

## HISTORY 280

## HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE GERMAN PROBLEM

GENERAL INFORMATION

STUDENTS STUDYING FOR THEIR ORALS could not do better for our period than to concentrate on the two volumes in the Oxford History of Germany:

James J. Sheehan (1937--), German History 1770-1866 (1989).  
Gordon Craig (1913--), Germany 1866-1945 (1978).

THE GERMAN EQUIVALENTS of the above, written by the two, competing colossi of their generation, quite different from each other in methodology and interpretation, and indispensable for every specialist in German history are:

Thomas Nipperdey (1927-1992), Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck 1800-1866 (Princeton, 1996, ISBN: 0-691-02636-x); first published as: Deutsche Geschichte, Bd. I, 1800-1866. Bürgerwelt und starker Staat (Munich, 1983).  
Vols. II (still untranslated) is Deutsche Geschichte, Bd. II, 1866-1918. Machtstaat vor der Demokratie (Munich, 1992); and then there is:  
Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918, Band I Arbeitswelt und Bürgergeist (Munich, 1990).  
Hans-Ulrich Wehler (1931--), Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte, Bd. I, Vom Feudalismus des Alten Reiches bis zur Defensiven Modernisierung der Reformära (Munich, 1987); Bd. II, Von der Reformära bis zur industriellen und politischen 'Deutschen Doppelrevolution' 1815-1845-/49. (Munich, 1987); Bd. III, Von der 'Deutschen Doppelrevolution' bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs 1849-1914 (Munich, 1995); Bd. IV, Vom Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts 1914-1990 (Munich...in press).

Also useful:

Heinrich Lutz, Habsburg and Preussen: Deutschland 1815-1866 (1985). The same story told by Wehler and Nipperdey, but this time by a Bavarian who for many years taught at Vienna, with all the differences that implies.  
Reinhard Rürup, Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert 1815-1871 (1984). In paper.  
Michael Stürmer, Das ruhelose Reich. Deutschland 1866-1918 (1983).

IN A CLASS BY ITSELF, by a conservative (b. 1903) of the old school, with a discernible Hegelian bent, a man who began writing in the Weimar Republic, continued in the Third Reich (publishing enough to tarnish his reputation), and until very recently was still going strong is:

Ernst Rudolf Huber (1903- ), Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte seit 1789 (Stuttgart, 1957-1991) 8 volumes. Authoritative, bibliographic, encyclopedic, and (often brilliantly, often maddeningly) interpretative--covering all aspects of political and "policy" history.

Ernst-Rudolf Huber (1903- ), Dokumente zur Deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1961-66). 3 volumes, companions to the above, extending from 1803 to the end of the Weimar Republic. It says a great deal about the character of German "constitutional" history that many of the documents included here might easily be included in a collection on foreign policy and diplomatic relations.

AN EXAMPLE OF DDR-HISTORIOGRAPHY, and useful as a handbook, with articles chock full of facts and membership figures on every possible political club, organization, or party in Kleindeutschland, is:

Dieter Fricke, et. al, Lexikon zur Parteiengeschichte. die bürgerlichen und kleinbürgerlichen Parteien und Verbände in Deutschland (Leipzig, 1983-6), 4 vols. This is a new edition of the same authors':  
Die Bürgerlichen Parteien in Deutschland. Handbuch der Geschichte der bürgerlichen Parteien und anderer bürgerlicher Interessenorganisationen vom Vormärz bis zum Jahre 1945 (Berlin, 1968), 2 vols.

FOR THE HABSBURG MONARCHY, one might consult:

F.R. Bridge, The Habsburg Monarchy among the Great Powers, 1815-1918 (1990)  
Robert A. Kann (1906- d. 80s), A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918 (1974). One of many studies by this expert.  
C. A. Macartney (1895-1978), The Habsburg Empire 1790-1918 (1969). By a specialist on Hungary.  
Arthur J. May, The Habsburg Monarchy 1867-1914 (1965).  
Massively authoritative is:

Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, eds., Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918. This is a multivolume series, each volume organized around a specific topic (army, church, nationalities, etc.), that began to come out in the eighties. Each volume is a mine of information and includes a vast bibliography at the back. Eventually Wandruszka departs and the authors become Helmut Rimpler and Peter Urbanitsch (as in Bd. VII, on Verfassungsstaat und Parlamentaentismus, a two volume work published in 2000).

JOURNALS EVERYONE WITH A PROFESSIONAL INTEREST IN CENTRAL EUROPE SHOULD MAKE A HABIT OF CHECKING REGULARLY:

In English:

Austrian History Yearbook. Note: Every issue of the Austrian History Yearbook prints (and indexes by topic) extensive bibliographies of recent publications under headings such as the following:

- North American Publications on Austrian History
- North American Doctoral Dissertations on Austrian History
- Recent Research Projects in North America on Austrian History
- Recent European Books
- European Periodical Literature

Central European History.

Note: a subscription to either AHY or CEH automatically enrolls the subscriber in the AHA's Conference Group of Central European Historians, which sponsors sessions at each year's AHA, throws a "Bierabend" and business meeting at the same -- useful for making friends and contacts; and produces a newsletter in which members announce their current research projects. The latter should be of considerable interest to someone embarking on a dissertation project, since it helps put you in touch with others working on related fields. The Conference Group of Central European Historians awards a prize to the best book and the best article by a North American scholar in Central European Historian in alternate years.

German Studies Review.

Note: a subscription to the GSR will enroll you in the German Studies Association, which entitles you to present a paper or panel at the annual GSA, to review for the GSR, to compete for the GSA's bi-annual history article and bi-annual history book prize, and (sometimes) to get discounts on tickets to Germany. The GSA takes care of its own, and so unlike other journals and associations, it will solicit reviews only from its own members (there seems to be no other criterion), will accept only panels of its own members for its annual meetings, and will award prizes only to articles published in the GSR.

East European Quarterly.

For articles on the Hapsburg monarchy and the ethnically mixed regions of East Central Europe.

Historical Journal.

The British equivalent of our Journal of Modern History, good especially for reviews and review articles.

Journal of Modern History.

Run out of University of Chicago. The flagship journal for European historians in America. "Modern" begins in the late Middle Ages/Renaissance. Especially good for medium-length reviews and review articles.

Leo Baeck Yearbook. Good for articles on Central European Jewry.

In German:

Archiv für Sozialgeschichte (an annual, especially valuable for its review articles).

Geschichte und Gesellschaft.

Founded and edited by Hans-Ulrich Wehler (1931--), et. al., from the University Bielefeld. Articles and controversies; rarely reviews, except when they have excited or are likely to excite controversies.

Historische Zeitschrift.

The German equivalent of the AHR; "solid" articles and many short reviews on all periods and subjects.

Week 1. THE JUNKERS and the STATE:  
The Prussian School and Its Enemies

**COMMON READING:**

On the "Borussian" school, especially Droysen, Sybel, and Treitschke, as it looked in 1913:

George Peabody Gooch (1873-1968), "The Prussian School," in his History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century (1913, various later additions), 122-146 (no need to read about the Austrians).

On Otto Hintze, the finest representative of this school, and his treatment of the origins of the Prussian state:

Felix Gilbert (1905-1991), "Introduction. Otto Hintze 1861-1940," and

Otto Hintze (1861-1940), "The Hohenzollern and the Nobility" (1914), both in F. Gilbert, ed., The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze (Oxford, 1975), 3-29; 33-63.

The attack on the Prussian School:

Hans Rosenberg (1904-1988), Autocracy, Aristocracy, and Bureaucracy (1958). Rosenberg, a student of Friedrich Meinecke's who emigrated in the thirties, was Professor at Berkeley from 1959 until his retirement.

**Suggestions for Further Reading:**

On Historians.

One can learn a great deal about the whole post-war development of German historiography by reading William W. Hagen, "The Descent of the Sonderweg: Hans Rosenberg's History of Old Regime Prussia," Central European History vol. 24. no. 1, Spring 1991: 24-50, which subjects Rosenberg's work to critical analysis. This piece is recommended to everyone, but preferably **after** we have had our discussion.

For those (especially early modernists) interested in delving further into the indictment of the Junkers, see Rosenberg, "The Rise of the Junkers in Brandenburg-Prussia, 1410-1653," AHR XLII: 1-2 (1943-1944): 1-22, 228-242 (an early, shorter, English version of his "Die Ausprägung der Junkerherrschaft in Brandenburg-Preußen, 1410-1618," in idem, Machteliten und Wirtschaftskonjunkturen. Studien zur neueren deutschen Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte (Göttingen, 1978), 24-82). An influential version of the Rosenberg picture, expressed somewhat more moderately is Reinhart Koselleck, Preussen zwischen Reform und Revolution: Allgemeines Landrecht, Verwaltung und soziale Bewegung von 1791 bis 1848 (Stuttgart, 1981). Koselleck, along with Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Jürgen Kocka, and Hans-Jürgen Puhle, all taught at the University of Bielefeld in the 1960s-70s, when the "Sonderweg" critique of the older historiography became the reigning "paradigm" in German historiography. Hence the term, "Bielefeld School," a synecdoche for "new critical school."

The link between Hintze and Rosenberg, and the father of the "new critical school," was Eckart Kehr (June 1902 - May 1933). Of his collected essays, some of which we shall read later, the one bearing most clearly on this week's Problematik would be: "The Genesis of the Prussian Bureaucracy and the Rechtsstaat" (1932) in idem., Economic Interest, Militarism, and Foreign Policy (1977), ed. by Gordon A. Craig, 141-163. Craig's introductory essay on Kehr is also of interest. Kehr's German original, "Zur Genesis der preußischen Bürokratie und des Rechtsstaates. Ein Beitrag zum Diktaturproblem," is in H.-U. Wehler (1931--), ed., Moderne deutsche Sozialgeschichte (1968), also with a biographical introduction.

Broadly based assessments of Hintze are: Winfried Schulze, "Hintze und Deutsche Historiographie um 1900," and Pierangelo Schiera, "Hintze und der Krisis des Modernen Staates," both in N. Hammerstein, ed., Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft um 1900 (Stuttgart 1988). Still useful is Dietrich Gerhard, "Otto Hintze: His Work and His Significance in Historiography," CEH vol. III, nos 1/2, Mar/June 1970; 17-48. Hintze's own essays on comparative history are still valuable, especially for students of Modern Europe and those about to teach broad surveys. See esp. "The Formation of States and Constitutional Development: A Study in History and Politics" for a stimulating view of the role of the papacy in the formation of (Western) European "freedom;" "Military Organization and the Organization of the State," which expresses a typically Prussian-school belief in the "primacy of foreign policy;" and "The Commissary and His Significance in General Administrative History: A Comparative Study," an early example of "the linguistic turn."

