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Preface

This issue of the *Bulletin* begins with the Annual Lecture of the German Historical Institute delivered last November by Michael Brenner (American University / Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich) on the subject “When Democracy Died in Darkness: German Jewish Responses to Hitler’s Rise in Early 1933.” Brenner shows that Jewish reactions to Hitler’s rise to power were anything but uniform by analyzing the wide spectrum of responses. Highly assimilated Jews, Zionists, and Orthodox Jews reacted quite differently; and even within these broad categories responses varied widely. Reacting against an all-too-common depiction of German Jews as having been blind to the danger facing them, Brenner reminds us that the place of Jews in Weimar Germany was more complex and the historical situation in January 1933 far more open than it might appear in hindsight. In his conclusion, Brenner connects the situation facing German Jews in the spring of 1933 with the present. “In many ways, it seems that the Jews felt just as at home, as safe, and as integrated in Germany in the early decades of the twentieth century as they feel in the United States a hundred years later.” And just as the fate of Jews in Germany was bound up with the fate of German democracy, he concludes, so the fate of Jews and other vulnerable groups is very much tied to the vitality of U.S. democracy today.

The next feature article takes readers back to the preceding caesura of modern German history, the First World War. Based on the GHI’s 13th Gerald D. Feldman Memorial Lecture, Celia Applegate’s (Vanderbilt University) article “Germans and Their Music in the Time of War, 1914-1918” argues that music provided comfort, distraction, and “cultural reassurance” during this terrible conflict. This cultural reassurance had a dark and a light side. While wartime music could take the form of nationalistic superiority and bombast, it could also provide creative pleasure that served to

assuage anxiety and dread. Applegate also shows that the war functioned as a kind of “stress test” of the musical infrastructure and traditions that had slowly grown over several centuries, a test that Germany’s musical environment survived. Its survival gave the supporters of the Weimar Republic the opportunity to try to attach the new democracy to the Austro-German musical tradition.

Originally delivered as a lecture at the GHI’s Pacific Regional Office in Berkeley, H. Glenn Penny’s (UCLA) article “Globalizing Landesgeschichte: Reflections on Narrating Germans’ Histories in the Modern Era” examines the connections between German regional and transnational history. In his work on Germans in Latin America Penny had begun to notice that many of the German coffee planters in Guatemala, for instance, did not come from Hamburg or Bremen, which played prominent roles in the coffee trade, but from southern Germany. In this article he shares his investigation of what he calls the “Southern German borderlands,” that is, the region stretching from Salzburg through Innsbruck and Bregenz to Freiburg and Basel. Urging us to “see less like a state and perhaps more like a region,” he examines the transnational and transcultural aspects of life in this region, arguing that historians can learn a lot from the ethnologists (*Volkskundler* or practitioners of *empirische Kulturwissenschaft*) who have studied this region.

Our final feature article, “Irrelevant Scapegoat: The Perils of Doing European History in Post-Trump America,” pursues the injunction made at the end of Michael Brenner’s Annual Lecture to reflect on our present historical moment. In this article Dominique Kirchner Reill (University of Miami) makes a compelling case that legislation passed by the Florida legislature in 2022 — including the so-called “Stop WOKE” Act (HB 7), the “Don’t Say Gay” Law (HB 1557), and the “Postsecondary Education” Act (SB 7044) — will profoundly affect the teaching not just of U.S. but also of European history from elementary school through college.

Reill shows that the right-wing political forces behind this legislation, which is being emulated by a number of other states, hope to use European history to cover the issues of authoritarianism, racism, and colonialism that they do not wish to discuss in the context of American history. "America is exceptional once again, and Europe provides the perfect counterpoint." The implications for teachers and scholars of European history are profound. If anyone thought that the field of European history would be immune to the effects of the U.S. culture wars focused on race, gender, and sexual orientation, Reill's article is an important wake-up call.

This issue reports on a series of conferences on the history of migration, the history of inequality, and German history in global perspective. Please turn to our news section for recent GHI news. For up-to-date information on upcoming events, publications, fellowships, and calls for papers, please consult the GHI website at <http://www.ghi-dc.org>, check our Twitter account at <https://twitter.com/GHIWashington> or sign up for our digital newsletter on our website. We look forward to welcoming you at upcoming events in both Washington and Berkeley.

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

The background features abstract geometric shapes. A dark blue triangle points downwards from the top left. A light blue triangle points upwards from the bottom left. A grey triangle points upwards from the bottom right. The word "Features" is centered in the white space.

Features



When Democracy Died in Darkness: German Jewish Responses to Hitler's Rise in Early 1933

36th Annual Lecture of the German Historical Institute Washington,
November 10, 2022

Michael Brenner

American University / Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Things looked good on New Year's Eve 1932 for Berlin's bakers. They prepared ten million donuts (*Pfannkuchen*) for the night's celebration, which was an impressive two and a half donuts per every German citizen. They used 666,000 eggs, 166,000 kilograms of flour, 100,000 kilos of sugar, 50,000 kilos of butter and margarine, and 30,000 kilos of jam. The entertainment industry was happy as well. Many dance floors for the night's *Silvesterbälle* were sold out, and the sales for the opulent New Year's dinners in Berlin restaurants and hotels went well.¹ It seemed that the deep economic crisis that had started with Black Friday in 1929 was finally waning. Moreover, there was political optimism in the air as the new year 1933 started. Berlin's leading newspaper, the *Vossische Zeitung*, regarded the "downfall of Hitlerism as unstoppable." There was talk of a "total crisis" of the Nazi movement "that befell its head, its limbs, and its voters."²

¹ *Vossische Zeitung*,
December 31, 1932.

² *Vossische Zeitung*,
Januar 1, 1933.

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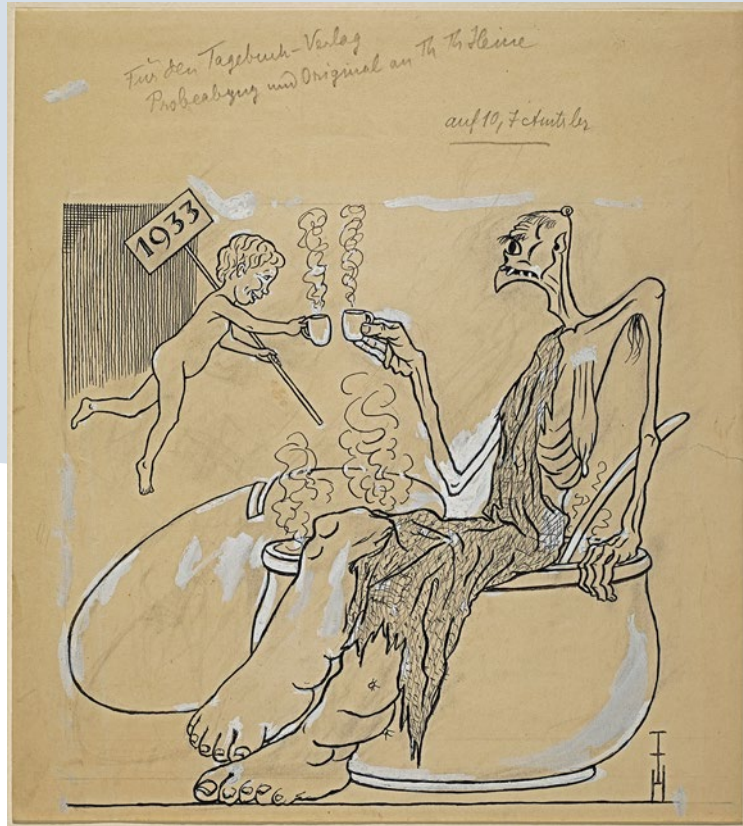


Figure 1. "Prosit Neujahr 1933," by Thomas Theodor Heine, 1932. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau München. CC0 1.0.

³ Klaus J. Herrmann, *Das Dritte Reich und die deutsch-jüdischen Organisationen 1933-34* (Cologne, 1969), 1. Herrmann mentions a quote by the *C.V.-Zeitung*, the newspaper of the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* from December 1932: "We welcome the new year 1933, which contains twice the lucky number 3, [and we are] confident that it will be a year of general upswing for Germany and the world – and also for German Jewry." I was not able to verify this quote in the actual paper.

This assessment resonated with many contemporaries considering the most recent political developments.³ Following the economic crisis of 1929, the NSDAP had risen from a splinter party of 2.6% to become a major political player with over 18% of the vote in the 1930 elections to the Reichstag, and established itself as the largest party in the German parliament after the elections of July 1932. But then, in the November election that same year, they dropped from 37% to 33%, and for many observers, such as Leopold Schwarzschild, the left-liberal editor of the journal *Tage-Buch*, this marked "for the first time after a long period a crack in the wall of clouds" that had been gathering on Germany's political sky for some years. The poet and anarchist Erich Mühsam agreed: "They [the Nazis] will never come to power. The German proletariat will not be put down."⁴

⁴ Hans-Albert Walter, *Deutsche Exilliteratur 1933-1950. Band 1: Die Vorgeschichte des Exils und seine erste Phase.*

Band 1.2. Weimarerische Intellektuelle im Spannungsfeld zwischen Aktionen und Repressionen (Stuttgart,

2017), 558. ("Die kommen niemals an die Macht. Das deutsche Proletariat läßt sich nicht unterkriegen.")

Hans Schaeffer was one of Germany's highest ranking Jewish state officials and therefore, one would think, one of Germany's best informed politicians. As Undersecretary of State in Germany's Department of Finance he participated in many reparation negotiations and cabinet meetings. He also kept a meticulous diary. Just before the 1932 November elections he wrote, "I believe that we underestimate the loss of the Nazis after November 6. Each loss of the Nazis is the beginning of the[ir] end."⁵ In his entry of December 29 he trusted Chancellor Schleicher's and physicist Max Planck's opinion "that we do not have to worry at all. The *Reichswehr* will not recognize Hitler as Chancellor. If Hitler uses violence, we can fully trust the *Reiterregiment* (cavalry) in Potsdam, which is on standby."⁶ If Schaeffer and Schleicher were so clueless that they seriously believed that the cavalry would stop Hitler, how would the less informed German Jews know?

Werner Scholem, former communist member of the Reichstag, celebrated his 37th birthday on December 29, 1932. He went to see a cabaret show on December 30 and was part of the celebratory crowds on New Year's Eve.⁷ The next day, New Year's Day of 1933, Erika Mann's and Therese Giehse's *Pfeffermühle* Cabaret in Munich opened with its first show. It was partly written by Erika's brother Klaus, who noted in his diary: "Great atmosphere, great audience, everyone was there."⁸ In these first days of 1933, Hannah Arendt and Karl Jaspers exchanged letters about what constitutes the German essence [*Wesen*]. Jaspers expressed his astonishment that she "as a Jewess wants to be distinct from the Germans."⁹

Perhaps the most surprising event, from today's perspective, took place in Berlin's Oranienburger Straße. There, one week before Adolf Hitler was appointed Chancellor of the German Reich, German state officials and Jewish community leaders were reunited for the last time in celebrating a major Jewish cultural event. On January 24, 1933, the Berlin Jewish Museum opened its doors with a solemn ceremony. The next day, readers of the *Vossische Zeitung* learned about

5 Hans Schäffer, *Tagebücher 1932*, October 21, 1932, Leo Baeck Institute New York (LBINY), AR 7177 Box 10/3.

6 Hans Schäffer, *Tagebücher 1933*, January 29, 1933, Box 10/4, *ibid.*

7 Mirjam Zadoff, *Der rote Hiob. Das Leben des Werner Scholem* (München, 2014), 200.

8 Klaus Mann, *Tagebücher 1931 bis 1933*, ed. Joachim Heimannsberg and Wilfried S. Schoeller (München, 1989), January 1, 1933, p. 107. ("Grosse Stimmung, grosses Publikum, mit ,alles da:>")

9 Karl Jaspers to Hannah Arendt, January 3, 1933, in Lotte Köhler and Hans Saner, eds., *Hannah Arendt und Karl Jaspers, Briefwechsel* (München, 1985), 53.

Figure 2. Visitors at the Jewish Museum Berlin, September 1936. Photo: Herbert Sonnenfeld. © Jüdisches Museum Berlin.



10 Karl Schwarz, "Berliner Jüdisches Museum (Aus den Memoiren von Karl Schwarz)," Robert Weltsch Col., LBINY AR 7185, Box 10, Folder 15, p. 21.

11 https://www.jmberlin.de/1933/de/01_31_antwort-des-kunstkritikers-max-osborn-auf-einen-leserbrief.php

a small detail on one of the exhibit's less spectacular objects. As art historian Max Osborn pointed out, there was an ancient Palestinian clay lamp in the museum's collection, engraved with both a Star of David and a swastika. "Isn't it charming?", Osborn asked his readers.

When a Prussian government delegation visited the museum on March 2, 1933, it already appeared much less charming and seemed rather like an epitaph to a bygone chapter of German-Jewish coexistence. Only a few blocks away from the burnt-down Reichstag, and a few days before Hitler's final election victory, the head of the visiting delegation, Ministerialdirektor Trendelenburg of the Prussian Department of Culture, still "expressed his enthusiasm about the establishment of the museum and its riches of outstanding Jewish artifacts."¹⁰ Two weeks later, the honorary chairman of the Jewish Museum Association and grand old man of German Impressionism, Max Liebermann, had to resign as honorary president of the Prussian Academy of Arts. Jews were no longer allowed among its members. The Star of David and the swastika would not appear together anywhere anymore. When a reader wanted to know more about the significance of the two symbols, Osborn replied, one day after Hitler was appointed chancellor: "... for us the combination of two symbols that stand in such opposition to each other is a strange curiosity."¹¹

Lion Feuchtwanger, whose novels were bestsellers not only in Germany but around the world, celebrated the new year far away from his fancy new home in Berlin-Grunewald, into

which he had moved just a few months earlier. He was on a reading tour through America, where he was received by celebrities from cultural and political life. On January 11 he dined with Charlie Chaplin at Albert Einstein's house in Pasadena, where the German-Jewish physicist had arrived from Berlin in December and where he was a visiting professor at Caltech. On January 25, Eleanor Roosevelt, whose husband had just been elected 32nd president of the United States, gave a dinner reception for Feuchtwanger in New York City.

And where did Feuchtwanger, who had scorned the entire Nazi leadership for many years and was one of their most hated targets, spend the very day Hitler came to power? Of all places, at a reception that the German embassy hosted for him in New York City. He noted in his diary: "What an irony that the German ambassador organizes a lunch for me exactly on the day that Hitler is appointed Chancellor."¹² At the beginning of his American trip, Feuchtwanger had still exclaimed: "Hitler is over!" Now, on January 31, Marta Feuchtwanger told her husband in a telegram: "You have embarrassed yourself pretty badly with your 'Hitler is over.'" A few days later Feuchtwanger reversed his assessment of the events in Germany: "Hitler means war!"¹³ In the face of the political developments, Lion Feuchtwanger decided not to return to Germany from his trip abroad. He did not know then that he would never see his new house or the country of his birth again. Not unlike Feuchtwanger's statements, Klaus Mann wrote in his diary on January 30, 1933: "Shock: Never thought this was possible."¹⁴

Albert Einstein returned only once to German territory, and it was not within Germany's borders. Just hours after his ship from New York landed in Antwerp on March 28, 1933, he entered the German embassy in Brussels to personally hand in his German passport and renounce his German citizenship. Like Feuchtwanger, he would never again return to the country in which he was born and raised. In a letter of the same day, Einstein submitted his resignation from the Prussian Academy of Sciences, to which he had belonged for nine-

12 Manfred Flügge, *Die vier Leben der Marta Feuchtwanger* (Berlin, 2008), 162.

13 Lion Feuchtwanger, '*... für die Vernunft, gegen Dummheit und Gewalt*,' ed. Walter Huder, Friedrich Knilli, Herrmann Haarmann, and Klaus Siebenhaar (Berlin, 1985), 25.

14 Klaus Mann, *Tagebücher 1931 bis 1933*, January 30, 1933, ed. Joachim Heimannsberg, Peter Laemmle and Wilfred F. Schoeller (München, 1989), 113. („Schreck. Es nie für möglich gehalten.“)

15 *Albert Einstein: Letters to the Prussian Academy of Sciences and the Academy's Response*, in Klaus Hentschel, *Physics and National Socialism: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Basel, 1996), 18-21.

16 Albrecht Fölsing, *Albert Einstein. Eine Biographie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 743-745.

17 *Ibid.*, 752.

18 https://www.jmberlin.de/1933/de/01_30_brief-von-rosa-suss-an-ihre-tochter-liselotte-und-deren-mann.php

teen years. After the academy stated that they “have no cause to regret Einstein’s resignation,” the latter replied by justifying his decision on the grounds that “I do not wish to live in a state in which individuals are not granted equal rights before the law as well as freedom of speech and instruction.”¹⁵

Already on March 10, Einstein had told an American journalist that he would only set foot in a country where political freedom, tolerance, and equality of all citizens were guaranteed. A few minutes after his interview the earth trembled. Los Angeles was shaken by one of the most severe earthquakes to occur there in the 20th century. Einstein walked back into his apartment as if nothing had happened.¹⁶ The real earthquake, he knew, had happened a few thousand miles east of Los Angeles. Being excluded from a Germany that had declared itself Aryan, he found solace in the Jewish community: “After all, a few millennia of civilized past means something.”¹⁷

Most German Jews were no Einsteins or Feuchtwangers. How did they react to Hitler’s appointment as chancellor? Many probably thought more or less just as Rosa Süss from Mannheim did when she wrote to her newly-wed daughter Liselotte, who was just spending her honeymoon with her husband Manfred Sperber in Italy: “Today Hitler was made Reichskanzler, what a ‘nice company,’ well, they will only cook with water too. We’ll have to see and wait what is coming.”¹⁸ What was coming was not very promising for Germany’s Jews.

February 1933 saw a Germany in limbo. Hitler was chancellor, but it was still unclear if he would lead just another short-lived government of the Weimar Republic or if his appointment meant the end of German democracy. There was still hope: hope that Hitler and the Nazis would also “only cook with water.” But there was also fear: fear that he would abrogate equal rights for Jews and persecute political opponents. Like many other Germans, German Jews, too, were not sure what to expect. Two weeks before the March elections that Hitler called for, Viktor Klemperer noted in his diary “how blind we all are towards the events, how nobody has any idea

about the real division of power. Who will gain the majority on March 5th? Will the terror be tolerated and for how long? Nobody can predict anything.”¹⁹ Nobody could predict anything with certainty.

Terror was immediately felt by many Jews all over Germany. Following several local antisemitic incidents, the Krefeld chapter of the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* (CV) arranged for a meeting called “The Future of German Jews” and invited its president, Julius Brodnitz, to speak. The meeting took place in an overcrowded hall, and the CV leader told German Jews that “there is not the slightest cause to deviate from the principles of our association. The deep bonds with Germanness and Jewishness will help us overcome the difficult times.”²⁰

German Jews did not react in a uniform way to Hitler’s rise to power in these early weeks and months of 1933. The more assimilated ones, for whom their Jewishness had been rather marginal and who felt first and foremost as Germans, were hit hardest, as Max Liebermann expressed in a letter to the Hebrew poet Hayim Nachman Bialik and Tel Aviv mayor Meir Dizengoff: “Like a horrible nightmare the abrogation of equal rights weighs upon us all, but especially upon those Jews who, like me, had surrendered themselves to the dream of assimilation. . . . As difficult as it has been for me, I have awakened from the dream that I dreamed my whole life long.”²¹ And Viktor Klemperer, who had converted to Protestantism before World War I, now distanced himself from Germany as well: “When it comes to me, I will never again have confidence in Germany.”²²

While Liebermann woke up from his life-long dream, others continued to dream. Hans-Joachim Schoeps, a young Berlin Jewish youth leader, represented the small group of ultra-nationalist German Jews. He received some attention, or one might better say notoriety, with the writings he published just before Hitler came to power. Schoeps was as far right as a Jew could be in those days. In 1933, he founded the

19 Viktor Klemperer, *Ich will Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten* (Berlin, 1995), 7.

20 *C.V.-Zeitung*, February 23, 1933.

21 Quoted in Michael A. Meyer, *Jewish Identity in the Modern World* (Seattle, 1990), 54.

22 Klemperer, *Ich will Zeugnis ablegen*, 13 (March 20, 1933).

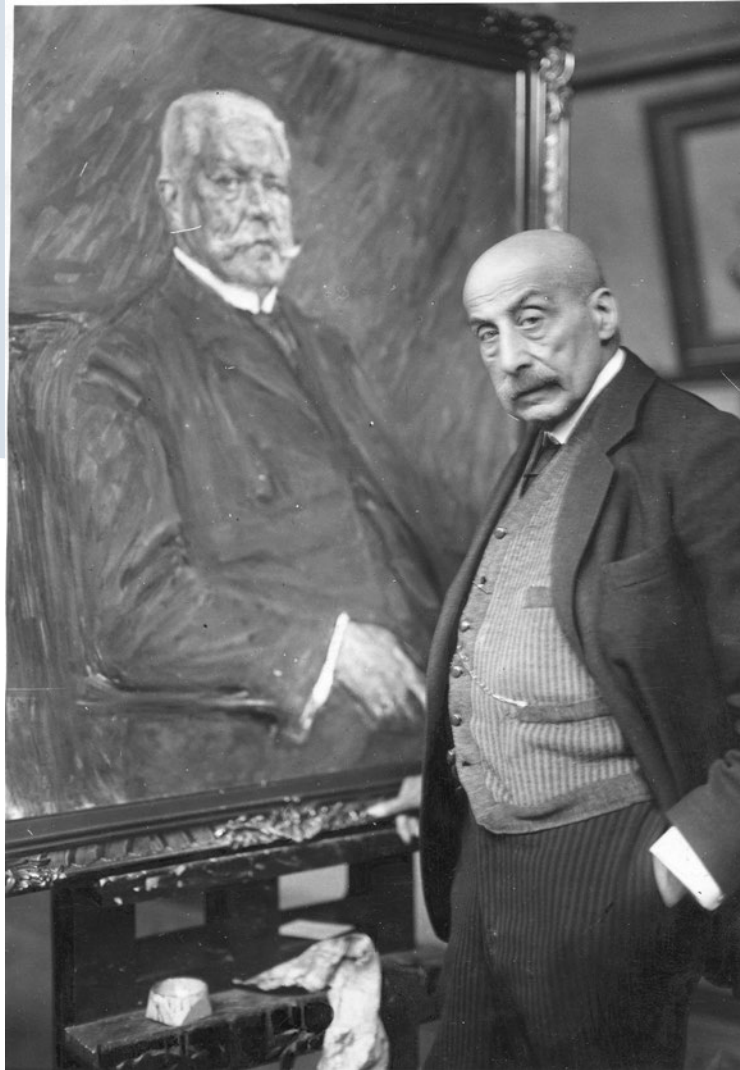


Figure 3. Max Liebermann in his studio with a portrait painting of Reich President Paul von Hindenburg, c. 1927. © Bundesarchiv Bild 183-U0906-500.

23 Hans Joachim Schoeps, "Der Jude im neuen Deutschland," in *Der deutsche Vortrupp. Blätter einer Gefolgschaft deutscher Juden*, Nr. 1 (October 1933), 3.

Vortrupp, a nationalist organization of young German Jews organized according to the same strictly hierarchical principles espoused by those German youth organizations that would not allow Jews as members. He demanded the "necessary separation between German and non-German Jews and the gathering of all German-thinking Jews under a unified authoritarian leadership" and an unequivocal dissociation from Eastern European Jews. As Schoeps put it, "the sick body of the German people could be saved from decay only by a radical cure."²³ His loyalty to Germany remained steadfast in the face of its antisemitic policies, as he still wrote in 1934: "Even when the fatherland rejects us, we remain ready, ready

for Germany.”²⁴ Schoeps tried in vain to attract Adolf Hitler’s attention and to convince him to spare the true German Jews from his antisemitic agenda.²⁵

Most well-integrated Jews would not try to appease the German *Führer*, but they could simply not imagine that the dream of German-Jewish co-existence would turn into a nightmare of violence, expulsion, and ultimately mass murder. On April 15, 1933, after the Reichstag was left a lifeless shell, after German democracy had eliminated itself, and after the SA mob had organized the boycott of Jewish-owned businesses, Theodor Adorno was still full of optimism about Germany’s political future. He asked his friend Siegfried Kracauer, who had fled to Paris after the Reichstag stood in flames, to return to Germany: “Here it is total calm and order: I believe that the situation will consolidate itself.”²⁶

The Zionists, on the other side of the political spectrum, did not wake up from any dream either – in their case it was because they had never dreamed the dream of assimilation in the first place. They felt they had seen it coming for a long time. In their eyes, the Jews’ future was in Palestine anyway. As early as 1896 Theodor Herzl had written in his *Jewish State*: “Everywhere we have sincerely endeavored to merge with the national communities surrounding us and to preserve only the faith of our fathers. We are not permitted to do so. In vain are we loyal patriots, in some places even extravagantly so; in vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellow citizens; in vain do we strive to enhance the fame of our native countries in the arts and sciences, or their wealth through trade and commerce. In our native lands where, after all, we too have lived for centuries, we are decried as aliens . . . If only we were left in peace. . . . But I think we shall not be left in peace.”²⁷

While Herzl wrote these lines shortly after an antisemitic mayor had been elected in Vienna, the appointment of a much more radically antisemitic chancellor of the German Reich almost 40 years later caused the main Zionist paper,

24 Hans-Joachim Schoeps, *Wir deutschen Juden* (Berlin, 1934), 52.

25 Similarly, before the elections in July 1932 the leader of the organization of the National-German Jews, Max Naumann, had appealed to the Jewish community to understand the Nazi position, “which is the only way to enable the rebirth of Germanness, and which will hopefully reestablish the German reputation in the world.” Kurt Loewenstein, “Die innerjüdische Reaktion auf die Krise der deutschen Demokratie,” in Werner E. Mosse, ed., *Entscheidungs-jahr 1932: Zur Judenfrage in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik* (Tübingen, 1965), 371-372.

26 Theodor W. Adorno and Siegfried Kracauer, *Briefwechsel 1923-1966: „Der Riß der Welt geht auch durch mich...“*, ed. Wolfgang Schopf (Frankfurt am Main, 2008), 308.

27 Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York, 1970), 33-34.

28 "Zur Lage in Deutschland: Regierung Hitler," *Jüdische Rundschau*, Monatsausgabe no. 1, January 1933, 3.

29 Joachim Prinz, *Rebellious Rabbi. An Autobiography – the German and Early American Years*, ed. Michael A. Meyer (Bloomington, 2008), 100.

30 *Ibid.*, 103-104.

the *Jüdische Rundschau*, to blame the Liberal Jewish leaders for having closed their eyes to imminent danger. It claimed: "The attempts of assimilation and self-denial are over!" and demanded "a Jewish community filled with unbending pride of its own peoplehood." In times of danger, the Zionist paper argued, Jews should return to Jewish values and no longer trust their old leaders who preached optimism.²⁸

The young Zionist Berlin rabbi and future leader of the American Jewish Congress, Joachim Prinz, recalled exactly this feeling of triumph in the face of danger: "For us Zionists, the great time had come. Theodor Herzl's prediction, which he entered into his diary some fifty years before Hitler, had come true . . . The Zionist movement began to understand its great opportunity . . . We urged mass emigration to Palestine."²⁹ He also described the pride mentioned above in his account of the evening service he led on the eve of the Nazi boycott of Jewish businesses on April 1, 1933. The synagogue service on Friday night, March 31, 1933 "was an unforgettable experience. People stood by the hundreds outside the synagogue waiting for the doors to open. When they finally did open at 7 o'clock, people streamed into the synagogue until no one else could enter, for every seat and every spot in the building was taken. There was a solemnity that had very little to do with any artificial pious experience . . . There was a mixture of hope and fear, of trembling and pride. The old prayers suddenly leaped to life and had new meaning. Verses that had been written in the Middle Ages suddenly became an interpretation of what we Jews were going through . . . My Friday night service in the presence of two Gestapo men was a passionate attack on the government but, strangely enough, the Gestapo agents did not report me." The culmination was the Shema, when the choir and the organ remained quiet: "All of us cried but, nevertheless, we sang. We sang through our tears, and although it may not have been musically perfect, the singing was like a great Jewish symphony that underscored our faith – that we were going to bear it with pride and dignity, and that come what may, we would fight for our lives."³⁰

JUDISCHE RUNDSCHAU

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Nr. 27. Berlin, 4. IV. 1933. Der Zionismus strebt für das jüdische Volk die Schaffung einer ethnisch-rechtlich gesicherten Heimstätte in Palästina. „Baseler Programm.“

Tragt ihn mit Stolz, den gelben Fleck!

Der 1. April 1933 wird ein wichtiger Tag in der Geschichte des deutschen Judentum. In der Geschichte der ganzen jüdischen Welt. Die Ereignisse dieses Tages haben nicht nur eine politische und eine wirtschaftliche, sondern auch eine moralische und soziale Seite. Dieser Tag ist ein Tag der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Zusammenkunft in der Zeitgeschichte der jüdischen Nation. Er ist ein Tag der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Zusammenkunft in der Zeitgeschichte der jüdischen Nation. Er ist ein Tag der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Zusammenkunft in der Zeitgeschichte der jüdischen Nation.

Es ist eine nationale Frage, und sie ist es immer, wenn wir es um alles zu einer politischen Entscheidung stellen, die in dem Sinne der Nation zu sein soll. Man möchte gerne aus jeder dieser Entscheidungen einen politischen Charakter machen, und man mag Theodor Herzl war der erste Jude, der sich dieser Aufgabe annahm. Er hat die jüdische Nation in die Geschichte der Welt hineingeführt. Und er hat die jüdische Nation in die Geschichte der Welt hineingeführt.

gedacht. Wir stehen da auf, und wollen diesen ethnischen Charakter haben. Viele Jahre haben wir versucht, ein jüdisches Volk zu schaffen. Nicht aus bloßen politischen, nicht aus reinen wirtschaftlichen, sondern aus reinen ethnischen Gesichtspunkten. Wir haben versucht, ein jüdisches Volk zu schaffen. Nicht aus bloßen politischen, nicht aus reinen wirtschaftlichen, sondern aus reinen ethnischen Gesichtspunkten.

Es ist nicht unsere Aufgabe, zu entscheiden, ob die jüdische Nation eine moralische Pflicht hat, sich zu Palästina zu wenden. Es ist nicht unsere Aufgabe, zu entscheiden, ob die jüdische Nation eine moralische Pflicht hat, sich zu Palästina zu wenden. Es ist nicht unsere Aufgabe, zu entscheiden, ob die jüdische Nation eine moralische Pflicht hat, sich zu Palästina zu wenden.

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Der 1. April 1933 kann ein Tag des jüdischen Erwachens und des jüdischen Widerstands sein. Wenn die Juden wachen, wenn die Juden wachen, wenn die Juden wachen, wenn die Juden wachen, wenn die Juden wachen.

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Theodor Herzl, „Judentum“. In kühnen Worten hat er die jüdische Nation in die Geschichte der Welt hineingeführt. In kühnen Worten hat er die jüdische Nation in die Geschichte der Welt hineingeführt. In kühnen Worten hat er die jüdische Nation in die Geschichte der Welt hineingeführt.

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Figure 4. Jüdische Rundschau, April 4, 1933. Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt.

Pride and dignity, these were the cornerstones of the Zionist response, and it was represented most forcefully in Robert Weltsch's famous article that appeared a few days after the anti-Jewish boycott of April 1, 1933, "Wear it with pride, the yellow badge."³¹ In 1933, the yellow badge of course was still meant symbolically, and even the most skeptical Zionists did not foresee that it would actually be reintroduced eight years later.

