Organization HIAS-HICEM
and the Translocal Network of Meyer Birman,
1939–1949

April 27**Martin Meiske (Deutsches Museum, Munich / LMU / Rachel Carson Center)**

The Birth of Geoengineering. Large-scale Engineering Projects in the Early Stage of the Anthropocene (1850–1950)

Anna Corsten (Max-Weber-Kolleg Erfurt)

Deutschsprachige Historiker im US-amerikanischen Exil und die Aufarbeitung der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit

May 24**Kijan Malte Espahangizi (ETH & Universität Zürich)**

Towards A Knowledge History of Postmigrant Societies:
A Case Study on the Emergence of Migration & Integration Research in Post-War Switzerland,
1960–1975

May 25**Sarah Epping (Freie Universität Berlin)**

“There’s a Land Long Since Neglected” — American Missionaries in Iraq, to 1932

James McSpadden (Harvard University)

In League with Rivals: Parliamentary Networks and Backroom Politics in Interwar Europe

Philipp Scherzer (Universität Mannheim)

“Do We Still Need Europe?” Neoconservative Perceptions of Europe and the Transatlantic Drift, 1970–2010.

June 14**Eva Giloi (Rutgers University)**

A Volksdichter Goes Insane: Julius Gersdorff and the Politics of Fame

June 22**Alexa Stiller (Universität Bern)**

The Making of an International Criminal Law Regime: The Politics of a New World Order in the Context of Mass Violence and Transition, 1989–2001

June 28**Owen Miller (Emerson College Boston)**

The Goodells: Toward a Global History of a Missionary Family

GHI CALENDAR OF EVENTS 2017/18

For a regularly updated calendar of events, please check our website at www.ghi-d.org.

- September 7-9 Learning at the Margins: The Creation and Dissemination of Knowledge among African Americans and Jews since the 1880s**
Conference at the GHI
Conveners: Elisabeth Engel (GHI) and Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson (University of Augsburg), Kierra Crago-Schneider (USHMM), Yvonne Poser (Howard University)
- September 14-16 Inheritance Practices in the 20th Century**
Workshop at the GHI
Conveners: Jürgen Dinkel (University of Gießen), Simone Lässig (GHI), Vanessa Ogle (University of Pennsylvania)
- September 15-16 Empires of Knowledge**
Conference at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver/Canada
Conveners: Axel Jansen (GHI), John Krige (Georgia Institute of Technology), and Jessica Wang (UBC)
- September 25-26 Quellen und Methoden der Geschichtswissenschaft im digitalen Zeitalter
Neue Zugänge für eine etablierte Disziplin?**
Conference in Berlin
Conveners: Georg-Eckert-Institut Braunschweig, Deutsches Historisches Institut Washington, Verband der Historiker und Historikerinnen Deutschlands, CLARIN-D Fach-AG Geschichte, AG “Digitale Geschichtswissenschaft” im VHD
- September 29-30 Reeducation Revisited: Strategies, Actors, Institutions in Transnational and Comparative Perspective**
Conference at the Deutsch-Amerikanisches Institut Nürnberg
Conveners: Katharina Gerund (FAU Erlangen-Nürnberg), Heike Paul (FAU Erlangen-Nürnberg), and Anne Schenderlein (GHI)
- October 5-8 Kinship, Knowledge, and Migration**
GHI Panel Series at the GSA in Atlanta, GA
Organizers: Simone Lässig (GHI) and Swen Steinberg (TU Dresden)