For a sympathetic account of the founding fathers of Historicism see G.P. Gooch's chapters on "Eichhorn, Savigny, and Jakob Grimm" (connections between romanticism and the "historical school" of law), "The Monumenta" (German nationalism and the editing of fundamental texts), and "Ranke" in Gooch (1913) above. A brief, measured account of the same giants of 19th century historiography can be found in James J. Sheehan (1937--), German History 1770-1966 (1989), 846-53, 553-555. For a well-known, broadside attack on 19th century German historicism that leaves no stone unthrown, and implies a connection with Germany's later disastrous history, see Georg Iggers, The German Conception of History (1983). You might also want to look at the collection of essays he edited, The Social History of Politics. Critical Perspectives in West German Historical Writing (1986). On East German (DDR) historiography, as it once looked, see Andreas Dorpalen, German History in Marxist Perspective (1985). Indispensable for the biographies and assessments of many important historians, past and recent, is Hans-Ulrich Wehler, ed., Deutsche Historiker (multi-volumed, Göttingen, 1972--). On the most recent historians: Winfried Schulze, Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft nach 1945 (Munich, 1989).

Substantive accounts of the developments treated by Rosenberg, which present a picture Quite Contrary:

Edgar Melton, "Gutsherrschaft in East Elbian Germany and Livonia, 1500-1800: A Critique of the Model," CEH, vol. 21, No. 4, Dec. 1988: 315-349 (prize-winning essay of special interest to early modernists interested in the Brenner thesis); and the three articles by William W. Hagen: "The Junkers' Faithless Servants: Peasant Insubordination and the Breakdown of Serfdom in Brandenburg-Prussia, 1763-1811," in The German Peasantry: Conflict and Community in Rural Society from the Eighteenth Century to the Present, ed. Richard J. Evans (1947--), and W.R. Lee (1985); "Working for the Junker: The Standard of Living of Manorial Laborers in Brandenburg, 1584-1810," JMH 58, no. 1, March 1986: 143-158; "How Mighty the Junkers? Peasant Rents and Seigneurial Profits in Sixteenth-Century Brandenburg," Past and Present, no. 108 (1985): 80-116.

Some Comparative History/Perspectives with which to Test Rosenberg (of especial interest to non-Germanists):

To see Prussia compared with France: C. A. Behrens, Society, Government, and the Enlightenment: The Experiences of 18th Century France and Prussia (1985): a head-on attack on the Rosenberg picture; to compare Prussia with England, read David Spring, "Landed Elites Compared," and F.M. L. Thompson, "Britain," both in Spring, ed., European Landed Elites in the Nineteenth Century (1977), 1-21, 22-44; to see Prussia compared with Russia, check Marc Raeff, "The Well-Ordered Police State and the Development of Modernity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe: An Attempt at a Comparative Approach," in American Historical Review 80 (1975) and his book, The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change Through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600-1800 (1983).

For a look at German noblemen who were not Junkers, see the important work by Heinz Reif, Westfälischer Adel 1770-1860. vom Herrschaftsstand zu regionalen Elite (Göttingen, 1979), and more recently his: "Der Adel in der modernen Sozialgeschichte," in Wolfgang Schieder and Volker Sellin, eds., Sozialgeschichte in Deutschland: Entwicklungen und Perspektiven im internationalen Zusammenhang (4 vols, Göttingen, 1987), vol. 4: 34-60.

For the "Junker" and the "Citizen" in the 16th century, as seen by a Romantic and an early Borussian in the 19th century: Heinrich von Kleist (1777-1811), \*"Michael Kohlhaas" (1808), in Kleist, The Marquise of O and Other Stories. Penguin Paperback.

James J. Sheehan (1937- ), "What is German History? Reflections on the Role of the Nation in German History and Historiography," Journal of Modern History (hereafter JMH) 53, March 1981: 1-23.  
 James J. Sheehan, German History 1770-1866 (1989). Chs. 1-7.

### **Suggestions for Further Reading:**

New assessments of the Holy Roman Empire: Gerald Strauss, "The Holy Roman Empire Revisited," CEH, vol. XI, No. 3, Sept 1978: 290-301. Among the many excellent works on Goethe, see: Nicholas Boyle, Goethe. The Poet and the Age. Vol. I. The Poetry of Desire (1991) esp. pp. 233-52, and 275 for his career as chief civil servant of Weimar. Volume II has just come out (2000). Much fluttering in the Germanisten dovecotes has been caused by W. Daniel Wilson's Das Goethe-Tabu. Protest und Menschenrechte im klassischen Weimar (1999), which has been described as looking at Goethe the way Ralph Nadar looks at GM. Balanced, full of information difficult to get elsewhere, and until Sheehan, the work in English on the German 18th century, north and south: Klaus Epstein, The Genesis of German Conservatism (1966). An important study of a neglected period is T.C.W. Blanning's The French Revolution in Germany: Occupation and Resistance in the Rhineland, 1792-1802 (Oxford, 1983). An instructive contrast to Sheehan, as well as to many other readings suggested this semester, is Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-1896), Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert (5 vols., 1879-94; English translation by Eden and Cedar Paul, 1919), vividly written, and especially interesting on the Vormärz (1830s). Other useful contrasts would be the opi of Thomas Nipperdey (1927-1992), Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866 (Munich, 1983) and of Hans-Ulrich Wehler (1931--), Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte, esp. vol. II, Von der Reformära bis zur industriellen und politischen 'Deutschen Doppelrevolution' 1815-1845-/49. (Munich, 1987). Both are, as always, highly recommended.

For a fascinating glimpse into the life of wealthy Jewish women, which casts a flood of light on Berlin at the turn of the 18th century, see: Deborah Hertz, "Salons and Intermarriage," Central European History, Vol XVI, No. 4, Dec. 1983: 303-346 and idem, Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin (1988). An interesting companion piece to the childhoods of bright Jewish girls formed by intellectually voracious fathers (as well as to the childhood of J.S. Mill) is provided by Nancy Reich's Clara Schumann. The Artist and the Woman (paper, 1985).

For that peculiarly German phenomenon, the Bildungsbürgertum, the works of J. W. H. Bruford, Germany in the Eighteenth Century: The Social Background of the Literary Revival (1965) and The German Tradition of Self-Cultivation: Bildung from Humboldt to Thomas Mann (1975) are still valuable. Extremely influential theoretically, especially in the Federal Republic, has been: Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society (1989 translation of Strukturalwandel der Öffentlichkeit [1962]). A seminal article has been Thomas Nipperdey (1927-June 1992), "Verein als soziale Struktur in Deutschland im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert," in H. Boockmann et. al., Geschichtswissenschaft und Vereinswesen im 19. Jahrhundert (Göttingen, 1972): 1-44.

Recent studies of other aspects of German culture that have been well-received are: James Q. Whitman, The Legacy of Roman Law in the German Romantic Era: Historical Vision and Legal Change (1990), broader than its title suggests; T. Ziolkowski, German Romanticism and Its Institutions (1990); Josef Chytrý, The Aesthetic State: A Quest in Modern German Thought (1989); and Jörg Traeger, Der Weg nach Walhalla: Denkmallandschaft und Bildungsreise im 19. Jahrhundert (Regensburg, 1987), on the connection between coming of the railroad, tourism, and art history. For more on literature and society, low and then high, try Rudolf Schenda, Volk ohne Buch. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lesestoffe 1770-1910 (1977), and then Russell Berman, The Rise of the Modern German Novel (1986) and Peter Uwe Hohendahl, Building a National Literature: The Case of Germany (Ithaca, 1989).

## Week 3. THE GERMAN BÜRGER: THE LIBERAL MANQUÉ?

### **COMMON READING:**

Leonard Krieger, The German Idea of Freedom. The History of a Political Tradition (1957). preface, chs. 1, 2, 7, epilogue.  
 Fritz Stern (1926--), "The Political Consequences of the Unpolitical German," in idem, The Failure of Illiberalism. Essays on the Political Culture of Modern Germany (1972), 4-25. First published in History, August 1960.  
 James J. Sheehan (1937-), German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century (1978), Introduction, and chs. 1-3, and conclusion.  
 Mack Walker, German Home Towns. Community, State, and General Estate 1648-1871 (1971). Introduction, ch. 1 "The Incubator" (1-33), part of ch. 2 "The Civic Community" (only 52-72), ch. 3 "Guilds" (73-107), ch. 4 "Walls, Webs, and Citizens" (108-142), ch. 10 "Biedermeier," ch. 11 "Eighteen Forty-Eight," ch. 12 "Death and Transfiguration" (309-431).

### **Suggestions for Further Reading:**

Two treatments of German liberals, the first prosecutorial, the second lugubrious, are Sir Lewis Namier's acerbic essay, 1848: The Revolution of the Intellectuals (Raleigh Lecture of 1944, published 1946), and Friedrich Sell, Die Tragödie des deutschen Liberalismus (Stuttgart, 1953). Namier was a native of Galicia in the former Habsburg monarchy, and though his conclusion that German liberals (and socialists) were "forerunners of Hitler" went out of fashion in the 1970s, his critical examination of the Frankfurt and Vienna liberals' policies towards Poles and Czechs is worth re-visiting now that the second Völkerfrühling (of 1989ff) has re-opened the question of the national boundaries in Eastern Europe. For the most recent stock-taking on German liberalism, see Konrad H. Jarausch and Larry Eugene Jones, eds., In Search of a Liberal Germany. Studies in the History of German Liberalism from 1789 to the Present (1990).

The classic account of the 1848 revolution, vivid and still indispensable, is Veit Valentin, Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848-49 (2 vols. Berlin, 1930-31). A sophisticated new study "from below" of the adherents and political culture of the 1848-9 Revolution in a large and important region is Jonathan Sperber's Rhineland Radicals (1990). Useful brief and recent handbooks on 1848 in Germany as a whole are Wolfram Siemann, Die Revolution von 1848/49 in Deutschland (1985), which concentrates on social aspects, and Günther Wollstein (1939--), Deutsche Geschichte 1848/49: Gescheiterte Revolution in Mitteleuropa (1986), whose emphasis is on national events and nationality problems. Wehler's Gesellschaftsgeschichte vol. II and Nipperdey's Deutsche Geschichte vol. I include what amount to mini-books on the revolution, devoting, respectively, 80 and 200 pages to them. Dieter Langewiesche, "Republik, Monarchie und 'Sozial Frage.' Grundprobleme der deutschen Revolution von 1848, Historische Zeitschrift 230 (1980): 529-48 is an important interpretative article. A quick look into (excerpts) from important texts in the historiography of 1848 as it evolved from 1948-1980 can be found in Langewiesche, ed., Die deutsche Revolution von 1848/49 (Darmstadt, 1983), while a report on the "state-of-the art" of (then) current research is in his "Die deutsche Revolution von 1848/49 u. die vorrevolutionäre Gesellschaft, Forschungsstand u. Forschungsperspektiven," Archiv für Sozialgeschichte 21 (1981): 458-598. For a sample of how historiography was done on the other side of the iron curtain, see Helmut Bleiber, "Die bürgerlich-demokratische Revolution von 1848/49 in Deutschland in der bürgerlichen Geschichtsschreibung der BDR," in idem., ed., Bourgeoisie und bürgerliche Umwälzung in Deutschland 1789-1871 (East Berlin, 1977), 193ff. Another classic, first published in German in 1954 but now available in English is Werner Conze, "From 'Pöbel' to 'Proletariat': The Socio-Historical Preconditions of Socialism in Germany" (in Georg Iggers, ed., The Social History of Politics. Critical Perspectives in West German Historical Writing Since 1945 (1985), 49-80).