Orthodox Jews had their own way of reacting to the events of January 1933. At first, they were simply unwilling to believe

31 Jüdische Rundschau, no. 27, April 4, 1933.

32 *Der Israelit*,
February 2, 1933, 1.

33 *Der Israelit*, April 7,
1933, 5.

34 *Gemeindeblatt
der Israelitischen
Religionsgemeinde zu
Leipzig*, February 10,
1933, 5.

35 *Bayerische
israelitische
Gemeindezeitung.
Nachrichtenblatt
der Israelitischen
Kultusgemeinden in
München, Augsburg,
Bamberg und des
Verbandes Bayerischer
Israelitischer
Gemeinden*, April 1,
1933, 98.

that things would change dramatically. Immediately after Hitler's appointment, the Orthodox newspaper *Der Israelit* expressed the hope that Hitler and his supporters would not dare to strip German Jews of their constitutional rights or lock them up in ghettos; and that, even if they wanted to do so, President Hindenburg and the Catholic Center Party would certainly prevent any such act.³² When things got worse, Orthodox Jews responded in the same vein in which they had responded to every catastrophe in history. In their view, what happened was a divine punishment for not observing the religious commandments. Therefore, the right thing to do in their eyes was to appeal to the non-observant Jews and return them to the faith, and in turn God would release them from danger. In April 1933, the leaders of the Orthodox associations within German Jewry wrote to the Jewish community: "We are hit by severe affliction, but according to our prophets, these are messianic sufferings and they promise future salvation. We will accept even the most severe suffering without complaining . . . Let us remain faithful to our God, then he will not refuse us his help."³³

Some German Jews dared to respond more forcefully: In February, the Leipzig Jewish Community Bulletin still called for public protests against lies and defamation.³⁴ And as late as April 1, the president of the Bavarian Jewish community, the judge Alfred Neumeyer, published an open letter addressed to the new Nazi-installed Bavarian leader General von Epp, in which he not only complained about the treatment of Jews and emphasized that many had fought in the First World War, but also dared to say that his association will not accept the anti-Jewish measures.³⁵ That was the last we heard about any plans to resist Nazi discriminatory policies.

After the first waves of anti-Jewish violence and legal measures, Jewish reactions were of a different nature. In September, the *Reichsvertretung* (later: *Reichsvereinigung*) was created as the first nationwide organization representing the entirety of German Jews. The spiritual leader of



Figure 5. Leo Baeck, President of the Reich Association of German Jews, during a meeting of the executive committee, 1934. Photo: Abraham Pisarek. © bpk-Bildagentur / Abraham Pisarek.

German Jewry, Berlin rabbi Leo Baeck, became its president and therefore was now also the foremost political figure among Germany's Jews.

Besides the organizational restructuring, the main response to the new regime was a restrengthening of the ties with Jewish cultural heritage. The little paperbacks published by the *Schocken Library* presented German Jews with a rich selection of Jewish literature, philosophy, and religion.³⁶ According to Ernst Simon, the special arrangement of Jewish literature on the topics of suffering and consolation produced by Schocken constituted a "New Midrash" – an internal discourse among the oppressed, the full understanding of which remained closed to their hostile surroundings. This first volume of the *Schocken Library* was entitled *Consolation of Israel* and contained verses from the prophet Jeremiah, translated by Buber and Rosenzweig. In the face of their own tragedy, those lamentations on the destruction of the first Temple attained a new meaning for German Jews.

Another expression of the "New Midrash" was created on the theater stage when German Jews formed their own cultural association. As a result of the so-called "Aryanization" of German theaters and orchestras, thousands of Jewish actors and musicians became unemployed in 1933. While many of them emigrated in search of a brighter future, others were unable or unwilling to leave Germany and begin a new career

³⁶ Volker Dahm, *Das jüdische Buch im Dritten Reich*. (München, 1993), 321-365.

elsewhere. Only a few months after Hitler's appointment as Chancellor of the German Reich in July 1933, they founded the Cultural League of German Jews (*Kulturbund deutscher Juden*, after 1935 *Jüdischer Kulturbund*). The concerts, plays, and lectures of the Kulturbund were performed only by Jews and attended by an exclusively Jewish audience (besides the omnipresent Nazi agents). Thus, there arose the ironic situation that in the midst of Nazi Germany, non-Jews were not permitted to attend the performances of some of the most acclaimed actors and musicians of Germany.

So, how did German Jews react to the rise of Hitler? As we have seen, there was no unified response. The Liberal Max Liebermann, the German nationalist Hans-Joachim Schoeps, the Zionist Joachim Prinz, and Orthodox Jews showed very different reactions to the same events. Even after establishing a nationwide umbrella organization, German Jews were not a unified group with one view and one voice. There were socialist and conservative Jews, rich and poor, Orthodox and Reform, Zionists and German nationalists. Sometimes this variety of political opinions was expressed even within the same family.

As diverse as the German Jewish community was, so uniform was the fate that struck it with the appointment of Adolf Hitler as chancellor on January 30, 1933. To be sure, the signs of a catastrophe were not yet necessarily visible. Bavaria had already witnessed a wave of antisemitism, including government-planned expulsions of East European Jews in the early 1920s. In 1922, Weimar's Jewish foreign minister Walther Rathenau was assassinated. Violent antisemitic actions increased when Jews were attacked on the famous Kurfürstendamm in Berlin after leaving their synagogues during the High Holidays in 1931. An economic boycott against Jewish-led businesses was becoming palpable, and numerous German student organizations started to exclude Jews already before 1933.

In 1933, 37,000 Jews left Germany, approximately 7% of the total Jewish population. Was this a lot or was it a tiny number?

The majority believed that Hitler would disappear as so many German chancellors did before him, or that they could somehow continue to live as citizens with restricted rights. Only very few, even among the emigrants, broke with Germany as definitively as the writer Kurt Tucholsky, who wrote to his fellow writer Arnold Zweig in Palestine in December 1935: “I have nothing to do anymore with this country, whose language I speak as little as possible. May it bite the dust [*verrecken*] . . . I am done with it.”³⁷ But even Tucholsky could not continue to live so far away from his homeland. One week later he took an overdose of sleeping pills and died in his Swedish exile on December 21, 1935.

Historians have often depicted German Jews as having been blind to the danger they faced. One of many examples is Daniel Goldhagen’s bestselling *Hitler’s Willing Executioners*, in which he writes: “Antisemitism was endemic to Weimar Germany, so widespread that nearly every political group in the country shunned the Jews. Jews, though ferociously attacked, found virtually no defenders in German society. The public conversation about Jews was almost wholly negative.”³⁸

If we accept this view, we have to ask ourselves: How come that the Jews did not leave Germany earlier? Were they really so blind? I would argue that the situation was much more complex than Goldhagen or many others assume from hindsight. First of all, let us not forget that the Jews felt at home in Germany.³⁹ They often lived in places where their roots reached back further than those of their Christian neighbors. Before they were uprooted by force, Jews were emotionally tied not only to their country but also to the villages and cities in which they had grown up and lived, to the language they spoke, to the culture they were part of. In the broader time frame, the *longue durée*, many had felt a social and economic improvement of their status as compared with previous generations and regarded antisemitism merely as a temporary setback.

Seen in a more global perspective, Protestant minorities in Catholic regions or vice versa did not always fare well,

37 Quoted in Julius H. Schoeps, *Düstere Vorahnungen. Deutschlands Juden am Vorabend der Katastrophe (1933-1935)* (Berlin, 2018), 185.

38 Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners. Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, 1996), 83.

39 Peter Gay, “In Deutschland zu Hause... Die Juden der Weimarer Zeit,” in Arnold Paucker, ed., *The Jews in Nazi Germany* (Tübingen, 1986), 31-43.

40 Michael André Bernstein, *Foregone Conclusions: Against Apocalyptic History* (Berkeley, 1994).

socialists and nationalists fought each other on the streets, and the economic crisis created millions and millions of unemployed; antisemitism, thus, was for many just one of many signs of a larger crisis. When Hitler was appointed Chancellor of the German Reich by the old President and World War I hero Field Marshal Hindenburg, many Jews believed the old marshal would stand by them. They believed in the constitutional promises of equality, they proudly displayed the medals they had earned defending their country in the First World War. They trusted a humanistic tradition of a people that liked to call itself the country of poets and thinkers.

The Berkeley literary scholar Michael André Bernstein once critically referred to what he termed “foregone conclusions.”⁴⁰ Historians, well aware of the fate that befell European Jews in the early 1940s, must not fall into the trap of “historical backshadowing,” he wrote. While the Shoah cannot be explained without understanding the events of the preceding two decades, it was not the only possible destination for Germany and European Jewry. Other roads were still open during this period. Contemporaries imagined the worsening of their economic crisis, the revocation of Emancipation and even their relegation to the status of second-class citizens, but not their total extermination. We should always keep this in mind before rushing to any judgments about German Jews in their moment of crisis.

Let us return to the letter that the painter Max Liebermann wrote in 1933: “As difficult as it has been for me, I have awakened from the dream that I dreamed my whole life long.” Was the life of German Jews before 1933 really only a dream? And when do we know that the dream is turning into a nightmare? When do we wake up? Should German Jews have woken up on January 30, when Hitler was appointed chancellor? Or on April 1, when Jewish businesses were boycotted, or on April 7, when Jewish civil servants were dismissed? Or on April 22, when Jewish doctors lost their licenses from health insurance companies? Or perhaps on May 10, when books of Jewish and

anti-Nazi authors were publicly burned? Or with the Nuremberg Laws in 1935? Or with the November pogrom in 1938?

In many ways, it seems that Jews felt just as at home, as safe, and as integrated in Germany in the early decades of the twentieth century as they feel in the United States a hundred years later. To be sure, political radicalism, a rather weak democratic structure, and deep antisemitic traditions created different conditions for the Jews in Berlin or Frankfurt of the 1920s than in New York or Chicago today. But, without equating the events of a century ago with today's, we cannot avoid asking the provocative question in our own time and in this very place, here in America. Will there be a moment when we might have to wake up from the American-Jewish dream? And when do we know that that moment has come? When a wild mob cries "Jews will not replace us" and a U.S. President calls them good guys? When eleven people are killed in a synagogue shooting? When there is an attempted insurrection in the country's parliament and some of the rioters are wearing a "Camp Auschwitz" shirt? When Jewish students on campuses are threatened?

We do not know yet if January 6, 2021 was just a prelude to a much more systematic and ultimately successful attack on democracy in this country or if it will remain a lone episode. We do not know if the attacks against synagogues in Pittsburgh, Poway, Jersey City, and Colleyville were the beginning of a long series of tragedies. We do not know if Jewish college students will be harassed, and the Holocaust questioned ten or twenty years from now. We do not even know if the victims of a possible new wave of discrimination and harassment will be Jews or another minority group.

But what we know is that just like in Germany in the 1930s, the fate of the Jews is very much bound to the vitality of U.S. democracy and to the fair treatment of any minority. We know that when Jews become victims, usually other vulnerable groups will suffer, too, and vice versa. And we certainly know

that while historians may tell us possible scenarios from the past, it is *all of us* living today who are able to determine what our country will look like tomorrow. We know how democracies died in darkness a century ago, and if we fail today, we may witness how democracies die in bright daylight today.

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Germans and Their Music in the Time of War, 1914-1918

13th Gerald D. Feldman Memorial Lecture, German Historical Institute
Washington, April 29, 2022

Celia Applegate

Vanderbilt University

This lecture and its published version in the form of this article are adapted from a small part of a book I am writing, called *Music and the Germans: A History*. The book fits together the pieces of German life that over four centuries produced not only musicians of genius, Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms, et cetera, but also countless numbers of professional and amateur musicians, musical organizations, ensembles, conservatories, buildings, statues, and not least, from the seventeenth century on, more music journals and other forms of writing about music than any other place in the world. This article will examine what happened to this vibrant musical life, an integral part of European musical culture, in the war that broke out in August of 1914.

Two months after its outbreak, on October 4, 1914, ninety-three German scholars, writers, and artists signed a manifesto “To the Cultural World!” Their purpose was to refute “lies and

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1 “Manifesto of the Ninety-Three German Intellectuals,” https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Manifesto_of_the_Ninety-Three_German_Intellectuals (accessed December 11, 2021). The full text in German and English is available at https://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=938. The manifesto was published in France in *Le Temps* and in London in *The Times*: Glenn Watkins, *Proof Through the Night: Music and the Great War* (Berkeley, 2003), 25.

2 They seemed to have believed the censored press accounts about Belgian franc-tireurs firing on German soldiers. Kaiser Wilhelm II went so far as to send a telegraph to President Woodrow Wilson, claiming that his soldiers were only defending themselves in the face of Belgian resistance. See John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven and London, 2001).

calumnies.” They described themselves as “heralds of truth.” The manifesto consisted of a series of refutations and accusations: Germany had not caused the war or wanted it; not trespassed in neutral Belgium; not taken “the life and property of a single Belgian citizen” without “the bitterest defense having made it necessary,” not “treated Louvain brutally”; and so on. It asked the world to “Have faith in us! Believe, that we shall carry on this war to the end as a civilized nation, to whom the legacy of a Goethe, a Beethoven, and a Kant, is just as sacred as its own hearths and homes.”¹

Mobilization had begun in early August of 1914. In the first weeks of conflict, the ruthlessness of the German troops in Belgium had become notorious in Great Britain, France, and to some extent around the world—there were reports of summary executions of civilians, deportation, forced labor, and the destruction of villages and towns. Far from protecting culture and science, the German army burned down the University of Louvain with its library dating from 1636, destroying the work of centuries. Most of this was hidden from the German public and, even when encountered in foreign news, was interpreted as anti-German propaganda. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand how the ninety-three German intellectuals who signed the manifesto could have thought the behavior of their army acceptable.² Its signatories included Nobel Prize winners and distinguished scholars and artists in all the scholarly disciplines and arts, including three musicians — Engelbert Humperdinck, the composer of operas, Siegfried Wagner, the artistic director of the Bayreuth Festival (and Richard Wagner’s son), and Felix Weingartner, an Austrian conductor, composer, and writer, who had become Mahler’s successor at the Vienna Opera and Philharmonic. The manifesto demonstrated that musicians, like other Germans, did not stay aloof from the events. It set a precedent for much that would happen in musical life for the next thirty or so years.

Throughout the war, musicians in prominent positions — conductors, composers, performers — made themselves available

for propaganda purposes, producing statements that could be published and sold in small form. They would allow a quotation, a scrap of music, or a signature to be reproduced on postcards, all part of the trade in musician ephemera (busts, photographs, quotation books) that had proliferated in the nineteenth century. Arthur Nikisch, the most admired conductor in his time, copied out the first four notes of Beethoven's 5th symphony, along with his signature and Beethoven's description, apocryphal or not—"This is fate knocking at the door."³ Wilhelm Kienzl, an Austrian conductor and composer, published a martial song called "Das Lied vom Weltkrieg" with the rousing words "Hark from afar the horn of Roland, rousing Germans to fight," and so it went. People bought such ephemera to support the war effort. Even Arnold Schoenberg, not by any means a Hooray patriot, compared Germany's assault on France in August 1914 to *his own* assault on decadent bourgeois artistic values, especially those of Debussy, Ravel, and Stravinsky: "Now comes the reckoning . . . Now we will throw these mediocre kitschmongers into slavery and teach them to venerate the German spirit and to worship the German God." Later he called it an "act of war psychosis."⁴

As we know, the First World War took a ferocious toll on all the combatant nations; including civilians, the total number of casualties was more than 40 million.⁵ Considering this toll, to focus on musical life in the combatant nations, in particular Germany and Austria, seems almost indecent. Yet music and musicians too were part of the experience of war. At the most basic level, the European musical world that had flourished for centuries collapsed. Musicians ceased to tour across national borders or left their employment in places now enemy territory; joint musical enterprises ceased to operate. The German music publisher Breitkopf & Härtel suspended its publication of the *Journal of the International Music Society*, explaining that "'world culture' had to give way to 'world war,'" then adding misleadingly that this development had been "against the long-held desire for peace among the German people."⁶ The

³ "So pocht das Schicksal an unsere Pforte!"

⁴ Quoted in Alex Ross, *The Rest is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century* (New York, 2007), 60.

⁵ "World War I Casualties," *Reperes: Partenariat Éducatif Grundtvig 2009-2011*: <https://www.census.gov/history/pdf/reperes112018.pdf> (accessed December 16, 2021).

6 "An die Deutschen Mitglieder der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft," *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 15 (1914), Addendum.

7 Annette Becker, "Arts," *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, ed. Jay Winter (Cambridge, 2014), 504.

International Music Society itself collapsed: a symbol of the failure of nineteenth-century internationalism.

In contrast, the musical life of the warring nations did *not* cease: it carried on, expressing every emotion the war produced: "Hatred, hardship, patriotism, pain, mourning — all were present in a certain aesthetic disorder," writes Annette Becker.⁷ There was music in the towns and cities, music on the front lines and rear lines of war. Many of the soldiers who fought in the war on both sides had learned music in school or participated in singing clubs. Some were professional musicians, usually just beginning their careers when they were called up for military service. Professional musicians were killed and wounded in the war, including several with growing reputations. Rudi Stephan, born in 1887, was regarded as one of the most promising composers of his generation at the time the war broke out. He was killed by a Russian sniper on the eastern front in September of 1915. The more famous case is of Paul Wittgenstein, training for a career as a pianist when he was called up. He took a bullet to his right elbow on the eastern front, was captured, and sent to a Siberian prisoner-of-war camp, where his arm was amputated. After the war he commissioned left-hand compositions from the composers of the time, many of whom were German and Austrian, but also Prokofiev, Ravel, and Benjamin Britten. The Austrian violinist Fritz Kreisler, then thirty-nine, was called up to the Austrian army at the beginning of the war, served about a month in the trenches on the eastern front, suffered serious leg and head wounds from a mounted Cossack attack on his line regiment, and was invalided out of the army. Arnold Schoenberg (also Austrian) was called up twice: in 1915 at age 42, then discharged on grounds of poor health. In September 1917, he was called up again for a month, with only light duties, and soon released from service for a second time. Back in civilian life, he liked to tell friends about the officer in charge of his unit who asked him if he was "this notorious Schoenberg." To

which he replied: “Beg to report, sir, yes. Nobody wanted to be, someone had to be, so I let it be me.”⁸

These were exceptional cases because they were all known in the musical world; most musician-soldiers were not. Still, books devoted to the First World War mostly seem to agree about the irrelevance of music in wartime and rarely even mention the presence of military bands or music of any kind on the front. Musicologists end their books in July 1914 or begin them in 1918.⁹ The war can sometimes seem a zone without music, with musicians behind the lines composing works to be premiered and published later. But much that had been part of the fabric of private and public, amateur and professional musical life all over Europe—choral societies, brass bands, music halls, orchestras, music lessons, and so on—did not disappear from Europe when the war began. The only “musical instruments” that suffered were the church bells which, as the war dragged on, were hauled off for their metals, melted down, and became cannons. A minister in the small town of Kusel in the Palatinate told his congregation in July 1917, after the bells had been taken away, that “They will speak a different language in the future. It goes against all our feelings that *they*, who like no other preach peace and should heal wounded hearts, should tear apart bodies in gruesome murders and open wounds that will never heal.”¹⁰

War presented new sounds, new ways of listening to silence and to noises, and new appreciation for music beyond strictly military needs. Europe prepared for war and went to war singing national anthems and martial songs, lodged in the collective memory of wars that had come before. “War time has become song time,” wrote Ernst Moraht, the editor of a wartime collection of patriotic songs, one of many produced in the war.¹¹ Roger Chickering, in his magnum opus on the First World War in Freiburg, a city close to the French border, writes that the month of July was filled with expectation of something momentous. There were crowds and vigorous singing

8 Arnold Schoenberg, *Style and Idea: Selected Writings*, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black (London, 1975), 104.

9 There are, of course, exceptions. See Rachel Moore, *Performing Propaganda: Musical Life and Culture in Paris During the First World War* (Woodbridge, 2018), 1. Glenn Watkins’s *Proof through the Night* covers the Allied nations well but focuses mostly on concert repertoire, classical music, and its composers. A better model for cultural historians is Regina Sweeney’s *Singing Our Way to Victory: French Cultural Politics and Music during the Great War* (Middletown, CT, 2001).

10 “Vaterländischer Abend,” *Kuseler Zeitung*, https://www.rheinpfalz.de/startseite_artikel-vaterl%C3%A4ndische-abende-und-appelle-weniger-zu-essen-_arid,284821.html, (accessed January 6, 2021).

11 Moraht quoted by Zoë Lang, “Creating a War Repertoire: *Musik für Alle* and Domestic Music during the First World War,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 33 (2014): 208.

12 Roger Chickering, *The Great War and Urban Life in Germany: Freiburg, 1914-1918* (Cambridge, 2007), 62.

13 Ethel Cooper, *Behind the Lines: One Woman's War, 1914-18*, ed. Decie Denholm (London, 1982), 22.

14 Michael Fischer, *Religion, Nation, Krieg: Der Lutherchoral 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott' zwischen Befreiungskriegen und Erstem Weltkrieg* (Münster, 2014), 85-178.

15 Karen Painter, "Singing at Langemarck in the German Political Imaginary, 1914-1932," *Central European History* 53 (2020): 763-784. See also Lukas Grawe, "Langemarck Myth, 1914-1918-online. *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, ed. Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson (Berlin, 2019). DOI: 10.15463/ie1418.11333 (accessed January 2, 2022).

in the city square; "singing students roamed the streets" in anticipation of what was to come.¹² In Leipzig, Ethel Cooper, an Australian piano student at the Conservatory, described sitting at a café on July 31, "thinking we would hear some music," but "all we did was to have to stand up five times for the *Wacht am Rhein*."¹³ The Germans gathering in front of the Royal Palace in Berlin to hear Kaiser Wilhelm declare war sang Luther's Reformation anthem *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*. Soldiers sang the same hymn while boarding trains to the front, or (sometimes) preparing to go over the top of the trenches, or engaging in singing wars across no-man's-land.¹⁴ At the news of the German victory at Tannenberg in August 1914, Berliners gathered on Potsdamer Platz to sing hymns. After the fighting began, the newspapers began to write stories, maybe confected, of soldiers singing when they attacked the enemy, drawing parallels to the wars of the Reformation. The most spurious account of soldierly courage expressed by singing was peddled by the Supreme Army Command itself, in an infamous official communiqué on November 11, 1914. To disguise the disastrous results of a German attack on British forces in Belgium, the high command announced that "Westwards Langemarck young regiments rushed forward under the song 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,' advancing against the first line of the enemy and taking it." The report was reprinted verbatim by the German press and became an uncontested piece of evidence for German claims of "cultural superiority" throughout the war.¹⁵

Music, as it always had done, accompanied and heightened the experiences of life, in peacetime and in war. It expressed patriotism, righteousness, exultation, mourning, and hatred, and reminded people of a time before the war and the hope for it all to be over. In all theaters of war — Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Russia, the Balkans, Africa, the Far East — the most conspicuous musicians were the ones playing in military bands. Every country in Europe had an abundance of these soldier-musicians and had done so for centuries.

Prussia modernized its bands in the nineteenth century and added to the repertoire transcriptions of classical music. By 1900, it had a military musical establishment of about 560 bands, which employed 17,000 or so musicians. Accompanied by these bands, middle-class crowds assembled in city centers throughout July to cheer and bellow nationalist songs in anticipation of the war to come. Soldiers boarded trains at railroad stations, with people cheering and the bands playing.

The extent of the enthusiasm for war, the so-called “spirit of 1914,” can easily be overstated.¹⁶ Most did not participate in the aggressive festivities of going to war or thrill to the parades of students and soldiers. Nevertheless, the “sentimental militarism” of military bands had been widespread before the war (and I might add in many countries, from the U.S. to Japan). Military bands sweetened the departure of troops, ginned up the crowds, and made for good press. Many musicians who were civilians before the war, when drafted, were able to keep their profession simply by putting on the uniform of an army musician.¹⁷ The most obvious difference was that a military band in peacetime, whether marching in a parade or playing in a bandstand, was surrounded by peaceful activities and almost certainly the loudest sound in the vicinity. In wartime, it was not, especially in headquarters near the front. Musicians in soldier uniforms were more like war profiteers than regular soldiers, as Rempe has pointed out.¹⁸

Military bands and orchestras typically stayed in towns and camps behind the lines. They provided entertainment for the troops in their regular rotation back and forth from the front. There was, for instance, a 35-man music corps stationed in Bruges in September 1914. Their duties included ceremonies, concerts for soldiers, music between acts in plays at the theaters, and visits to the wounded in hospitals. It could seem almost as if ordinary musical life still existed. There were also up-and-coming conductors (Wilhelm Furtwängler, among them) and well-known soloists who were recruited to perform

16 See Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany* (Cambridge, 2000).

17 Martin Rempe, *Kunst, Spiel, Arbeit: Musikleben in Deutschland, 1850-1960* (Göttingen, 2020), 151.

18 Rempe, 151.



Figure 1. Regimental Band and soldiers in France behind the lines, 1916. Photo: Oscar Tellgman. © Bundesarchiv Bild 136-0744.

19 *Ibid.*, 151-3.

at concerts a considerable distance behind the lines. The concerts were for soldiers rotating from the front for a few days of repose, and they could be quite ambitious, and always ended with a Beethoven symphony, usually the 5th.

The military bands stationed closer to the front had a less comfortable job, experiencing some of the same deprivations (food, sleep) as the regular soldiers, and often served as stretcher carriers.¹⁹ Still subject to military discipline, some men had a hard time adjusting, but the reality they experienced was far easier than that of soldiers in the front-line trenches: when the shelling was most intense and no performances were possible, the musicians simply resumed practicing—or composing. This was roughly the case of Paul Hindemith, twenty-two years old and already the concertmaster of the Frankfurt Opera Orchestra. He was conscripted into the army in 1918 and sent to the front lines in Alsace, where he joined a military band that was stationed less than a mile behind the lines. They played dance and march tunes for soldiers rotated back from the trenches for a few days of relief from fighting. After he arrived, the commanding officer, a music-loving count named von Kielmannsegg, whose favorite composer was the Frenchman Claude Debussy, founded



a string quartet of soldier-musicians with Hindemith their leader.

Transferred to Flanders, Hindemith saw fighting for the first time and wrote in his journal, “A horrible sight. Blood, bodies full of holes, brain, a torn-off horse’s head, splintered bones. Dreadful! How mean and indifferent one becomes. . . . One sits in quarters, writing, chatting, . . . not thinking about how soon the bell could also toll for us.”²⁰

For the soldiers on the front lines who were not professional musicians, music took on a different aspect, not work but a small measure of pleasure, a relief from boredom. Much has been written about shell shock in the First World War battlefields. The most recent estimation of how many soldiers suffered from it on the western front is about 5 percent, leaving 95 percent of soldiers coping with the strain of static warfare and finding ways to gain control over their emotions.²¹ Singing was one such relief from unbearable tension. Two years into the conflict, the Austrian War Ministry ordered the Imperial Academy of Sciences to record soldiers’ songs of all

Figure 2. Music in the square in Menneville, France, n.d. Photo: Oscar Tellgmann. © Bundesarchiv Bild 136-1057.

²⁰ Fondation Hindemith, “Life and Work”: <https://www.hindemith.info/en/life-work/biography/1914-1918/>. (accessed February 26, 2022).

²¹ See most recently, Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918* (Cambridge, 2008).

Figure 3. Paul Hindemith's soldiers' quartet, encouraged by the music-loving regiment commander Count von Kielmannsegg. Hindemith composed his 2nd String Quartet Op. 10 while on the Alsace Front. They played some of Hindemith's early compositions, including his 1st string quartet, composed in 1915. © Fondation Hindemith.



22 Leon Hajek, *Das Phonogrammarchiv der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien von seiner Gründung bis zur Neueinrichtung im Jahre 1927* (Vienna, 1927), 14. See also Christian Glanz, "Die 'Musikhistorische Zentral' im k. u. k. Kriegsministerium im Ersten Weltkrieg," 84-97; Andrea Stangl and Derek Weber, "The Sounds of War – Music and the Music Business during the War Years," in *The World of the Habsburgs: The First World War*, <https://ww1.habsburger.net/en/stories/sounds-war-music-and-music-business-during-war-years> (accessed January 15, 2021). The German Phonographic Commission, established in 1915, also made recordings of the languages of the many prisoners-of-war and people from enemy countries who could not leave before the war broke out.

the languages in the Dual Monarchy, as well as the songs of Russian, Serbian, and other enemy combatants in prisoner-of-war camps. These recordings were added to the Austrian Phonogram Archive, established in 1899.²² Germany established a Phonographic Commission in 1915 to record spoken word and music of prisoners in internment camps, producing thousands of gramophonic studies in about 250 languages and dialects. One example is a recording of Korean prisoners singing protest songs against the Japanese Protectorate in their country.

Back in the active theaters of war, obtaining, finding, making, and playing musical instruments was one way to stay sane. Soldiers on both sides of the conflict would sometimes find a piano in a house deserted by its previous occupants and use it while the company was in the vicinity. In the long stretches of boredom and anxiety between attacks, soldiers made things, including improvised musical instruments. These were often crude string instruments, made from wooden or metal boxes that had once held munitions, gas masks or medicine in them. Their cheapness and inferior sound made them even more valuable to the soldiers; they were sometimes covered with inscriptions, signatures, or carved designs that had nothing to do with the sound they made.²³

23 Johanna de Schmidt, "All Quiet on the Western Front? The Creation and

Perception of Self-Made Instruments in the Trenches of the First World

War," *Journal of Musicological Research*, 33 (2014): 157-60.



The most important friend to the soldier on the front was the harmonica, and in the modern era, it was primarily an instrument manufactured in central Europe, especially Germany and Austria.²⁴ Small manufacturers had begun producing them in the early nineteenth century. By the 1860s, a German entrepreneur named Matthias Hohner had developed a way to produce thousands of them. By 1887, the Hohner factories were producing more than a million of them and exporting them all over the world. The Hohner concern was not the only one producing one of the most portable, inexpensive, and easy-to-learn musical instrument in the world—thousands of manufactories popped up in Germany in the last decades of the nineteenth century. No surprise, then, that soldiers took their harmonicas to war in their kits, and no surprise that the harmonica manufacturers of Germany and Austria began to market them aggressively—and patriotically—after the war broke out. Along with standard harmonicas, the Hohner manufactory made ones shaped like ammunition cartridges, warships, and submarines. They (and other manufacturers) churned out models with patriotic sayings engraved on them: Hurra, “Deutsche vor die Front!”, “Gott mit uns!”, and Bismarck’s much-quoted rallying cry, “Wir Deutsche fürchten

Figure 4. German soldiers in France, relaxing in a break from fighting, 1917. Unknown photographer. © Bundesarchiv Bild 183-R22784.

²⁴ Even the British had German harmonicas, and the Hohner company kept selling them abroad even as the war raged on.



Figure 5. Hohner harmonica for German soldiers, 1914.

25 See Hartmut Berghoff, "Patriotismus und Geschäftssinn im Krieg: Eine Fallstudie aus der Musikinstrumentenindustrie," in *Kriegserfahrungen: Studien zur Sozial- und Mentalitätsgeschichte des Ersten Weltkriegs*, ed. Gerhard Hirschfeld, Gerd Krumeich, Dieter Langewiesche, and Hans-Peter Ullmann (Essen, 1997), 262-82.

Gott und sonst nichts auf der Welt!" German companies marketed them successfully to *all* the combatant nations as presents that families could send to their loved ones at the front, with more mottos proliferating throughout the war: *not just* "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles," but also (for the English-speaking markets) "The Good Comrade," "Through Battle to Victory," geographical names of war zones where soldiers were stationed, and so on.