- October 12** **The German Historical Institute at 30:
The Founding of the GHI at the Intersection
of Scholarship and Politics**
Panel Discussion at the GHI
Panelists: Doris Bergen (University of Toronto), Jacob Eder (Friedrich Schiller University Jena), Scott Krause (ZZF Potsdam & UNC Chapel Hill), Hartmut Lehmann (Founding Director of the GHI). Moderated by Richard F. Wetzell (GHI)
- October 19** **Conscience, Authority, and the Right of
Resistance: How Religious Choice Framed the
Individual and the State System**
Lecture at the GHI
Speaker: Thomas Maissen (GHI Paris)
- October 26-28** **Creating Historical Knowledge Socially: New
Approaches, Opportunities and Epistemological
Implications of Undertaking Research with
Citizen Scholars**
International Workshop and Conference at the GHI
Conveners: Sheila Brennan (GMU), Matthew Hiebert (GHI), Simone Lässig (GHI), and Trevor Muñoz (MITH)
- November 1** **The Knowledge of/about Migrants:
Preconceptions, Misconceptions, Limits**
Lecture at Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life at UC Berkeley
Speaker: Armin Nassehi (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)
- November 1** **Bucerius Young Scholars Forum at GHI WEST
at UC Berkeley: “Histories of Migration:
Transatlantic and Global Perspectives”**
Bucerius Young Scholars Forum at GHI West at UC Berkeley
Convener: Atiba Pertilla (GHI)
- November 2** **Remembering and Forgetting the Reformation,
1517-2017**
Lecture at the GHI
Speaker: Jesse Spohnholz (Washington State University)
- November 9** **What Kind of Intelligence Calculates? Prodigies,
Drudges, and Machines, 1750-1950**
31st Annual Lecture at the GHI
Speaker: Lorraine Daston (Max Planck Institute for the History of Science)

- November 10** **26th Annual Symposium of the Friends of the GHI**
Award of the Fritz Stern Prize at the GHI
- December 5-8** **Knowledge in Flight: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Scholar Rescue in North America**
Workshop at The New School for Social Research, New York City
Conveners: Simone Lässig (GHI), William Milberg (The New School for Social Research), William Weitzer (Leo Baeck Institute, New York)
- December 7** **Writing in Stressful Times: The Anxieties of Authorship during the Reformation**
Lecture at the GHI
Speaker: Ann Blair (Harvard University)
- 2018**
- February 14-16** **In Global Transit Jewish Migrants from Hitler's Europe in Asia, Africa, and beyond**
Conference in Kolkata, India
Conveners: Andreas Gestrich (GHI London), Simone Lässig (GHI Washington), Anne Schenderlein (GHI Washington), and Indra Sengupta (GHI London)
- February 22-24** **Cultures of Capitalism in Weimar and Nazi Germany**
Conference at the GHI
Conveners: Pamela Swett (McMaster University), Moritz Föllmer (University of Amsterdam), and Ines Prodöhl (LMU München)
- March 22-24** **Settlement and Unsettlement: The Ends of World War I and Their Legacies**
2018 Annual Conference of the Max Weber Foundation, held at the GHI
Conveners: Max Weber Foundation, GHI, American Historical Association (AHA) with the National History Center (NCH), German Historical Association (Verband der Historiker und Historikerinnen Deutschlands, VHD)
- May 10** **9th Gerald Feldman Memorial Lecture**
Lecture at the GHI
Speaker: Sebastian Conrad (Freie Universität Berlin)
- June 7-10** **Learning by the Book: Manuals and Handbooks in the History of Knowledge**
Conference at Princeton University
Angela Creager (Princeton University), Mathias Grote (Humboldt Universität Berlin), Elaine Leong (MPI for the History of Science, Berlin), Kerstin von der Krone (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.

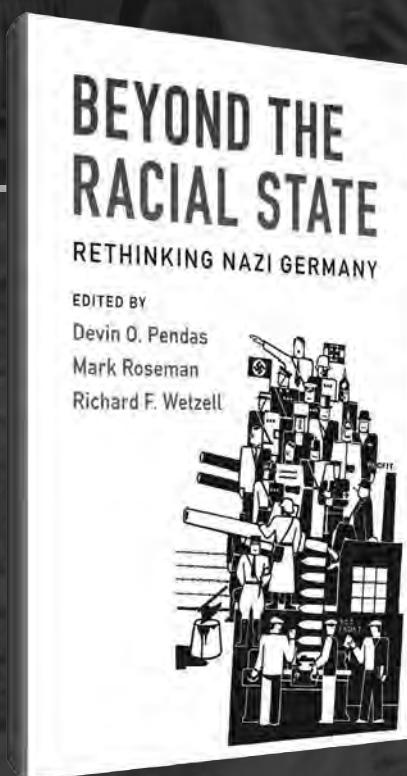
The collection includes books on American history written by German authors as well as historical literature of the institute's past research foci: global history, religious studies, exile and migration studies, environmental history, and economic history. The collection includes only print materials, mostly secondary literature; there are no archival holdings.