For women in the revolution, see the articles by the Tübingen anthropologist Carola Lipp: "Katzenmusiken, Krawalle und 'Weiberrevolution': Frauen im politischen Protest der Revolutionsjahre," in C. Lipp, ed., Schimpfende Weiber und patriotische Jungfrauen. Frauen im Vormärz und in der Revolution 1848/49 (Moos and Baden-Baden, 1980), 112-30, and "Bräute, Mutter, Gefährtinnen--Frauen und politische Öffentlichkeit in der Revolution 1848," in H. Grubitsch, H. Cyrus, and E. Haabus, eds., Grenzgängerinnen. Revolutionäre Frauen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert (Düsseldorf, 1986), 72-92. A good overview, with special attention to the relation between women and liberalism, is Ute Frevert, Women in German History. From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation (1989). For feminism see Ann Taylor Allen, Feminism and Motherhood in Germany 1800-1914 (1989). John C. Fout, ed., German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Society History (1984) in fact contains mainly biographical snippets by various authors.

For constitutional theory and developments, in addition to Ernst Rudolf Huber (above), see the essays of Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde (until recently Judge at the West German Supreme Court and director of the Institute for Public Law, Freiburg), now published in English in State, Society, and Liberty. Studies in Political Theory and Constitutional Law (1991) and Elmar M. Hucko, The Democratic Tradition. Four German Constitutions (1989). An imaginative study of the problems of public order, indebted to Althusser, Poulantzas, Bourdieu -- and Hans Rosenberg, is Alf Lüdtke (1943--), Police and State in Prussia, 1815-1850 (German, 1982; English, 1989).

For a view of the German Bürgertum, up close and personal, see Lothar Gall's study of the (liberal) Bassermann family of Mannheim, covering the whole 19th century through 1914: Bürgertum in Deutschland (1989). An fascinating fictional counterpart would be \*Buddenbrooks, by Thomas Mann (1871-1955), set in Lübeck.

#### Week 4 . BISMARCK: THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY?

##### COMMON READING:

Otto Pflanze, Bismarck and the Development of Germany. Vol. I. The period of Unification, 1815-1871 (Princeton, 1990).

The "Stoß-ins-Herz"-Dispatch (Dispatch of the Prussian envoy in Florence, Count Usedom, to the Italian Minister President General La Marmora, 17 June 1866] in Ernst Rudolf Huber, ed., Dokumente zur Deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte (Stuttgart, 1964), II: 208-211. (Handout)

To return to the problem of Austria, and how to integrate it into the "German story" now newly defined:

John Boyer, "Some Reflections on the Problem of Austria, Germany, and Mitteleuropa," Central European History vol. 22, No. 3/4, September/December 1989 (really published summer 1990): 301-315.

##### Suggestions for Further Reading:

Pflanze's vol. 2, The Period of Consolidation, 1871-1880, continuing the question of "nation-building" on another level is also very highly recommended, as is vol. 3, The Period of Fortification, 1880-1898 to see how Bismarck, after moving from national hero to national ogre, turned himself into a national monument. To get a sense of the soul-searching in the immediate post-war generation of German historians (e.g., Buchheim, Schnabel, von Martin, Herzfeld, Dehio, Meinecke, etc.) in the light of World War II, focussed especially around the "Bismarck Problem," you might look at the articles in Hans Kohn, ed. German History: Some New Views (1954). Pflanze's modern biography can be usefully contrasted to: Lothar Gall, Bismarck: The White Revolutionary 2 volumes (German edition, 1981), the cool work of a contemporary West German (and editor of the HZ); and to Ernst Engelberg, Bismarck. Vol. 1: Urpreuße und Reichsgründer (1985); Vol. II. Das Reich in der Mitte Europas (1990), a revealing monument to DDR-historiography--though perhaps not so surprising when one remembers that Engelberg wrote his dissertation under Hermann Oncken, perhaps the archtypical National Liberal historian of the old Kaiserreich. Critical, lively, and still excellent: Erich Eyck, Bismarck. Leben und Werk (3 vols, Zurich, 1941-4), by a liberal lawyer, Berlin DDP activist,

and newspaper columnist during the Weimar Republic, who in exile became the biographer of Gladstone and William II as well as of Bismarck.

More on the question of what the "nation" was that Bismarck "unified": James J. Sheehan, "The Problem of the Nation in German History," in Otto Büsch and James J. Sheehan, eds., Die Rolle der Nation in der deutschen Geschichte und Gegenwart (Berlin, 1985): 3-20. On the place of the Austrians in the German "nation," discussion has recently been stimulated by a talk given by the late Kiel historian, Karl Dietrich Erdmann, "Drei Staaten, Zwei Nationen, ein Volk?," printed in Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht (1985): 671-683, the journal of West German secondary history teachers, and reprinted in Erdmann, Die Spur Österreichs in der deutschen Geschichte: Drei Staaten, Zwei Nationen, ein Volk? (Zürich, 1989): 7--37. The controversial talk was intended as a springboard for the Kiel historical workshop's planned post-war history of Austria, the BDR, and the DDR, and was widely reprinted and discussed in newspapers. E.g., Lothar Höbelt, "Drei Staaten--ein Volk? Kontinuität in der Geschichte," Die Presse 7/8 Dec. 1985, p. x; Moritz Czaky (Graz), "Wie deutsch ist Österreich? ein ewiggestrige Frage?," Die Presse 21/22 December 1985;" Rudolf G. Ardelt, "'Drei Staaten--Zwei Nationen--Ein Volk?' Oder die Frage: 'Wie Deutsch ist Österreich,'" Zeitgeschichte, 13 (April 1986): 264; Erika Weinzierl, "Österreichische nation und österreichisches Nationalbewusstsein," Zeitgeschichte 17 (Oct. 1989): 54. From the dean of Austrian historians: Fritz Fellner, "Die Historiographie zur österreichisch-deutschen Problematik als Spiegel der nationalpolitischen Diskussion," in Heinrich Lutz and Helmut Rumpler (eds.), Österreich und die deutsche Frage im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Probleme der politisch-staatlichen und soziokulturellen Differenzierung im deutschen Mitteleuropa (Munich, 1982). A stimulating brief work by a political scientist that approaches the whole problem of Austria and Germany from the question "Why Not?" is Peter J. Katzenstein, Disjoined Partners: Austria and Germany since 1815 (1976).

On the German civil war of 1866, see Gordan A. Craig (1913--), The Battle of Königgrätz: Prussia's Victory over Austria in 1866 (1964); on the Franco-Prussian War, Michael Howard's classic study of the same name, still in paperback. For Prussia's generals and politics through the ages, Gordon A. Craig, The Politics of the Prussian Army (1955), and for the Prussian way of war in general, especially in the decade before the first World War, see Arden Bucholz, Moltke, Schlieffen, and Prussian War Planning (1991).

#### Week 5. RETURN TO THE SONDERWEG

##### COMMON READING:

Hans-Ulrich Wehler (1931--), The German Empire 1871-1918 (1972; the 1985 edition has pulled in its horns). Eckart Kehr (1901-1933), "The Social System of Reaction in Prussia under the Puttkamer Ministry" (1929) and "The Genesis of the Royal Prussian Reserve Office" (1928), both in Economic Interest, Militarism and Foreign Policy, ed. by Gordon A. Craig (1977) (Also available in German, along with a biographical introduction to Kehr, in Hans-Ulrich Wehler, ed., Der Primat der Innenpolitik (Berlin, 1965), 53-86.

##### Suggestions for Further Reading:

For Kehr-Wehler Embodied (and arguably the inspiration for their portraits): Heinrich Mann (1871-1950), \*Der Untertan (English Translation: Man of Straw). Is Mann's portrait of Wilhelmine society historically accurate? Reinhard Alter, "Heinrich Manns Untertan - Prüfstein für die 'Kaiserreich-Debatte?'" Geschichte und Gesellschaft 17 (1991): 370-389, answers "yes." For a very different view see Thomas Nipperdey (1927-92), "War der Wilhelminische Gesellschaft eine Untertanen-Gesellschaft?" in Nachdenken über die deutsche Geschichte (1986), 172-185.

If Heinrich Mann is the George Gissing of his society, Theodor Fontane (1819-1898) is, *mutatis mutandis*, its Trollope. For his view of the workings-out of the aristocratic-bureaucratic symbiosis: see Theodor Fontane, \*Effi Briest (1892). (Translation in Penguin Paperback). For more on the duel, that badge of caste and "correctness" in Imperial Germany, see Kevin McAleer, Dueling. The Cult of Honor in Fin-de-Siècle Germany (1994) and, more broadly, Ute Frevert, Ehrenmänner. Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft (1991) and--for comparative perspectives, her "Honour and the Bourgeoisie: On the History of the Duel in Germany and England," in Jürgen Kocka and Allan Mitchell, eds., Bourgeois Society in 19th Century Europe (1992).

For more of the "Bielefeld School," see Hans-Jürgen Puhle, "Lords and Peasants in the Kaiserreich," in Robert G. Moeller, ed., Peasants and Lords in Modern German History (London, 1986). Kehr is rightly considered the godfather of the Bielefeld school (though they reject the appellation "Kehrites"). Eckart Kehr's most highly respected work is his dissertation, Schlachtflottenbau und Parteipolitik, 1884-1901, (Berlin, 1930), recently issued in English as Battleship Building and Party Politics. Marginalized initially because of its combative (though idiosyncratic) marxism, it has been very influential after 1967, for example on Volker Berghahn's top-selling, Germany and the Approach of War (1976; re-issued, also with horns somewhat pulled in, in 1995).

Though the Bielefelders have been called the "new orthodoxy" since the early seventies, they have never been without critics. The first, most trenchant, and most influential attack on Wehler's picture, and most highly recommended for everyone, was Thomas Nipperdey's, "Wehlers 'Kaiserreich.' Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung," in Geschichte und Gesellschaft I (1975); reprinted in Thomas Nipperdey, Gesellschaft, Kultur, Theorie (Göttingen, 1976). It is characteristic of Wehler's openness to criticism -- and love of a good fight -- that Nipperdey's critical review was commissioned by him to launch the first issue of his Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Nipperdey later took on Wehler and Heinrich Mann at once in "War der Wilhelminische Gesellschaft eine Untertanen-Gesellschaft?" in Nachdenken über die deutsche Geschichte (Munich, 1986), 172-185. Nipperdey (1927--June 1992) was a master of German prose, and his work is worth slogging through even for beginners in the language. Particularly influential have been his articles "Verein als soziale Struktur in Deutschland im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert" (1972), cited Week 3, "Der Kölner Dom als Nationaldenkmal" (1981) and "1933 und die Kontinuität der deutschen Geschichte" (1978), the latter two reprinted in Nachdenken über die deutsche Geschichte (1986): 156-71, 186-205.