Patriotic sayings would have had some attraction to the soldiers, but only the music-making made time go by in wartime. The soldiers needed the harmonicas to alleviate boredom and carry with them a memory of home. Hartmut Berghoff found many letters from soldiers in the Hohner archives thanking the manufacturer for their small treasures. One wrote that "Many a warrior's heart has already forgotten all the misery that reigns here thanks to this instrument," and another, "We make an unholy racket every evening and forget our otherwise unenviable situation."²⁵ When the opposing trenches were near each other, as they were in parts of the western front as well as the eastern front, the soldiers could hear each other's conversations, as well their music-making. Especially in the first years of the war, this led to more-or-less spontaneous fraternization—singing together or singing in competition with each other across the divide, meeting in the middle to collect the wounded and dead and exchanging greetings. Soldiers played harmonicas on both sides of the war, in competition or in something like harmony.

The most famous of these unauthorized encounters was the Christmas Truce of 1914, in which some 100,000 British and German troops ceased hostilities in their sectors. It started in

the late hours of December 24, with flickering lights and singing from the German trenches—“Stille Nacht, Heilige Nacht,” one of the many Christmas songs shared by the opposing forces. The English troops saw the lights, heard the singing, and joined in, and went on from there; in daylight the opposing forces came out from the trenches and fraternized and played soccer. Episodes like this went on sporadically in the first years of the war, never official, often prompted by hearing music, and always condemned by the upper ranks. By 1916, they had died out altogether.²⁶

26 Joe Perry, *Christmas in Germany: A Cultural History* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010), 93.

27 Lang, “Creating a War Repertoire,” 210-13.

I leave the war front now to consider the home front, where orchestras and bands played on in German and Austrian cities and where households bought patriotic songbooks and marches for piano, two-handed and four-handed (the latter the better, because louder). A veritable army of music businesses supplied them, churning out sheet music and anthologies for commercial venues as well as homes. One prolific compiler was Ernst Moraht, the man who said, “War time has become song time” and whose *Unser Liederbuch* was a best seller. *Musik für Alle* (next to it) was a popular monthly subscription series of sheet music for domestic music-making; it had been founded in 1906 by a minor composer, Bogumil Zepler. He produced four thick volumes during the war, filled with songs about past wars, military marches, national anthems, and new songs (many by Zepler himself), all trying to capture the spirit of the war of 1914.²⁷ Austrian music publishers did the same.

Postcards too were created in the hundreds of thousands, with lyrics or evocations of songs, both heroic and sentimental (“Wacht am Rhein,” “Vor Paris mit Sang und Klang,” “Lieb Vaterland magst ruhig sein”). Phonograph companies recorded this outpouring of patriotic music and developed a compact phonograph that could be operated (with a crank) even in the trenches. The manufacturers of mechanical pianos and organs produced an abundance of rolls, from the “Archduke Albrecht March” to “Wien, du Stadt meiner Träume.”

28 "Vaterländischer Abend," *Kuseler Zeitung*, https://www.rheinpfalz.de/startseite_artikel,-vaterl%C3%A4ndische-abende-und-appelle-weniger-zu-essen-_arid,284821.html, (accessed January 6, 2021).

29 Chickering, *The Great War*, 382.

The Hupfeld and Welte manufacturers of mechanical theater organs successfully lobbied the naval offices of Germany and Austria to buy their large and expensive mechanical instruments for entertainment on warships, equipped with the latest rolls of patriotic songs and vaudeville favorites. After the United States entered the war in 1917, the German mechanical piano industry began to produce rolls for its instruments with American dance hits, marketed for Germans. The most popular of which—*for Germans*—was George Cohan's "Over There" with its cheerful refrain, "Johnny get your gun."

Performed music on the home fronts of the war sounded much like the prewar years, but a bit more overtly nationalistic. After a short period of soul-searching about whether they should play music at all while soldiers were risking their lives for the homeland, cities resumed their fall concert schedules. There were fewer of them, initially only half as many as before the war. Impresarios and conductors salved their consciences by calling the concerts in wartime "patriotic concerts," in other words, a contribution to the war effort, bringing people together, and forging emotional bonds which would strengthen the nation. A typical small-town "patriotic concert" took place in March 1915 in the town of Kusel in the province of Rheinland Pfalz. It featured music provided by soloists and a chorus, poetry reading, and a lecture about the war. The local newspaper claimed the event had "summoned up the most intense patriotic feelings" and was a "powerful expression of national sentiments."²⁸ There were a few premieres of works by German and Austrian composers during the war, but most ensembles continued with their tried-and-true Austro-German repertoire, filled with Haydn, Mozart, Schubert, Brahms, Wagner, and of course Beethoven, as often as possible: "serious" programs for a "serious audience," as one music reporter characterized it. The pianist Wilhelm Backhaus, the once-child prodigy, now thirty-two years old and in military uniform, performed in Freiburg to a full house, playing classical favorites from Schubert to Brahms.²⁹ Audiences wanted

familiar programs, reminders of happier times. Scandinavian composers were heard also, as well as Tchaikovsky, according to one critic because of his “light blond hair and his wonderful blue eyes.”³⁰ Among professional musicians there was some resistance to excluding all composers other than those of the Central Powers, as demanded from some of the public. In practice, the Austrian government was satisfied if the number of Italian and French operas were kept to a minimum. Already by 1915, the works of Russian, French, and Italian composers had returned to the Musikverein as well as the Vienna State Opera.³¹

August Spanuth, the editor of a leading music journal (*Signale für die Musikalische Welt*) and a well-traveled pianist who had lived in the United States for decades, also pushed back against the politicization of music, though in a back-handed way. He blamed it on the Italians. We Germans need “no protective ordinances to flourish.” We will not politicize it, “our most cherished and greatest art”: “Our main duty remains in war and peace, to distinguish between good and bad music, whether it was produced in Rome or in Berlin.”³² These were fine lines to walk, and as the war dragged on, food became scarcer, casualty lists longer, good news from the warfronts less convincing, and morale lower, they seemed hardly to matter. There were more wounded soldiers in their grey uniforms in the concert hall, civilians wearing sober clothes, women with less jewelry, and the concert hall became another mirror of a society exhausted and in mourning.

But how did the composers respond to the war, the people who were most responsible for the stature of Austro-German music in the world, then and now? Some continued to produce works during the war years even though it really was not a good time for premieres of new compositions. I will briefly discuss five of them. The oldest of these was Max Bruch, and like most musicians, he did not sign the manifesto “to the cultural world,” although he was not a pacifist and rejoiced in German victories. Seventy-six years old in 1914 and a prolific composer of oratorios, chamber music, and concertos, Bruch

30 These quotations can be found in Ziemer, “Listening on the Home Front,” 209-211.

31 Watkins, *Proof through the Night*, 214.

32 “Kunst und Politik,” *Signale für die Musikalische Welt*, Nr. 9 (March 3, 1915): 129-30. He also added that any person who agitates against music of other countries was a “weakling” and “does not belong in the mighty, free, and Olympian Germany.” See also Eckart John, “Die Politisierung der Musik als Phänomen des 20. Jahrhunderts,” in *Von Grenzen und Ländern, Zentren und Rändern: Die Erste Weltkrieg und die Verschiebungen in der musikalischen Geographie Europas*, ed. Christa Brüstle, Guido Heldt, and Eckhard Weber (Schliengen im Markgräflerland, 2006), 56-8.

33 Steven Beller, "The tragic carnival: Austrian culture in the First World War," in *European Culture in the Great War: the arts, entertainment, and propaganda*, eds. Aviel Roshwald and Richard Stites (Cambridge, 1999), 136-7.

34 Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma* (Cambridge, 1999), 189. It premiered only in 1919, at the Vienna State Opera.

35 As James Garratt has written, the English and the French were composing organ music during the war for similar reasons. James Garratt, "Ein Gute Wehr und Waffen': Apocalyptic and Redemptive Narratives in Organ Music from the Great War," in *Music and War in Europe: from French Revolution to WWI*, ed. Étienne Jardin (Turnhout, 2016), 379-411.

36 Kathryn Bailey Puffett, "Anton Webern," *Grove Music Online*: <https://doi-org.proxy.library.vanderbilt.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29993>, (accessed January 5, 2022).

had had a career like Felix Mendelssohn before him. It had taken him to Great Britain many times, where he was lionized. When hostilities commenced in 1914, he renounced his Cambridge honorary degree. Without his international royalties to support himself and his family, he began to compose again, almost against his will and all with war themes.³³ He composed more oratorios, one called a "celebration of heroes" [*Heldenfeier*], another, a paean to the motherland [*Die Stimme der Mutter Erde*], and in 1919, a requiem in the form of an oratorio [*Trauerfeier für Mignon*], a Goethean lament for all the loss and suffering of the war years. There were also anthologies of songs for home music-making, many on the theme of mourning — "In Heaven," "On the Grave of a German Rifleman."

Richard Strauss also refused to sign the manifesto and was not a pacifist either. After hostilities had begun, sarcastic as ever, he offered to give back his Oxford University honorary doctorate in exchange for the British sinking one of their own Dreadnoughts, but he opposed artists becoming involved in war and politics. They should be getting on with their work, he thought, which was what he did, finishing his opera *Die Frau ohne Schatten* during the war.³⁴ And there was nothing like organ music to drive home the point that God was on the side of your nation. Max Reger composed a resounding organ piece called *Eine Vaterländische Ouvertüre* in 1914.³⁵

To consider the younger generation, Anton Webern, devoted to Schoenberg and distressed by his experiences in the Austrian army, spent the war in and out of active service, sometimes wishing to be in the army to share his idol's experience, then getting out of it by pleading his essential role in cultural life.³⁶ Alban Berg, another Schoenberg student, had already decided before the war broke out to compose an opera based on the nineteenth-century playwright Georg Büchner's unfinished *Woyzeck*, about a soldier who kills his common-law wife. Berg had seen a performance of it in May 1914 just before the war broke out, and a year later he was called up to

the Austrian army. He ultimately ended up with a desk job in the War Ministry because of his asthma and finished the opera after the war. His experiences in the army contributed to *Wozzeck's* brutal realism. He confessed to his wife that "there is a bit of me in this character, since I have been spending these war years just as dependent on people I hate, have been in chains, sick, captive, resigned, in fact humiliated."³⁷

Meanwhile, the cabarets, musical halls, theaters, and cinemas provided cheap entertainment and welcome distraction from anxiety, grief, and increasingly, hunger. Musicians and other performers (actors, dancers, comedians) were also busy performing for the war effort behind the front, usually in military hospitals and often without pay. In Berlin, a city of four million people in 1914, commercial entertainment venues came up with a multitude of semi-comical, semi-patriotic songs and operettas. In the first months of the war, all assumed that the Germans were innocent in the outbreak of war, the war would be quick, and Germany would win. Theaters initially tried to stage works glorifying the military, such as *Deutschland über alles!*, which had only sixteen performances, and *Die Waffen her!* [Get the Guns!], more successful than the other, with about 50 performances before closing.³⁸ But when the war did not end quickly, it became clear that the public wanted entertainment that did not remind them of it, even so early in its four-year run.³⁹

Possenbühnen, roughly translated as "antic theater," began producing rafts of comic musical plays and operettas, some with military themes, such as *The Kaiser has Called* and *Bring the Weapons Here!*, and *Always Hit Hard!*, a "patriotic people's play." The latter had a score by Walter Kollo, a prolific composer of operettas, musical comedies, farces, and hit songs which he continued to produce throughout the war.⁴⁰ The popular entertainment business in other cities was just as busy. In Vienna's Johann-Strauss Theater, *The Gypsy Princess* [*Csárdásfürstin*], an operetta by Emmerich Kálmán, was performed 500 times in wartime, a musical bacchanalia of

³⁷ Quoted in Watkins, 235.

³⁸ Martin Baumeister, *Kriegstheater: Grossstadt, Front und Massenkultur, 1914-1918* (Essen, 2005), 129.

³⁹ Peter Jelavich, "German Culture in the Great War," in *European Culture in the Great War*, 33-6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 67-76.

41 R. E. Sackett, "Satires of War: Two Plays by Munich's Karl Valentin, 1916-1917," *The Germanic Review*, Vol. 69, no. 4 (Fall 1994): 6.

42 Sackett, "Satires of War," 10. For the wartime Munich stage, see also Sackett, *Popular Entertainment, Class, and Politics in Munich, 1900-1923* (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 70-96.

waltzes and fiery gypsy dances. Munich's *volkstümlich* offerings appealed to middle- and lower-middle class audiences and were performed in music halls and taverns catering to people nostalgic for imagined or abandoned rural communities. There were comic sketches and practical jokes, with Jews often the butt of them. There was an endless provision of con-fected nostalgia for "old Munich" and "old Bavaria," invented traditions at their most obvious. They were presented in large venues, mostly in modern German with Bavarian dialect thrown in for a calculated authenticity and performed during the war along with more obviously patriotic offerings such as *Deutschland, Deutschland, über alles* (the Munich version) and *Hoch Zeppelin* (Long live the Zeppelin).

As the war dragged on and food shortages became dire, over-the-top nostalgia became a way to express a disguised disenchantment. Placed in a distant past populated by foolish aristocratic officers and ill-trained soldiers, the incompetence of all was intensified by parodic military songs and marches. The comic duo of Karl Valentin and Liesl Karlstadt were the stars of the Munich entertainment firmament, also performing more than a hundred times at military hospitals, as did many other entertainers.⁴¹ Karl Valentin was throughout the war a master of evading censorship through misdirection and comedy. In 1917, three years into the war, he staged a short play called *Der Herzog kommt* (The Duke is Coming), a savagely comic, barely disguised depiction of the war itself. The everyman soldier named Stuckmeister, a master of nothing, played by Valentin, and his sidekick Karlstadt as a drummer boy suffer under an incompetent officer who plays skittles all day. Stuckmeister comments that "Yes, in a little while I'll have been with the militia for three years, but time passes quickly. . . . It seems to me that I've been in it for twenty." Any audience who had experienced the three years of war, with no end in sight, would have known what he meant.⁴²

What are we to make of all this musical activity? At the most basic level, the muses did not fall silent. War seemed to stim-

ulate creativity in some people, and music, *especially* music, provided comfort, distraction, and something I'll call "cultural reassurance." This had a dark and a light side. On the dark side, music occasioned plenty of expressions of prideful superiority, bombastic brass bands, loud singing — German musical traits that had developed over the course of the long nineteenth century. Following historian Martin Rempe, we could also call working musicians in military band uniforms and the publishers who churned out endless volumes of patriotic songs war profiteers: *Kriegsgewinnler*, a dubious position to be in.⁴³ Yet music also provided pleasure, creation rather than destruction, solidarity rather than bombast, music to assuage anxiety and dread. Still, for soldiers, it was a little more complicated. In Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, perhaps the greatest novel of the First World War, the piano is something of a leitmotif, a reminder of alienation from home and hearth, an ambivalent symbol of something hard to express. When the narrator Paul Bäumer goes on leave from the front, we find out that he had played the piano in civilian life. Yet he writes that "a sense of strangeness will not leave me" and he sees through "a veil" the people and things in the house: "there my case of butterflies [an intimation of his death], and there the mahogany piano." A piano is "there" when he visits his dying friend in a field hospital, it is "there" when he is stationed near a soldiers' home, it is "there" when he talks to Russian prisoners-of-war, one of whom is a violinist. As the novel goes on, the piano becomes a touchstone for the world beyond the war, a place Paul could no longer inhabit.

⁴³ Rempe, *Kunst, Spiel, Arbeit*.

We can also think of the war as a stress test of the musical environment that had grown over several centuries into a densely populated assemblage of institutions, practices, and repertoire. This environment *survived*. Governments collapsed and revolutions broke out in the defeated nations, but the orchestras played on—and continued to play on in the decades after, with a mixture of old and new repertoire. New paths opened,

44 Quoted in: Elizabeth Otto and Patrick Rössler, "Introduction: Embodying the Bauhaus," in *Bauhaus Bodies: Gender, Sexuality, and Body Culture in Modernism's Legendary Art School*, ed. Elizabeth Otto and Patrick Rössler (New York, 2019), xxviii.

not just atonality (which had its roots in the prewar era), but a raft of new genres and styles: the music of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, *Gebrauchsmusik*, *Grammophonmusik*, *Zeitoper*, jazz, what we associate with Weimar culture. Walter Gropius's speech at the opening of the Bauhaus in 1918 articulated a *Zeitgeist* that many musicians also shared: "Many of you have just returned from the field of battle. Those who experienced death out there have come back totally changed; they sense that no further progress can be made along the old paths."⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the old paths were still there and frequently trod. Traditions survived and were renovated. There was a path forward, and it included the rich treasures of the past *and* the experiences of the war. It is important to note that the Weimar Republic actively sought to shore up the institutions and practices and repertoire that had accumulated over the previous centuries. It was an effort to attach the new democracy to the Austro-German musical tradition—evident during national holidays, state funerals, and other public rituals. The musical world that so many people had participated in before the war was not broken, not abandoned and possibly mattered more than ever to a population battered by a catastrophic war, economic collapse, and uncertainty about the future.

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Globalizing Landesgeschichte: Reflections on Narrating Germans' Histories in the Modern Era

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I came to the notion of globalizing Landesgeschichte rather inadvertently. I have often said that my primary research strategy is to stumble into problems that irritate or perplex me, and then try to figure them out. In that sense, my incompetence with things like the history of Bayern, Baden-Württemberg, Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Vorarlberg — all political entities scattered across what I have come to call the Southern German borderlands — became a virtue of sorts. Essentially, I happened upon people from these places during my work on German migrants in Latin America; they made me want to know more about the region; and once I started digging into it, I started rethinking German history in productive ways.

Part of this rethinking was already in motion as I was writing my most recent book, *German History Unbound*.¹ It grew out of a culmination of problems I had been wrestling with over the last couple of decades, the biggest of which was trying to

¹ H. Glenn Penny, *German History Unbound: 1750s to the Present* (Cambridge, 2022).

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figure out how to narrate a polycentric German history that places communities of self-proclaimed Germans and their interconnections at its center, rather than the history of the German nation-state, or any states for that matter.

As I did that, I spent a lot of time thinking about Germans all over the world, and I spent a good deal of energy pursuing them throughout Latin America. In part, that was because those migrants had seen much less scholarly attention than their counterparts in Eastern Europe, Russia, and North America. Yet they also appeared to be just as important, if not more important, to what I was starting to think of as a globalized German history, one punctuated less by the radical ruptures of major geopolitical events, or the lives and fates of the regimes dominating the German nation-state, than the many consistent networks and relations that have persisted through them.

To be honest, I also simply wanted to understand why there were so many German communities in Latin America, particularly across the southern cone, and I wondered what their histories might tell me about the last couple of centuries of European and German history, which I had not learned from the secondary literature.

It turns out that the many German communities which took shape across Latin America after the 1880s had quite a lot to teach me, particularly when I thought about things like the soft forms of power that grew along with the emergence of global Germanophone networks of transportation, travel, and trade in the modern era. I also learned a great deal about Germans' interactions with non-Europeans, a topic that has interested me since I entered this profession.

I could continue at length about the arguments in that book, but I would prefer to use this opportunity to open up discussions about three things I have been thinking about since completing it: 1) the often-overlooked historiographical importance of the Southern German borderlands; 2) how

globalizing the Landesgeschichte of these regions might draw that into relief, and 3) how the work of generations of *Volkskundler* (or practitioners of *empirische Kulturwissenschaft*) who have focused on these regions might help us do all of that.

² The standard text is Regina Wagner, *Los Alemanes en Guatemala, 1828-1944* (Guatemala City, 1991).

To get to those points, I need to take you through a bit of my own intellectual journey, which has been filled with poignant false steps and miscalculations that have proven to be surprisingly fruitful; and the place I would like to begin is Guatemala.

When I think of being German in Guatemala, I think of highly inclusive transcultural communities that were locally grounded but globally oriented. These German communities were well established in Guatemala by the turn of the twentieth century; and although there were never more than a few thousand German-speakers in Guatemala at any moment between the 1880s and the 1940s, those communities were and remain the largest concentration of German-speakers in Central America, and throughout those decades they generated a large percentage of Guatemala's GDP. Moreover, while most of them were well-integrated into Guatemalan society, they clearly lived transcultural and transatlantic lives. Many of the leading trading families, in fact, worked simultaneously in Bremen and/or Hamburg while living in the capital of Guatemala City and/or (in the case of the coffee capitalists) on one of their many plantations. Moreover, most of them made sure that their children were Guatemalan as well as German citizens.²

On the one hand, that gave these Germans many advantages — most importantly, they could draw on the many forms of cultural, economic, and social capital tied to being German in Guatemala. For example, and this is quite important, until the 1930s, most of the coffee they produced was traded almost exclusively on the Hamburg coffee exchange. But their insider/outsider status also made these German-Guatemalans incredibly vulnerable, because even though they were the



Figure 1. “Inside Plantation Life on El Perú.”

3 Christiane Berth, *Biographien und Netzwerke im Kaffeehandel zwischen Deutschland und Zentralamerika, 1920-1959* (Hamburg, 2010).

4 Penny, *German History Unbound*, 172-76.

people who most linked other Guatemalans into international trade networks that connected Central America to central European industry and markets, the shifting Guatemalan regimes always had the monopoly on violence within their borders.³ That, in fact, is one of the things that made German connections so appealing to Latin American regimes: they offered a less threatening alternative to the British, the French, and later the United States—all of whom sought economic and political hegemony in the region. Imperial Germany’s political and military weakness at the turn of the century was in fact part of these Germans’ secret to success.⁴

Moreover, while Imperial Germany did set up a favored nation trading agreement with Guatemala in the 1880s, that was only after Germans living there had done the hard work of building relations. Characteristically, and this is critical to bear in mind, in Latin America, the German nation-state followed the actions of German-speakers living abroad. It did not take the lead in building those relationships. Nor could



*Innenräume des
Geschäftshauses von
Nottebohm Germanos*

Gesamtbild des grossen Arbeitsraum

*Druckblick auf den Arbeitsraum
vom Eingang aus.*



it control them. It also could not defend them, and thus in both world wars, as the Guatemalan state broke relationships with the German nation-state, Germans in Guatemala suffered property seizures, and in World War II, there were widespread confiscations as well as internments. In both cases, the Guatemalan state's political elites enriched themselves on German properties during the crises. In neither case could the German nation-state help, and in both cases the rebuilding had to take place by those networks of Germans in Central America — because neither the Weimar Republic nor the young West Germany proved of much value.⁵

None of this sounds much like the kinds of informal imperialism or neocolonial situations that dominate the postcolonial literature on Latin American relations with foreign actors or even most of the literature on Germans in the world—which tends to privilege analyses of colonial connections, particularly forms of exploitation. Except that one might argue that

Figure 2. “Inside the Nottebohm Bank, Guatemala City.” Images courtesy of Regina Wagner.

5 Ibid., chapters 5-7.

⁶ See inter alia: J. C. Cambranes, *Coffee and Peasants: The Origins of the Modern Plantation Economy in Guatemala, 1853-1897* (South Woodstock, 1985); Julie Gibbings, "The Shadow of Slavery: Historical Time, Labor, and Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Alta Verapaz, Guatemala," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 96 (2016): 73-107; Matilde González-Izás, *Modernización capitalista, racismo y violencia: Guatemala (1750-1930)* (México City, 2014).

⁷ Thomas Schoonover, *Germany in Central America: Competitive Imperialism, 1821-1929* (Tuscaloosa, 1998). On integration see: Glenn Penny, *In Humboldt's Shadow: A Tragic History of German Ethnology* (Princeton, 2020), chapter 4.

the Germans who came to dominate a great deal of coffee production and other businesses in Guatemala from the 1880s into the 1930s benefited from the Guatemalan state's efforts at internal colonialism — because the labor on German plantations, like all the plantations in Guatemala, was largely Mayan labor that was forced into debt peonage by Guatemalan state statutes. German capitalists, like everyone else in Guatemala, participated in that system.⁶

And this is where the story gets most interesting, and where my own incompetence turned into a kind of virtue that took me to Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria. What we find among the coffee capitalists in Guatemala, and this is something that British, French, and U.S. observers consistently noted and lamented from the 1880s through the 1930s, is that Germans in Guatemala, as in much of Latin America, were quite good at integrating into local cultures, learning local languages, and finding ways to do business that benefited their partners as well as themselves. In the case of many German plantation owners (but by no means all), they quickly found ways to integrate into local kinship networks, learn local languages, including Mayan as well as Spanish, and quickly make themselves the lesser evil among the property owners. There is no question that that paid large dividends, but there is also little question that it was never all about the money. In general, Germans in Guatemala showed a great deal more interest in those cultures and peoples than did their British or U.S. counterparts—not to mention the Ladinos (native born-Spanish speaking elites), who had absolutely no interest in speaking Mayan languages or learning about the cultures of their underclasses.⁷

I was pretty intrigued when I learned about this characteristic, and I spent a lot of time trying to figure it out. Everyone working on coffee capitalism in Central America knew that the Germans in Guatemala were simply better capitalists than their American, European, or Ladino counterparts. And everyone essentially agreed that this was largely due to



Figure 3a. Erwin Paul Dieseldorff and his son in Guatemala, n.d.

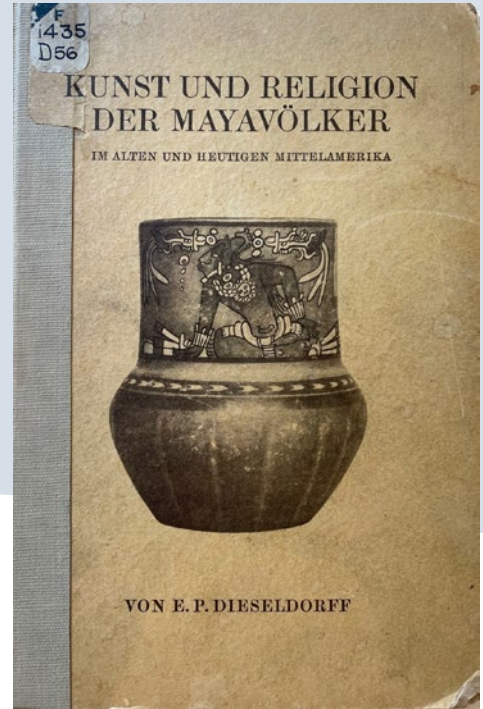


Figure 3b. Erwin Paul Dieseldorff, *Kunst und Religion der Mayavölker*, Berlin 1926. Front cover.

the fact that many of them were quick to learn the languages and integrate into the cultures of the plantation workers. But no one could tell me why. Most of the scholars who put their postcolonial theories first, or who reached back to old models of dependency theory, thought that this was simply base opportunism, a kind of cynical business model that allowed Germans to better control their labor forces and even lure laborers away from other owners' plantations.⁸ And that was indeed one function of their efforts, but it did not take me long to realize that it was not their only intention.

Erwin Paul Dieseldorff, who was one of the leading coffee capitalists of the age and came from a Hamburg trading family, was never trained at a university, but not only learned Mayan languages (there are at least thirty-two) and integrated himself into kinship networks while he built a vertically-integrated coffee empire, he also dove deep into the history of the region—the natural history, the ethnology, the archeology, becoming a central interlocutor with a whole series of American and European scholars interested in Central American and particularly Mayan cultures and history. In fact, Dieseldorff became a reigning expert by the interwar period,

⁸ See Cambranes, *Coffee and Peasants*; and González-Izás, *Modernización capitalista, racismo y violencia*.

9 For a complete Dieseldorff bibliography and much more on his life and work see: Guillermo Náñez-Falcón, *Erwin Paul Dieseldorff, German Entrepreneur in the Alta Verapaz of Guatemala, 1889-1937* (New Orleans, 1970).

10 David Sapper, *Erinnerungen von David Ernst Sapper, Guatemala*. Typescript in the possession of Regina Wagner. I remain grateful to her for providing me with this text.

publishing essays on artifacts, languages, and natural history in scholarly journals, participating in international scholarly meetings, and creating sizable archeological collections that he donated to museums in Europe and Guatemala.⁹ There was no profit in that.

But Dieseldorff also understood the utility, or the cultural, social, and political capital, of his knowledge gathering, and while I was reading the private papers of David Sapper, the cousin of Richard Sapper, another, equally important coffee capitalist in Guatemala, I was fascinated to learn that David Sapper, who traveled alone from Germany to New York, and then from New Orleans to Guatemala when he was only fifteen years old, learned to speak Q'eqchi' from Dieseldorff after they met by accident on the ship that took Sapper across the Caribbean. It was a chance encounter, but once Dieseldorff learned who David Sapper was, and on which plantation he would be working, he made a point of teaching him the Mayan language he would need on that plantation so that the young Sapper would be ahead of the game when he arrived.¹⁰

I found that amazing, particularly because it was relatively easy for the fifteen-year-old David Sapper to learn the language. But then he could already speak German, English, French, Italian, as well as the dialect common around the Southern Italian city of Bari, on the Adriatic Sea, where he had attended a German school supported by its German colony while his father worked there as a merchant. As a result, David Sapper learned his first Mayan language before he even learned Spanish, because, as Dieseldorff taught him, it would be much more important for his work, just as the local Italian dialect around Bari had been more important for his father's work than written Italian based on Tuscan, the standard literary dialect in Italy.

This linguistic talent seems typical of trade families from Hansa states. In fact, it also seems that it was the history of Hansa city states, much more than the German nation-state,

that best explained a great deal of these Germans' successes in Guatemala, as people like the Dieseldorffs and the Sappers continued to live and work in places where others held the monopoly on political power and violence while they simultaneously tied themselves into local cultural and linguistic networks and worked within transnational and transcultural Germanophone networks of travel, transportation, and trade. After all, Hansa trading families had been doing that for centuries.

In fact, I was rather pleased with myself when I made this argument in a 2017 essay for *Geschichte & Gesellschaft* about migrants and knowledge production.¹¹ It was not until a few years later, however, that it dawned on me that there was a problem in my thinking: David Sapper's family was not from Bremen or Hamburg or one of the northern trade cities. They were from Stuttgart. In fact, a good number of people who worked on their plantations were from this region as well, which is why one could still encounter the mixed-race children of those people speaking the Swabian dialect on those plantations right through the second world war and into the postwar period.¹²

Moreover, there also was no shortage of people from the region living in Latin America. Franz Joseph Lentz, who had worked as a teacher at the German school in Guatemala City before publishing his massive *Aus dem Hochland der Maya* (1930), made this abundantly clear in a 1965 letter to the Hamburg ethnologist Franz Termer. During his decades of working as a teacher near the Bodensee, he explained, he had continued to give slideshows and public talks about Guatemala across the region. They "aroused a great deal of interest here in Schwaben," he noted, "because almost every family here has relatives in Latin America."¹³

Is that not striking? Mayan workers speaking Swabian in the hills of Guatemala? Families across Schwaben with relatives in Latin America? It is not as if I was not aware of the global

11 Penny, "From Migrant Knowledge to Fugitive Knowledge? German Migrants and Knowledge Production in Guatemala, 1880s-1945," *Geschichte & Gesellschaft* 43 (2017): 381-412.

12 See, for example, the detailed letter from David Sapper in Guatemala to Karl Sapper in Germany, February 13, 1936, in Karl Sapper Nachlass, MARKK Museum Hamburg, Karton 4: Signatur 2.2.

13 Lentz to Franz Termer, November 18, 1965, Franz Termer Nachlass Folder 22.2, MARKK Museum Hamburg.

¹⁴ Penny, *In Humboldt's Shadow*, 110.

trade networks that cut across southern Germany or the great amount of out-migration from Baden and Württemberg to places as diverse as the Caucasus, Minnesota, Argentina, Venezuela, or Chile. In fact, one of the interesting things I discovered while working through the files of the *Deutsches Auslands Institut* (DAI) in the Bundesarchiv in Berlin is that while the DAI compiled lists of leading Germans, their businesses, and opportunities for German migrants all over the world, and particularly in Latin America during the interwar period, they also had a second list for Schwaben. Really: the DAI was not only one of the most important organizations for emigrants in Weimar Germany, and one of many meant to promote the safe migration of Germans abroad and their continued connections to their homeland, it also actively promoted global Schwaben networks and connections to that homeland as well.¹⁴ That should not surprise us: after all, the DAI was in Stuttgart.