The GHI library offers free access to scholars as well as the general public; appointments or reader cards are not necessary. The library does not lend materials but visitors may consult material from the entire collection in our beautiful reading room, which also offers access to a variety of databases for journal articles, historical newspapers, genealogical research, and bibliographical research.

For the library catalog or a list of our databases, please visit www.ghi-dc.org/library. Or send an email to library@ghi-dc.org for any further questions.

The library hours are Monday to Thursday from 9 am to 5 pm, Fridays from 9 am to 4 pm, and by appointment.

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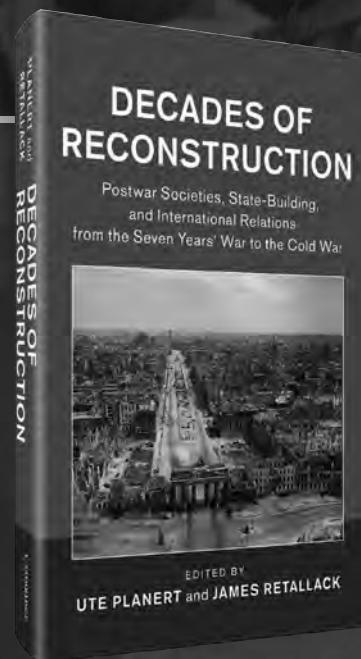


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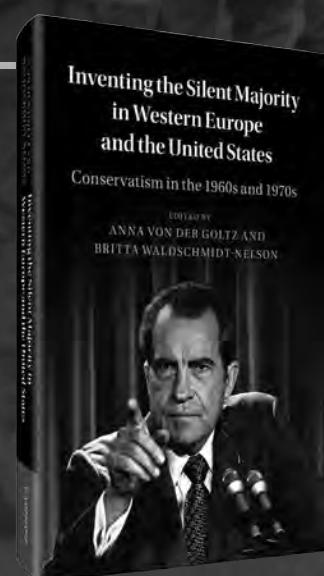


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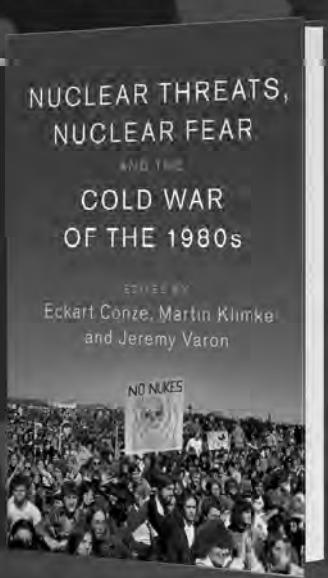
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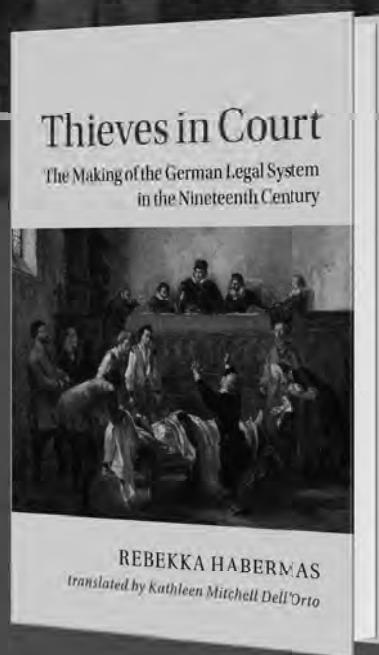