A critique of much of "critical" West German thinking on the Kaiserreich can be found in the following articles, all of which begin with the particular and move to the general: Margaret Lavinia Anderson (1941- ) and Kenneth Barkin (1938-), "The Myth of the Puttkamer

Purge and the Reality of the Kulturkampf: Some Reflections on the Recent Historiography of Imperial Germany," *JMH*, December 1982: 647-686, a piece of historical detective work; on Bismarck there is Otto Pflanze, "Bismarcks Herrschaftstechnik als Problem der gegenwärtigen Historiographie," *Historische Zeitschrift* 234/3 (1982): 561-599 (also published -- and shelved -- separately under its title) and "Sammlungspolitik' 1875-1886. Kritische Bemerkungen zu einem Modell," in Pflanze, ed., *Innenpolitische Probleme des Bismarck-Reiches* (1983): 155-194, both "brilliant" in a way that his biography of Bismarck is not; as well as Lothar Gall's "Bismarck und der Bonapartismus," in *Historische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 223, Heft 3 (1976): 618-637. Arousing enormous indignation among West German historians, and not only among Bielefelders, are the two essays of David Blackbourn (1949--) and Geoff Eley (1949--), respectively, in their *The Peculiarities of German History* (1982), a toned-down English version of their more inflammatory (and more interesting) *Mythen deutscher Geschichtsschreibung. Die gescheiterte bürgerliche Revolution von 1848* (1980).

For commentary on the attacks, now increasingly termed the "Sonderweg debate," see especially: Robert G. Moeller (then a newly-minted Feldman Ph.D.), "The Kaiserreich Recast? Continuity and Change in Modern German Historiography," *Journal of Social History* (1984) and James N. Retallack (an even younger Canadian), "Social History with a Vengeance? Some Reactions to H.-U. Wehler's 'Das Deutsche Kaiserreich,'" *German Studies Review* (1984). For the Bielefelders' defense, see Hans-Jürgen Puhle, "Zur Legende von der 'Kehrschen Schule'," in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, vol 4, no. 1 (1978): 108-119; Hans-Ulrich Wehler, "'Deutscher Sonderweg' oder allgemeine Probleme des westlichen Kapitalismus?"; Geoff Eley, "Antwort an Hans-Ulrich Wehler;" Hans-Ulrich Wehler, "Rückantwort an Geoff Eley;" Heinrich-August Winkler, "Der deutsche Sonderweg: eine Nachlese," all in *Merkur* (1981): 478-487 [nb. 480-483 are missing], 757-760, 793-804; and Jürgen Kocka, "German History Before Hitler: The Debate about the German Sonderweg," *Journal of Contemporary History* 23 (1988): 3-16.

#### Week 6. THE CATHOLIC SUBCULTURE AND THE KULTURKAMPF

##### COMMON READING:

Jonathan Sperber (1951--), *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth Century Germany* (1984)  
Margaret Lavinia Anderson (1941--), *Windthorst. A Political Biography* (1981), chs. 1, 6-11, 13.  
\_\_\_\_\_, "The Kulturkampf and the Course of German History," *CEH*,  
March 1986: 82-115.

##### Suggestions for Further Reading:

A marvelous brief synthesis of the character and fortunes of religion (including atheism) in nineteenth century Germany, an intellectual as well as a social history, and drawing perceptive connections with the society at large is Thomas Nipperdey, *Religion in Umbruch* (paperback, 1988), a separate publication of chapters in vol I of his *Deutsche Geschichte*. A brilliant micro-history that illuminates the Kulturkampf and puts the Catholic revival in international perspective, spanning a century is David Blackbourn's *Marpingen. Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Bismarckian Germany* (1993). Surprisingly useful for beginners, covering in 124 brief pages everything from the Reichskirche and the Secularization to the Romantics, the rise of Neo-Thomism, and papal and political events, and ending with a comparison with France is Alexander Dru's semi-popular, *The Church in the Nineteenth Century: Germany 1800-1918* (1963). The "Church" in the title is the Catholic Church. For a combination of topics so far unique in the historiography of religion-and-society in Germany, see Helena Waddy Lepovitz, *Images of Faith. Expressionism, Catholic Folk Art, and the Industrial Revolution* (1991). An unusual French perspective on problems of German belief is Pierre Ayçoberry, *Cologne entre Napoléon et Bismarck: le croissence d'une ville rhénane* (Paris, 1981).

For a look into how confessional and ethnic (i.e., Polish) issues played themselves out in the institutional and social arena, see Marjorie Lamberti's brief, excellent *State, Society and the Elementary School in Imperial Germany* (New York, 1989), and especially Helmut Walser Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, Politics: 1870-1914* (1995). The first two chapters, showing the divisions rooted in separate cultures, are especially valuable. Smith owes much to Ernest Gellner, but also to Etienne François's *Die Unsichtbare Grenze. Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg 1648-1806* (1991). A stimulating, quirky, anti-liberal treatment of the question of mass education and the Kulturkampf, which breathes the spirit of 1968 radicalism, is Werner Trapp's "Volksschulreform und liberales Bürgertum in Konstanz. Die Durchsetzung des Schulzwangs als Voraussetzung der Massendisziplinierung und -qualifikation," in Gert Zang, ed., *Provinzialisierung einer Region. Zur Entstehung der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft in der Provinz* (1978). More respectable, but no less unusual in its treatment of religion and society, a kind of *Barchester Towers*, *German Style*, is Gert Zang, "Die Bedeutung der Auseinandersetzung um die Stiftungsverwaltung in Konstanz (1830-1870) für die ökonomische und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung der lokalen Gesellschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Analyse der materiellen Hintergründe der Kulturkampfes," in the same volume. An important attempt at a "class" explanation for liberal - Catholic antagonism and the Kulturkampf is: Lothar Gall, "Die partei- und sozialgeschichtliche Problematik des badischen Kulturkampfes," in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 113 (1965): 151-96.

In a class by itself, illuminating the "segmentary society" that was imperial Germany, through the intersection of Southern Catholic and Berlin Jewish milieus, is the semi-autobiographical novel by Sybille Bedford (1911- ), *\*A Legacy* (1956). On the concept of "milieu," as frequently invoked in Social Democratic as in Catholic historiography, see the seminal article by M. Rainer Lepsius, "Parteiensystem und Sozialstruktur: zum Problem der Demokratisierung der deutschen Gesellschaft," in Wilhelm Abel et. al., *Wirtschaft, Geschichte und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Friedrich Lütge* (1966), pp. 371-393," reprinted in *Deutsche Parteien vor 1918* ed. Gerhard A. Ritter (1973): 56-80.

Sperber's inspiration, and symptomatic of the "new critical school's" approach to popular piety, is Wolfgang Schieder, "Church and Revolution. Aspects of the Trier Pilgrimage of 1844," in Clive Emsley, ed., *Conflict and Stability in Europe* (London, 1979), pp. 65-95,

originally published as: "Kirche und Revolution. Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte der Trier Wallfahrt von 1844," Archiv für Sozialgeschichte 14 [1974]: 419-454, widely cited even by historians who otherwise take no interest in the question of popular piety. A trenchant attack on Schieder is: Rudolf Lill, "Kirche und Revolution," Archiv für Sozialgeschichte 18 (1978): 565-75.

Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "Piety and Politics: Recent Work in German Catholicism." JMH, December 1991: 681-716, looks critically and comparatively at Sperber, Loth (below), and the whole field of German Catholicism, and calls, inter alia, for more attention to gender. Hugh McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit--männlicher Unglaube? Religion und Kirchen im bürgerlichen 19. Jahrhundert," in Ute Frevert, ed., Bürgerinnen und Bürger. Geschlechterverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert (Göttingen, 1988) and Catherine M. Prelinger, Charity, Challenge, and Change: Religious Dimensions of the Mid-Century Women's Movement in Germany (New York, 1987) illustrate ways in which the study of piety and of gender might be fruitfully linked.

For the role of political Catholicism after the turn of the century see Ronald Ross, Beleaguered Tower (1976) and Wilfried Loth (1948--), Katholiken im Kaiserreich. Der politische Katholizismus in der Krise des wilhelminischen Deutschlands (1984). Less hostile treatments than these are Ellen L. Evans, The German Center Party 1870-1933. A Study in Political Catholicism (1981), which really reaches its stride during the Weimar Republic; and Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "Inter-denominationalism, Clericalism, Pluralism: The Zentrumsstreit and the Dilemma of Catholicism in Wilhelmine Germany," Central European History, December 1988: 350-378. A work that both illuminates and criticizes the Political Catholicism's turn towards nationalism after 1890, by the dean of German Catholic historians, is Rudolf Morsey, "Die deutschen Katholiken und der Nationalstaat zwischen Kulturkampf und Erstem Weltkrieg," in Historisches Jahrbuch 90 (1970): 31-64, republished in Gerhard A. Ritter, ed., Deutsche Parteien vor 1918 (1973): 270-98. For a regional perspective: David Blackburn, "Class and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Centre Party and the Social Democrats in Württemberg," in Central European History, 9 (1976): 220-49. Eric Dorn Brose, Christian Labor and the Politics of Frustration in Imperial Germany (1985) studies the Christian Trade Union movement's attempt to cross confessional lines, save the workers from (Social Democratic) atheism, and at the same time effectively represent their class interests.

Since "Germans" are still, by an unconscious assumption, assumed to be Protestant in much of the historical writing on Germany, Protestantism as a faith, a community, and an identity has never been "problematized" the way Catholicism has, and its study has been correspondingly neglected. But see Fritz Fischer's early work, "Der Deutsche Protestantismus und die Politik im 19. Jahrhundert," Historische Zeitschrift, 171 (1951): 473-518, and Lucian Hölscher, "Die Religion des Bürgers. Bürgerliche Frömmigkeit und protestantische Kirche im 19. Jahrhundert," Historische Zeitschrift 150 (1990): 595-630. Much of what German's meant by Protestantism was a non-creedal ethos known as "cultural protestantism," now analyzed by Gangold Hübinger in Kulturprotestantismus und Politik (1994). For the Weimar period David Diephouse (1947--), Pastors and Pluralism in Württemberg 1918-1933 (1987) is excellent. Where pre-war Protestantism has been noted is where it has become "social." Thus we have the account by Paul Göhre, the young pastor-and-Christian-Social-turned-Social-Democrat, on the one hand (Die evangelisch-soziale Bewegung, ihre Geschichte und Ziele [Leipzig, 1896]), on the one hand, and Walter Frank's quite interesting, but anti-Semitic (and later, Nazi-sponsored) study of Göhre's early inspiration, Hofprediger Adolf Stoecker und die christlich-soziale Bewegung (Berlin, 1928, 2nd revised edition, 1935), on the other hand.