So, once I realized my mistake, once I understood that I had allowed the almost hegemonic tale of Hamburg's dominance over Germanophone global trade in the modern era to color my analysis of Germans in Guatemala, as well as other parts of Latin America, I started to pay even more attention to the eclectic mixes of Germans in Latin American locations and think about what allowed them to succeed in such a wide variety of places. I also started to wonder more concretely about the integrative character of these German communities abroad—both the ways in which they often brought together wide varieties of German-speakers into so-called German communities, associations, businesses, churches, schools, and other organizations, that included Germans from all over central Europe as well as Russia and North America, and how and why they often did so well economically and professionally within their various host communities.

Here again I wondered about fluidity, mobility, transcultural and multilingual communities, and after a while, I realized that all those things would have been familiar to people from

the Southern German borderlands during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries — perhaps even more so than among Germans from the north, in places like Prussia. That was true even if the southern borderlands and those characteristics get very little attention in the broader narratives of German history.

15 Christine R. Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and the Marvelous* (Charlottesville, 2008).

As my time researching and teaching in Tübingen over the last few years has taught me, people from Württemberg have long been steeped in a great deal of polycentrism, cultural diversity, and multiplicities of dialects and landscapes. Moreover, the people from this region, like much of what I keep calling the Southern German borderlands, for lack of a better term, have been quite familiar with labor migrations and other forms of mobility for a very long time — centuries really. In that sense, what I was analyzing in Latin America would have been familiar to people from the region running roughly from Salzburg through Innsbruck and Bregenz to Freiburg and Basel. It was only, like so many other things by the end of the nineteenth century, a question of upscaling — greater distances, larger numbers of people, and more mixing. But in that sense, it was not unlike the shift by Southern German trading houses around Augsburg from Mediterranean to global trade in the preceding century — which also was pretty seamless.¹⁵

In a lot of ways, I credit Covid-19 for helping me figure this out. In 2020, I received a Guggenheim fellowship to complete a project I had been calling: “Being German in Guatemala.” That was going to require about another six months of archival research in Guatemala City, which I expected to complete that year. Unfortunately, I still have not been able to return. In addition, my effort to shift my focus to completing work I had begun in Chile in 2019 was stymied by the same problem, because although Chile managed to do very well during the first wave of Covid-19, many of the members of the Chilean middle classes had the regrettable idea to travel to Brazil for vacation in the summer of 2020, shutting down that country to me soon afterwards.

As luck would have it, however, I was able to turn my lemons into lemonade (so to speak) by traveling to southern Germany instead. Initially, my thought was that if I wanted to better understand German speakers in places like Argentina and Chile, where such eclectic mixes of Germans and Swiss founded colonies and communities that thrived, I might do well to learn more about the communities that produced them in Europe.

That proved to be true. At the same time, however, I learned a great deal about the region that made me want to study it more closely for its own sake, which is what I am doing now: thinking about the global implications of its Landesgeschichte and allowing that to help me rethink our narratives of German history and Germans in Latin America and other parts of the world.

To begin with, I started to wonder why the southern German border had received so little attention in the more general narratives of German history. After all, historians have filled rooms with books about the Eastern German border: where it was, where it should have been, how it moved, how its role in people's lives shifted and changed across our clearly periodized political histories. The Eastern border seems, at least from the view of states and the historians who study and promote them, to be a perennial problem, one demanding solutions, which led to a great deal of violence. I certainly would not want to dispute its importance.

I wonder, however, if the eastern border is any more important than the southern German border, which, if we are seeing like a state, does not appear to be much of a problem at all. It is true, of course, that Bavarian armies invaded the Tyrol during the French Revolutionary wars — there is a huge panorama exhibit in Innsbruck dedicated to that outrage; Vorarlberg's citizens also tried to leave Austria and become a part of Switzerland after World War I; and during the National Socialist period, Nazi officials redrew their administrative

boundaries across that border.¹⁶ But it always seemed, more or less, to snap back into place with little bloodshed or much consternation on the part of the states involved.

So are we missing some critical lessons by ignoring that process or the fact that it was actually a relatively peaceful one as well? Are peaceful historical processes not instructive? I think they should be. And what about the people who lived in this borderland region? What can they teach us? In what ways, for example, did their mental maps compare to the political maps we use in our textbooks?¹⁷ I am afraid that German history, particularly as it is narrated in English-language texts, has very little to say about this, and the political maps we use are often exercises in all kinds of reification. In addition, in many of our history books the lack of violence seems almost synonymous with a lack of importance. But again, I would like to suggest that the opposite is true. In some ways, I believe this neglected region can tell us more about the contours of a globalized German history than those regions that were animated for so long by a series of titillating and often violent ruptures.

To see that importance, I am afraid we must see less like a state and perhaps more like a region. The Bodensee, for example, is the kind of region I have in mind, not a regional state. Yet it is clearly a place of belonging, one bordered by political boundaries that played limited roles in many people's mental maps, while the Bodensee itself has long been a point of orientation, a center, or perhaps a set of many centers, for people living all around it and oftentimes rather far from its shores.¹⁸

Fragestellungen zu Grenzen und deren Überschreitungen (Wiesbaden, 2017), 237-53. For belonging, see: Bernhard Tschofen, *GrenzRaumSee. Eine Ethnographische*

Reise durch die Bodenseeregion (Tübingen, 2008), and Tschofen, "Der See: Deutungsgeschichten eines grenzüberschreitenden Gedächtnisortes," in Reinhold Weber, Peter

Steinbach, and Hans-Georg Wehling, eds. *Baden-württembergische Erinnerungsorte* (Stuttgart, 2012), 312-23.

¹⁶ <https://www.tyrol.com/things-to-do/attractions/all-attractions/a-tirol-panorama>; Ulrich Nachbaur, *Vorarlberger Territorialfragen, 1945-1948. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Landesgrenzen seit 1805* (Konstanz, 2007).

¹⁷ Barak Kalir, "Moving Subjects, Stagnant Paradigms: Can the 'Mobilities Paradigm' Transcend Methodological Nationalism?" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39 no. 2, (2013): 311-327.

¹⁸ Since 1869, the Bodensee also has had a scholarly association devoted to it, which has consistently underscored its transnational membership while producing a journal devoted to all aspects of the region's history: *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung* (Lindau, 1869-2022). On regional networks, see: Roland Scherer, "Eine Grenzregion als Wachstumsregion: was man von den Governance-Strukturen der Bodenseeregion lernen kann," in Martin Heintel, Robert Musil, and Norbert Weixlbaumer, eds., *Grenzen. Theoretische, konzeptionelle und praxisbezogene*

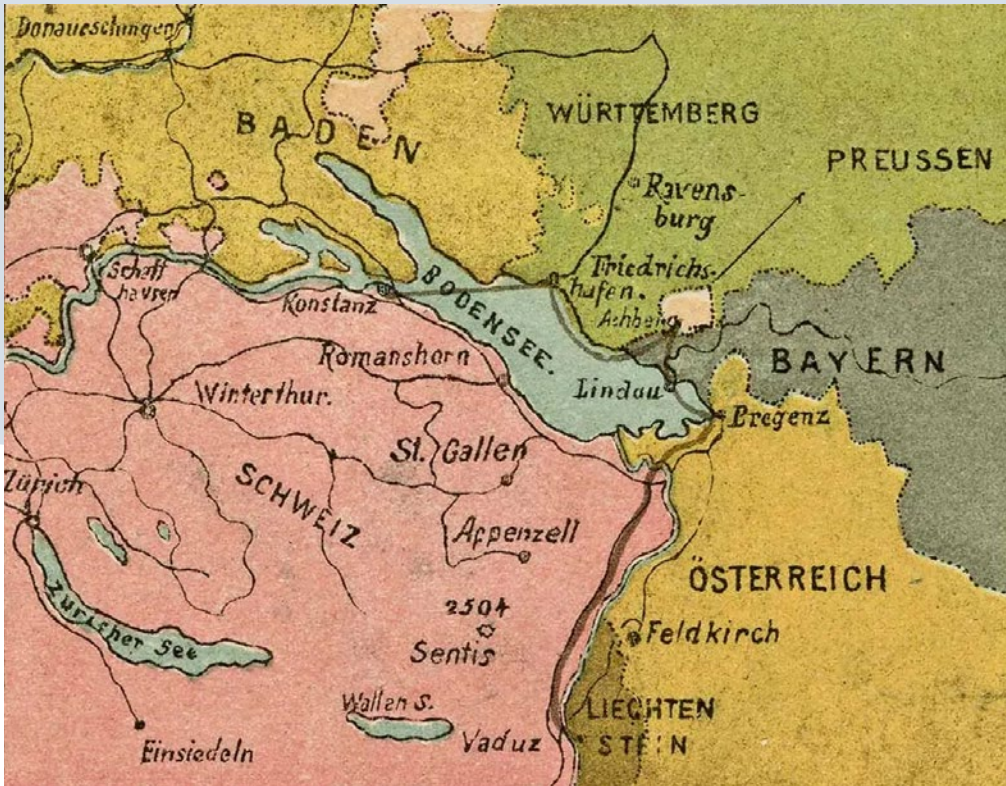


Figure 4. Map of the Bodensee region, c. 1899. © Deutsches Uhrenmuseum.

19 Corinna Peniston-Bird, Thomas Rohkrämer, and Felix Robin Schulz, "Glorified, Contested and Mobilized: The Alps in the 'Deutscher und Österreichischer Alpenverein' from the 1860s to 1933," *Austrian Studies*, 18 (2010): 141-158; most importantly: Bernhard Tschofen, *Berg, Kultur, Moderne: Volkskundliches aus den Alpen* (Wien, 1999).

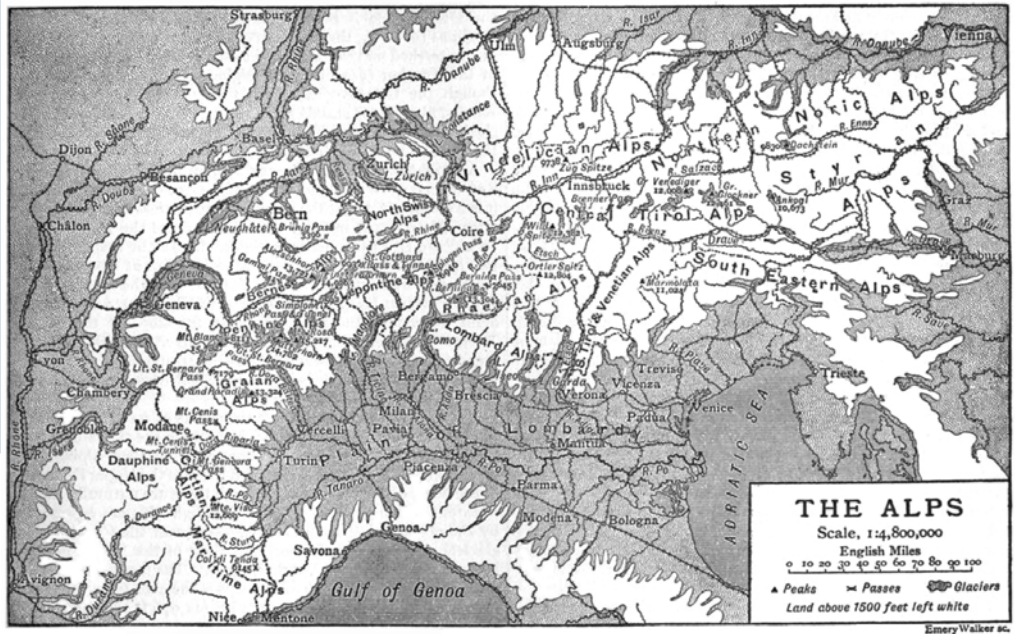
20 Alison Frank Johnson, "The Air Cure Town: Commodifying Mountain Air in Alpine Central Europe," *Central European*

Or the Alps, which cut across many political borders as well, but are filled with people, mountain people, who share many affinities; some of these people are not just Swiss-German, but also *Bergler*, an idea that crosses many political borders, linguistic borders, and mountain ranges, but which does not include those who live in the valleys in-between.¹⁹ The Alps are also filled with mountain resorts, ski areas and spas, places that a number of scholars have shown were decidedly cosmopolitan even if their locations were incredibly provincial, even purposefully so.²⁰ That means that the provincial, some even said primitive, regions of the Alps were long animated by networks of cosmopolitan, transnational, quintessentially modern interconnections while many nearby cities were not. Which tells us what?

History 44, no. 2 (2012): 185-207; Adam T. Rosenbaum, *Bavarian Tourism and the Modern*

World, 1800-1950 (Cambridge, 2016); and Ilaria Scaglia, *The Emotions of Internationalism:*

Feeling International Cooperation in the Alps in the Interwar Period (Oxford, 2020).



I think it is also worth noting that the wild animals who move through these mountains do not seem to notice the political borders — it is one of the controversies at the center of the reintroduction of wolves into the region — there has been some fantastic scholarly work recently.²¹ Moreover, many of the people who tended domesticated herds and flocks nearby moved regularly across those borders for generations and over centuries in instructive ways. That is just how life worked; that is what was necessary to regulate the lives of cows and the production of hay — and none of the big, geopolitical shifts that punctuate our typical national narratives of central Europe managed to upset much of that.²² So what does that tell us about our reliance on those narratives as we both structure our analyses at home and abroad and live our lives in modern Europe?

Of course, we could choose to be splitters rather than lumpers and still make the same point. After all, why is Vorarlberg, and Bregenz in particular, so affluent today? In many ways, it has a great deal to do with a history of labor mobility, which not only included many peddlers and the now famous *Schwabenkinder*, who streamed north across the border during the last decades of the nineteenth century to seek employment during times of need, but also the highly-skilled weavers who were

Figure 5. Map of the Alps, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1911.

²¹ See Michaela Fenske and Bernhard Tschofen, *Managing the Return of the Wild: Human Encounters with Wolves in Europe* (New York, 2020).

²² Nicole Stradelmann, Martina Sochin D'Elia, Peter Melichar, eds., *Hüben & Drüben: Grenzüberschreitende Wirtschaft im mittleren Alpenraum* (Innsbruck, 2020).



Figure 6. Portrait of Lucie Varga, 1930. Photo: Peter Schöttler.

23 Michael Kasper and Christof Thöny, "Schwabenkinder und andere Formen der alpinen Arbeitsmigration – eine Spurensuche zwischen gestern und heute" *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* 68 no. 2 (2020): 81-96; Stefan Zimmermann and Christine Brugger, *Die Schwabenkinder: Arbeit in der Fremde vom 17.*

able to travel all over Europe and the Americas by the end of that century working for the highest bidders.²³ They could do that because of their skills, developed largely in textile industries founded by Swiss industrialists who saw advantages in setting up business just down the shore, so to speak. Because down the shore was also across the border, which gave them untaxed access to the Austrian-Hungarian Empire as well as its cheap labor, and those interconnections persisted for

bis 20. Jahrhundert (Ulm, 2012); and Loretta Seglias, *Die*

Schwabengänger aus Graubünden: Saisonale Kinderemigration nach

Oberschwaben (Chur, 2004).

more than a century — before, during, and after the fall of that empire.²⁴ I could continue down the list of things that crossed the borders and tied more places and people together, like the ubiquitous tourism that grew with mountaineering as a leisure activity and tied the region to a great many major cities, including most major cities in northern Germany.²⁵ The ski industry, as Andrew Denning taught us, only expanded that during the postwar era.²⁶

We could also talk about the Annales historian Lucie Varga's fantastic 1936 ethnography of a valley in Vorarlberg, which demonstrated that while Vienna remained the capital of Austria at that time, its auspicious place on political maps did not have its counterpart in her subjects' mental maps. Vienna was no center for them, and when they thought of cities it was first Bregenz, Innsbruck, Munich, or Zurich, where many of her subjects had been, long before it would have been interwar "Red Vienna," which few bothered to think about much less to visit.²⁷

There was, in fact, a great deal of transnational life happening in this region and a great many transcultural places there as well. To see those, however, it helps to look on these borders through the eyes of ethnologists rather than historians of Germany. *Volkskundler*, in particular, have been casting their focus on the border regions for generations, paying a great deal of attention to a multitude of borders, not just national ones, and to a whole range of languages many of us would call dialects. So too have the people engaged in what is sometimes dismissed as *Landeskunde*, who have long been aware of the diversity in their regions.

I think it is part of the cunning teleology of the nation-state that causes those of us who claim to be historians of Germany to frequently dismiss *Landeskunde* in the first place — as something with only local importance, perhaps useful to cite but seldom to engage. As for the *Volkskundler*, recast as European ethnology or *empirische Kulturwissenschaft*, many

24 Meinrad Pichler, *Auswanderer: Von Vorarlberg in die USA 1800-1938* (Bregenz, 1993).

25 Kurt Luger and Franz Rest, eds., *Der Alpentourismus: Entwicklungspotenziale im Spannungsfeld von Kultur, Ökonomie und Ökologie* (Innsbruck, 2002).

26 Andrew Denning, *Skiing into Modernity: A Cultural and Environmental History* (Berkeley, 2015).

27 Lucie Varga, "Ein Tal in Vorarlberg—zwischen Vorgestern und Heute," in Peter Schöttler, ed., *Lucie Varga Zeitenwende: mentalitätshistorische Studien, 1936-1939* (Frankfurt a.M., 1991), 146-69.

28 Hermann Bausinger, *Volkskunde: von der Altertumforschung zur Kulturanalyse* (Habel, 1971); Muhterem Aras and Hermann Bausinger, *Heimat. Kann die weg?* (Tübingen, 2019).

29 Hermann Bausinger, Markus Braun, and Herbert Schwedt, *Neue Siedlungen: Volkskundlich-soziologische Untersuchungen des Ludwig-Uhland-Instituts Tübingen* (Stuttgart, 1959); Bausinger, *Dialekte, Sprachbarrieren, Sondersprachen* (Frankfurt, 1972).

historians interested in *Alltagsgeschichte* began working with them in the 1990s — particularly in urban settings, sometimes within the context of *Werkstattgeschichte* — but dialects, villages, and rural communities — not so much.

For my own work, however, getting over such disciplinary divisions is part of the practice of rethinking German history, and I find the scholarship produced by people devoted to EKW particularly compelling. To some degree, that is clearly because the field formerly known as *Volkskunde* was forced generations ago to come to terms with the nation-state's influence on it — as scholars such as Hermann Bausinger focused on the lives of people rather than the lives and fates of states. Or as he once wrote, while riffing on Berthold Brecht — focusing on *Bevölkerung* rather than *Volk* or *Völker*. It is an important distinction that, particularly when combined with his ongoing response to the putatively rooted character of *Heimat* histories, that people have legs, not roots.²⁸ Those are two powerful insights that remind us of the importance mobility has long played in the region.

As a result, already in the 1950s and 1960s much of Bausinger's work around Tübingen focused on questions of migration, transference, and large and small networks crisscrossing the region. He was in fact writing about the influx of foreigners, *Vertriebene*, long before it was fashionable; he was teaching us about the great variety of dialects in the region, some imported by those new arrivals; and he was tying all of that into notions of belonging a half century before I took part in a conference devoted to just that topic in Tübingen in 2021.²⁹

It is stunning, in fact, to read his 1971 *Volkskunde: von der Altertumforschung zur Kulturanalyse*, which underscores two incredibly important forms of postwar mobility that mattered a great deal: flows of refugees across the new Bundesrepublik and tourism beyond localities and across all borders. Both of those helped to usher in fundamentally new forms of spatial orientation, which gave many traditional cultural

markers new meanings and functions—which he traced and analyzed.³⁰

One of the most important things he wrote about is the constructed character of culture, particularly historical traditions, and their transference through these new forms of mobility. It is amazing to realize that he wrote about that more than a decade before Eric Hobsbawm and Terrance Ranger transformed cultural history pretty much globally while introducing their arguments about the “invention of traditions.”³¹ Clearly, they were not aware of the fact that Bausinger and his colleagues in Tübingen already had been thinking and writing about just that for decades. But I do not feel comfortable criticizing them, because until quite recently, neither was I.

I am not interested in hagiography, and I am not looking to convince anyone to join me as the new Bausinger disciples. That is not the point. I think it is also important to understand that Bausinger, too, was channeling things that pre-dated him. He seemed to understand that. For close to a century, in fact, and even after the hyper-nationalization of the field by the end of the nineteenth century, *Volkskundler*, he wrote in 1971, had been exploring overlapping notions of belonging, thinking about the many borders that persist in our heads: where, for example, is Oberösterreich? And how many people in Baden-Württemberg know when they enter former Hohenzollern lands today? Some people do, and for them it matters — for others it does not.³² We all move through our own worlds and mental maps often unaware of the phantom landscapes animating the lives of others around us. There is some great work on this by Kathleen Conzen, who wrote a lot on German communities in the American Midwest.³³ Its application, however, is not limited to that location.

Let me return, for a moment, to those older practitioners, who included people such as Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, who sought unity in diversity, and who also were pursuing questions about performing identity, a topic that was long a great inter-

30 Hermann Bausinger, Wolfgang Kaschuba, Gudrun M. König, Dieter Langewiesche, and Bernhard Tschofen, *Ein Aufklärer des Alltags. Der Kulturwissenschaftler Hermann Bausinger im Gespräch mit Wolfgang Kaschuba, Gudrun M. König, Dieter Langewiesche und Bernhard Tschofen* (Vienna, 2006), 22-29.

31 Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terrance O. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983).

32 This continued during his career; see, for example, “Grenze a. D.: Zum Nachleben von Baden und Württemberg,” in Weber et. al., *Baden-württembergische Erinnerungsorte*, 52-63.

33 Kathleen Conzen, “Phantom Landscapes of Colonization: Germans in the Making of a Pluralist America,” in Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore, eds., *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000* (New York, 2001), 7–21.

34 Bausinger, *Volkskunde*, 53; Aras and Bausinger, *Heimat*, 94.

35 See, for example, Philipp Schorch, *Refocusing Ethnographic Museums through Oceanic Lenses* (Honolulu, 2020). More generally: <https://www.indigen.eu/about>.

36 "Ausstellung in Chicago 1888-1893," in Jacobsen Nachlass, MARKK, Hamburg. For a Pacific Northwest Coast perspective on Jacobsen's collecting in Alaska and Canada see: Ann Feinup-Riordan, *Yup'ik Elders at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, Fieldwork turned on its Head* (Seattle, 2005), especially xii-xiii, 33-35.

est of mine. Moreover, as Bausinger later realized, they did that precisely at the moment when radical modernization had gripped these landscapes during the middle of the nineteenth century, causing a dramatic uptick in the scale of mobility and industry. So, while historians during that era ignored everyday life, *Volkskundler* began studying it, collecting material culture from people's homes and hometowns, and exploring the fluidities of the Southern German borderlands.³⁴

The important point is not to celebrate them, but to recognize that those records are extant. Of course, such records are never unbiased, unfiltered, or complete; but then neither are the ethnologies of non-European cultures that a variety of scholars, including many working with indigenous interlocutors, many of whom are scholars as well, are successfully harnessing to reconstitute histories and revitalize languages and cultures in a great variety of non-European locations today.³⁵

I would like to suggest that we can use the records of European ethnologists who moved throughout the Southern German borderlands in equally successful ways, and we can place them into productive comparative analyses. After all, in many cases they used the same collectors. I would be remiss if I did not point out that after Adrian Jacobsen traveled to the coast of British Columbia in the 1880s to collect what remains one of the most complete assemblies of material culture from that part of the world for Adolf Bastian's Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, Rudolf Virchow hired him to travel to Bavaria and the Tyrol to generate one of his earliest *Volkskunde* collections — which he did for precisely the same reasons: to capture the vestiges/records of cultures on the cusp of radical transition, using exactly the same methods and encountering, in many cases, some of the very same challenges he had faced in British Columbia and Alaska.³⁶

Those records, and the work compiled by later ethnologists, sometimes called *Volkskundler*, can, for example, teach us a

great many things. Just reading Bausinger's accounts of singing cultures in Alpine villages, for instance, reminded me a lot of the compartmentalized character of Hopi religion. Not everyone on the three Hopi mesas knows it all. But until this moment, neither I nor anyone else had thought much about comparing those two locations. Maybe we should; if not with the Hopi, than other non-Europeans.³⁷

It is pretty stunning to read Bausinger's work from the 1970s, which underscores the reifications inherent in mapping, the fundamental problems with any system of typologies, and explanations that *Volkskundler* efforts to sort things like varieties of German houses only led to the disheartening conclusion that those types of houses were never only created and used by German-speakers, nor were they generally exclusive to one, clearly inscribed region. Even terms like Schwaben, he warned us, elide differences, and they obscure things like class, whereas the reanimation of folk art he witnessed and wrote about in sub-alpine regions during the postwar era is stunning for several reasons.³⁸

Here again, his observations resonate in instructive ways with those of ethnologists focused on similar problems in other parts of the world. Alpine artisans working in the age of high tourism, he realized, increasingly produced objects, like furniture, for urban tastes rather than due to any devotion to tradition or an undying artisanal culture.³⁹ That response to market mechanisms was commonplace on the Hopi mesas as well.⁴⁰ That is well documented, and in fact, that dialogic is something that Sally Price wrote about in her blockbuster 1989 *Primitive Art in Civilized Places* — but again, only decades after Bausinger's studies had analyzed similar processes in Europe.⁴¹

Even the ties Bausinger wrote about between the postwar *Heimat* renaissance of the 1980s and the histories of German-speaking refugees and “guest workers” in Baden-Württemberg speaks volumes about the global cultural

37 <https://www.hopifoundation.org/about-hopi>

38 Bausinger, *Volkskunde*, 113-21; Bausinger, *Dialekte, Sprachbarrieren, Sondersprachen; Bausinger, Die bessere Hälfte: Von Badenern und Württembergern* (Stuttgart, 2002).

39 Bausinger, *Volkskunde*, 160.

40 Andreas Franzke, Wolfgang Haberland, Hans-Ulrich Sanner, and Brigitte Templin, eds. *Katsinam: Figuren der Pueblo-Indianer Nordamerikas aus der Studiensammlung Horst Antes* (Lübeck, 2000).

41 Sally Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places* (Chicago, 1989).

42 Aras and Bausinger, *Heimat*, 73.

43 Reinhard Johler, *Die Formierung eines Brauches: Der Funken- und Holeyfannsonntag. Studien aus Vorarlberg, Liechtenstein, Tirol, Südtirol und dem Trentino* (Vienna, 2000).

44 Werner Richner and Hermann Bausinger, *Baden-Württemberg: Landschaft und Kultur im Südwesten* (Karlsruhe, 1994), 6.

mobilities through and from this region and the many modes of performing Germanness that scholars are only now discovering as they compare the current semiotics of beer, festivals, and folk costume in places like Brazil and Bayern, or ponder the longer histories of in-migration and integration into German-speaking Europe, while arguing about the implications of the so-called welcoming culture of the Federal Republic today.⁴²

So again, it seems to me that a return to reading the writings of those scholars who, before and after Lucie Varga's stunning work on Vorarlberg, were and have been digging into everyday life in the Southern German borderlands, means the chance to engage in a complex *Alltagsgeschichte* that most historians of Germany have long overlooked. And again, it is often the quiet instances in this history that are the most compelling: be they the rather peaceful history of the region in the modern era; the seldom told success stories of well-integrated "guest workers" before and during that period, but especially in the second half of the twentieth century; the equally overlooked fact that postwar Germany was incredibly diverse and able to integrate a large percentage of outsiders, or the fact that the polycentrism I like to place at the center of German history always has had its counterpart in such a striking number of distinct cultures, dialects, and landscapes in even small areas of the Southern German borderlands.⁴³ If you do not believe me, take the trip between Isny im Allgäu and the interior of the Schwarzwald which Bausinger sketched out in great detail some decades ago, and which I did on a bike. If you do, get ready for a treat: you will encounter incredibly varied and polycentric regions and spaces all along the way.⁴⁴

Moreover, it is not just Bausinger, and none of this is limited to Tübingen or Baden-Württemberg. I've been stunned by some of the work by Konrad Kuhn, who teaches Volkskunde in Innsbruck, on the origins of Swiss masks, or Walter Lehmgruber from Basel on dialects and code switching in Switzerland and the many histories of mobility and migration that were

overlooked by scholars and politicians for far too long — all the Swiss living outside of Switzerland, and all the non-Swiss living inside it, creating it, building and maintaining it.⁴⁵ Here too, the longer history of those successful labor migrations (white as well as blue collar) and multiple modes of belonging are often lost in political debates; but many scholars today on all sides of the national borders are now drawing them out, and to my mind, that mobility needs to be given more attention in our more general narratives of German histories in Europe and abroad.⁴⁶

I will end by underscoring that one of the most compelling arguments coming out of Switzerland, for example, has been about colonialism without colonies — which is also simply about Swiss people and things in the world.⁴⁷ These arguments have been animating the Swiss academy for over a decade, but they also have a lot to teach us about how to think of colonial connections in the German-speaking world north of Switzerland. Official colonialism, and particularly violence, gets all the scholarly and political attention. The Swiss story reminds us, however, that one need not have participated in official colonialism or even visited a colony to have moved in and been part of the imperial world.

In that sense, our obsession with official colonies often reifies the many ways in which people from German-speaking Europe engaged with the non-European world, either during or after that era. It makes us overlook many of the ways in

45 See, for example, Konrad J. Kuhn, "Markt-Masken. Dinge zwischen materieller Produktion und ökonomischen Marktbedingungen," in Karl Braun, Claus-Marco Dietrich, and Angela Treiber, eds., *Materialisierung von Kultur. Diskurse – Dinge – Praktiken* (Würzburg, 2015), 155-164; Kuhn, "Relics from the «Lost Valley» – Discourses on the Magic of Masks," in Tatiana Minniyakhmetova and Kamila Velkoborskà, eds., *Rituals in Magic and Magic in Rituals* (Innsbruck, 2015), 203-212; and Walter Leimbruger, "Assimilation, Integration, Kohäsion, Partizipation," in Reinhard Johler and Jan Lange, eds. *Konfliktfeld Fluchtmigration: Historische und ethnographische Perspektiven* (Bielefeld, 2019), 65-80; and Leimgruber, "Aktuelle Entwicklungstendenzen des Profils der Auswanderinnen und Auswanderer aus der Schweiz," *Politorbis* 62 no. 2 (2016): 33-40.

46 André Holenstein, *Mitten in Europa: Verflechtung und Abgrenzung in der Schweizer Geschichte* (Baden, 2014); Barbara Lüthi and Damir Skenderovic, eds., *Switzerland*

and Migration: Historical and Current Perspectives on a Changing Landscape (Cham, 2019). Peter Melichar, Andreas Rudiger, Gerhard Wanner, eds., *Wanderungen. Migration in Vorarlberg,*

Liechtenstein und in der Ostschweiz zwischen 1700 und 2000 (Vienna, 2016).

47 See, inter alia Patricia Purtschert and Harald Fischer-Tiné, eds., *Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking Colonialism*

from the Margins (New York, 2015); Andreas Zangger, *Koloniale Schweiz: Ein Stück Globalgeschichte zwischen Europa und Südostasien (1860-1930)* (Bielefeld, 2011).

which German speakers came together and worked together while abroad. Some reflection on that can remind us of the fact that there were many more Germans in Argentina than all the official German colonies combined, and that places like Guatemala far outshined the economic importance of Imperial Germany's official colonies. It also reminds us that those people from German-speaking Europe who went abroad frequently remained connected to it across the radical ruptures of the twentieth century. Perhaps even more importantly, as Franz Joseph Lentz, the schoolteacher from ostensibly provincial Sigmaringen explained in the 1960s to the Hamburg Museum director Franz Termer, they also helped to connect individuals, families, and groups in incredibly varied and polycentric locations within the Southern German borderlands to people and places throughout Latin America and, we can imagine, many other parts of the world.

