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:

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:


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.


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:


FOR THE HABSBURG MONARCHY, one might consult:

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 Wandruszcza departs and the authors become Helmut Rумpler and Peter Urbanitsch (as in Bd. VII, on Verfassungstaat und Parlaamaentismus, 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.


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:

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.

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 Problematic 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 Dikaturproblem," is in H.-U. Wehler (1931--), ed., *Moderne deutsche Sozialgeschichte* (1968), also with a biographical introduction.


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 "Rankne" 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), 486-53, 553-555. For a well-known, broadside attack on 19th century German historicism that leaves no stone unturned, and implies a connection with Germany's later disastrous history, see Georg Igers, *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 Dörpelin, *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:


Week 2. OTHER NARRATIVES

COMMON READING:
Suggestions for Further Reading:


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 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., Geschichte wissenschaft 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. Ziolewski, German Romanticism and Its Institutions (1990); Josef Chytry, 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:
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 Volkerfrühling (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).

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 Igers, ed., *The Social History of Politics. Critical Perspectives in West German Historical Writing Since 1945* (1985), 49-80.


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:


The "Stoß-ins-Herz"-Dispatch (Dispatch of the Prussian envoy in Florence, Count Usedom, to the Italian Minister President General La Marmora, 17 June 1966] 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. I: 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 Kaiserrreich. 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.


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 Buchholz, Moltke, Schlieffen, and Prussian War Planning (1991).

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING:


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 1 (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 Untertanengesellschaft?" 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..."


Week 6. THE CATHOLIC SUBCULTURE AND THE KULTURKAMPF

COMMON READING:

March 1986: 82-115.

Suggestions for Further Reading:


In a class by itself, illuminating the "segmentary society" that was imperial Germany, through the intersection of Southern Catholic and Berlin Jewish milieux, is the semi-autobiographical novel by Sybille Bedford (1911--), *Unsichtbare Grenze. Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg 1648-1806* (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 Kulturkampf," in *Die stiftungskämpfe in Konstanz (1830-1870) für die ökonomische und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung der lokalen Gesellschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Analyse der materiellen Hintergründe der Kulturkampf," in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberheims*, 113 (1965): 151-96.

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,


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 1918-1932 (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.


Week 7. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SUBCULTURE

COMMON READING:
Carl Schorske (1915--), German Social Democracy 1890-1914 (1959)

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 Saurer (d. 1990), "Das Problemen des deutschen Nationalstaates," in Politisches Vierteljahresschrift, Bd. 3, Cologne 1962: 159-186 (reappearing in H.-U. Wehler, ed., Moderne deutsche Sozialgeschichte (1966), 407-436, as well as in Helmut Böhm, 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 Saurer, 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.


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 Bielefield (though recently translated to Berlin) historian, Jürgen Kocka (1941-), are magisterial: *Weder Stand noch Klasse: Untersichten 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 1919-1924. 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 L. Liddle, *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-), *The German Working Class: 1888-1913: 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 mix-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 Zwarh, 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:**
George Mosse (1918-), *The Crisis of German Ideology* (1964), introduction and chs. 1, 4-5, 7-11, conclusion. Paper.

**Suggestions for Further Reading:**
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 Stechin (1898, in paper, but unfortunately not yet translated), by Theodor Fontane (1819-1898), who was a newspaperman for the conservative Kreuzzentung 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 Austrian (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. Paulley, 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* (1908) (in German, *Die Juden* (1905)), *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.

**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).
Suggestions for Further Reading:

Politics, for fun:
Ludwig Thoma (1867-1921), *Josef Filzers Briefwechsel* (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 Rohr, *Wahlen und Wählertraditionen in Deutschland. Kulturelle Grundlagen deutscher Parteien und Parteiensysteme im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, 1992, Suhr paperback). Rohr 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:

On the Economy, for the Information:

Important Recent Works that have opened up new topics:

Comparative Perspectives:

Suggestions for further reading:

**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.
On Weber and Contemporaries:


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.- und k. Army, try the short novella *Leutnant Gustl* (1901) and the story “Spiel im Morgengrau.”

Week 11. THE "GERMANIES" AND THE WORLD

**COMMON READING:**


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 *Kriif 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 *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)

**Suggestions for Further Reading:**


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

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).


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 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.
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)

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 on 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 unter Nationalsozialismus (1981) and Detlev Peukert, ed., Die Reihen fast geschlossen: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alltags unter Nationalsozialismus (1981). Werner Freitag, ed., Das Dritte Reich im Fest. Führermythos, Feierlaune and Verweigerung in Westfalen 1933-1945, includes lots of excellent visual materials demonstrating the intertwining of festivals (both Nazi and non-Nazi) and and everyday life.


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.

COMMON READING:

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, "Schwieerigkeiten 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).


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 Machtwandel: Die Ära Brandtscheel (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 "Totalitanism"-- for the Kaisersreich) 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, '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 80's. For the problems of the academic Alltag in the Stasi-dominated DDR, see *Der Tangospieler* (1989) by the East German emigre 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,