For Comparative Perspectives: Ellen L. Evans, "Catholic Political Movements in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Notes for Comparative Approach," Central European History, nos. 2/3, June/Sept, XVII, 1984: 91-119 and Hugh McLeod, "Religion in the British and German Labour Movements, 1890-1914: A Comparison," Bulletin for the Society for the Study of Labour History, vol. 51 (1986): 20-35 are highly recommended. The role of religion in Austria, where political Catholicism became the governing party as well as an arena for anti-Semitism, provides an obvious focus for comparison, but is strangely neglected. But see: John Boyer: "Catholic Priests in Lower Austria: Anti-Liberalism, Occupational Anxiety, and Radical Political Action in Late Nineteenth-century Vienna," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 118 (Philadelphia, 1974), pp. 337-369, and his "Austrian Catholics and the World: Facing Political Turmoil in the Early Twentieth Century," in Solomon Wank, et al., eds., The Mirror of History. Essays in Honor of Fritz Fellner (1988), as well as: Gavin Lewis, Kirche und Partei im Politische Katholizismus. Klerus und Christlichsoziale in Niederösterreich 1885-1907 (1977).

## Week 7. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SUBCULTURE

### COMMON READING:

Carl Schorske (1915--), German Social Democracy 1890-1914 (1959)  
Vernon Lidtke, The Alternative Culture. Socialist Labor in Imperial Germany (1985)

### Suggestions for further reading:

An enormously influential work, to which many of its critics are very indebted, is Gunther Roth, Social Democracy in Imperial Germany (1963), which introduced the concept of "negative integration," as applying to Social Democrats, into the literature. An equally early, equally influential, and quite different construction of the concept "negative integration," by my predecessor at Berkeley is Wolfgang Sauer (d. 1990), "Das Problems des deutschen Nationalstaates," in Politische Vierteljahrsschrift, Bd. 3, Cologne 1962: 159-186 (reappearing in H.- U. Wehler, ed., Moderne deutsche Sozialgeschichte (1966), 407-436, as well as in Helmut Böhme, ed., Probleme der Reichsgründungszeit 1848-1879 (1963): 448-479). The failure to distinguish between alternate uses of "negative integration" that go back to Roth and Sauer, respectively, has resulted in no little confusion in the literature. An ungenerous (but interesting) critique of Roth, and much of the existing literature, can be found in Richard J. Evans (1947--), "Preface" and "Introduction: The Sociological Interpretation of German Labour History," in idem., ed., The German Working Class 1888-1933 (1981): 1-53.

For worker and/or Socialist "culture" from the Austrian side: cf. J. Robert Wegs, Growing Up Working Class: Continuity and Change among Viennese Youth, 1890-1938 (University Park, Penn., 1989) and Helmut Gruber, Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919-1934 (Oxford, 1991).

Dieter Groh's, Negative Integration und Revolutionärer Attentismus, 1909-1914 (1973) for years has exemplified the "new critical school's" approach to Social Democracy. A shorter, English version (whose miserable translation makes it more difficult to read) can be found in "Waiting for and Avoiding the Revolution," Laurentian Review 5 (1973): 83-109. Klaus Tenfelde, Sozialgeschichte der Bergarbeiterschaft an der Ruhr im 19. Jahrhundert (1981), is the kind of social history of labor that was for a long time rather rare in Germany.

Gerhard A. Ritter is now editing a comprehensive (perhaps too comprehensive) 11-volume history of the German working class, of which the first four volumes by the Bielefeld (though recently translated to Berlin) historian, Jürgen Kocka (1941-) are magisterial: Weder Stand noch Klasse: Unterschichten um 1800 (1990), Arbeiterverhältnisse und Arbeiterexistenzen: Grundlagen der Klassenbildung im 19. Jahrhundert (1990, and dedicated to his friends and colleagues at Bielefeld 1973-88), Arbeiterleben und Protest. Entstehung einer sozialen Klasse (scheduled for 1992), and Zwischen Volksbewegung und Klassenbewegung. Arbeiterorganisationen vom Vormärz bis 1875 (forthcoming). The next volume is co-authored by Gerhard A. Ritter (well-known for his work on the German labor movement, British parliamentarianism, and the state social security system of both countries) and Klaus Tenfelde: Lohnarbeit, Arbeiterleben und sozialer Konflikt. Arbeiter im Kaiserreich 1871/75 (1991), and Ritter has promised one, Tenfelde two subsequent volumes. The Weimar Republic will be covered in volumes 9-11 by Heinrich August Winkler: Von der Revolution zur Stabilisierung. Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung in der Weimarer Republik 1918-1924, Der Schein der Normalität. Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung in der Weimarer Republik 1924 bis 1930, and Der Weg in die Katastrophe Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung in der Weimarer Republik 1930 bis 1933 -- which, at nearly 1,000 pages a pop, some might think a bit excessive for 15 years of history, even for a German. For working women, see Ute Frevert, "Women Workers, Workers' Wives, and Social Democracy in Imperial Germany," in Roger Fletcher, ed, Bernstein to Brandt: A Short History of German Social Democracy (1987).

Of the numerous works in English and German that cover Social Democracy in the Empire, still extremely good on the Bismarckian period is: Vernon Lidtke, The Outlawed Party. Social Democracy in Germany 1878-1890 (1966).

Comparative Perspectives: The classic response to the perceived triumph of the SPD and its unions in imperial Germany at the time, which sees the German working class as the norm, the US as the exception, is Werner Sombart (1863-1941), Why is there no Socialism in the United States? (1905). A reversal of this Problematik can be found in Ross McKibbin, "Why was there no Marxism in Great Britain?" in English Historical Review, April 1984, 297-331. Also good is John Breuilly, "Liberalism or Social Democracy: A Comparison of British and German Labour Politics, c. 1850-75," European History Quarterly, vol. 15, no.1, January 1985: 2-42. Dick Geary (1945--), "Identifying Militancy," in R. J. Evans (1947-- ) and W.R. Lee, eds. The German Working Class 1888-1933: The Politics of Everyday Life (1982), 220-242, which should be read in the context of New Left debates in the 1970s about socialist alternatives, has many shrewd things to say about the mis-use of comparative perspectives.

Two British views, informed by their knowledge of comparable British conditions, of "working class culture in Imperial Germany," can be found in the article by Dick Geary (1945-- ) of the same name, in Roger Fletcher, ed., Bernstein to Brandt: A Short History of German Social Democracy (1987) and in John Breuilly's, "The Making of the German Working Class," Archiv für Sozialgeschichte XVII (1987): 534-552, a review article on two influential works on class formation --one by the Leipzig (and thus former DDR) historian Hartmut Zwahr, the other, a 1983 work by Kocka. Given the recent collapse of scholarly Marxism and the loudly announced "end of class analysis" by so many who once used it, these works may be of some future historiographical interest.

Those interested in what the workers thought about themselves might dig into the paperback edited by Alfred Kelly: The German Worker: Working-class Autobiographies from the Age of Industrialization (1987). The autobiographies of "A City Worker in the Country" and "Moritz Bromme" are especially interesting; one might consider how Bromme's story might look if re-told from the perspective of his wife or his father-in-law. Another fascinating document, of considerable contemporary influence, is the account of Paul Göhre, a young Protestant seminarian and the George Orwell of his day, who worked incognito in the summer of 1890 in a factory in Chemnitz in order to experience the "Social Question" at first hand: Three Months in a Workshop (German, 1891, English, 1895).

## Week 8. THE RIGHT

### COMMON READING:

Fritz Stern (1926-- ), The Politics of Cultural Despair (1961), Part I and II. Paperback.

George Mosse (1918-- ), The Crisis of German Ideology (1964), introduction and chs. 1, 4-5, 7-11,

conclusion. Paper.

### Suggestions for Further Reading:

The whole existing historiography of the German right, embodied in the work of Fritz Stern, George Mosse, Hans Kohn and their students, has been attacked by Geoff Eley, "The Wilhelmine Right: How It Changed," in Richard J. Evans (1947--), ed., Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany (New York, 1978): 112-135, a trenchant survey of the field. One may consider whether Eley himself has lived up to his agenda and superceded these works by reading his own Recasting the German Right (1980, re-issued 1990).

A Paradebeispiel of older ways of thinking about German nationalism is Hans Kohn, The Mind of Germany. The Education of a Nation (1960).

All of these studies are to a certain extent about the "new" German Right. One can get glimpses of the "old" right -- the Junkers -- with which we began the semester, by reading James N. Retallack, Notables of the Right: The Conservative Party and Political Mobilization in Germany, 1876-1918 (1988), although his picture remains somewhat fragmentary. For a kinder, gentler Junker, and a brilliant portrayal of the sunset of patriarchal rural society in Brandenburg, see *\*Der Stechlin* (1898, in paper, but unfortunately not yet translated), by Theodor Fontane (1819-1898), who was a newspaperman for the conservative Kreuzzeitung before turning novelist.

For German antisemitism, perhaps the most original new approach, both in methodology and content, is the work by the literary scholar Dietz Baring, The Stigma of Names. Antisemitism in Germany Daily Life, 1812-1933 (1992; the German original Der Name als Stigma was published in 1987), which delves into such questions as the forcing of Jews to adopt certain "contemptible" names such as "Eckstein" (curbstone), the Jewish fight to be allowed to use "Christian" first names, and "names and rituals of access." It uses court trials to good effect.

An introductory, rather cut-and-paste survey by a British scholar of political anti-Semitism, which includes the Austrian case, recently re-issued but unfortunately not revised, is: Peter Pulzer, The Rise of Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria (new edition). Austria can be examined more closely in: Andrew Whiteside, The Socialism of Fools: Georg von Schönerer and Austrian Pan-Germanism (1975), Richard S. Geehr, Karl Lueger: Mayor of Fin-de-Siecle Vienna (1990), and Bruce F. Pauley, From Prejudice to Persecution. A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism (1992), the latter a careful treatment of a story that (taken from the late nineteenth century up through the final solution) turns out to be even worse than one imagined. John Boyer's Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna. Christian Socialism in Power (1995), on the other hand, reveals Lueger and his associates as Chicago-style turn-of-the-century urban bosses, and thus recaptures some of the pre-Nazi "normality" of his topic. Whatever your interpretative standpoint, the sections on the 19th century in Daniel Goldhagen's (1958-) Hitler's Willing Executioners (1996) has so many errors that it is to be avoided.