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Irrelevant Scapegoat: The Perils of Doing European History in Post-Trump America¹

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On 8 February 2022, an expert in Middle Eastern legal history — Florida State University associate professor Will Hanley — testified in front of Florida’s House Education and Employment Committee. As a volunteer commentator rather than an invited speaker, Hanley was allotted just sixty seconds. But in his brief time, he did everything he could to argue against the adoption of the HB 7 “stop WOKE act,” which called for new educational protocols, especially regarding how race can be taught in U.S. classrooms² Hanley is not an Americanist; he does not teach on the subjects the HB 7 law affects, such as the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. constitution, or the Federalist Papers. Nonetheless, this specialist on Islamic naming practices and Ottoman-Egyptian nationalisms stepped up and risked his career at a publicly funded institution because he knew that the reach of the U.S. culture

¹ This article first appeared in *Contemporary European History* 32 (2023): 27-32. © The author. Published by Cambridge University Press. Reprinted by permission.

² Volunteer testimonies in response to HB 7 can be heard at <https://www.myfloridahouse.gov/VideoPlayer.aspx?eventID=7878> starting at 1:31:30. Hanley’s statement is at 1:33:50. He focused on the bill’s requirement

that only “factual,” uncontested American history be taught in schools. His statement

was published in local newspapers throughout Florida. For example, see:

Ana Ceballos, “Bill Targeting Discomfort or Guilt in School, Work Discussions

Ready for House Floor,” *Miami Herald*, 8 Feb. 2022.

Bulletin of the German Historical Institute 71 (Spring 2023): 65-74
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3 Hanley's decision to speak out while working for a Florida public institution could have led (and still can) to severe encroachments on his professional career, not just in terms of pay rises, teaching schedule and administrative responsibilities. The Florida state system does not guarantee sabbaticals, and those few sabbaticals awarded are determined by extra-departmental committees and the upper administration, which is ever more dependent on the governor's pleasure. Tenure is also no longer secure, as post-tenure review laws have just been passed in Florida, as I discuss later.

wars is much greater than American history, affecting all historians and all the students they teach – in the United States and beyond.³ In this essay, I want to explain why Hanley's actions should serve as a model for us all. To do this, I focus on how the U.S. culture wars – as waged by both the right and the left – are triggering a global reconceptualization of European history that will have dangerous consequences for students, researchers, teachers, and the profession at large. I start with Florida – the state where both Hanley and I work – because it is an extreme case of how the new culture wars have taken aim at history education, a template unfortunately being replicated with similar interventions in other U.S. states.

Before tackling the issues that brought Hanley into the courtroom, it is important to point out that, over the past three decades, the United States has been the site of positive, progressive transformation in history generally and European history specifically. Slowly but surely, the profession has responded to longstanding calls to decolonize the curriculum, diversify faculty and push for greater inclusion among student bodies. What is offered, who is offering it, and whom they are offering it to have shifted. The changes are evident in the difference between what I was taught and what most young Americans now are being taught (at least until today). Even though I was a baby-boomer's baby, from elementary school to college, I rarely learned about the longstanding racial and environmental violence my world had produced. Instead, my schooling worked to instill in me the worldview of the acquisitive settlers of American colonialism, not those who already lived here or were brought here involuntarily. I was dressed up as a pilgrim for school plays at Thanksgiving; I made maladroit dioramas of California Missions for history class; and I went on field trips to the Sacramento Valley so that I could pan for gold like the "good old '49ers." I learned almost nothing about anything anywhere after 1945. The textbooks on European history assigned to me had a lot about Napoleon, Gladstone, Bismarck, Hitler and Stalin, but no mention was made of nineteenth-

century colonialism, gender, migration, post-colonialism or environmental destruction. The professors were different, too. Looking up at the podium, rarely did I see anyone who was not male, not white and not heteronormative. I learned about a non-white, queer, non-Western centric world by living in the world, not from what my institutions presented to me.

⁴ Taken from a 2021 job ad for a position in Nineteenth-Century European History at Illinois State University. https://www.h-net.org/jobs/job_display.php?id=61762.

None of this is the case for my students today. In just thirty years, the difference in American students' experience is staggering. The students I teach learned about the civil rights movement in elementary school. Textbooks on European history today have entire chapters focused on the systems of violence perpetrated throughout Asia, Africa and the Americas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, immigration policies within Europe, gender revolutions and environmentalism. The ideals of campus communities also bear little resemblance to what I was offered. Most university catalogues sent to potential freshmen are filled with idyllic photographs of faculty and students that include every possible ethnicity, skin color, religion and gender. Though in reality faculty continue to be disproportionately male and white, the push for change here is nail-bitingly intense and largely welcomed. Many higher educational institutions require applicants to supply a diversity statement alongside their CVs, cover letters and transcripts, stating explicitly that those "who can contribute to the climate of inclusivity on campus are especially welcome to apply."⁴ And faculty everywhere are wrangling with their deans to broaden the category of "diversity" ever further so that institutional culture is not just more inclusive on paper but also in lived terms.

None of these transformations happened by themselves. They were the result of a previous culture war led by activists, scholars and politicians who wanted American higher educational institutions to embody and support a more complex vision of democracy and progress.

However, faith that this process would last came to an abrupt halt in 2016. The election of Donald Trump and the expanding

5 For the full HB 7 bill, see: <https://www.flsenate.gov/Session/Bill/2022/7/BillText/er/PDF>.

6 For the full HB 1557 bill, see: <https://www.flsenate.gov/Session/Bill/2022/1557/BillText/er/PDF>.

campaigns to re-elect the ultra-right to state legislatures, school boards and federal offices reversed the gains of the 2000s and 2010s. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Florida, which has taken center-stage in national conversations about education's role in inculcating a sense of pride, positivity and belief in American exceptionalism. Since early 2022, in a bid for the presidential run in 2024, Republican Governor Ron DeSantis has used education policy as a vehicle for white, heteronormative, capitalist and nationalist cultural policies that he claims are the best cures for America's ills. This campaign is not just bombast: it features a carefully crafted collection of legislative initiatives that are designed to control how history is taught, conceived and professionalized.

Between March and May 2022 alone, the Florida legislature passed five pieces of legislation affecting the teaching of history from elementary school to college. The aforementioned HB 7 "stop WOKE act" prohibits any teaching that could make students feel they bear personal responsibility for historic wrongs, clarifies that color-blindness is "not racist," emphasizes that no individual's status is either privileged or oppressed because of "his or her race, color, sex, or national origin," and demands that American history

shall be viewed as factual, not as constructed, shall be viewed as knowable, teachable, and testable, and shall be defined as the creation of a new nation based largely on the universal principles stated in the Declaration of Independence.⁵

The HB 1557 "Don't Say Gay" bill bans public elementary schoolteachers from holding classroom instruction about sexual orientation or gender identity, with the provision that teachers at higher grade levels can also face restrictions if course materials are not considered "developmentally appropriate."⁶ The HB 395 "Victims of Communism Day" law designates class time to focus on the atrocities perpetrated by communist regimes and creates an annual day of remembrance to "honor the 100 million people who have fallen victim

to communist regimes across the world.”⁷ The HB 1467 “Curriculum Transparency” bill codifies parents’ right to object to any course materials to which they feel their children should not be exposed.⁸ The Florida State Board of Education is re-evaluating textbooks and has already banned forty-five nationally certified textbooks because of their supposed focus on “critical race theory” and over-emphasis on “social-emotional” learning.⁹ Finally, the SB 7044 “Postsecondary Education” bill requires teachers working in Florida’s public institutions – regardless of their tenure status – to face review and possible termination every five years as a way to ensure that educational institutions are “more in line with what the state’s priorities are.”¹⁰ Teachers in primary, secondary and post-secondary schools can now be sued if “caught” by parents or students breaking any of these laws, all of which will be in effect for the 2022-3 school year. No-one can doubt the purpose of this legislative onslaught. As DeSantis put it: “we are not going to use your tax dollars to teach our kids to hate this country or to hate each other.”¹¹ For DeSantis and his allies, the job of education is to erase any potentially troubling historical narratives about American legacies of violence, hate and prejudice so (white) Americans can live in pride, in peace and continue voting conservatively.

For historians of Europe, the question is: why does all of this matter to us? Unfortunately, the answer is clear. Directly and indirectly, both from the left and the right, the overlapping U.S. culture wars are shaping how European history is taught and professionalized. This has an impact, not just on job opportunities but also on the kinds of books published and the next generations’ views of what Europe represents.

Let us begin on the left. For scholars committed to combatting the relentless onslaught of conservative educational policies in states like Florida, the history of Europe is a key battleground because it is considered the haven of Western-centrism, white-Christian dominated politics, and filled with triumphalist tales of capital, imperialism and cultural elitism.

7 For the full HB 395 bill, see: <https://www.flsenate.gov/Session/Bill/2022/395/BillText/er/PDF>.

8 For the full HB 1467 bill, see: <https://www.flsenate.gov/Session/Bill/2022/1467/BillText/er/PDF>.

9 For more on the textbook bans, see Dana Goldstein and Stephanie Saul, “A Look Inside the Textbooks That Florida Rejected,” *New York Times*, 7 May 2022. For more on how Florida’s attack on “critical race theory” signals a nation-wide movement, see: Wyatt Msykow, “Legislation to Limit Critical Race Theory at Colleges Has Reached Fever Pitch,” *The Chronicle for Higher Education*, 8 June 2022.

10 For the full SB 7044 bill, see: <https://www.flsenate.gov/Session/Bill/2022/7044/BillText/er/PDF>. For DeSantis’s quote from the bill signing, see: Colleen Flaherty, “Florida Passes Posttenure-Review Law,” *Inside Higher Ed*, 20 Apr. 2022.

11 Renzo Downey, “Gov. DeSantis Signs ‘Stop W.O.K.E. Act’ as Legal Challenge Looms,” *Florida Politics*, 23 Apr. 2022.

12 Dylan Ruediger, "The 2021 AHA Jobs Report: 2019-2020 Data Show Relative Stability in the Year before COVID," *Perspectives on History*, 20 Jan. 2021.

13 Andrew Denning, "Modern European History in Its Institutional Contexts: How We Got Here and What Comes Next," *Central European History*, 54 (2021): 682-6.

To engineer a more inclusive, globally sensitive curriculum, many history departments are choosing to oust Europe from their strategic plans. No one teaching in the United States today was surprised to read in the American Historical Association Jobs Report that "hiring for European history positions continued its long-term decline," with 2020 showing half as many job offerings than five years before (from 15 per cent of all jobs offered in 2015 to the dismal 7 per cent of 2020).¹² In 2020-1, the downward trend continued, with only three tenure-stream jobs in any aspect of modern European history announced in the United States. This sharp decrease in new positions is happening at the same time as a generation of Europeanists are retiring. In short, the dip in offerings represents a bigger shift than any one side of this equation shows: departments across the country – in big public institutions and smaller private institutions alike – have decided that Europe should be on the out. Sometimes these positions have been repurposed to bolster other, neglected fields, but usually the choice is more a response to administrative pressure for shrinkage, with the ever-less-prized Europeanist lamb slotted for slaughter.

For those who support a progressive agenda, this phenomenon seems just. After all, as Andrew Denning recently noted, European history dominated American academia during the Cold War, monopolizing positions, curricula and funding opportunities while the rest of the world (the United States aside) was ignored.¹³ It makes sense that scholars have responded to the flattened, racially determined Western Civ models of the McCarthy-era past and the Trump-era present by pushing to displace Europe. To correct both the academic past and the political present, faculty are increasingly treating European history as the irrelevant "dead, white guy" – the former golden boy who has overstayed his welcome. While I sympathize with this impulse, I cannot help but wonder what the history of two of the most studied topics in departments – colonialism and capitalism – becomes without Europeanists. Might this accidentally lead to the perception that capitalism,

imperialism, colonialism and the violence that underpinned them were somehow natural? Do we not lose the potential for greater understanding of the historically specific causes and consequences of colonialism by leaving aside the domestic crises that made Europeans accept and even yearn to subjugate in ways no one had imagined before? These are challenging questions for scholars – including me – who want to move beyond a Europe-centered history curriculum. In so many ways, this is the crux of the problem: studying Europe is often equated with Eurocentrism. And though those are not the same thing, they are often treated as if they were, leading to an uncritical purge of Europe in an effort to correct past mistakes of its predominance.

14 HB 7 bill, <https://www.flsenate.gov/Session/Bill/2022/7/BillText/er/PDF>, 13-14.

The right, meanwhile, also has its eyes on Europe, but in a completely opposite way. Instead of cutting Europe out, the right is pushing to give Europe a bigger (though more tightly defined) place in a revamped narrative of proud American exceptionalism. A clear example of this can be found in the “stop WOKE act” mentioned above. After two pages delineating how U.S. history should be taught “factually,” the bill focuses on how schools should teach the Holocaust, which it describes as

a watershed event in the history of humanity, to be taught in a manner that leads to an investigation of human behavior, an understanding of the ramifications of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping, and an examination of what it means to be a responsible and respectful person, for the purposes of encouraging tolerance of diversity in a pluralistic society and for nurturing and protecting democratic values and institutions.¹⁴

In essence, the right hopes to use European history to cover the issues of democracy, authoritarianism, racism, xenophobia, colonialism and sexism that they want to leave undiscussed in the context of the American past (and present). Clearing out America’s complex relationship with these darker aspects of history, while focusing on ways they played out in Europe,

makes European history the perfect container for American absolution. America is exceptional once again, and Europe provides the perfect counterpoint for civics lessons about the dangers of prejudice. In a similar vein, the “Victims of Communism Day” curriculum also serves as a way to whitewash American history, filled as it is with heart-warming stories about the Berlin Airlift and the Marshall Plan. Here, it is past American actions “saving Europe” from Russia and communism that are used to deflect increased criticism about America’s present-day diplomatic and economic interventions beyond its shores.

This partisan struggle to control European history in the United States has – and will continue to have – important effects, ranging from the inner makeup of academia to the vision of Europe presented to the next generation. In part, this is because the American job market is at least 60 percent larger than that in Europe. And, for better or worse, the dominance of English within international circles means that new historiography often emerges from Anglo-American institutions. Casting Europe aside or turning it into a moral fall guy will affect not just Americans’ careers and their knowledge about Europe; it will also influence Europeans applying for fellowships and jobs. It will determine which books get published, and which ones get read.

Highly problematic in all of this is that the articles, books and pedagogies that will likely rise to the top of the pile will substantiate precisely what legislations like the “stop WOKE act” prescribe: namely, that Europe is a continent of rich, greedy, white Christian folks with planetary ambitions and a penchant for genocide. Already we are getting global histories that respond to both the left and the right of the U.S. culture wars in this way, histories that limit Europeans’ roles to international statesmen, bureaucrats, lawyers, bankers, engineers and rogue adventurers voraciously trying to devour every community with which they come into contact. To a certain degree these histories are true and important. But they are also deeply wrong: Europe was filled with more poor, powerless, provincial

people than rich, potent, cosmopolitans. Europe was not all white, was not all Christian, was always multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious, and tied for centuries within migratory patterns (forced and unforced) linking it with the worlds surrounding it. Yes, Europeans have perpetrated some of the most dehumanizing systems of violence and extraction imaginable. But these systems were not the product of an original sin. They were the result of complicated worlds of inequality and desperation as much as of scientific progress and avarice.

The American culture wars have not been a complete loss for European history, however. Some American-based historians have responded to their hostile political climate by rethinking Europe instead of ousting it or moralizing it. Here are just a few examples: Pamela Ballinger, Nimisha Barton, and Lauren Stokes have taken trigger points of America's culture wars to open up new questions about Europe's own migration histories centered on gender, religion, refugees and race.¹⁵ Tiffany Florvil, Robin Mitchell, and Silvana Patriarca have confronted Europe's "whiteness," showing not just the deep racist discourses that made "white Europe," but also showcasing the covered-up histories of the Europeans of color those discourses tried to erase.¹⁶ Emily Greble, Sarah Abrevaya Stein and Judith Surkis have resituated Muslim and Jewish communities from "(post)Ottoman Europe" and "colonial Europe" into the center of our imaginary of European citizens, reminding us how much "Christian Europe" was (and is?) a crusade, never a universal truth.¹⁷ And Anita Kurimay has reminded us that no matter how much a country wants us to "never say gay," the lived experience of LGBTQ Europeans can and should be excavated, unless we want to continue living in convenient, homophobic myths.¹⁸ These are just some of the American-based historians who have lived their culture wars

18 Anita Kurimay, *Queer Budapest: 1873-1961* (Chicago, 2020).

15 Pamela Ballinger, *The World Refugees Made: Decolonization and the Foundation of Postwar Italy* (Ithaca, NY, 2020). Nimisha Barton, *Reproductive Citizens: Gender, Immigration, and the State in Modern France, 1880-1945* (Ithaca, NY, 2020). Lauren Stokes, *Fear of the Family: Guest Workers and Family Migration in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Ithaca, NY, 2021).

16 Tiffany Florvil, *Mobilizing Black Germany: Afro-German Women and the Making of a Transnational Movement* (Champaign, IL, 2020). Robin Mitchell, *Venus Noire: Black Women and Colonial Fantasies in Nineteenth-Century France* (Athens, GA, 2020). Silvana Patriarca, *Race in Post-Fascist Italy: 'War Children' and the Color of the Nation* (Cambridge, 2022).

17 Emily Greble, *Muslims and the Making of Modern Europe* (Oxford, 2021). Sarah Abrevaya Stein, *Extraterritorial Dreams: European Citizenship, Sephardi Jews, and the Ottoman Twentieth Century* (Chicago, 2016). Judith Surkis, *Sex, Law, and Sovereignty in French Algeria, 1830-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 2019).

19 Gabrielle Cornish, "When Ukrainian Music Wasn't Under Threat, It Thrived," *New York Times*, 13 May 2022.

and responded by problematizing Europe, instead of treating it as irrelevant or as a scapegoat. Thanks to them, we see not just a more multi-faceted world; we also see how dangerous it is to believe Europe was either singular or simple.

Unfortunately, the space for writing and research of this kind requires structures that I fear will be less available if my home country continues to fund, defund, attack, silence and decenter Europe as a side-effect of intense ideological partisanship. If we want to preserve the complexity and diversity of our field, we will have to emulate the courage of Will Hanley. We will have to recognize that the culture wars raging inside and outside our institutions affect us all, even if what is under attack is outside our direct areas of expertise. Only that way can we continue to write and teach histories that challenge rather than placate. Inevitably, there will be those who argue that history and politics should remain separate. But this seems hopelessly misguided in the current climate. It is surely time to stop reacting and start acting. If your first instinct is to disagree, I offer you a quote from a recent *New York Times* article by another Florida colleague of mine, Gabrielle Cornish, where she cites the Ukrainian music critic Liuba Morozova's wise words: "the idea that 'culture is beyond politics' has long been promoted by those who put culture at the service of ideology and war crimes."¹⁹ Let us not fool ourselves. The writing and teaching of history is and always has been constrained and shaped by the political. The only way out is to jump in.

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The background features abstract geometric shapes in shades of blue and grey. A dark blue triangle points downwards from the top left. A light blue triangle points upwards from the bottom left. A grey triangle points upwards from the bottom right. The text is positioned in the white space between these shapes.

Conference Reports



In Search of the Migrant Child: Entangled Histories of Childhood Across Borders

Conference held September 19-21, 2022 at the University of California in Berkeley. Co-sponsored by the GHI Washington and its Pacific Regional Office at UC Berkeley, the Hannah Arendt Institute for Totalitarianism Studies, Dresden, the University of Minnesota, the German Research Foundation (DFG), and the Free State of Saxony. Conveners: Sheer Ganor (University of Minnesota), Bettina Hitzer (Hannah Arendt Institute for Totalitarianism Studies, Dresden), Friederike Kind-Kovács (Hannah Arendt Institute for Totalitarianism Studies, Dresden), Swen Steinberg (GHI Washington). Participants: Natalia Aleksion (University of Florida), Ulf Brunnbauer (Regensburg University), Antoine Burgard (University of Manchester), John Connelly (University of California, Berkeley), Anca Cretu (Masaryk Institute, Prague/ERC Vienna), Jeroen Dewulf (University of California, Berkeley), Lauren Heidbrink (California State University), Laura Hobson Faure (Panthéon-Sorbonne University-Paris 1), Olga Gnydiuk (Central European University), Simone Lässig (GHI Washington), Mahshid Mayar (Bielefeld University), Susanne Quitmann (Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich), Thomas Lindenberger (Hannah Arendt Institute for Totalitarianism Studies, Dresden), Chelsea Shields (University of California, Irvine), Kelly Condit-Shrestha (University of Minnesota), Sören Urbansky (Pacific Office of the GHI Washington), Nino Vallen (Pacific Office of the GHI Washington), Emma Wyse (Queen's University).

Just a few days after the start of the Russian aggression against Ukraine, the German Children's Fund called for an overall governmental strategy in dealing with refugees, to be directed towards the well-being of the most vulnerable

¹ See Deutsches Kinderhilfswerk, “Kinderrechte von Kindern aus der Ukraine umfassend berücksichtigen,” <https://jugendhilfeportal.de/artikel/kinderrechte-von-kindern-aus-der-ukraine-umfassend-beruecksichtigen>, accessed November 22, 2022.

among them – that of the fleeing children. The “primacy of the best interests of the child in all decisions by the state and society and the right of children to promotion, protection and participation”¹ must be guaranteed, as must the provisions of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the European Charter of Fundamental Rights and the Child and Youth Welfare Act. Unaccompanied minors arriving in Germany were placed in state custody to protect them from potential abuse and exploitation. The children had as little influence on the decision of what was in their best interest as they did on the decision to leave their war-torn homeland in search of protection and safety.

When the conference “In Search of the Migrant Child” was planned, it was not foreseeable that the subject would in this very year become a dramatic experience within Europe. Viewing children not only as objects of state care, but also as subjects with their own migration experiences, and exploring historiographical possibilities for capturing their experiences, was the goal of the conference. The event kicked off with the presentation of Friederike Kind-Kovács’ 2022 book, *Budapest’s Children: Humanitarian Relief in the Aftermath of the Great War*, which was chaired and moderated by John Connelly. Kind-Kovács’ study, which reexamines transnational humanitarian aid for Budapest’s children after World War I, is a paradigmatic signpost for the conference’s most important approach to the history of childhood. It shows that childhood history is much more than the history of children. If one pursues it as the author and the conference participants did, histories of childhood also form global and political histories that provide important insights into the connection between war, flight, and violence in the twentieth century, both from the perspective of migrating minors and of national and international welfare providers.

After welcoming remarks by Simone Lässig and Thomas Lindenberger, Friederike Kind-Kovács and Swen Steinberg

highlighted the political dimension and social urgency of the topic. The current flight of now more than 1.5 million children from Ukraine, as well as the illegal forced deportation of an estimated 200,000 to 300,000 Ukrainian children to Russia, point to historical antecedents of forced migrations in which children and their bodies became governed objects. The organizers of the conference countered this depersonalization, which often still dominates the majority of sources and thus also the research approach, with a reversal of perspective that consistently placed children's experiences at the center of the investigation. How, the conference asked, did age shape the experiences of international migration? How were migrant children's bodies perceived, marked, and managed? What role did the migration context and the experience of migration itself play? And how should historians capture and uncover children's voices as well as their silences or potential losses?

In the first keynote lecture of the conference, Mahshid Mayar showed how migration itself was used to shape politics. Based on the example of the "American Geography Classrooms," she illustrated how children in the U.S. were taught about migration and the binary opposition of "home" and "homelessness." According to Mayar, American pupils in the late nineteenth century were often taught to associate migrants with diseases rather than learning about the reasons for and experiences of migrating children. Their placement in quarantine stations marked migrants as "others" and promoted a negative, but ultimately imagined notion of what a migrant was. In the discussion that followed, it was suggested that both the transitory quarantine spaces and the emotional worlds of the migrating children should be subjected to closer analysis.

The psychological and physical effects of childhood migration were also addressed in the presentations that followed. Friederike Kind-Kovács dealt with the evacuation of

unaccompanied children in the twentieth century and asked to what extent their forced separation – despite the underlying humanitarian motivation – had to be understood as a form of non-physical, invisible violence and was also experienced as such by the children. According to recent studies, children often suffered more from the separation from their primary caregivers than from the actual acts of war. According to Kind-Kovács, the reasons why physical well-being was nevertheless prioritized over emotional well-being must be critically historicized.

Bettina Hitzer looked at transnational adoptions in West Germany and asked whether the “unconditional” love that adoptive parents believed they were giving their adopted children should be understood as a form of neocolonial appropriation of a child from the Global South. The belief that their children’s non-white appearance had no meaning for them, that their love would be colorblind, had far-reaching consequences for the children, according to Hitzer. Not knowing their background but perceiving their non-white bodies as different as they grew older, the children lacked the opportunity to come to terms with their origins so that they would no longer feel exoticized and othered. Precisely because their otherness was seen as insignificant in the family, they lacked a space in which this otherness could have been talked about in a constructive way.

Chelsea Shields presented the history of social science studies of “racial knowledge” between the 1930s and 1960s in the British Caribbean, Europe, and the United States, drawing in part on the controversial 1956 “Moynihan Report” on Black poverty in the United States. In the report, Daniel Moynihan argued that the increase in Black single mothers was not due to a lack of jobs, but to dysfunctional traditions in “ghetto culture” that dated back to the time of slavery and discrimination that continued thereafter. According to Shields, this form of sociologically-constructed racial memorizing, which

was accompanied by a belief in the intra-familial inheritance of patterns of feeling, was causal in viewing children as carriers of these patterns and the resulting psychological dispositions. Significantly, the results of studies designed in this way were used to legitimize the rollback of welfare state policies; if the state could rely on these studies to claim that the behavior of poor children of color depended not on economic backgrounds but on cultural ones, then there would be no need for state funds to improve their circumstances.

In her presentation on the evacuation of children mainly from England to the British Dominions, Emma Wyse shed light on dimensions of state action that directly targeted the bodies of migrating minors. Only children of supposed “good parentage” were eligible for evacuation. They had to be British citizens by birth and pass a medical examination confirming their physical fitness. Their bodies were thus emblematic of perfect examples of the so-called “British race” and of the importance of British imperialism abroad. Surviving sources show, however, that children sought to evade this interpretive high ground over their bodies in multiple ways or failed to live up to the adult notions associated with it. Documents tell of children who were labeled “dirty,” “difficult,” or “perverted” because of, as Wyse showed, their perceived bodily disobedience regarding weight, sexual behavior, sexual deviance, and susceptibility to disease.

The presentation by Kelly Condit-Shrestha also focused on tensions in dealing with refugee minors, here using the example of U.S. debates in the interwar period. She presented the still little-known history of German Jewish refugee children who were at the center of the first major push by the U.S. towards large-scale adoption from abroad. These children, alternately referred to as refugees, immigrants, adoptees, and foster children, were to find refuge in the United States at a time when it was considered socially and politically unacceptable to advocate for adult immigration in light of

the global depression and increasingly isolationist foreign policy. Nevertheless, their planned admission, and especially the underlying Wagner-Rogers Act of 1939, ignited numerous controversies in which, Condit-Shrestha argued, sometimes-contradictory narratives about migrating children were linked to arguments about race, law, and labor.

Laura Hobson Faure addressed the history of Jewish children who migrated from occupied France to the United States in 1941-42. Situated at the little-explored interface between Holocaust Studies and Childhood Studies, she argued for thinking collectively about children's experiences of displacement and the Holocaust, and for examining the coping strategies of these two experiences in relation to children's agency. According to Hobson Faure, children were also, but not only, victims of displacement. They had their own agency, both on an individual and collective level, for example as part of a social group. This social context must be taken into account if one wants to better understand the coping strategies that children used to grapple with the reasons and consequences of migration.

Olga Gnydiuk, who analyzed the experiences of Ukrainian and Polish-Ukrainian children against the background of their re-migration by international organizations such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and the International Refugee Organization (IRO), was also concerned with agency. Gnydiuk showed that children often tried to influence the decisions of the organizations and social workers about their re-migration, albeit with limited success. While some minors succeeded in emigrating to Canada, Australia, or the United States at their own request instead of returning to their home country, the wishes of other children were not considered. Referring to the trauma the children experienced due to forced deportation and war, Gnydiuk discussed how they were denied agency, particularly the ability to make rational decisions about their future.

Lauren Heidbrink, the conference's second keynote speaker, focused on the migration of indigenous people from Guatemala to the U.S. as a form of intergenerational caregiving, or a cultural elaboration of care resulting from decades of displacement. These young people's understanding of migration was both contextual – i.e., as a result of migration experiences transmitted by their families since Spanish colonialism and the armed conflicts between 1960-1996 – and relational – e.g., as a result of social and familial obligations to care for one another. Not infrequently, migration was perceived as an investment in the future well-being of one's family. Contrasting U.S. border protection regimes with anti-racist laws – such as Italy's "Zampa Law" – Heidbrink showed how the "Politics of the Possible" in the case of Guatemala helps young people envision a future in which all people would have the right to non-migration as well as the right to migrate.

The following presentation by Antoine Burgard focused on the notions of "truth" and "trust." Drawing on a dataset of 1,115 official forms filled out by caseworkers from the IRO, the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), and other Jewish organizations that conducted interviews with young Holocaust survivors who entered Canada between 1947 and 1952, Burgard illustrated young refugees' efforts to create a coherent autobiographical narrative. He showed, however, that the narratives found in the files ultimately reflect the views of the caseworkers and thus suggest a "paper identity," which Burgard presented as an empirical and theoretical challenge for future research. How can historians recover the messiness of individual lives in a migration context that is often erased by political or administrative power structures? And how can historians also look at the emotions and representations of young migrants, the ways they make sense of their journey, their experiences of persecution and grief, or how they imagine their futures? Burgard critically evaluated the notion of agency in this context. After all, he said, the young refugees often traveled in a collective and

adult-dominated environment that provided little room for individual choices. Moreover, agency only became visible when young people disrupted or rebelled against power structures, while those who remained silent or conformed mostly were invisible.

Swen Steinberg also focused his presentation on underaged, unaccompanied refugees who fled Nazi persecution to North America in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Drawing on a rich body of source material collected at Columbia University's New York School of Social Work and elsewhere, Steinberg provided insight into both the transit situations of young refugees and the ways that people in transit themselves thought about this particular transitional group. Steinberg's presentation offered perspectives on early refugee research in the context of contemporary assimilation debates while emphasizing the role of children as mediators between different conceptions of childhood in their countries of origin as well as upon arrival. He showed the interesting insights that can be gained from researching strategies of knowledge acquisition as well as the translation and transformation of this knowledge into new settings. At the same time, Steinberg raised the question of when, by whom, and why the young migrants' knowledge was perceived at all, and what agency the children were actually able to develop on the basis of this experiential knowledge.

Susanne Quitmann raised important conceptual issues in her presentation, which was based on court transcripts from a criminal trial investigating the death of an abused migrant child. Using the example of 16-year-old George Green, who died in Ontario, Canada in November 1895, seven months after his arrival from Britain, Quitmann addressed the question of how the "voice" of children could be historically captured. Drawing on subaltern and childhood studies, Quitmann argued for including not only the narrative dimension but also the context, sound, and form of children's

verbal and nonverbal voices to analyze child migration programs, such as those that brought socially disadvantaged children from Britain to British settler colonies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The voices of these children, who were trained in private homes, farm schools, and orphanages to become farm workers and domestic servants, should be included, according to Quitmann, not as illustrative metaphors, but rather for their heuristic value. In this way, the focus would not be on moral framing – “giving” children a voice – nor on a fruitless search for authenticity, but on the multiple forms of sound and silence in the production, recording, archiving, and excavation of children’s voices. The compassionate notion of the weak and needy child, she argued, should be replaced by a historiographical attitude that understands children and childhood as a malleable, social, and complex categories.