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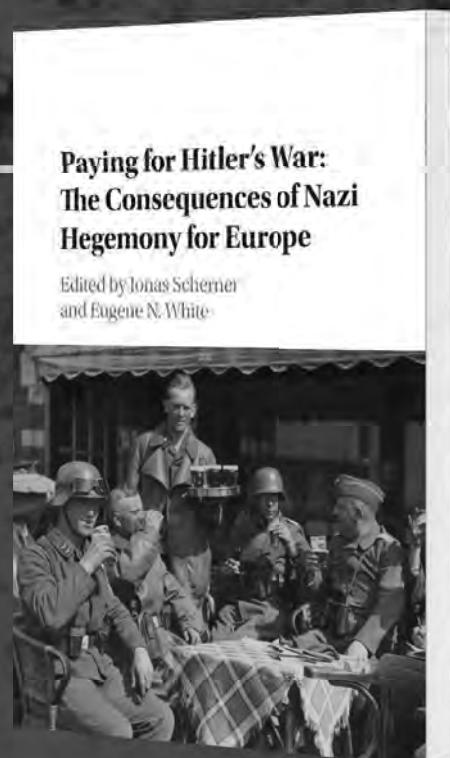


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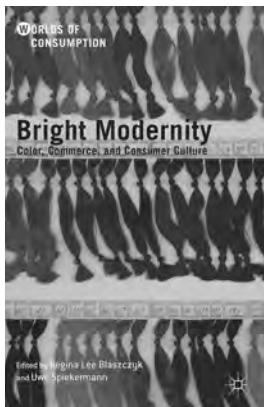
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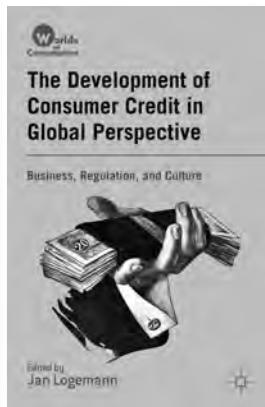
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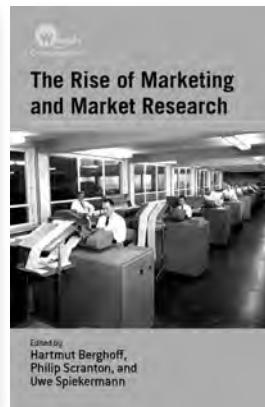
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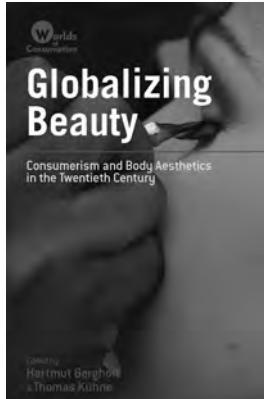


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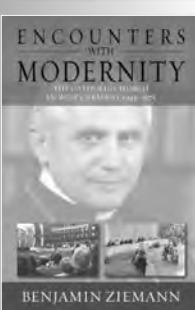
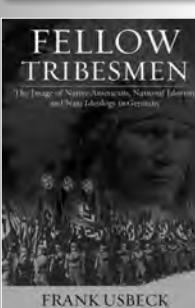
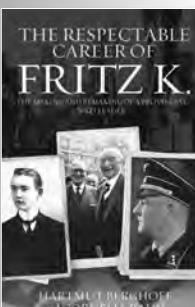
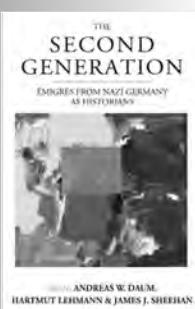
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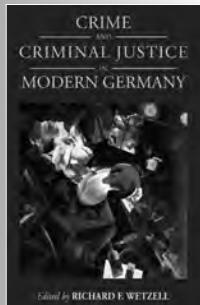
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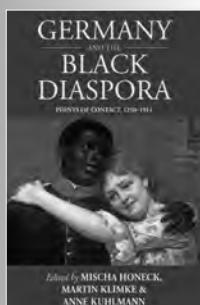
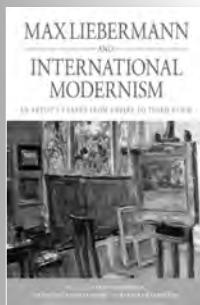
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This study, a bestseller in its German version, offers an in-depth exploration of the GDR economy's starting conditions and the obstacles to growth it confronted during the consolidation phase. These factors, however, were not decisive in the GDR's lack of growth compared to that of the Federal Republic. As this study convincingly shows, it was the economic model that led to failure.

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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 beitragen. 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 jahrzehntlang 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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