The intellectual and organizational sides of racism can be studied in depth in: Geoffrey G. Field (a student of Fritz Stern), Evangelist of Race. The Germanic Vision of Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1981), and Roger Chickering, We Men Who Feel Most German. A Cultural Study of the Pan-German League (1984). But all of these works look different after reading Richard S. Levy, The Downfall of the Anti-Semitic Political Parties in Imperial Germany (1975), whose revisionism is revealed in its title. Another attempt to attach thought to practical politics is made by Paul Weindling, Health, Race and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism 1870-1945 (1989). One might reflect on the chosen end-dates of Levy's and Weindling's studies, how they affect their respective narratives, and whether one end-date is necessarily more valid than another.

For the Jews themselves, one should read Marion A. Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class. Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany (1991) and W.E. Mosse, Jews in the German-Jewish Economy: The German-Jewish Economic Elite 1820-1935 (1987), a systematic study of entrepreneurs of Jewish origin based on a well-defined sample of extremely wealthy German Jews. It includes hard data, most of it indicating that the economic role of Jews in the German economy was greater than generally assumed. W.E. Mosse is the brother of George Mosse above, scions of Rudolf Mosse, in 1900 the 6th richest man in Prussia, and owner of a vast Berlin-based publishing enterprise, including many newspaper chains. A collection of essays focusing mainly on Jews in politics, but also with useful statistical information, is Peter Pulzer, Jews and the German State. The Political History of a Minority, 1848-1933 (1992). Interesting and valuable (in spite of numerous small errors) is the work of the late Israeli historian Uriel Tal, Christian and Jews in Imperial Germany. Religion, Politics, and Ideology in the Second Reich (1975). For Austria, see Wolfdieter Bihl, "Die Juden," in Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, eds., Die Habsburger Monarchie 1848-1918 (Vienna, 1973-) vol. 2, part 2: 880ff, especially useful for statistics; Erwin A. Schmidl, Juden in der k. (u.-) K. Armee 1788-1918. Jews in the Habsburg Armed Forces. (Text in English and German, 1989); and John Boyer, "Lueger and the Viennese Jews," in Leo Baeck Yearbook 1981: 125-44. The Leo Baeck Yearbook is an invaluable source of articles on the Jews of Central Europe.

For Comparative Perspectives on the theme of decadence, decline, and loss of "national" substance and integrity, much could be gained by reading in tandem the following works of fiction: Thomas Mann (1875-1955), *\*"The Blood of the Walsungs"* (1905) in idem., Stories of Three Decades, and *\*Tonio Kröger* (1914, short, in paper) -- both exemplifying Mosse-themes, but from the inside; the first notorious, the second, more temperate; and then move across the channel to E.M. Forster (1879-1970), *\*Howard's End* (1921) (Mosse without Jews?); and Anthony Trollope (1815-1882) *\*The Way We Live Now* (1875).

A fascinating work of "real history," G.R. Searle, Corruption in British Politics, 1895-1930 (Oxford, 1987), treats many of the same themes as the studies of the German Right, shows the British Right getting desperate, and implicitly raises the question, what would have become of British liberal "good sense" had Britain lost the war? A stimulating comparative history of antisemitism that, whatever its possible flaws in fact and argument, helps one re-think some old issues is Alan S. Lindemann, Esau's Tears. Modern Anti-Semitism and the Rise of the Jews (1997). George Mosse's The Nationalization of the Masses (1975) looks at spectacle, monuments, and theater to make a Europe-wide argument about "nationalization;" most of his examples, however, are from Germany.

#### Week 9. INDUSTRIALIZING ECONOMY AND POLITICAL SYSTEM in the LATE GERMAN EMPIRE

##### COMMON READING:

Clive Trebilcock, The Industrialization of the Continental Powers 1780-1914 (1981), ch. 1, 2, and 5 (pick out the Austrian parts from the latter chapter).

Stanley Suval (late 1930s - 1987), Electoral Politics in Imperial Germany (1985).

Klaus Epstein (1927-1967), Matthias Erzberger and the Dilemma of German Democracy (1959), ch. 2.

**Suggestions for Further Reading:**Politics, for fun:

Ludwig Thoma (1867-1921), \*Josef Filzers Briefwexsel (ca. 1906). Bavarian peasant goes to parliament to serve the Center Party. By a liberal editor of Munich's Simplizissimus (1899ff). Now in a German paperback; unfortunately untranslatable.

Politics, less fun:

The question of the reformability of the Reich has been answered affirmatively -- in a revisionist contrast to Epstein and most self-consciously to the "new critical" (i.e., Bielefeld) school -- by Manfred Rauh, in Föderalismus und Parlamentarismus im Wilhelminischen Reich (1973), and especially in his Die Parlamentarisierung des Deutschen Reiches (1977), which advances the thesis of Germany's "silent parliamentization" in the decade before the war. An important new treatment of German elections, which stretches from before 1867 through the Federal Republic and explicitly takes up the question of continuity, is Karl Rohe, Wahlen und Wählertraditionen in Deutschland. Kulturelle Grundlagen deutscher Parteien und Parteiensysteme im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (Frankfurt, 1992, Suhr paperback). Rohe provides not only facts and interpretation, but more than forty pages of tables, some very handy, others interesting only to aficionados of quantitative history. Jonathan Sperber's The Kaiser's Voters. Electors and Elections in Imperial Germany (1997) is chronologically more limited, but up-to-the-minute and illuminating. Another useful volume for those needing easy access to electoral data, including maps, is Gerhard A. Ritter, Wahlgeschichtliches Arbeitsbuch (1980).

On the Economy, for the Debates:

A long historiographical tradition, seeing in tariffs the fatal flaw of German political development, can be traced across time in Alexander Gerschenkron's (1904-1978) classic Bread and Democracy in Germany (1943) (The Junkers are guilty), through Helmut Böhme, Deutschlands Weg zur Grossmacht. Studien zum Verhältnis von Wirtschaft und Staat während der Reichsgründungszeit, 1848-1881 (1966) (a landmark in the "new critical history," although much attacked by Wehler), and Kenneth D. Barkin, The Controversy Over German Industrialization 1890-1902 (1970) (which powerfully demonstrates the intertwining of politics, economics, and fin de siècle social thought). For some critical responses to the paradigm: Otto Pflanze, "Another Crisis among German Historians? Helmut Böhme's Deutschlands Weg zur Grossmacht," in Journal of Modern History, 1968: 118-129; Frank B. Tipton, "The National Consensus in German Economic History," Central European History, VII, 3, September 1974: 195-224; James Hunt, "Peasants, Grain, Tariffs, and Meat Quotas: Imperial German Protection Reexamined," Central European History, vol. 7, no. 4 (1974): 311-331.

On the Economy, for the Information:

Knut Borchardt, "Germany 1700-1914," in C.M. Cipolla (ed.), The Fontana Economic History of Europe: 4 The Emergence of Industrial Societies, vol. I (London, 1973); Wolfgang Köllmann, Bevölkerung in der industriellen Revolution (Göttingen, 1974); Horst Matzerath, Urbanisierung in Preussen, 1815-1914 (1985); Jürgen Reulecke, Geschichte der Urbanisierung in Deutschland (1985). On the agitator heading Agrarian League, said to be the model for Heinrich Mann's Diederich Heßling in Der Untertan (Man of Straw) see the fascinating essay by George Vascik, "Agrarian Conservatism in Wilhelmine Germany. Diederich Hahn and the Agrarian League," in Larry Eugene Jones and James Retallack, Between Reform, Reaction, and Resistance. Studies in the History of German Conservatism from 1789 to 1945 (Providence and Oxford, 1993), 229-61.

Important Recent Works that have opened up new topics:

Peter Jelavich, Munich and Theatrical Modernism: Politics, Playwriting, and Performance, 1890-1914 (1985); Richard J. Evans (1947--), Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years, 1830-1910 (1987); and Michael John, Politics and Law in Late Nineteenth Century Germany: The Origins of the Civil Code (1989).

Comparative Perspectives:

Kenneth D. Barkin, "A Case Study in Comparative History: Populism in Germany and America," in H. Bass, ed., The State of American History (Chicago, 1970), 373-404 (the Agrarian League and the American populists); Kenneth D. Barkin, "Germany and England: Economic Inequality," Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte XVI/1987: 200-211 (startling); Hartmut Berghoff and Roland Möller, "Unternehmer in Deutschland und England 1870-1914," Historische Zeitschrift 256, 2 (Apr. 1993): 353-86 (not surprising, but a useful synopsis).

## Week 10. THE FIN DE SIECLE

**COMMON READING:**

Wolfgang J. Mommsen (1930--), Max Weber and German Politics, 1890-1920 (German, 1974; English, 1984).

Carl Schorske (1915--), Fin de Siècle Vienna (1979), introduction and ch. 3, "Politics in a New Key: an Austrian Trio." Note also the titles (and dates) of the other essays.

**Suggestions for further reading:**

### On Weber and Contemporaries:

Weber's Inaugural Address of 1895, on accepting the chair at Freiburg, is intellectually the most powerful statement of Wilhelmine imperialism: "The National State and Economic Policy," translated by Keith Tribe, Economy and Society 9 (1980): 420-429. N. Hammerstein, ed., Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft um 1900 (1988) gives a good picture of the academic climate at the turn of the century. See especially the articles on: Dilthey, Troeltsch, Lamprecht, Schmoller, Weber, Meinecke. Lawrence A. Scaff, Fleeing the Iron Cage. Culture, Politics, and Modernity in the Thought of Max Weber (1989) presents a more "fin de siècle" interpretation of Weberian "modernity" than had previously been prevalent. To readers of Thomas Mann (1871-1955), Scaff will evoke odd parallels with Mann-ian themes. The adventurous should try \*The Magic Mountain (1924) (Kultur and Zivilization fight for the soul of the German Bürger), though Mann's novella \* Tonio Kröger (1915) would also be relevant in this context. Such parallels are then drawn more explicitly in: Harvey Goldman, Max Weber and Thomas Mann: Calling and the Shaping of the Self (1988) and Politics, Death, and the Devil. Self and Power in Max Weber and Thomas Mann (1992). Weber's own magnum opus is available in English translation: Economy and Society, edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (1979).

For Turn of the Century Austria, see Pieter M. Judson, "'Whether Race or Conviction Should Be the Standard': National Identity and Liberal Politics in Nineteenth-Century Austria," Austrian History Yearbook, vol. XXII, 1991: 76-95, which transposes many of the themes of "German" liberalism to the much more complicated Austrian context. Harry Ritter, "Austro-German Liberalism and the Modern Liberal Tradition," German Studies Review vol. 7 (May, 1984) is also important.