Anca Cretu also dealt with the voices of children, which she reconstructed from diaries of former Italian-speaking refugee children. In their memoirs written decades later, these children, who were housed in refugee camps on Austro-Hungarian territory during the mass exodus after World War I, recalled above all the loss of their dignity due to the brutal camp conditions. The camps functioned both as an instrument for authorities to detain seemingly undesirable populations and to shape their bodies and minds into an “ideal” future citizenry, but the experiences of imprisonment, suffering, deprivation and misery prevailed in the adult voices of the camp inmates. Cretu was able to capture the gap between the state’s ambitions, which were motivated by welfare but instrumentalized the children in terms of cultural policy, and the actual well-being of the children.

Natalia Aleksion discussed the consequences that flight and expulsion could have for those who acted as helpers or rescuers of underage refugees. Using the example of surviving Jewish children and their non-Jewish caregivers in Poland,

she examined the complex web of bonds during wartime, separations in the postwar period, and expectations of financial compensation. Referring to letters sent by Polish rescuers to Jewish institutions – such as the JDC and the Central Committee of Jews in Poland – immediately after the Second World War, Aleksiu showed the ways in which their requests for financial and material support intertwined with loyalties and emotions. These letters, according to Aleksiu, reflected a strong emotional bond that sometimes developed between non-Jews and Jews, both adults and children, often leading to conflicts about whether to give the children away at all after the war ended. As Holocaust testimonies of non-biological kinship, the letters allow us to better understand the contours of gender roles in Jewish, non-Jewish, and surrogate families and to analyze the relationship between rescuers and rescued, a relationship marked by responsibility but also ambivalence.

The conference concluded with an instructive discussion on the strengths and limitations of its thematic and methodological approaches. Bettina Hitzer reflected on how results were influenced by the predominant concentration on the European and North American area as well as on the material and economic dimensions of child migration, which have so far received little attention. She also emphasized the visible and fruitful interconnection between the history of migration and the history of knowledge. In particular, questions of causalities, correlations, and interactions between policies of migration and different disciplinary knowledge about migration have to be further investigated and promise far-reaching new insights. From a theoretical and empirical perspective, the complexities of children's voices and agency remain challenging. At the same time, the aspect of physical and psychological violence to which migrating children were often exposed has to be an indispensable component of future research.

What would this research look like, Sheer Ganor added, if migration of unaccompanied minors were no longer seen as an exception but as the rule? The efforts of states to regulate, restrict, or enable migration, and the social and cultural effects of those efforts, will continue to shape our knowledge of childhood and migration. In this respect, Simone Lässig asked whether childhood history could also offer a lens through which to better examine global political, social, and economic issues. As the conference “In Search of the Migrant Child” and especially the closing discussion made clear, childhood history offers both constructive insights into the history of childhood and children and innovative perspectives on phenomena that are interwoven with or underlie childhood experiences related to migration, such as war, violence, and racism.

Agnes Arndt

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Environments of Inequality: Crises, Conflicts, Comparisons

International Summer School at the Maria Sibylla Merian Center for Advanced Latin American Studies (CALAS), Guadalajara, Mexico, Sep 25-30, 2022, co-sponsored by CALAS, the Collaborative Research Centre (SFB) 1288 “Practices of Comparing. Ordering and Changing of the World” at Bielefeld University, and the German Historical Institute Washington and its Pacific Regional Office. Conveners: Cornelia Aust (Bielefeld University, SFB 1288), Olaf Kaltmeier (CALAS), Simone Lässig (GHI Washington), Mario Peters (GHI Washington), Ann-Kathrin Volmer (CALAS). Participants: Jacey Christine Anderson (Montana State University); Luana Braga Batista (University of Rio de Janeiro); Alfonsina Cantore (University of San Martin, Buenos Aires); Dimitri Diagne (University of California, Berkeley); Devrim Eren (Humboldt University, Berlin); Sabrina Fernandes (University of Brasilia); Marianela Laura Galazino (National University of Litoral, Santa Fe); Tathagato Ganguly (University of Delhi); Natalia Gómez Muñoz (University of Bologna); Edna Liliana Guerrero Caidcedo (National University of Colombia, Bogotá); Angela Eva Gutierrez (Bielefeld University); Marie Jasser (University of Vienna); Kirsten Kramer (Bielefeld University); Valerie Lenikus (University of Vienna); Marius Littschwager (Bielefeld University); Emilio Necedal Rojas (Metropolitan Autonomous University, Xochimilco); Ángela María Ocampo Carvajal (Leuven University); Diana Ojeda (University of the Andes, Bogotá); Lorena E. Olarte Sánchez (University of Vienna); Rosa Philipp (University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt); María del Pilar Peralta Ardila (University of Munich); Manoel Rendeiro Neto (University of California, Davis); José Antonio Romero López (Free University of Berlin); Gerhard Sagerer (Bielefeld University); Nina Schlosser (University of

Vienna); Michael Sondermann (BMBF); Livia de Souza Lima (Bielefeld University); Nino Vallen (GHI, Pacific Office).

Inequality is a defining feature of most Latin American societies. Wealth, gender, racial, and ecological disparities impact all aspects of daily life. The week-long summer school “Environments of Inequality: Crises, Conflicts, Comparisons” brought together over thirty doctoral students and scholars from sixteen countries to discuss different forms of inequality and the conflicts they are inciting in different places. The organizers invited participants to reflect especially on the interrelationships between social inequality and the natural environment. Since colonial times, the exploitation of Latin America’s natural resources has left deep traces in the social fabric and the region’s landscape. Yet, in the present age of the Anthropocene, the region’s less-privileged increasingly bear the brunt of the world’s consumerist and imperial mode of living. Against the background of the social and environmental struggles this development is producing, the summer school presented a timely forum for academic debate and activist exchange.

The first day started with the event’s opening ceremony at the University Center for Social Sciences and Humanities of the University of Guadalajara. Organizers and representatives of the hosting institutions and funding agency (Federal Ministry of Education and Research, BMBF) welcomed participants and underscored the importance of this international gathering. Referring to the current crises and disputes in Latin America, Olaf Kaltmaier stressed the importance of environmental conflict as a defining characteristic of the era of the Anthropocene. Kaltmaier underlined that studying these conflicts is important not only to understand what is currently happening in the region, but also to gain a better understanding of the solutions that are being developed. The opening ceremony was followed by a tour through Guadalajara and subsequent bus transfer to the Jaliscan countryside, where most of the summer school took place.

The first day ended with a panel on “Inequalities and Justice.” In her presentation, Devrim Eren discussed how caste, social class, gender, and waste colonialism interacted in the reproduction of social inequalities in Mumbai, India. Marianela Laura Galazino demonstrated how environmental conflicts in Argentina and Brazil prompted competing calls for justice within communities, as their members vied over fundamental questions about the exploitation and defense of nature, collective rights, and lifestyle. Finally, Nina Schlosser discussed the effects of lithium exploitation in the Salar de Atacama, Chile, both on nature and the lives of the region’s native residents, who increasingly embrace the exploitation of the natural wealth found on their lands.

The second day commenced with a panel on “Environmental Struggles.” Jacey Anderson compared the identities, livelihoods, and strategic relationships of those resisting mineral extraction in Chalatenango, El Salvador, and Montana, United States, revealing important similarities between the two contexts. Luana Braga Batista examined the role of land struggle in the emergence of the Union of Rural Workers in the city of Iaçú-Ba, Brazil during the 1970s, as well as the self-understanding and demands that these rural workers articulated in their opposition to the region’s large landowners. Meanwhile, Valerie Lenikus presented her study of agrarian extractivism in coastal Ecuador and the Amazon dry forest in the Chiquitanía (Bolivia), where, under the auspices of the countries’ Leftist governments, natural resources had further been commodified despite worsening climate and social-ecological crises.

The second panel of the day, “Extractivism and Territorial Conflicts,” continued exploring similar themes. Marie Jasser discussed the role of Bolivia’s plurinational state in changing, reducing, or consolidating new forms of inequality. Using the notion of motley territories, she demonstrated how the current distribution and uses of land must

be understood in relation to the varying territorial regimes that have developed in the region since colonial times. Lorena Olarte Sánchez's talk focused on our use of terminology and the discrepancies that exist between the analytical and everyday language of our subjects of study. Using examples from her fieldwork in the Northeastern Sierra of Puebla, she discussed communal understandings of territory and life and presented the project of *yeknemilis* (honest life) as one alternative way of being that is used to oppose the colonial and developmental logic of the modern state. Finally, Manoel Rendeiro Neto opposed the notion of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Amazonian lowlands as being located at the margins of the modern world. Instead, Rendeiro Neto argued that the region became the theater of struggles between the colonial state and Black and Indigenous workers over the uses of tropical land and water resources, in which the latter leveraged environmental knowledge to mitigate their place in exploitative labor regimes and make sense of the freedom denied to them.

The third panel of the day dealt with issues of "Race and (De) Colonization." Dimitri Diagne talked about the longevity of colonial visions in the Senegal Valley. Covering the period from 1802 to 1959, Diagne demonstrated how ideas about agricultural profit transplanted from the Caribbean to West Africa continued to shape early- and mid-twentieth century development initiatives, despite the misunderstandings of West African ecosystems and societies resulting persistently in unsatisfactory results. Angela Gutierrez presented her project about the shifting racial relationships in Cuba leading up to the "race war" of 1912. Focusing on comparison as a tool deployed in political conflict, she examined the role of the journalistic community and Afro-Cuban journalists in particular in shaping new ideas of hierarchy and segregation through their comparisons of the situation in Cuba, the U.S., and Haiti. Tathagato Ganguly once more underscored the importance of the histories of territorial claims and their

articulation for present-day struggles. Focusing on racial and gender discrimination in Esmeraldas, Ecuador, he called for solutions based on a profound understanding of how specific actors constructed their own notions of territoriality to give shape to more just forms of resource appropriation and social organization.

The fourth panel of the day centered on another of the event's key themes: the "Anthropocene." Edna Guerrero Caidcedo discussed Velia Vidal's book, *Oir somos río*, and Gabriela Carneiro da Cunha's performance, *Altamira 2042*, as novel, multi-sensational engagements with rivers that moved beyond the modern, functional gaze. Presenting the notion of *sentipensar* (feel-think) as the basis of her methodology, she argued that these works were not mere representations of the river but presented, instead, critical and creative ways to imagine new worlds via multi-sensational engagements. Ángela Ocampo Carvajal, in turn, pointed out the centrality of international law to the global transformations that have resulted in human-induced environmental change and in the resistance against it. Concentrating on processes of place-making, she called for a dynamic and creative challenging of the anthropocentric, state-centered visions of space and a readiness to incorporate alternative experiences, knowledges, and notions of nature into the legal arena.

The third day opened with a panel on "Feminism and Care." Alfonsina Cantore discussed the role of female members of the Mbya Guaraní community in Iguazú (Argentina) in the struggle against territorial enclosures and contamination caused by tourism in the region. Cantore drew a picture of the constellations of power in which these women operated while using their role as female caregivers to claim leadership in their community's struggles. Livia de Souza Lima discussed her work on the political performances of Black state legislators in Brazil's Congress. Zooming in on the uses of hair as a means of identity

politics, she reflected on the possibilities for these female legislators to reclaim territory for Black female culture in a space that is historically and hegemonically a white and masculine one. María del Pilar Peralta Ardila showed how she used life stories to study the leadership trajectories of female leaders defending and caring for the environment in southwestern Colombia. Meanwhile, Rosa Philipp examined, through the concept of *cuerpo-territorio* (body-territory), how women in Oaxaca, Mexico, defended their connection to the land, which was threatened by infrastructural and extractivist projects. Philipp showed how such connections were revived through everyday practices and traditions, including food consumption, festivals, and the knowledge of traditional medicine and sacred places.

The final thematic panel of the Summer School was dedicated to "Migration." Natalia Gómez Muñoz discussed Social Impact Bonds (a social form of investment in Colombia) and the impact this project had on people's lives. She underlined that, while the bond programs are being presented as a success, the transformative impact on the lives of those who participated in the program was limited. Too often the focus was on job placement, but the labor was hard, offered only short-term contracts, and provided few benefits. Emilio Necedal Rojas discussed his research about La plazoleta de hermandad in Ciudad Ixtepéc, Mexico, a crossroads for migrants traveling from Central America to the U.S. In this space of distrust and often volatile interaction, Necedal discovered in the touch of the anointment the potential for new encounters and thinking differently about migrant experiences. Ultimately, José Antonio Romero López used a self-produced video to outline his research project on the medial representation of the migrant caravan that generated intense public debate in mid-October 2018.

The second half of the day was dedicated to two different but equally inspired keynote lectures. In her talk, "Comparing Earth History and World History: Anthropocene Landscapes in

Patricio Guzman's Documentary Film," Kirsten Kramer argued that the era of the Anthropocene demands the development of a new politics of comparison. As she explained in the first, theoretical, part of her lecture, new perceptions of the interrelationship between the figure "earth" (geophysical space) and "world" (social, juridical-political space) call for comparisons that go beyond traditional comparisons between culture and nature, the human and non-human. In the second part of her talk, Kramer expanded on these ideas in a detailed analysis of Patricio Guzman's documentary film, *Nostalgia for the light* (*Nostalgia de la luz*, 2010). Analyzing both the Chilean filmmaker's story and the film's visual aesthetics, she discussed how technological infrastructure (e.g., astrological observatories) became an integral part of the natural landscape and the parallels the film draws between the moon and the earth and between the rocks and the human bones of the victims of Pinochet's dictatorship buried in the Atacama Desert.

In her lecture, "Latin America as a Sacrifice Zone: Challenges out of Dependency and into Radical Sustainability," Sabrina Fernandes called for radical changes in how the solutions for the world's current crises are being conceptualized. Fernandes argued that ideas about development and ecological transitions are deeply embedded in a capitalist and imperialist logic which holds that the solution to our problems is to be found in the exploitation of more resources (e.g., electric vehicles). Such an approach produces sacrifice zones, both in the Global South and the Global North, in which everything can be used as a resource, people can be treated as disposable, or the territory can be used to trash anything. In opposition to these solutions, Fernandes proposed initiatives for selective degrowth and a reframing of sovereignty in terms of radical sustainability that recognizes people's territorial rights and living arrangements. Although she recognized that such a path of transition is full of challenges and contradictions, she contended that this difficult route is unavoidable to find ways to create a better life for all.

After two days of intensive discussions, the fourth day was reserved for an excursion. Participants had the chance to learn more about Jalisco's primary export product: tequila. During the past two decades, the production of this distilled beverage made from the blue agave plant has doubled, leaving a clear mark on the state's highlands. With growing export volumes driving up prices, more and more land has been and is still being converted into agave plantations. Although similar processes had been discussed in other contexts during previous days, the excursion allowed participants to experience for themselves what the commodification of nature means. The guide for the day was Marcos Galindo, co-founder of La Dama Tequila, a brand that produces tequila in an ecological and sustainable way. After a visit to the distillery and a tasting of his product, he brought participants higher into the Sierra Madre Occidental, where he is growing blue agave not on plantation-style fields, but as part of a larger ecosystem. Participants experienced the contrast between the two methods first-hand. During the hour-long climb to Galindo's fields, they passed many agave fields, but it was noticeable when they crossed over into Galindo's land. With nature taking its free course, the temperature dropped, the air quality improved and became more fragrant, and they could suddenly hear insects and birds. This sensual physical experience inspired new reflections on our relationship with nature. Obviously, Galindo is unable to produce the same volume of agave as conventional producers, but his project nonetheless plays an important role in his campaigns for environmental education and community building, which can change the ways residents of the region think about agave. Doing so is crucial, as Galindo reminded us repeatedly, since current practices will deplete the land in two to three decades.

The fifth and final day of the summer school took place once more on the campus of the University of Guadalajara. The day began with a discussion about comparing and com-

parisons in a global world. Participants discussed Monika Krause's work on model cases and reflected on their own dissertations and their engagements with material research objects that are studied repeatedly. This discussion was followed by the keynote lecture, "Putting Life at the Center": Articulations of Feminism and Environmental Defense in Latin America." In her talk, Diana Ojeda made a strong case for using feminism as a lens to understand the logics and forms of operation of agrarian extractivism, as well as the ways in which people are resisting this socio-environmental regime. Ojeda first discussed her experiences in Tayrona and Montes de María, two Colombian regions in which land grabbing, often under the pretext of green initiatives, had drastically shaped the landscape of possession. Processes of dispossession produced deep frustrations about the loss of identity and the erosion of communities that were once able to sustain lives. Ojeda then turned her attention to the role that feminist thought is playing in imagining alternative futures that put life at the center – imaginations that are based on alternative ecologies, processes of commoning, and the recognition of a plurality of knowledges and worlds. The day ended with a discussion about the role of high-income demographics in locking in or rapidly reducing energy-driven greenhouse gas emissions and, finally, a general reflection on the summer school.

This brief report can hardly do justice to the richness of the exchanges and the learning that took place during this week. The format of the summer school, especially one organized in such a remote location, produced a dynamic unlike those of typical workshops or conferences. Shared experiences outside the academic setting enriched the discussions and helped build confidence to address difficult topics. Moreover, for a cohort of doctoral students who had started their doctoral research during the pandemic, this opportunity to connect in-person with like-minded scholars was of tremendous importance. One overarching question that deserves

more attention concerns the role of the social sciences and humanities in the remaking of new worlds that are more just, more equal, and in which a healthier, sustainable balance between humans and nature exists. With this and plenty more to discuss about the dynamics of world-making, we are already looking forward to the next summer school in 2024.

Nino Vallen
(GHI Pacific Office)

Beyond Work for Pay? Basic-Income Concepts in Global Debates on Automation, Poverty, and Unemployment (1920-2020)

Workshop at the German Historical Institute Washington (GHI), September 30-October 1, 2022. Co-organized by the GHI, the Blum Center on Poverty, Inequality, and Democracy at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), and the Collegium Philosophicum at Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel. Conveners: Manuel Franzmann (University of Kiel), Axel Jansen (GHI), Alice O'Connor (UCSB). Participants: Halah Ahmad (Jain Family Institute, New York City), Jennifer Burns (Stanford University), Grace Davie (City University of New York), Ugo Gentilini (World Bank), César Guzmán-Concha (University of Geneva), Louis Hyman (Cornell University), Bru Laín (University of Barcelona), Otto Lehto (New York University), Mark Levinson (former Chief Economist, Service Employees International Union), Premilla Nadasen (Barnard College), Atiba Pertilla (GHI), Natalie Rauscher (University of Heidelberg), Oleksandr Svitych (O.P. Jindal Global University, New Delhi), Melody Webb (founder of the Mother's Outreach Network/DC Guaranteed Income Coalition in Washington), Toru Yamamori (Doshisha University, Kyoto City, Japan), Daniel Zamora (Université Libre de Bruxelles).

Political utopias have long envisioned a life without the need for paid work. Over the past century, the idea of payments to citizens without work requirements has gained traction as a way of assuring human rights and well-being at times of high unemployment, structural change, and job-threatening automation. In the 1960s, the idea of an income floor became a centerpiece of social and economic justice movement politics, reaching a height of grassroots support in the

Black freedom and welfare rights movements in the United States. By then, basic income proposals had drawn support from ideologically divergent groups of policy intellectuals as a centerpiece of a reformed or re-envisioned welfare state, laying the groundwork for government-staged basic income experiments in the 1970s. Basic income gained sustained momentum after the global financial crisis of 2007/08, as debates about the effects of automation on the labor market have continued. At a workshop entitled “Beyond Work for Pay? Basic Income Concepts in Global Debates on Automation, Poverty, and Unemployment (1920-2020)” sociologists, economists, political scientists, and advocates joined with historians to discuss the recent global evolution and impact of basic income concepts. In their introductory remarks, Axel Jansen and Alice O’Connor noted that the workshop had been designed as a dialogue across disciplines.

The workshop was preceded by a public roundtable on “Guaranteed Income as Economic Justice,” which was convened by the GHI, the UCSB Blum Center, and the Kalmanovitz Initiative at Georgetown University. Moderated by Alice O’Connor, the event featured Jain Family Institute Vice President Halah Ahmad, SEIU economist Mark Levinson, historian Premilla Nadasen, and Executive Director of the Mother’s Outreach Network/DC Guaranteed Income Coalition Melody Webb, in conversation about the recent resurgence of interest in guaranteed income in the United States. In addition to such pandemic-era measures as the federally administered expanded Child and Dependent Tax Credit, especially notable has been the widening array of guaranteed income experiments in localities across the U.S. These in turn have given rise to a diversified, largely community-based network of activists, policy analysts, and, increasingly, elected officials dedicated to building support for the idea. While acknowledging that the pandemic had created an opening for such experimentation, panelists

emphasized that grass roots support for these initiatives stemmed from decades of working-class wage declines, diminishing social supports, rising inequality, and racial injustice. Under what terms and conditions, they asked, could the guaranteed income be understood as something more than a “basic” minimum, and instead as a vehicle for building collective power and transformative social change? In these and other ways, this lively and wide-ranging exchange anticipated themes that would be addressed in the ensuing workshop.

The next day, Oleksandr Svitych’s paper kicked off the panel on “UBI and Social Movements.” In his paper, Svitych proposed a normative framework for adopting a universal basic income on ethical grounds from the perspective of theories developed in political economy and in political philosophy. Drawing from works by Amartya Sen and Karl Polanyi, he emphasized the former’s focus on the capability of people instead of economic growth and on an unconditional income as realizing the latter’s demand for a decommodification of labor. Svitych suggested that the public in India stood to learn from such perspectives, for basic income experiments in India usually had been proposed by sociologist Sarath Davala, economist Guy Standing, and others with reference to Western concepts of development. In his contribution on the same panel, César Guzmán-Concha charted how the concept of an unconditional basic income in the UK had become mainstream in the early 2000s. Guzmán-Concha did so by examining the role of activists in building epistemic communities, networks, and coalitions in order to make the concept more salient. The panel’s discussant, Grace Davie, noted that both papers, in their own way, explored the historical context for today’s discussions about unconditional basic income concepts. She noted that Guzmán-Concha built on a definition of “mainstreaming” also used by feminist scholars.

The second panel focused on “UBI, Technology, and the Future of Work.” Natalie Rauscher charted recent discussions of an unconditional basic income in the United States. Based on her examination of both quantitative and qualitative data of major U.S. media outlets and congressional hearings between 2013 and 2017, she highlighted concerns that a new wave of automation could break with historical patterns and introduce a permanent decline of jobs. Except for references to an expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit, which was endorsed by both parties, debates among politicians have usually stopped short of major transformations along the lines of a basic income. Raucher’s paper was followed by Otto Lehto’s presentation, which focused on debates about an unconditional basic income to propose that intellectual shifts were taking place within that conversation. Instead of focusing on a threat of “permanent unemployment,” the debate more recently had focused on an unconditional basic income as an answer to a “permanent uncertainty.” This uncertainty, Lehto observed, derived from a new pace of societal transformation. While the future of technological unemployment remained hard to assess, rapid change was certain. Such change, Lehto suggested, deteriorated income security, which an unconditional basic income would cushion. In response to the papers by Rauscher and Lehto, Louis Hyman emphasized the longstanding utopian character of unconditional basic income concepts. Situating the two papers within this context, Hyman appreciated Rauscher’s analytical approach to investigating the growth and significance of U.S. debates. With respect to Lehto’s intervention, he suggested that such debates went hand in hand with moral questions about the future of capitalism and the state. Hyman noted that the labor market has been transforming for a long time, from the agricultural to the industrial and on to the digital age. To these larger developments, both papers responded by tracing how basic income debates have come to shift the conversation away from unemployment towards the broader issue of uncertainty.

The third and final panel of the day, on “UBI and the Shifting Parameters of Social Provision,” featured one presenter and two respondents. In his paper on “The Rise of Cash Transfers and the Demise of Development Economics,” Daniel Zamora charted the significant shift of perspectives among economists who have advised governments and shaped policies for global institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In Zamora’s narrative, the nexus between development and industrialization held sway after the Second World War. It was broken in the 1970s when state-centered policies came under pressure to respond to the ongoing problem of poverty, both in first-world countries such as the U.S. and in the Global South. The IMF, the World Bank, and the U.S. government, however, increasingly translated a neoliberal consensus into demands that debtor countries cut public spending, privatize, and open up their markets to global competition. Zamora went on to highlight developments in India and South Africa, where economists such as Guy Standing in the 1990s unsuccessfully proposed that the state “give people money so they could sustain themselves as they saw fit.” Since then, civil societies in South Africa and elsewhere have taken up the idea of “cash transfers.” In response to Zamora’s paper, both Ugo Gentilini and Jennifer Burns praised his ability to develop a broad historical narrative on shifting solutions to poverty. Gentilini highlighted that debates about an unconditional basic income have been framed in different ways. While Zamora had focused on development economics, an unconditional basic income had also been discussed as a fiscal stimulus, as social assistance, or as a response to automation. Gentilini noted that each perspective translates into different policy narratives.

Toru Yamamori started off the final panel on “The Politics of Popular Support.” In his paper on “A Forgotten Feminist History of Basic Income and Responsible Production” he focused on demands for an unconditional basic income by

Claimants Unions in the UK, i.e., neighborhood community organizations in the sixties and seventies representing welfare recipients. Yamamori homed in on their successful but long overlooked efforts to have the British Women's Liberation movement endorse a "Guaranteed Minimum Income" (in fact, an unconditional basic income). Even if their demand has been forgotten, Yamamori argued, the British women's movement in the 1970s had in fact committed itself to demanding a guaranteed income. The other paper on the panel was presented by Bru Laín, a sociologist who helped design and run the Barcelona basic income pilot. Laín offered a critical assessment of unconditional basic income experiments. He compared the Barcelona pilot with experiments in countries such as Finland and Canada, noting their overall positive results, such as improved diets, subjective well-being, and happiness among participants. But Laín critically noted that the design of many experiments created a positive bias. The Barcelona experiments produced results some consider less beneficial, such as a decrease in labor market participation. Looking at the results of the various basic income experiments together, Laín suggested that they may not provide a coherent conclusion on the viability of an unconditional basic income, the implementation of which cannot be tested anyway. In response to Yamamori's presentation, Axel Jansen highlighted contemporary criticism of Claimants Unions from within the women's movement, considering an unconditional income "socialism" or "wages for housework." He wondered about the role of social class in these debates, a matter picked up by Alice O'Connor, who added that race and transatlantic exchanges within the women's movement may well have played a significant role. With respect to Laín's paper, Jansen noted that those who criticized the Barcelona experiments for their ineffective labor-market integration presupposed that such integration was important. He wondered about the framing of the experiment when it was first set up and noted that basic income experiments in the U.S. and in Canada in the

1970s, even if they improved people's lives, were considered a failure because of slow labor-market integration. Framing a basic income as an anti-poverty measure (instead of an expansion of citizenship rights) has consequences.

For the workshop's concluding discussion, the three conveners each offered ideas to summarize and extrapolate. Axel Jansen suggested several perspectives of concern to historians, such as comparing campaigns for an unconditional basic income to earlier struggles for an expansion of citizenship rights. With respect to the wave of basic income experiments in many countries around the globe, he wondered about the paradoxical effect of reinforcing social stigma. Manuel Franzmann emphasized that the papers presented at the workshop shared a common theme as they all touched on different aspects of trusting people to do something sensible when given the opportunity. Alice O'Connor emphasized that in discussing basic income concepts, historians and other scholars needed to shift from a focus on technology to a focus on precarity, which also entailed emphasizing the opportunities associated with a basic income. Opening the general discussion, O'Connor underlined the significance of definitions (what are we talking about when we talk about an "unconditional basic income") and of interventions. Under what conditions, she wondered, would a policy be socially transformational? For transformation to occur, after all, the details of implementation mattered, as well as the narratives that explained what a given intervention was about. Picking up on this observation, Halah Ahmad pointed to literature showing that, in general, government programs need to run well to sustain public trust in government. On the issue of legitimizing an intervention such as the one proposed by unconditional basic income proponents, Bru Laín emphasized the issue of funding. While the point was missing in conversations among some activists, he considered it crucial for its legitimacy. Looking ahead, Grace Davie suggested that

demands for an unconditional basic income be historicized. She suggested that a future workshop or panel could focus on the intersection of calls for a basic income and other contemporary demands. For an academic engagement with the topic, Manuel Franzmann observed that the notion of autonomy in basic income concepts had methodological consequences, for it challenged researchers to observe changes in individual autonomy. Otto Lehto tied the discussion back to the public roundtable at the beginning of the workshop by pointing out that the group had hardly mentioned the pandemic. He noted that policies implemented in response to crises rarely outlast them, even if basic-income debates perhaps had helped facilitate massive government interventions during the recent global crisis.

Sarah Zapola and Christoph Eisele
(GHI Washington)

Sixth Annual Bucerius Young Scholars Forum. Histories of Migration: Transatlantic and Global Perspectives

Sixth Annual Bucerius Young Scholars Forum at the Pacific Regional Office of the German Historical Institute Washington in Berkeley, California, October 10–12, 2022. Sponsored by the Zeit-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius. Conveners: Frithjof Benjamin Schenk (University of Basel) and Sören Urbansky (GHI Washington). Participants: Joshua Donovan (GHI Washington), Meta Cramer (University of Freiburg), Vitalij Fastovskij (GHI Washington), Elisa Frei (Boston College), Deniz Göktürk (UC Berkeley), Rebekka Grossmann (Hebrew University Jerusalem), Gulzat Egemberdieva (Humboldt University Berlin), Mayada Madbouly (Université Paris Nanterre), Rebekah McCallum (Pennsylvania State University), Thore Menze (University of Tübingen), Edward Mohr (University of Tübingen), Leroy Myers Jr. (University of Oklahoma), Akasemi Newsome (UC Berkeley), Shalini Randeria (Central European University Vienna), Özge Sezer (Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus), Olga Sparschuh (Technical University of Munich), Nino Valen (GHI Washington).

This year's Young Scholars Forum focused on patterns of internal migration and displacement. Co-conveners Frithjof Benjamin Schenk and Sören Urbansky offered introductory thoughts on thematic and methodological issues raised collectively by the pre-circulated papers. All of the presentations considered the various causes and actors that have shaped patterns of migration. Because internal migration often does not involve travel across national borders, it can sometimes be difficult for researchers to find records

of these migrants in traditional state archives. Nevertheless, by considering migrants as producers of knowledge and relying on diverse methodological approaches, participants asked important questions about how scholars can include migrant voices in their work.

The first panel revolved around questions of traveling knowledge in two very different historical contexts: Meta Cramer examined predominantly male, middle-class students from the West Indies who traveled to London and later became renowned colonial scholars. She showed the impact that these mobile actors had on the dissemination of anti-colonial knowledge and the emergence of new perspectives on the Caribbean. Elisa Frei examined writings from three Jesuit missionaries from the seventeenth century. Although there was no professional training for missionaries at this time, the reports took the form of pragmatic instructions, showing how their authors adapted to political circumstances. The ensuing discussion addressed methodological and theoretical questions related to the reconstruction of intellectual practices and the study of asymmetrical power relations.