Not surprisingly, the themes of marginality and identity, modernity and the self have all come together in a variety of works dealing with of Fin de Siècle Vienna, Culture, and the Jews. Contrast Steven Beller (1958--), Vienna and the Jews: 1867-1938. A Cultural History (1989, paperback), a short "thesis" book (or lawyer's brief!) attacking Schorske's influential treatment of Viennese liberalism, and claiming to have found something Schorske misses (namely, Viennese Jews), with Jacques Le Rider, Modernité viennoise et crises de l'identité (1990), a broad work that has been called definitive. Marsha Rozenblitt (1950--), The Jews of Vienna 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity (Albany, 1983) presents a Jewish community unrecognizable from Beller. Robert S. Wistrich, The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph (1989) is broader than either Beller or Rozenblitt. Gary B. Cohen, The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague 1861-1914 (1981) is an excellent treatment of the precipitating out of national identity (and "nationalism") on the national and ethnic margins (i.e., the Bohemian borderlands), where "German" meant "not-Czech" and therefore could, and increasingly did, mean "Jew." Most Jewish nationalists in the Hapsburg monarchy, including Zionists, sought their future in a Jewish homeland not in Palastine, but within the Danubian monarchy itself: see Adolf Gaisbauer, Davidstern und Doppeladler: Zionismus und jüdischer Nationalismus in Österreich, 1882-1918 (Vienna, 1988).

John Boyer's, Political Radicalism in Vienna (1981) deals with the social background to the rise of Karl Lueger's Christian Social Party up to Lueger's confirmation as mayor of Vienna by Franz Josef in 1898. His Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna. Christian Socialism in Power 1897-1918 (1995) is more broadly interesting.

The literary chronicler of turn-of-the century Vienna, celebrated for the psychological depth of his characters, is the Jewish physician, Arthur Schnitzler (1862-1931). Many of his short stories and novellas have been translated into English. For a brilliant, disabused look at life among young officers in the k.- and k. Army, try the short novella \*Leutnant Gustl (1901) and the story \*"Spiel im Morgengrau."

## Week 11. THE "GERMANIES" AND THE WORLD

### **COMMON READING:**

Samuel R. Williamson, Jr. Austria-Hungary and the Origins of the First World War (1991).

Fritz Fischer (ca. 1910--), Germany's War Aims in the First World War (German edition, Griff nach der Weltmacht, 1961, English, 1967), chs. 1-3 (pp. 3-119).

### **Suggestions for further reading:**

The literature on the "origins" debate is endless. For the older "moderate" German view see the short: Ludwig Dehio, Germany and World Politics in the Twentieth Century (1959). Fischer's most influential antagonist when Griff appeared was Gerhard Ritter (like Ernst Engelberg, once a student of Hermann Oncken's), See "Eine neue Kriegsschuldthese? Zu Fritz Fischers Buch Griff Nach der Weltmacht," in Historische Zeitschrift, June 1962. Fischer spelled out the "origins" position implied in Griff nach der Weltmacht in his subsequent Krief der Illusionen (1969) and in a series of short, "argument" books and articles. See especially his: World Power or Decline. The Controversy over Germany's Aims in the First World War (1974), a translation of his Weltmacht oder Niedergang (1965), organized around several pointed "theses" in which Fischer responds to various of his critics' points. The second section deals with the attacks of Egmont Zechlin and Gerhard Ritter separately; From Kaiserreich to Third Reich. Elements of Continuity in German History, 1871-1945 (1986; first published as Bündnis der Eliten in 1979); and "Zum Problem der Kontinuität in der deutschen Geschichte," in O. Franz, ed., Am Wendepunkt der europäischen Geschichte (1981), 41-71. An extremely interesting collection of contemporary sources, Gerald D. Feldman, ed., German Imperialism 1914-1918. The Development of a Historical Debate (New York, 1972, short paperback), allows you to read key documents in the order that contemporaries and historians heard or read them, from Bethmann Hollweg's speech to the Reichstag in August 1914 and the German peace proposals in 1916, which produced one kind of historical literature, to Bethmann Hollweg's now-notorious memorandum of September 9, 1914 and the memorandum of the Supreme Command on the Polish Border Strip on population transfers of July 5, 1918, which were introduced into historical discussion with Fritz Fischer, and naturally produced its own set of

interpretations. Excerpts from the relevant historians are also included, fully justifying the subtitle of the book. A general treatment of German foreign policy from a non-Fischerian standpoint can be found in Andreas Hillgruber, Germany and the Two World Wars (1981), while a useful mainstream narrative and analysis, favoring the Fischer-ian position, is James Joll, The Origins of the First World War (1984, in paper). An influential melding of Fischer and Eckart Kehr is Volker Berghahn, Germany and the Approach of War (1972, 1995 in paper). The most moderate version of the Kehr-Berghahn, etc. position is Wolfgang Mommsen, "Domestic factors in German foreign policy before 1914," in idem, Imperial Germany 1867-1918 ([1990], 1995). But see the new twist to the "domestic origins" hypothesis, that refutes Kehr, Berghahn, et al., based on an analysis of comparing public expenditure/military expenditure of Germany with other countries--and with a surprising twist is: Niall Ferguson, "Public Finance and National Security: The Domestic Origins of the First World War Revisited," Past and Present 142 (Feb. 1994): 141-68. Ferguson's new book on the First World War, The Pity of War. Explaining World War I (1999), as well as some of his articles, argue (or explore, counterfactually) that Britain should have stayed out. In my own view, none of these accounts pay sufficient attention to the Balkans, whose centrality is superbly in Lawrence Lafore's The Long Fuse. An Interpretation of the Origins of the First World War (1968, 1971) aimed at a general or undergraduate audience, but no less compelling for that.

An example of the more "optimistic" re-interpretations of the Habsburg monarchy is F.R. Bridge, The Habsburg Monarchy among the Great Powers, 1815-1918 (1990). An older, more lurid account, but a great read is Edward Crankshaw's The Fall of the Habsburg Monarchy (in paper), which covers 1848-1918.

#### Week 12. WORLD WAR I: THE HOME FRONT

##### COMMON READING:

Roger Chickering (1942--), Imperial Germany and the Great War, 1914-1918 (1998)

Gerald D. Feldman (1937--), Army, Industry and Labor in Germany 1914-1918 (1966, re-issued in paper in 1991), chs. 1-4, 8-9.

##### Suggestions for Further Reading:

It is useful to compare Chickering with Arthur Rosenberg (1889-1943), The Birth of the Weimar Republic: 1871-1918 (1931, German edition, 1928), a magisterial survey and interpretation of Imperial history, with emphasis on the wartime period. The author, a Communist deputy to the Reichstag and by training an ancient historian, served on the Reichstag commission investigating the "Stab in the Back" after the war. You may find this work more easily under the title Imperial Germany: The Birth of the Weimar Republic, 1871-1918, under which it later appeared. Rosenberg also wrote an important history of the Weimar Republic. Interesting to read in conjunction with Arthur Rosenberg would be Gerald D. Feldman, ed., German Imperialism 1914-1918. The Development of a Historical Debate (New York, 1972, short paperback), discussed above. Also good on domestic developments: Gerald D. Feldman, "The Political and Social Foundations of Germany's Economic Mobilization, 1914-1916," Armed Forces and Society 3, no. 1 (November 1976): 121-145; Robert G. Moeller, German Peasants and Agrarian Politics, 1914-1924. The Rhineland and Westphalia (1986), a Feldman student; C. Paul Vincent, The Politics of Hunger: The Allied Blocade of Germany, 1915-1919 (1985); Jürgen Kocka (formerly of Bielefeld, now of the Free University in Berlin), Facing Total War. German Society 1914-1918 (1984).

On the south-eastern part of the German Question, see Robert Kann, et. al., eds., The Habsburg Empire in World War I. Essays on the Intellectual, Military, Political, and Economic Aspects of the Habsburg War Effort (1977).

Thomas Mann (1871-1955) puts the world war into perspective in his Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen (1915).

## Week 13. THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

**COMMON READING:**

Detlev Peukert (1950-1989), The Weimar Republic (1991, German original, Die Weimarer Republik: Krisenjahre der klassischen Moderne, 1987)

**Suggestions for Further Reading:**

The literature on the Weimar Republic is too vast to be discussed here. For suggestions about particular topics (Social Democracy, Voting, Diplomacy, Rise of National Socialism), see me or Professor Feldman. In the meantime:

For a look into how the historical profession in Weimar viewed the "Sonderweg" of their country, see Bernd Faulenbach, Ideologie des deutschen Weges. Die deutsche Geschichte in der Historiographie zwischen Kaiserreich und Nationalsozialismus (Munich, 1980).

For sensible reflections on the "German Revolution," which reveals that there is nothing new about the term "Third Way," see Reinhard Rürup, "Demokratische Revolution und 'dritter Weg'. Die deutsche Revolution von 1918/19 in der neueren wissenschaftlichen Diskussion," Geschichte und Gesellschaft, vol. 9, no.2 (1983): 278-301.

On the hyper-inflation, in lieu of his magisterial (but gargantuan) Great Disorder. Politics, Society, and Economy in the German Inflation, 1914-1924 (1993), see Gerald D. Feldman, "The Historian and the German Inflation," in N. Schumaker and E. Marcus, eds., Inflation Through the Ages (1983): 386-99 and his "Politics of Stabilization in Weimar Germany." In the same volume as the latter is Harold James, "Foreign Crises and Domestic Choices in Weimar Germany," in Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für Deutsche Geschichte 17 (1988): 19-58. For inflation and depression: Knut Borchardt, "Germany's Experience of Inflation" (1972), "Constraints and Room for Manoeuvre in the Great Depression of the Early Thirties: Towards a Revision of the Received Historical Picture" (1979), and "Economic Causes of the Collapse of the Weimar Republic" (1980), all now available in his Perspectives on Modern German Economic History and Policy (1991 translation of the essays collected in Wachstum, Krisen, Handlungsspielräume der Wirtschaftspolitik: Studien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts of 1982.). Jürgen Baron von Krüedener, Economic Crisis and Political Collapse. The Weimar Republic 1924-1923 (1990) is a collection of essays on the "Borchardt Debate."

William Sheridan Allen, "Farewell to Class Analysis in the Rise of Nazism: Comment", in CEH, XVII, No. 1, March 1984, 54-63 is a trenchant introduction to the impact the new voting studies have made of our understanding of Hitler's successes at the ballot box.

For Austria: Helmut Gruber, Red Vienna. Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919-1934 (1991), as well as Bruce F. Pauley's From Prejudice to Persecution. A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism (1992), mentioned earlier.

For Fun: Thomas Mann (1871-1955), \*Doktor Faustus (1945). In translation and paper. Nietzsche, Schönberg, the German Protestant spirit, the Catholic spirit, the Völkisch student movement, the Stefan George Kreis and the Munich avant garde, the Descent into Hell, and What It Means To Be A German--all in one novel.

## Week 14. THIRD REICH: THE DAILY LIFE OF THE MASTER RACE?

**COMMON READING:**

Hannah Arendt (1906-1975), Totalitarianism (in paperback, a reprint of part three of her Origins of Totalitarianism, first published in 1951, and republished many times)

Ian Kershaw (ca. 1941-) Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich. Bavaria 1933-1945 (1983), esp. chs. on the churches and the Jews.

Omer Bartov (ca. 1951-), Hitler's Army. Soldiers, Nazis, and War in Third Reich (1991).

**Suggestions for Further Reading:**

The literature on National Socialist Germany (Party, Hitler, Army, Economy, Diplomacy, Women, War, to name only a few of the possible topics) is too vast to survey in a syllabus such as this. Those interested in further guidance, consult with me and Professor Feldman.

Useful to contrast with Arendt's Totalitarianism would be her Eichmann in Jerusalem (1963), which first appeared as a series of articles in the New Yorker. In spite of the attacks immediately launched against it (the most comprehensive of which was Jakob Robinson, And the Crooked Shall Be Made Straight, 1965), Eichmann may still be the most influential work to be written on the Third Reich, though its influence has been less direct (i.e., less on works on its own theme of the destruction of European Jewry) than indirect (on our general understanding of the nature of the Nazi regime itself). Bartov can be seen as a Contra-Arendt, while Christopher R. Browning's Ordinary Men. Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland (1992) might be cited in support. Can you square Arendt's own argument in her 1954 work with that of 1961?

Another imaginative work is Ian Kershaw's The Hitler Myth. Image and Reality in the Third Reich (1987), an innovative treatment of an important issue--propaganda--that had previously been dealt with in platitudes and organizational charts. In general approach, Kershaw's counterpart in West Germany was the late young historian, Detlev Peukert. See Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, opposition, and racism in everyday life (1987), an English translation of his Alltag unterm Nationalsozialismus (1981) and Detlev Peukert, ed., Die Reihen fast geschlossen: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alltags unterm Nationalsozialismus (1981). Werner Freitag, ed., Das Dritte Reich im Fest. Führermythos, Feierlaune und Verweigerung in Westfalen 1933-1945, includes lots of excellent visual materials demonstrating the intertwining of festivals (both Nazi and non-Nazi) and everyday life.

The two leading women's historians in the Federal Republic are Ute Frevert ([ca. late 50's]: Women in German History. From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation [1989, in paper] is only one of her works) and Gisela Bock ([1942- ]: Zwangsterilisation im Nationalsozialismus. Studien zur Rassenpolitik und Frauenpolitik (1986), and with Pat Thane, eds., Maternity and Gender Politics: Women and the Rise of European Welfare States 1880-1950s (1991). You might also wish to see Bock's quite sharp attack on Claudia Koonz's Mothers in the Fatherland (1986) in the German Historical Institute London's Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 1, February 1989: 16-24, a longer version of which appeared in Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Koonz's reply, "Erwiderung auf Gisela Bocks Rezension von 'Mothers in the Fatherland'" and Bock's response, "Ein Historikerinnenstreit?" are in Geschichte und Gesellschaft 18 (1992): 394-399, 400-404, respectively. For Weimar, see Karen Hagemann, Frauenalltag und Männerpolitik: Alltagsleben und gesellschaftliches Handeln von Arbeiterfrauen in der Weimarer Republik (Bonn, 1990). For those wishing to do research on German women's history, but whose German is shaky, the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C. has recently published the following guide: Helena Cole, et., al, The History of Women in Germany from Medieval Times to the Present. Bibliography of English Language Publications. (Reference Guides of the German Historical Institute Number 3, Washington, D.C., 1990).

On historiographical debates growing out of the Third Reich, Ian Kershaw, The Nazi Dictatorship. Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation (1985), Michael Marrus, The Holocaust in History (1987), and François Furet, Unanswered Questions. Nazi Germany and the Genocide of the Jews are all excellent.

For comparativists: Jonathan Steinberg, All or Nothing (1991) attempts to discover why the treatment of the Jews by the Italian and the German armies was so different.

Literature on the Third Reich: For the perspective of the victim, Jurek Becker, \*Jakob der Lügner (1969; now in English as Jakob the Liar) is by all odds the best novel on the Jewish ordeal under the Nazi death regime. Runner-up: Art Spiegelman, \*Maus: A Survivor's Tale (1986) and \*Maus II: And Here My Troubles Begin (1991). Peter Stenberg, Journey to Oblivion: The End of the East European Yiddish and German Worlds in the Mirror of Literature (1991) is an excellent discussion of the twentieth century German-Jewish belles lettres of the linguistic "borderlands" of East-Central and Eastern Europe: Jurek Becker, Paul Célán, etc. For German life in the Third Reich see the brilliant Danzig trilogy by Günter Grass (1927--): \*Cat and Mouse (brief), \*The Tin Drum (1959), his masterpiece, and \*The Dog Years (1963).

**COMMON READING:**

- Anton Kaes, From Hitler to Heimat (1988) discusses the culture of the Federal Republic, organized around the themes of constructing a new German national identity and coming to cultural grips with the poisoned legacies of the past.
- Richard J. Evans (1947--), "The New Nationalism and the Old History: Perspectives on the West German Historikerstreit," Journal of Modern History 59 (December 1987): 761-797, is the briefest introduction to this over-sold topic.
- Hans Medick, "Missionäre im Ruderboot," in Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Sozialgeschichte und Kulturanthropologie, vol. 10, no. 3 (1984): 293-408 was an opening salvo in what became known as the debate over Alltagsgeschichte.

**Suggestions for Further Reading:**

Historiography: Ralf Dahrendorf's Society and Democracy in Germany (1965, English edition 1967), a reprise of 150 years of the "German Problem" by a gifted sociologist (now at Oxford), gave the German Sonderweg what was for a long time its paradigmatic form by connecting it to German social structure and political culture in the post-war German societies, East and West. A classic, but now useful particularly for putting the GRD and the DDR, circa 1965, in the long durée of German history.

Of the many polemics to come out of the Historikerstreit, Hans-Ulrich Wehler's Entsorgung der deutschen Vergangenheit? ein polemischer Essay zum "Historikerstreit" (1988) is the most brilliant. To see what all the fuss was about, you might read Ernst Nolte's "Between Myth and Revisionism? The Third Reich in the Perspective of the 1980s," in H.W. Koch, ed., Aspects of the Third Reich (1985) -- which was, ostensibly, where the trouble began.

The whole issue of Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Sozialgeschichte und Kulturanthropologie, vol. 10, no. 3 (1984) is devoted to the debate over the validity and value of Alltagsgeschichte. The most important of the anti-Alltag positions was formulated by the labor historian Klaus Tenfelde, "Schwierigkeiten mit dem Alltag," ibid.: 376-394. To see what happens when German History Meets Post-Modernism, see the entire (double) issue of Central European History vol. 22, Nos. 3/4, Sept.-Dec. 1989 (which, note bene, appeared only in summer 1991), which suggests that some of the fundamental "problems" of Germany history are being changed (or are supposed to be changed).

Real History: For the immediate post-war period, pathbreaking is Norman Naimark, The Russians in Germany. A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949 (1995), especially the chapters on rape and forced labor in the uranium mines. Better than anything else on the German Democratic Republic now is Charles S. Maier, Dissolution. The Crisis of Communism and the End of East German (1997). A bit clumsy and with an undisguised Polish-bias, but nonetheless stimulating is Timothy Garton Ash, In Europe's Name. Germany and the Divided Continent (1995). Considerable bang for the buck can be had in Noel Cary's brilliant articles: "Reassessing Germany's Ostpolitik. Part 1: From Détente to Refreeze," and Part 2: "From Refreeze to Reunification," Central European History 33/2 (2000): 235-62, and 33/3 (2000): as well as "Farewell without Tears: Diplomats, Dissidents, and the Demise of East Germany," Journal of Modern History (???)

Many new works on post-war Germany will be appearing in the next few years, rapidly making the old literature obsolete. For West Germany, until something more recent and comprehensive arrives, the work of the French political scientist Alfred Grosser, Germany in Our Time (many editions) is still quite useful. For both East and West, Henry A. Turner, Jr., The Two Germanies Since 1945 (1987, up-date soon to appear). One of the "hottest" items of contemporary political history when it came out was Arnulf Baring's Machtwechsel: Die Ära Brandt-Scheel (1982), about the forming of the Great Coalition of 1967, followed by the first SPD-led national government in Germany since Müller's cabinet of 1928-30. Women's history is brought up to date with Robert G. Moeller, Protecting Motherhood. Women and the Family in the Politics of Postwar Germany (1992).

The questions of compliance, dissent, and "totalitarianism" in Germany, raised by Kershaw for the Nazis (and by Heinrich Mann et. al. --without the "Totalitarianism"-- for the Kaiserreich) will surely be raised again as more information about the German Democratic Republic (DDR) becomes available.--with the question of "revolution" being re-opened as well. At the moment, exciting intense discussion about all of these topics, and extremely controversial in its charges of church collaboration with the Stasi is Gerhard Besier and Stephan Wolf, eds., 'Pfarrer, Christen und Katholiken.' Das Ministerium für Staatssicherheit der ehemaligen DDR und die Kirchen (1991, revised 1992). One need not be interested in pastors, Christians, and Catholics, but simply in doing research on the DDR, to find this book an invaluable starting point since, in addition to its 100 pages of explanatory text and 700 pages of documents (from 1949 to September 1991: i.e., covering the "revolution"), its appendix includes a 6-page diagram of the structure of Ministry of State Security (Stasi), a 24-page chronology (Zeittafel) of important events in the history of the relations between the Stasi and the churches in the DDR (which inevitably takes in the whole history of the regime), a 24-page bibliography (which includes much on the revolutionary events of 1989 as well as a 9-page guide to the archives and unpublished sources in and on East Germany), and 8 pages of abbreviations that will be useful for anyone doing research into this acronym-haunted land. Finally it supplies a biographical dictionary, in the form of an 85-page biographical index, that covers almost every person prominent in any walk of public life in post-war Germany, East and West.

For a feel for life in divided Germany, seen through literature, try Martin Walzer's novel on problems of national identity (told as a spy story) in the Federal Republic, \*Dorle und Wolf (1987). (Walzer's 1985 novel Brandung, about his semester at Berkeley in the 1980's, might also, in its similarities and differences from other "academic" novels, tell one a good deal about West Germany in the 80s.) For the problems of the academic Alltag in the Stasi-dominated DDR, see \*Der Tangospieler (1989) by the East German emigré Christoph Hein, published right before the wall came down, but only believable (for many people) after revelations about the Stasi became commonplace. Both Dorle und Wolf and Der Tangospieler are brief and in paperback.

For comparative perspectives, which suggest that the Historikerstreit is only the beginning of a trans-European need to historicize memory and remember history, see Tony Judt's brilliant, "The Past is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe," Daedalus (121,

Nr. 4) Fall 1992: 83-118. Also very valuable: Diethelm Prowe, "Classic' Fascism and the New Radical Right in Western Europe: Comparisons and Contrasts," ContEur.Hist 3, 3 (1994): 289-313.