The second panel dealt with questions of power and knowledge. Thore Menze addressed the question of how the federal laws of the German Empire were implemented at the local level. One of the most important freedoms available to the citizens of the newly created Reich (1871) was the freedom of movement. Menze came to the conclusion that internal borders continued to have great importance, especially when they were crossed by people from the lower strata of society and that the new legislation was implemented only gradually by local authorities. Edward Mohr showed how various actors attempted to overturn restrictions on internal migration from the late 1960s to the 1990s. Mohr argued for drawing from historical examples of the production of migrant knowledge to improve the negotiation of migration by relevant organizations today. The participants discussed

questions of labor and migration control, the perception of migration by state and non-state actors and stressed the need to study migration not only as a linear process, but as a movement of people that could often take a circular form.

The third panel examined post-slavery mobility. Özge Sezer discussed the internal migration of Afro-Turks, former slaves from Africa, in the Ottoman Empire. She interpreted these state-initiated processes as a component of internal colonization. New settlement areas with modern infrastructure were created, fostering the creation of a new Ottoman identity. While these agricultural sites were designed to strengthen loyalty to the imperial center, Afro-Turks preserved distinctive elements of their culture and wove them into their built environment. Leroy Myers Jr. discussed the aspirations and the ideology of black farmers in the late nineteenth century who had become disillusioned with the prospects for social progress in the racial order of the Southern United States and moved to the Old West, hoping to create a majority-black state there. Myers shed light on this story by analyzing the rhetoric of Edward McCabe, a leading businessman who encouraged the settlement of African Americans in the territory of Oklahoma. During the discussion the participants spoke about source problems related to migration history, including ego-documents of the First Nations, such as interviews in indigenous newspapers. They emphasized how important it is to keep in mind the different motivations of historical actors, including migrants as well as state bureaucrats.

The second day of the conference began with a panel that grappled with displacement. Rebekah McCallum discussed patterns of labor migration on British tea plantations in South Asia. She examined the economic and environmental factors that compelled workers to leave their homes to work on the plantations, complicating the distinction between “forced” and “voluntary” or “economic” migration. Mayada

Madbouly analyzed the famous Nubian novel *al-Shamandoura*, which recounts the displacement of Nubians by flooding from development projects in British-occupied Egypt. Madbouly described *al-Shamandoura* as a fragment through which scholars can begin to piece together indigenous voices that would otherwise be difficult to find in state or colonial archives. Comments and questions focused particularly on the methodological approaches and insights offered by these papers.

The fifth panel focused on perceptions and representations of migrants. Rebekka Grossmann considered the rise of humanitarian photography as a global phenomenon in the mid-twentieth century. She explained that international organizations like the United Nations and UNESCO were particularly interested in sharing pictures of families to argue for the universality of human experience. She argued that photographs of migrants are effectively their voices, too. In her paper on Italian migration to Turin and Munich, Olga Sparschuh made a compelling case for overcoming the ongoing fixation of migration research on national categories. Whereas in Turin the idea of the inner-Italian binary with its strong contrast between North and South continued to impact the perception of (southern) Italian labor migrants, in Munich their perception was initially more favorable. Both pieces highlighted the benefits of a comparative approach when untangling questions of identity.

The final panel featured a short documentary by Gulzat Egemberdieva. It offered a window into the lives of the historically nomadic Pamir people of Central Asia, who now find themselves living in different nation-states. The film incorporated quotidian footage taken by Pamirians themselves and dealt with themes of memory, the preservation of cultural heritage, and restricted mobility. The discussion focused on the intersection of emotions and migration, as well as the ways in which migrants imagine communities

and kinship ties that may conflict with or transcend national boundaries.

After the final panel, each of the participants shared final reflections on how the forum helped them think through their own work. Several people stated that the diversity of geographic, disciplinary, and methodological perspectives pushed them out of their comfort zones in productive ways and encouraged them to ask different kinds of questions. The papers revealed how diverse migrant knowledge can be; we saw that it can include photographs, artwork, built environments, literature, social movements, memoirs, travel advice, and more. The migrants studied were similarly diverse. At the same time, being able to compare so many different cases revealed commonalities in the forms that state regulations and restrictions on migration can take. Participants also returned to the conference theme of internal migration. Unlike migration across national borders, which often focuses on a single moment of a person's movement, internal migration can capture longer periods of mobility.

The three-day meeting concluded with a well-attended public keynote lecture by Shalini Randeria entitled "Whose Knowledge? Knowledge about Migrants vs. Migrants' Knowledge," followed by a commentary by Deniz Göktürk. Randeria underlined the differences in knowledge production between state and migrant actors and pleaded for a stronger research focus on the state, which is the decisive actor in migration issues.

Joshua Donovan (GHI Washington) and
Vitalij Fastovskij (GHI Washington)

German Migrants and Migrating Knowledge in Latin American History

Conference at the German Historical Institute Washington, November 3-5, 2022. Co-sponsored by the GHI and the Fritz-Thyssen-Stiftung. Conveners: Simone Lässig (GHI Washington), Mario Peters (GHI Washington), H. Glenn Penny (UCLA) and Stefan Rinke (Free University of Berlin). Participants: David Blackbourn (Vanderbilt University), Sophie Brockmann (De Montfort University, Leicester), Benjamin Bryce (University of British Columbia, Vancouver), Cristian Cercel (Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde, Tübingen), Nelson Chacón (Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt), Carolin Liebisch-Gümüş (GHI Washington), Jochen Kemner (University of Kassel), Barbara Kirsilva (Universidad Alberto Hurtado), Karina Kriegesmann (Free University of Berlin), Jeffrey Lesser (Emory University Atlanta), Lorena López Jáuregui (Free University of Berlin), Ricarda Musser (Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Berlin), Irina Podgorny (Universidad Nacional de la Plata), Carlos Rodrigo Sanhueza Cerda (Universidad de Chile), Claudio Soltmann (University of Mainz), Itzel Toledo García (Free University of Berlin), Nino Vallen (GHI Washington, Pacific Office), Felipe Vilo Muñoz (University of Texas at Austin).

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Latin America was a major destination for German-speaking migrants, who left a lasting mark on society, economy, politics and science in its various countries. By building networks and institutions, cultivating ties to their homeland and host societies alike, and communicating across borders, they shaped a variety of multidirectional knowledge flows. The conference brought together scholars from Latin America, North

America, and Europe who shared the goal of raising awareness for the intertwined histories of German migrants in the Americas by focusing on their contributions to knowledge production. Rather than viewing them as an isolated ethnic group in individual Latin American nation-states or merely tracing simple knowledge transfers, the common focus of attention was on interactions between different individuals and groups. Scholars, settler communities, and even media entrepreneurs played important roles in the circulation of knowledge within and between different spheres.

In his keynote, Jeffrey Lesser gave a glimpse into the lives of five individuals by highlighting various aspects of Brazilian migration history and debates related to public health. The starting point of his lecture was the Bom Retiro (Good Retreat) neighborhood in São Paulo, which has been highly impacted by immigration movements. In his case studies, he addressed the discourse about people bringing diseases into Brazil, the locally organized “cleansing” of supposedly dirty foreigners in São Paulo’s “central disinfection center,” patient-doctor relations, the role of intermediaries, and mental illness and the rejection and violence directed against it. Lesser emphasized that knowledge had a different meaning for each of the protagonists in the five stories he recounted. Rather than reducing them to their role as migrants, he discussed the extent to which migrant knowledge was present in the cases presented.

Irina Podgorny took up this idea in her commentary. She emphasized that the protagonists in the episodes could not be reduced to their nationality. Instead, she emphasized their movements within transcultural contexts, the diversity of contacts and identities, and the knowledge that was shaped on the move. Both Lesser and Podgorny addressed the key concepts of the conference: What is German exactly? What does migration mean for immigrants and emigrants as well as their descendants? To what kind of knowledge can

we refer? These were some of the questions to be discussed in detail by the participants of the conference on the following two days.

The first panel dealt with indigenous knowledge and related research, networks and representations. Chaired by Nino Vallen, it focused on the work of scholars who were active transnationally. Sophie Brockmann vividly illuminated the contribution of researchers such as the archaeologist and anthropologist Erwin Paul Dieseldorff in Guatemala, who played a significant role in the development of Maya archaeology and the production of archaeological knowledge in the first decades of the twentieth century. The scholars whose networks Lorena López Jáuregui analyzed acted similarly. Her presentation focused on the highly mobile German participants of the International Congress of Americanists. She explained how some members contributed to the creation of national museums and their collections and translated knowledge about indigenous groups. Encounters with local indigenous communities constituted the focus of Felipe Vilo Muñoz's presentation. He described how the Prussian naturalist Rudolph Philippi contributed to the production and circulation of knowledge during his research trip to the Atacama Desert in 1853-1854, which was financed by the Chilean state. The gathering of local knowledge about the desert and the recognition of local skills and practices were fundamental to producing publications, maps, and museum collections in the following years. H. Glenn Penny linked the three papers in his commentary. Referring to the different scholars, he explained which national and transnational arenas they moved between and how they acted as knowledge holders and translators. In the following discussion, the participants identified the question of national heritage, profit and advantage, the role of the state and the citizenship of scholars as subjects that deserve deeper scholarly attention. Future research needs to address indigenous and local knowledge as well as different epistemologies.

The second panel, chaired by Carolin Liebisch-Gümüş, focused on entangled scientific knowledge. Benjamin Bryce gave an outline of one aspect of Argentine immigration policy between 1880 and 1930. He explained how, as a result of legal discussions and exchanges with other states, Argentina developed border controls to keep people off Argentine soil who were deemed “unfit for work.” Barbara Kirsi Silva did not focus on large migrant groups, but on the work of one individual, whom she introduced as a mediator for migrant knowledge. The German-born astronomer Jürgen Stock from the University of Chicago came to Chile during the Cold War to evaluate different potential locations for the United States southern observatory. Instead of calling Stock a “scientific pioneer,” Silva emphasized the contribution of local people who later became experts themselves in the field of astronomy. Expert knowledge was also the focus of Nelson Chacón’s talk on the “scientific migrant” Fritz Müller. He highlighted how Müller produced knowledge about evolution in a transcultural space. Like Müller, Charles Darwin and others used the natural world of Brazil as a laboratory and interacted with local knowledge producers. In his commentary, Carlos Rodrigo Sanhueza Cerda raised the question of whether an identical understanding of knowledge could be assumed in the cases presented or whether we should rather focus on the asymmetries that marked the production of knowledge. All three papers focused on individuals who, for example, created legal and public health regulations, produced astronomical knowledge, or studied the peculiarities of the Brazilian environment. However, it was precisely the connections to local communities, interactions between different individuals, and the close contact with the environment that the three presenters identified as crucial for the production of scientific knowledge. In the subsequent discussion, it became apparent how central Latin America is and that we need to move beyond diffusionist narratives which assume that the production of knowledge only happened in North America and Europe. The focus on

Latin America can help to reorient our perspectives and to relate different bodies of knowledge to each other.

In the third panel, the history of knowledge and the history of migration were linked to aspects of colonization, settlement, and entrepreneurship. Chair Mario Peters introduced the focus on the creation of knowledge in and about foreign environments. Jochen Kemner then focused on the Caribbean, where Germans were active as tropical agribusiness entrepreneurs. Business activities must be seen in the context of the postcolonial gaze on labor exploitation and philanthropy. Jochen Kemner emphasized that knowledge produced by experts, local actors, and migrants were equally important for business. "Knowing how to settle" was central to Cristian Cercel's presentation. He compared two examples of organized migration in the 1940s and 1950s. More specifically, he focused on the settlements of Jewish refugees in the Dominican Republic and those of Danube Swabian expellees in Brazil. His presentation went beyond humanitarian aspects and highlighted the relevance of previous experiences and the transfer of knowledge for land settlements and re-settlements. Claudio Soltmann also focused on foreign environments but in his case in language and culture. In the 1920s, the Capuchin missionaries Felix Joseph von Augsburg and Hieronymus von Amberg made a noteworthy contribution to the development of Mapuche Studies through their publications. According to Soltmann, their writings and epistolary material are essential for understanding various aspects of network-building and German scholarship in Chile. Commenting on the three papers, Stefan Rinke highlighted the relevance of the different places where these actors went, met each other, and exchanged ideas, as well as the idea of supposedly empty landscapes in Latin America, in which and about which new knowledge was produced.

The fourth panel, chaired by Simone Lässig, focused on the production of knowledge in the public sphere. Karina

Kriegesmann connected the circulation of true and false news during the First World War with the image that Brazilians were able to form, especially about people from Germany. She drew attention to contested knowledge and newspapers as producers of vernacularized migrant knowledge. Itzel Toledo García equally emphasized the importance of news production in the 1920s. In her study on Carl Duems, a German-born media entrepreneur in Mexico City, she outlined the establishment of his news agency that contributed to the dissemination of more or less neutral news in Latin America. Ricarda Musser combined her research on Charley Lachmund, who was born in the United States, worked in Brazil and studied in Leipzig from 1896 to 1902, with questions from cultural history. Referring to “musical migrations,” her paper discussed one representative of a highly mobile professional group who had decisive influence on the development of music in Brazil. In his commentary, David Blackburn pointed out that especially at the turn of the twentieth century, information spread much faster than people and goods and contributed significantly to the production of knowledge about events and developments in distant regions. The discussion of the papers focused on the role of the First World War and how nationality was negotiated in the media and in music. Given their common focus, the three papers also inspired the participants to discuss the intersections and boundaries between knowledge, information, news, *Allgemeinwissen*, artistic contributions, and oral communication, and questions of identity formation.

A visit to the Argentinian Embassy in Washington DC and an exchange on current migration and science policy were part of the conference’s program. The participants in the final round table discussed pressing topics in the history of German migration to the Americas, the relevance of the interconnections and entanglements of German migrant communities for historical narratives, and interpretations of the place of migrants in the dynamics of knowledge pro-

duction. The discussants agreed that we need to call into question assumptions of the specificity of being German. The history of Germans and German-speaking people in the world, which in fact spans more than just two centuries, must be considered in a sophisticated way. Focusing on narratives about migrants and the idea of a “German Atlantic” can help us analyze a variety of entanglements without neglecting disentanglements, a possible loss of knowledge, and asymmetries in knowledge production. In order to address the complexity of migrations and knowledge, the focus must be placed on mediators and translators. The focus on Latin America in particular proves how fruitful it is to examine not only different temporal and spatial scales but also the diversity of the actors involved, especially non-Western actors, as well as indigenous knowledge in different places.

Karina Kriegesmann
(Free University of Berlin)

Fourth West Coast Germanists' Workshop: Global Germany

Workshop held at the University of California, San Diego, November 4-5, 2022. Co-sponsored by the Pacific Regional Office of the German Historical Institute Washington and the University of California, Davis. Conveners: Frank Biess (University of California, San Diego), Ulrike Strasser (University of California, San Diego), and Sören Urbansky (GHI Washington, Pacific Office). Participants: Volker Benkert (Arizona State University), Anke Biendarra (University of California, Irvine), Sebastian Conrad (Free University of Berlin), Annika Freiberg (San Diego State University), Deborah Hertz (University of California, San Diego), Anna Holian (Arizona State University), Jonathan Lear (University of California, Berkeley), Jörg Neuheiser (University of California, San Diego), Clara Oberle (University of San Diego), Andrea Orzoff (New Mexico State University), Friedemann Pestel (University of Freiburg / University of California, Berkeley), Sandra Rebock (University of California, San Diego), Jennifer Rodgers (California Institute of Technology), AJ Solovy (University of California, Berkeley), Phillip Wagner (Halle-Wittenberg University / University of California, Berkeley).

This year's West Coast Germanists' Workshop, held in person at the University of California, San Diego, afforded a forum for historians from across the West Coast to exchange ideas, present works in progress, and to think through emergent debates and questions in the field of German history together. The timely theme of the workshop — Global Germany — prompted a rich and multifaceted discussion on the ways in which Germany has historically situated itself, both spatially and temporally, vis-à-vis global transformations and conditions; and the ways in which German history

has happened as much beyond its borders as within them. In addition, participants engaged with various questions of methodology, interrogating what it means, in practice, for historians to adopt a “global” approach to a given topic; as well as asking where global history diverges from transnational or comparative history. This discussion of methodology was accompanied by an attempt to work through an understanding of what it means to study German history from the United States and from the West Coast in particular.

Over the course of the two-day conference, participants — professors, GHI visiting scholars, post-doctoral, and doctoral students — discussed ten pre-circulated papers on the theme of “Global Germany.” The papers, along with their accompanying presentations, reflected the field’s increasing turn to the post-1945 era. Indeed, with only a handful of exceptions, participants examined German historical developments after the Nazi regime’s collapse, or else traced continuous historical phenomena across the 1945 threshold. The papers reflected how the post-1945 era in German history demands new sets of questions and frameworks, while emphasizing the continued import and relevance of more well-worn lines of questioning. A lively discussion ensued following each presentation, with not only suggestions for the project, but also open-ended reflection on such broad themes as migration, globalization, national identity, media, democratic citizenship, race, and colonialism.

During the first panel, Friedemann Pestel and Volker Benkert discussed their current work on the global reach of German music and film respectively. Pestel’s paper explored the global mobility of German and Austrian symphony orchestras in the postwar period, moving beyond a simple fetishization of mobility. Instead, Pestel focused on the forces that allowed mobility to develop in the first place, showing how the globalizing postwar musical scene was mutually

shaped by relationships between traveling orchestras and their foreign audiences in East Asia. Knowledgeable Japanese audiences, for instance, compared and critiqued traveling orchestras, leading to high standards and politicized musical rivalries. While the People's Republic of China had originally seen European symphonic music as bourgeois and reactionary, the climate opened up beginning in the 1970s, allowing for the development of a new symphony/audience relationship. In short, non-German and non-Austrian understandings of symphonic music played an equally important role in the history of musical mobility as German and Austrian ideas did. Volker Benkert's presentation discussed the apologetic and redemptive narrative traits in German films that are produced for German markets but also have international audiences. Benkert showed how such narratives function by deploying a critique of the 2013 film *Generation War*, which portrays ordinary Germans as having committed war crimes only due to having been brutalized by the war, while sadistic Nazis (along with antisemitic Poles and Ukrainians) are cast as their unredeemable foils. The idea contained within the film is that German soldiers — who have clearly committed war crimes — are able to redeem themselves through their own suffering and subsequently their active self-liberation from Nazism. Despite the historical dubiousness of this narrative, given that many war crimes were perpetrated almost immediately after the start of the war, this narrative may appeal to German and international audiences, precisely because these audiences seek a narrative of German redemption.

In Friday's second panel, Deborah Hertz and Jennifer Rodgers addressed two different aspects of German women's history. Hertz's presentation focused on the biographies of two radical German-Jewish women during the German Empire: Bertha Pappenheim and Rosa Luxemburg. By examining the pathways in politics that these women rejected, Hertz argued that we can see more of the full texture of political

life for impassioned, intellectual women. Pappenheim, for instance, held a deep passion for marginalized Jewish women while rejecting both Zionism and assimilation. As a German cultural patriot, she had hoped that the Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine would provide an institutional home for Jewish life, but those hopes were dashed in favor of colonial and protestant organizations. Hertz also discussed the complicated romantic life of Luxemburg, whose relationships often brought her a modicum of stability, but not always love. Ultimately, Hertz's presentation was concerned with the question of why these radical women made choices that left them so lonely. These two biographies reveal a story of personal ambition and assimilation within the socialist movement; it was socialism that ultimately provided a space for women who did not have any other pathways. Rodgers's paper analyzed the discourses surrounding childbirth and obstetrics across a divided postwar Germany, centering on the emergence of Native American tropes in West German (and East German) birth stories. After birthing cultures became medicalized in the 1950s, the issue of birth reform eventually emerged and reached a broad swath of German citizens in both countries over the following decades and past German reunification. Rodgers's discussion focused on the fetishization of Native American birth cultures, which—though problematic in its own right—also came at the expense of Turkish and non-white birth stories in both states. As Rodgers argued, white and heteronormative Germans admired “natural childbirth,” but did not extend their admiration to the birthing practices of other racial groups that lived within Germany's borders. When minority communities were featured in this discourse, problematic and racialized language was used to demean these cultures, rather than understand or celebrate them.

The first day of the conference ended with Sebastian Conrad's keynote, entitled “European History After the Global Turn,” which addressed the historiographical transforma-

tion that has occurred in recent decades with respect to “global history,” seeking to grasp Europe’s place within this new paradigm. Although many have viewed global history as a progressive historical methodology — one that has developed out of social and cultural history — Conrad reminds us that global history is not an all-encompassing venture that is capable of objectively grasping the entirety of the globe. Rather, global history is an approach that can be applied to particular nations and in some cases may not be applicable at all. To apply the approach of global history to Europe, historians must look at conjunctures and examine the global conditions that in turn produce conceptions of Europe. For instance, Conrad discussed the late nineteenth-century spread of the naturalist novel as an example of the condition of globality; conditions existed across the globe that allowed for the production, translation, and local reproduction of a cultural form that had its origins in Zola’s *Nana*. Conrad reminds us that “Europe” was in many ways made from without as nations encountered European ideas and cultural forms under the conditions of globality. The global, Conrad argues, is not simply an advanced stage of historical development; on the contrary, it is a condition of the modern world that allows for and develops from such encounters and ultimately makes global history possible. Likewise, movements of knowledge, culture, and technology from European to non-European places can be explored by means other than the model of diffusion. Europe can function as one privileged site among many other sites that all exist, however asymmetrically, under global conditions.

The papers given on the second day of the conference addressed five themes in common: migration, international cooperation, national identity, race and racism, and the extreme right. Clara Oberle opened the morning session with a presentation on urban planning in occupied Berlin and made the surprising observation that when it came to housing policy between 1945 and 1948, the occupying forces

were exceptionally willing to collaborate with one another. This surprising rapprochement emerged from a number of factors, including a scarcity of resources, a deep fear about impending public health crises, the cosmopolitanism of the urban planners themselves, and a mutual desire to manage the stream of refugees pouring into the city.

Building on themes of international collaboration and migration, Andrea Orzoff's paper illuminated the specific challenges and experiences of German Jews living in Latin America. In looking at German-Jewish refugee experiences in Bolivia, Orzoff identified a simultaneous attempt to both integrate and differentiate themselves from the indigenous population. The complexity of European Jewish life within a Latin American context, Orzoff concludes, was apparent in a number of different political, economic, and social arenas, but perhaps most powerfully reflected in the realm of culture. In his work with Bolivia's National Symphony Orchestra, for example, the Austrian composer Erich Eisner adopted certain aspects of indigenous culture for the purposes of creating modern, "European" cultural works.

Jonathan Lear rounded out the morning panel by reflecting on the ways in which German and Japanese nuclear scientists sought to "cure" their respective nation's "backwardness," through the scientific advancement of nuclear energy. Both Japanese and German nuclear scientists, Lear demonstrated, shared a certain notion of historical time: oriented towards a remote future measured in millennia, rather than years or decades. This millennial conception of progress had its origins in prewar anxieties about national survival, and became even more manifest in the wake of Germany and Japan's defeats in the Second World War. Lear's presentation was followed by a lively conversation about what can be gained from comparing Japan and Germany, in particular, with one another.

Phillip Wagner inaugurated the second panel of the afternoon by asking how secondary schools sought to teach students about “democratic citizenship.” Wagner argued that in the late 1960s and 1970s, as the immigrant student population grew, the ways in which education programs in West Berlin and Nordrhein-Westfalen introduced children to democratic citizenship often excluded immigrant students. Wagner went on to show that while West Berlin and Nordrhein-Westfalen both conceptualized democratic citizenship vis-à-vis migration policy, they differed in their respective approaches, with Nordrhein-Westfalen state governments offering a more “paternalistic” approach towards immigrant students, and West Berlin taking steps to separate immigrant students from the non-immigrant student population. Taking up Wagner’s exploration of race and democracy in the Federal Republic, AJ Solovy presented on the relationship between the “old Nazis” and the “new extreme right” in postwar West Germany. She showed how and why former National Socialists — SS members — differentiated themselves from neo-Nazis, and instead embraced racist and ethno-nationalist movements across the world. She argued that the rejection of neo-Nazi movements by former SS members was as much about salvaging certain aspects of their Nazi past as it was about situating themselves politically within West German democracy. Her paper prompted a discussion about the differences between the extreme right in West Germany and Austria, as well as West German attitudes towards democratic citizenship and foreign affairs in the second half of the twentieth century.

Annika Frieberg rounded out the conference, by engaging with what she called “*Ostpolitik* and its Discontents.” *Ostpolitik*, she argued, beginning in the late 1960s, became a kind of spectacle. For example, Willy Brandt’s perceived success in the 1960s and 1970s in terms of *Ostpolitik* was subtended by a relatively constrained societal engagement with Germany’s relationship to Poland. In comparing and connecting

the *Ostpolitik* of the 1960s and the 1980s, it becomes apparent that the policy towards the “East” that was developed in the late 1960s, emerged in the 1980s (at least in social-liberal circles) as a skepticism towards dissident groups, and a reticence to make a foreign policy that might threaten the spectacle of international harmony. Frieberg noted that the consequences of this policy reverberate into the present, making it all the more exigent to understand Germany’s *Ostpolitik*, as it developed over preceding decades.

Between the various panels, participants had ample time to informally converse with one another, making for a packed two days of scholarly exchange. At the end of the conference, participants were thrilled to learn that there would be an opportunity to continue these conversations at the next West Coast Germanists’ Workshop, which will take place on April 28-29, 2023, in Vancouver, B.C.

AJ Solovy and Jonathan Lear
(University of California, Berkeley)

The background features abstract geometric shapes. A dark blue triangle points downwards from the top left. A light blue triangle points upwards from the bottom left. A grey triangle points upwards from the bottom right. The text 'GHI News' is centered in the white space.

GHI News



New Staff Publications

Monographs

Greiner, Andreas. *Human Porterage and Colonial State Formation in German East Africa, 1880s–1914: Tensions of Transport*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022.

Edited Volumes and Special Issues

Jansen, Axel, and Claudia Roesch, eds. "Biomedicine in Contemporary History," *Journal of Contemporary History* 57:4 (2022).

Journal Articles and Book Chapters

Fastovskij, Vitalij. "Terrorist Entanglements. Socialist Perspectives on State and Rightwing Violence in the Late Tsarist Empire." In *A Transnational History of Right-Wing Terrorism. Political Violence and the Far Right in Eastern and Western Europe since 1900*, edited by Moritz Florin and Johannes Dafinger, 19-41. London, New York 2022.

Greiner, Andreas. "Staatliches Handeln als Balanceakt: Aushandlung kolonialer Gestaltungsmacht am Beispiel des Karawanenhandels in Deutsch-Ostafrika." *Saeculum* 72.2 (2022).

Greiner, Andreas. "Colonial Schemes and African Realities: Vernacular Infrastructure and the Limits of Road Building in German East Africa." *The Journal of African History* 63.3 (2022): 328-347.

Greiner, Andreas. "'Those Were Difficult Days Indeed': Transport Labour in German East Africa's State-Organized Caravans." *Comparativ* 32.2 (2022): 172-189.

Jansen, Axel, and Claudia Roesch. "Introduction: Biomedicine in Contemporary History." *Journal of Contemporary History* 57.4 (2022): 843-58.

Karczewski, Kamil. "Transnational Flows of Knowledge and the Legalisation of Homosexuality in Interwar Poland." *Contemporary European History* (2022): 1-18. doi:10.1017/S0960777322000108

Karczewski, Kamil. "'Call Me by My Name:' A 'Strange and Incomprehensible' Passion in the Polish Kresy of the 1920s." *Slavic Review* 81.3 (2022).

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Liebis-Gümüş, Carolin and Alp Yenen. "Petitions, Propaganda, and Plots: Transnational Dynamics of Diplomacy During the Turkish War of Independence." *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 2022, DOI: 10.1080/19448953.2022.2143776

Liebisch-Gümüş, Carolin. "Mobilität/en und Mobilitätsgeschichte." *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, March 22, 2022, DOI: 10.14765/zzf.dok-2370.

Roesch, Claudia. "A Contested Pill. Transnational Controversies over Medical Abortion in Germany, France, and the United States." *Journal of Contemporary History* 57.4 (2022): 895-916.

Roesch, Claudia, "A Human Right or a Danger to the Future? Debate about Family Planning between Parental Rights and Duties in 1960s West Germany." In *Human Rights and Technological Change. Conflicts and Convergences after 1945*, ed. Michael Homberg and Benjamin Möckel, 170-188. Göttingen: Wallstein 2022.

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Vallen, Nino. "Ongoing Mobilities and the Deserving Self: The Case of Don Rodrigo de Vivero." *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 28.3 (2022): 439–455.

Vallen, Nino. "'Noé en los Andes: el Diluvio Universal y la creación de mundos durante los siglos XVI y XVII.'" In *Pensar el "Mundo": Reflexión y representación globales del siglo XV al siglo XXI*, ed. Stefan Rinke and Carlos Riojas, 41–67. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2022.

Vallen, Nino. "Movimientos en disputa: los novohispanos ante la formación de las conexiones globales." In *América Latina y Historia Global: Repensar el mundo*, ed. Stefan Rinke and Carlos Riojas, 43–70. Mexico City: Siglo XXI editors, 2022.

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Vallen, Nino. "Book review: Antonio Ibarra, Alvaro Alcántara y Fernando Jumar (eds.), Actores sociales, redes de negocios y corporaciones en Hispanoamérica, siglos XVII-XIX, México, Bonilla Artigas Editores, 2018." *Historia mexicana* 81.3 (2022): 1458–1462.

In Memoriam: Thomas L. Hughes (1925 - 2023)

The German Historical Institute Washington mourns the death of foreign policy expert and former Senior Visiting Research Fellow at the GHI Thomas L. Hughes. Hughes was a prominent figure in U.S. foreign policy. From 1963 to 1969 he headed the Bureau of Intelligence and Research of the State Department, issuing analyses that warned against escalating the Vietnam War. From 1971 to 1991 he served as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, one of Washington's most influential foreign-policy think tanks. For the past two decades he participated in the work of the GHI as a senior visiting research fellow. He died January 2, 2023, at a hospital in Washington.

Staff Changes

Nicola Hofstetter-Phelps joined the GHI as Event Coordinator in April 2023. She previously worked for the Goethe-Institut Washington as their Digital Communications Specialist and Social Media Manager. Prior to this, she managed the digital content syndication of historic photographs at Süd-deutsche Zeitung Photo.

Anne Kadolph, Administrative Director since 2018, left the GHI in May 2023 in order to pursue other opportunities in Germany.

GHI Fellowships and Internships

Doctoral and Postdoctoral Fellowships

The GHI awards short-term fellowships to European and North American doctoral students as well as postdoctoral scholars to pursue research projects that draw upon primary

sources located in the United States. We are particularly interested in research projects that fit into the following fields:

German and European history, the history of German-American relations, the role of Germany and the USA in international relations, and American history (European doctoral and postdoctoral scholars only).

The proposed research projects should make use of historical methods and engage with the relevant historiography. We especially invite applications from doctoral students and postdoctoral scholars who currently have no funding from their home institutions. The fellowships are usually granted for periods of one to five months.

The GHI also offers a number of other long-term doctoral and postdoctoral fellowships with more specific profiles to strengthen key research interests at the institute, including: the history of knowledge, the history of race and ethnicity, the history of religion and religiosity, the history of family and kinship, the history of migration, and North American history. In addition to these opportunities, the GHI also offers the following fellowships: The Binational Tandem Research Program for “The History of Knowledge” and “Global and Trans-regional History,” and the Gerda Henkel Postdoctoral Fellowship for Digital History.

For further information about these programs and current application deadlines, please check our website at www.ghi-dc.org/fellowships.

Internships

The GHI Internship Program gives German and American students of history, political science, and library studies an opportunity to gain experience at a scholarly research institute. Interns assist individual research projects, work for the library, take part in the preparation and hosting of conferences, and help with our publications. They receive a small stipend. The program is very flexible in the sense that the

GHI tries to accommodate the interns' interests, abilities, and goals. A two-month minimum stay is required; a three-month stay is preferred. There is a rolling review of applications. For further information, please check our website at www.ghi-dc.org/internships.

GHI Fellowship Recipients, 2022-23

Tandem Fellowships in the History of Migration at the GHI Washington's Pacific Regional Office in Berkeley

Amy Kerner (University of Texas, Dallas)
Political Violence, Human Rights, and Migration from the Cold War Southern Cone

Fabio Santos (Freie Universität Berlin)
Multidirectional Mobilities and Insular Illegalities: Haitian "Boat People" in Puerto Rico

Horner Library Fellows

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Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Conceptions of "Race" in Enlightenment-era Children's Literature

Lars Laurenz (Universität Hannover)
Gustav Runge. Ein deutscher Architekt in Philadelphia

Short-term Research Doctoral Fellowships

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History of a Contested Practice

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Bürgerkrieg: Konzepte und Praktiken weiblicher Partizipa-
tion in der Zwischenkriegszeit

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The Politics of Medical History. Henry E. Sigerist's Transat-
lantic Transfer of Knowledge during National Socialism

Jan Siegemund (Technische Universität Dresden)
Flugmären im Wandel. Gerüchte und die Entwicklung des
Kommunikationssystems im europäischen und transatlan-
tischen Fernhandel in der Frühen Neuzeit

Ignacio Zubizarreta (Universidad Nacional de La Pampa/
Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas)
The archive of Ramón Gil Navarro as a Viewpoint of the His-
panic and River Plate Exile

Research Fellowships in Asian-Pacific History at GHI Washington's Pacific Office in Berkeley

Jian Gao (University of Texas at Austin)
Chinese on the Pacific Rim: Voices and Transpacific Lived Ex-
periences

Robert Kramm (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)
Radical Utopian Communities: A Global History from the
Margins, 1900-1950

Yunhe Wu (Kent State)
"Aren't We Good Men? Aren't We Good Citizens?": Chinese
Manhood and Defining American Citizenship in California,
1865 to 1918

Research Fellowships in Latin American History at GHI Washington's Pacific Office in Berkeley

Valeria Lourdes Carbone (University of Buenos Aires)

African American Radicalism and (Afro)Latin American Movements during the Rise of Black Power (1960-1980): The Black Panther Party Imagines Latin America

Karina Kriegesmann (Freie Universität Berlin)

Wissenschaftsfreiheit unter Druck – Lateinamerikastudien in West-Berlin als Geschichte der Wissenszirkulation zwischen Lateinamerika, Europa und den USA in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts

Nathan Norris (Cornell University)

Andean Archipelagos: Steam, Sheep, and the Chilean Sea of Islands

GHI RESEARCH SEMINAR AND COLLOQUIUM, FALL 2022

- September 28** **Frances Steel (University of Otago, New Zealand)**
Enclosing the Sea: The Tasman and the Transpacific
- October 19** **Khary O. Polk (Amherst College, Massachusetts)**
Spacewalking in the Archive: Trans*Atlantic Black Feminist Lives
- November 2** **Nino Vallen (GHI Pacific Office)**
Extractivism, Development, and Worldmaking in Latin America (1840s–1920s)
- November 17** **Ulrike Koppermann (Justus-Liebig Universität Gießen)**
Eindeutig mehrdeutig – Funktionen von Fotografien in Ausstellungen zur Shoah
- Tim Schinschick (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg)**
Computer im Unterricht: Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem digitalen Wandel an allgemeinbildenden Schulen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1980-1995

- December 7** **Simone Lässig (Director, GHI Washington)**
Transnational Families and Kinship Relations in the 20th Century: The Arnholds
- December 15** **Darja Jesse (Technische Universität Berlin)**
"A Potential Threat to the World". Sammlungs- und Wahrnehmungsgeschichte der German War Art Collection
- Tabea Nasaroff (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg)**
Das Demokratische vermessen: Politikwissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit in der Bundesrepublik (1949–1989)
- Hans-Georg Ripken (Universität Mannheim)**
NATO-Osterweiterung in den 1990er Jahren – Eine qualitative und datenbasierte Analyse der öffentlichen Debatte in Deutschland, den USA, Polen und Russland

GHI SPRING LECTURE SERIES 2023

Moving Out of Harm's Way: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives on Climate-related Mobilities

Organized by Patricia C. Sutcliffe and Nino Vallen

"Climate-related migration," "disaster mobility," and "climate refugees" have become salient topics in the last decade in both the political and scholarly realms. Most of the discourse looks to the future, with mass migrations expected in the wake of ever more severe climate change. These climate mobilities tend to be regarded as a novel phenomenon. Yet, they are not new: Although the scope of these mobilities has never been larger, environmental factors and disasters have played a role in the movement of people throughout history.

This lecture series explores the relation between human mobility and climate change and disaster from the early modern period to our own time. It charts various ways in which people in the Middle East, North America, and Asia have grappled with the need to move out of harm's way, whether that harm was a sudden flood or a slow drought leading to famine. Sometimes, these people may only have had to relocate by several miles, while other times they had to traverse continents, but in their mobility, both they and the environments they came to inhabit (either permanently or in transit) were transformed. The lectures examine a wide range of mobilities that climate change and disaster have provoked and the economic, social, and cultural developments they sparked. They also draw attention to the immobilities caused by choice or specific mobility regimes, as well as their interactions with the mobilities of others. With the help of some historical perspectives and contemporary considerations, the lecture series aims to explore new ways of thinking about climate-related mobilities today and in the future.

- March 2** **The 1948 Flooding of Vanport, Oregon: Legacies of Disaster and Displacement**
GHI Washington
Uwe Lübken (Professor of American Cultural Studies, Ludwig Maximilians Universität München)
- April 6** **Putting Contemporary Climate Migration in Context: What Do We Know from Two Decades of Research?**
223 Moses Hall, UC Berkeley
Amanda Carrico (Associate Professor of Environmental Studies, University of Colorado Boulder)
- April 13** **"Little Ice Age" Disasters and Migration: Insights for (and from) Global Warming**
GHI Washington
Sam White (Professor of Political History, University of Helsinki)
- May 4** **Climate Displacement in the Shadow of War: Feminist Refugee Perspectives on Hydro-disaster**
3335 Dwinelle Hall, UC Berkeley
Heidi Amin-Hong (Assistant Professor of English, UC Santa Barbara)

GHI Calendar of Events 2023

January 24

Shades of Blue: Claiming Europe in the Age of Disintegration

Panel Discussion (Zoom)

Panelist/Discussants: Gregor Feindt (Leibniz-Institute of European History, Mainz), Félix Krawatzek (Center for East European and International Studies, Berlin), Friedemann Pestel (University of Freiburg/University of California, Berkeley), Rieke Trimcev (University of Greifswald)

January 25

Music of War and Victory: How Beethoven Helped to Save and Rebuild the Habsburg Empire

Lecture (Hybrid: UC Berkeley, 223 Philosophy Hall and Zoom)

Speaker: Philipp Ther (University of Vienna / UC Berkeley); Moderator: Nicolas Mathew (UC Berkeley)

January 26

Decolonizing German Cultural Anthropology: Narratives of Time and Space in Contemporary German Villages

Lecture (Hybrid: UC Berkeley, 201 Philosophy Hall & Zoom)

Speaker: Sadhana Naithani (Jawaharlal Nehru University)

- February 9** **Theology of Disability: Germany, 1900-1945**
 Lecture (Hybrid: UC Berkeley, 223 Philosophy Hall & Zoom)
 Speaker: Dagmar Herzog (CUNY Graduate Center); Moderator: Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (UC Berkeley)
- February 22** **"Noah's Ark for Future Generations" or Genetic Imperialism?: The Dilemma of the Seed Bank in Postwar German History**
 Lecture (Hybrid: 201 Philosophy Hall & Zoom)
 Speaker: Jennifer Allen (Yale University); Moderator: Philipp Lenhard (UC Berkeley)
- March 2** **The 1948 Flooding of Vanport, Oregon: Legacies of Disaster and Displacement**
 Lecture at GHI Washington
 Speaker: Uwe Lübken (Ludwig Maximilians Universität München)
- March 3** **Framing Heimat in Translation: Peyman Azhari in Conversation with Kristin Dickinson**
 Panel Discussion on Zoom
 Speaker: Peyman Azhari (Visual Artist and Photojournalist)
 Moderator: Kristin Dickinson (University of Michigan)

- March 6** **Outrageous Comparisons in Modern History and Contemporary Politics**
Lecture at UCLA, Bunche Hall 6275
Speaker: Willibald Steinmetz (Universität Bielefeld)
- March 6** **Unequal Re-education Schooling and Democracy in West Germany, 1945-1955**
Lecture at UC Berkeley (201 Moses Hall)
Speaker: Phillip Wagner (Universität Halle); Moderator: Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (UC Berkeley)
- March 7** **Outrageous Comparisons in Modern History and Contemporary Politics**
Lecture at UC San Diego
Speaker: Willibald Steinmetz (Universität Bielefeld)
- March 8** **Marion Kaplan in conversation with the International Standing Working Group "In Global Transit"**
Seminar at the GHI Washington
Speaker: Marion Kaplan (New York University)
- March 14** **Outrageous Comparisons in Modern History and Contemporary Politics**
Lecture at UC Berkeley (223 Philosophy Hall)
Speaker: Willibald Steinmetz (Universität Bielefeld)
- March 22** **Holocaust Refugees in Transit: Race, Encounters, and Empire in Asia**
An In Global Transit International Standing Working Group Workshop at the GHI Washington

Presenters: Eliyana Adler (Penn State), Atina Grossmann (Cooper Union, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum), Ke-chin Hsia (Indiana University Bloomington), and Pragma Kaul (Michigan University) | Co-conveners: Kimberly Cheng (GHI Washington) and Ran Zwigenberg (Penn State)

March 29-31

Alltagsgeschichten von Flughäfen

Conference at the Universität Wien
Conveners: Nils Güttler (Universität Wien), Carolin Liebisch-Gümüş (GHI Washington), Britta-Marie Schenk (Universität Luzern), in cooperation with Alexandra Ganser (Universität Wien)

April 6

Putting Contemporary Climate Migration in Context: What Do We Know from Two Decades of Research?

Lecture at 223 Philosophy Hall, UC Berkeley
Speaker: Amanda Carrico (University of Colorado Boulder)

April 13

"Little Ice Age" Disasters and Migration: Insights for (and from) Global Warming

Lecture at GHI Washington
Speaker: Sam White (University of Helsinki)

- April 14** **History in the Making: Tanja Maljartschuk in conversation with Patricia Anne Simpson and Anne Dwyer**
 Panel Discussion on Zoom
 Speakers: Tanja Maljartschuk (author), Patricia Anne Simpson (University of Nebraska-Lincoln), and Anne Dwyer (Pomona College)
- April 17-18** **Knowledge Production in Displacement and Forced Migration**
 Workshop at the University of California, Santa Barbara
 Conveners: Joshua Donovan (GHI Washington | Pacific Office), Vitalij Fastovskij (GHI Washington | Pacific Office), and Vladimir Hamed-Troyansky (University of California, Santa Barbara)
- April 19** **“The Short End of the Sonnenallee” with author Thomas Brussig**
 Book Launch at the Carl Schurz Auditorium, German Embassy Washington
 Speaker: Thomas Brussig
- April 25-28** **Diaspora and Debris: Material Culture in German-Jewish History**
 Seventh Junior Scholars Conference in Jewish History at GHI Washington
 Co-organized by Anna-Carolin Augustin (GHI Washington), Mark Roseman (Indiana University Bloomington), and Miriam Rürup (Moses Mendelssohn Centre for European-Jewish Studies, Potsdam), with additional support from the Wissenschaftliche Arbeitsgemeinschaft des Leo Baeck Instituts

- April 29-30** **Fifth West Coast Germanists' Workshop: Scholarship-in-Progress**
Workshop at University of British Columbia, Vancouver | Conveners: Heidi Tworek (University of British Columbia, Vancouver) and Richard Wetzell (German Historical Institute Washington)
- May 4** **Climate Displacement in the Shadow of War: Feminist Refugee Perspectives on Hydro-disaster**
Lecture at UC Berkeley (3335 Dwinelle Hall) | Speaker: Heidi-Amin-Hong (University of California, Santa Barbara)
- May 18** **German Art and Culture in the Age of the Thirty Years' War**
14th Gerald D. Feldman Memorial Lecture at the GHI Washington
Speaker: Ulinka Rublack (University of Cambridge)
- May 19** **31st Annual Symposium of the Friends of the GHI**
Award of the 2023 Fritz Stern Dissertation Prize at the GHI Washington
- May 25-27** **Work, Class, and Social Democracy in the Global Age of August Bebel (1840-1913)**
Conference at the Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at the University of Toronto
Conveners: James Retallack (University of Toronto), Simone Lässig (GHI Washington) and Swen Steinberg (GHI Washington) | Partners: Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Bonn); Institute for Social Movements (Bochum)

June 14

Jewish Archives, Artefacts and Memory in Transit

Virtual Exhibition Panel

Christine Schmidt (Wiener Holocaust Library), Simone Lässig (GHI Washington), Anna-Carolin Augustin (GHI Washington), Indra Sangupta, (GHI London), Christina von Hodenberg (GHI London)

June 29-July 3

28th Transatlantic Doctoral Seminar: German History in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Seminar at the Villa Vigoni, Lovenjo di Menaggio, Italy

Conveners: Anna von der Goltz (Georgetown University) and Richard Wetzell (GHI Washington)

July 4-7

Historicizing the Refugee Experience, 17th–21st Centuries

Third Annual International Seminar in Historical Refugee Studies

Duisburg

Organized by the University of Duisburg-Essen (UDE), the German Historical Institute Washington (GHI) and the American Historical Association (AHA), in cooperation with the Interdisciplinary Center for Integration and Migration Research (InZentIM), the Institute for the Advanced Study in the Humanities (KWI) and the Centre for Global Cooperation Research (KHK/GCR21)

September 18-24

**Bucerius Young Scholars
Forum Histories of Migration:
Transatlantic and Global
Perspectives**

Seventh Annual Bucerius Young
Scholars Forum
Pacific Office of the GHI in Berkeley
& Sitka, AK | Conveners: Holly Guise
(The University of New Mexico),
Sören Urbansky, and Nino Vallen
(both Pacific Office of the GHI
Washington)

December 4-7

**Chinese Migration and the
Imagination of Pacific Worlds**

International Workshop & Lecture
Series, Berkeley & Stanford
Conveners: Sören Urbansky (Pacific
Office, GHI Washington) and Nino
Vallen (Pacific Office, GHI
Washington)

GHI Library

The GHI library concentrates on German history and transatlantic relations, with an emphasis on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In addition to providing essential literature for scholarly research, the library fulfills an important cultural mission: no other library in the United States offers a similarly condensed inventory of modern German history.

The library houses about 43,000 books, DVDs, CD-ROMs, microfiches, and 220 print journals. In addition, we offer access to almost 20,000 e-books and 1,000 current and historic online journals.

The collection includes books on American history written by German authors as well as historical literature of the institute's past research foci: global history, religious studies, exile and migration studies, environmental history, and economic history. However, the library does not include archival material. While we carefully select print resources to fit with the current work of the institute, our electronic collection is developed in cooperation with our ten sister institutes of the Max Weber Foundation and therefore also contains titles not specifically in our own collection focus.

The GHI library offers free access to scholars as well as the general public. Our reading room is open by appointment. The library does not lend materials, but visitors may consult material from the entire collection in our beautiful reading room, which also offers access to a variety of databases for journal articles, historical newspapers, genealogical research, and bibliographical research.

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GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE WASHINGTON

Transatlantische Historische Studien



Anna Corsten

Unbequeme Erinnerer

Emigrierte Historiker in der westdeutschen und US-amerikanischen NS- und Holocaust-Forschung, 1945–1998

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Nazi persecution drove numerous Jewish historians to flee from Germany and Austria to the US. After 1945, they advocated for the academic study of National Socialism and the Holocaust. In the US, they quickly became pioneers in 19th- and 20th-century German history. Although these scholars tried to exchange ideas with historians who remained in Germany, some of their books went unnoticed for decades in their country of origin. There were many reasons for this disregard: the main controversies revolved around who was allowed to write German history, how German history should be written, and especially whether and how the Holocaust should be researched. Only a new generation of scholars and growing public interest promoted intellectual exchange between the two groups. The émigré historians made significant contributions to academic research into National Socialism and the Holocaust.

They sought to uncover all aspects of the German past in order to strengthen consciousness for democracy in the present and future.

THE AUTHOR

Anna Corsten is a research associate at the Chair of Modern History/Contemporary History at the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena. Her research focuses on Nazi and Holocaust studies, the history of knowledge, the history of property, and transatlantic history.



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Transatlantische Historische Studien



Patrick Gaul

Ideale und Interessen

Die mitteleuropäische Wirtschaft im
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affected the German „Civil War“ of 1866 and the ways that the emancipation of African Americans influenced Central European discourses on work, freedom, and dealing with minorities.

„Patrick Gaul weckt die historische Forschung zum Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg aus einem langen Dornröschenschlaf. Am Beispiel Hamburgs, Bremens und Frankfurts zeigt Gaul, wie ein scheinbar ferner Krieg lokale Diskursräume erweiterte und neue Handlungsoptionen hervorbrachte. Das Ergebnis ist ein faszinierendes Panorama einer globalisierten nordatlantischen Welt im Umbruch.“
Mischa Honeck, Universität Kassel



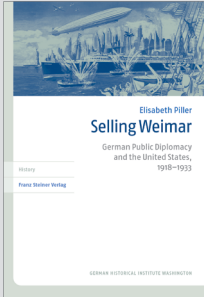
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Elisabeth Piller

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In the decade after World War I, German-American relations improved swiftly. While resentment and bitterness ran high on both sides in 1919, Weimar Germany and the United States managed to forge a strong transatlantic partnership by 1929. But how did Weimar Germany overcome its post-war isolation so rapidly? How did it regain the trust of its former adversary? And how did it secure U.S. support for the revision of the Versailles Treaty? Elisabeth Piller, winner of the *Franz Steiner Preis für Transatlantische Geschichte* 2019, explores these questions not from an economic, but from a cultural perspective.

How many bombs does it take for a society to break apart? Sophia Dafinger, in this German-language book, investigates a group of expert social scientists in the US who saw the Second World War as a grand research laboratory. *The United States Strategic Bombing Survey* is the starting point for the question of how the lessons of the aerial warfare were formulated, learned, but also forgotten again – from the theaters of war in Europe and Asia to Korea and Vietnam. Dafinger shows how self-confidently the “experts of aerial warfare” acted and how relevant their guidance was in the organization of political and military war planning.

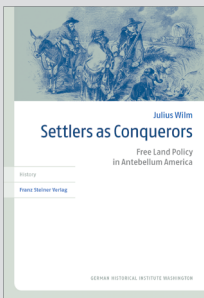


Sophia Dafinger

Die Lehren des Luftkriegs

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In early America, the notion that settlers ought to receive undeveloped land for free was enormously popular among the rural poor and social reformers. Well into the Jacksonian era, however, Congress considered the demand fiscally and economically irresponsible. Increasingly, this led proponents to cast the idea as a military matter: land grantees would supplant troops in the efforts to take over the continent from Indian nations and rival colonial powers. Julius Wilm's book examines the free land debates from the 1790s to the 1850s and reconstructs the settlement experiences under the donation laws for Florida (1842) and the Oregon Territory (1850).



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Transatlantische Historische Studien



Katharina Scheffler
**Operation Crossroads Africa,
 1958-1972**

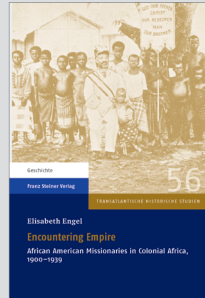
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In the 1960s, Operation Crossroads Africa (OCA) was the largest private volunteer Organization in Africa. Founded in 1957, OCA initiated numerous aid projects in various regions of Africa. On the basis of extensive archival research and interviews with contemporary witnesses, Katharina Scheffler examines the early years of the organization. In this German-language study, Scheffler illuminates OCA's founding, as well as the institutional and social hurdles that had to be overcome in the beginning. She pays special attention to the experiences of volunteers themselves and their role as unofficial ambassadors of America, on the one hand, and as pioneers for intercultural understanding, on the other.

In *Encountering Empire*, Elisabeth Engel traces how black American missionaries – men and women grappling with their African heritage – established connections in Africa during the heyday of European colonialism. Reconstructing the black American 'colonial encounter', Engel analyzes the images, transatlantic relationships, and possibilities of representation African American missionaries developed for themselves while negotiating colonial regimes. Illuminating a neglected chapter of Atlantic history, Engel demonstrates that African Americans used imperial structures for their own self-determination. *Encountering Empire* thus challenges the notion that pan-Africanism was the only viable strategy for black emancipation.



Elisabeth Engel
Encountering Empire

African American Missionaries
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After a successful career in the Weimar Republic's cultural industry, German director William Dieterle accepted a contract offered him by the US film company Warner Bros. Pictures in 1930. There, he succeeded in building a network of German-speaking-artists, including Max Reinhardt and Fritz Kortner and made films that contributed to the fight against National Socialism and to representing a „different Germany“ in emigration. In this German-language book, Larissa Schütze describes Dieterle's integration into the institutional structures Warner Bros. Studios and reconstructs the production history of the films he made there on the basis of the company's documents.



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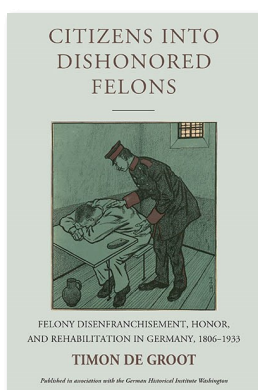
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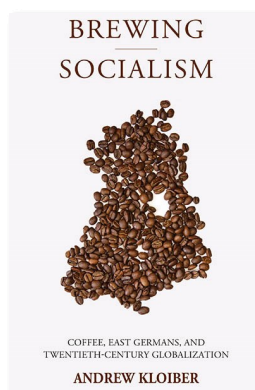
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BREWING SOCIALISM
Coffee, East Germans, and
Twentieth-Century
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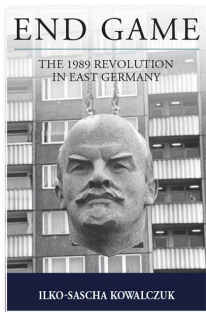
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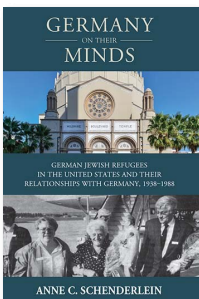
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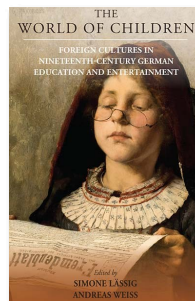


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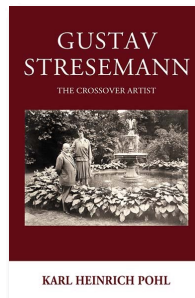
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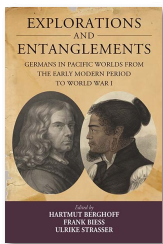


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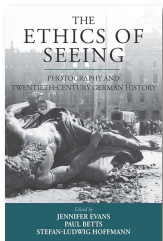
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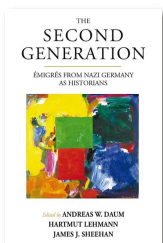
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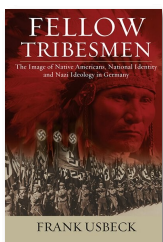
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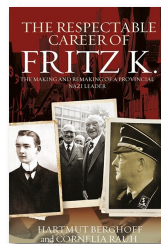
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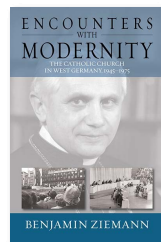
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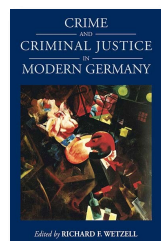
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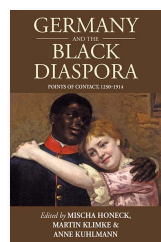
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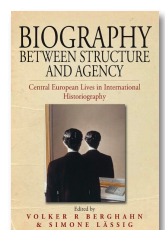
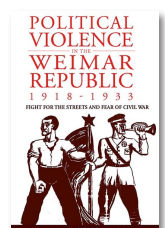
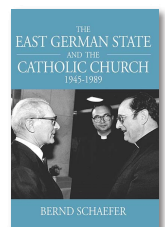
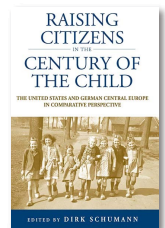
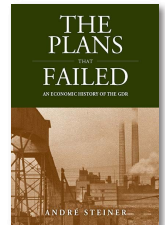
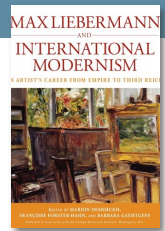
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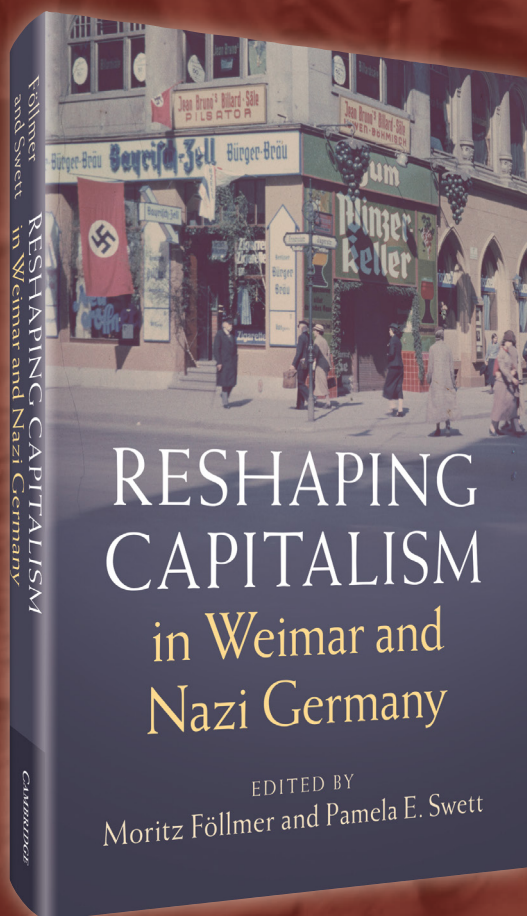
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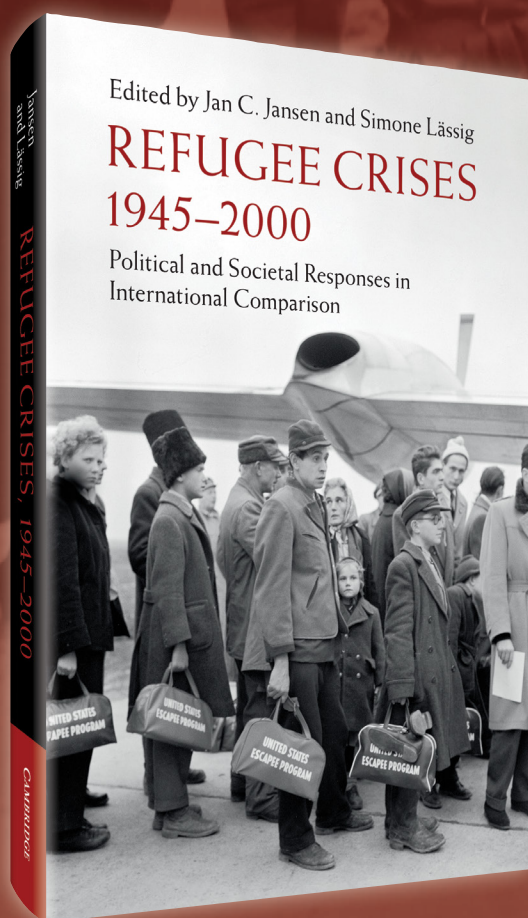
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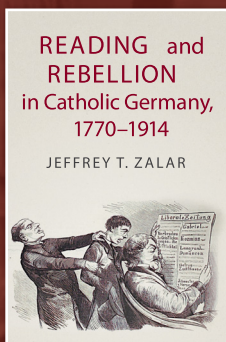
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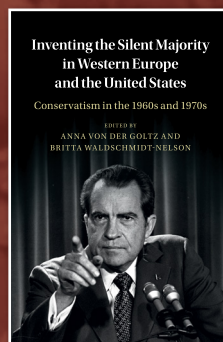
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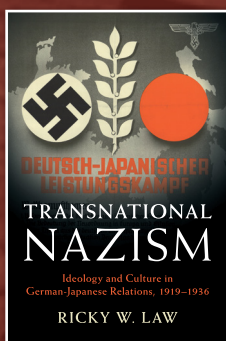
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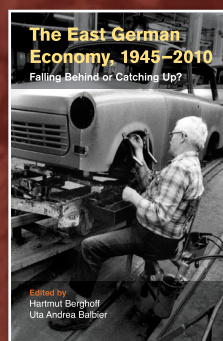
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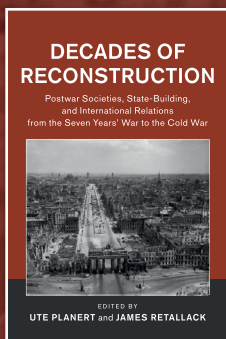
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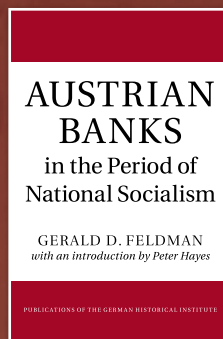
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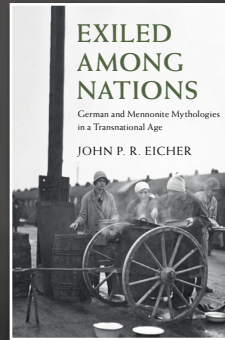
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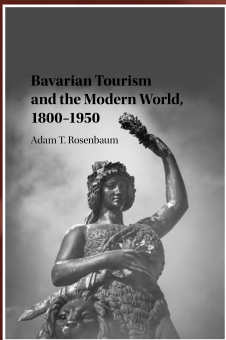
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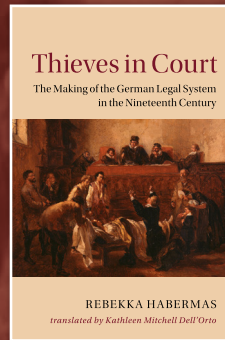
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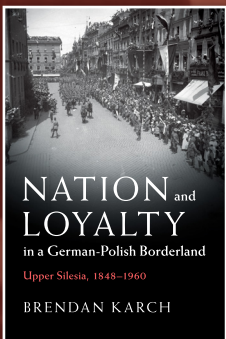
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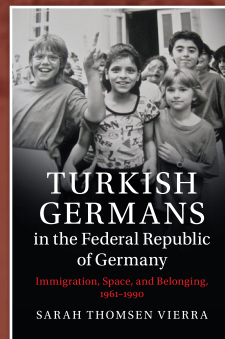
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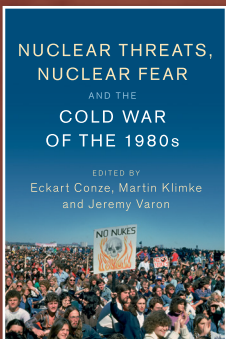
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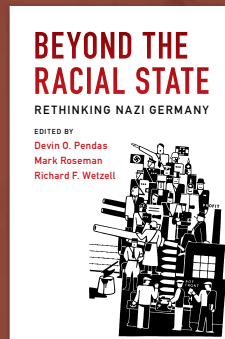
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