

Reviews

Gregory Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800: Three Seasons in European History*, Basingstoke and London, Macmillan Press, 2000; xv + 444 pp.; 0333620038, £16.99 (pbk); 033362002X, £49.50 (hbk)

The appearance within three months of two single-author books on early modern Italy, thirty-six years after anything remotely similar (and that in French by Jean Delumeau), is an odd quirk; potentially frustrating for the authors! Greg Hanlon's book was delivered three days before I had to submit the index and proofs of my own work: *Early Modern Italy: A Social History* (Routledge); and I dared not read it then! Now I judge that our two volumes should nuzzle together, complementary by complimentary authors. This review will make direct comparisons, with a declared authorial bias. Beneficially we are not directly competitive; the chronologies differ, and while mine is a 'social history', Hanlon bravely attempts an all-round survey. Hanlon essentially starts with the end of the Italian wars in 1559, and the conclusion of the Council of Trent in 1563 (but he also has a useful short piece on 'the renaissance origins of modern Italy'), and fully covers to the end of the eighteenth century. My book draws on significant evidence and examples from the fifteenth century, and I see the 1760s crises and new reform attempts as marking a turning-point, from which another volume in the series should take over. Publishers' policies have created other differences. Hanlon's text is a little longer than mine. His notes are full, mine cryptic — but linked to a consolidated bibliography, which annoyingly Hanlon lacks. Hanlon has more maps, mainly half-page, for sections of the Italian scene; effective and clear, though oddly none names the mapped rivers (even one headed 'navigable rivers and canals'). Hanlon was allowed four plates to illustrate a chapter called 'Bella Figura: the Baroque Era', but they are murky, retain the titles in French (coming from the Louvre), and the text makes no direct reference to them.

Greg Hanlon attempts an all-round survey, in twenty-six short chapters, of the Italian peninsula and the main islands, and touches on the wider Venetian empire. After two overarching chapters, on the regional geography and on 'family and sociability', the rest is chronologically subdivided: High Summer, 1550–1620; The Time of Tempests, 1620–1730; A Slow Thaw, 1730–1800. While this division emphasizes his very gloomy view of the central period, it sometimes hinders discussion not only of social-cultural themes, but

even some of the political-centred topics. We share a number of influences and attitudes, partly derived from Braudel and the earlier *Annales* writers; on geographical structures, diseases and food, and some aspects of *mentalités* and attitudes; though Hanlon eschews illustrative quotation or extended summary of early modern views on topics raised like nobility, honour, gender, fear, poverty. Here I may be more helpful! As his previous work would suggest, Hanlon is strong on political aspects of the different Italian states, their relations with non-Italian powers, on wars and warfare, on the military, and nobles' involvement in armies. On such he is detailed, bringing out very complex circumstances and nuances, without losing the reader. Particularly valuable are chapters on Italy and Islam in the Mediterranean, Fifty Years War 1610–59, the growth of Piedmont as an absolutist state, reform attempts under Bourbons and Habsburgs in the eighteenth century. The discussion of many social and religious matters digests much secondary literature and nuanced verdicts, but little room is left for detailed case-studies and individual examples; here I hope my book (avoiding political-military details), can be more illuminating — on varieties of 'peasants' and land-holdings, household composition, urban social groupings and loyalties, professionals. We have a common interest in bandits — and here even individual ones! Hanlon sensibly assesses the realities of legal matters, crime and punishment whether by secular or ecclesiastical courts such as the Inquisitions, Italian and (for Sicily) Spanish. Hanlon assumes student readers are largely post-Christian, and so carefully explains basic fundamentals before moving on to Tridentine reform, and aptly (later in the book) on to a 'second wave' of religious reform after 1650, though he might be exaggerating the fearful effect of sin-inducing sermons by the specialist preachers.

Hanlon forcefully stresses economic and cultural 'decline' in his middle period; and highlights many figures to do with textiles or population loss in particular that emphasize this view. I advise caution over some of this, because of the less quantifiable effects (which he briefly admits intermittently) of shifting emphases to luxury goods, rural production, conspicuous building and decorating operations, the growth of service industries, tourism, rural consumerism, etc. There are many imponderables over real standards of living and quality of life, after admitting some industrial disaster areas. He conventionally attacks the guilds for worsening the situation; I have reservations on the narrow economic front, with some cities at least showing flexibility and growth; and stress that guilds had to the end important wider social-cohesion functions. After forceful comments on Rome's supposed dramatic decline as cultural leader after 1660, his own comments scattered through the book

suggest much cultural vitality across Italy (even if 'leadership' slips). After much stress in the conclusions on Italian decadence over two centuries — he ends with saying it was a more civilized, less violent, area by the later eighteenth century.

Greg Hanlon's book I welcome as a valuable well-rounded history, which leaves room for my own more fully exemplified and complex study of many social aspects.

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Christopher F. Black, *Early Modern Italy: A Social History*, London and New York, Routledge, 2001; xx + 279 pp.; 0415214343, £17.99 (pbk)

Somewhat in the manner of the *commedia dell'arte*, it could be argued, there are stock characters without whom a social history of early modern Italy would not be complete. These must surely include flagellating *confratelli*, ghettoized Jews, charlatans hawking their multifarious wares, sexually frustrated celibates, tolerated prostitutes, unrepentant sodomites, deceitful servants and abusive servant keepers. If this colourful social mix were located in Venice we might add the violence-prone workers of the Arsenale. All of these essentially urban characters, together with their rural counterparts, people the pages of Christopher Black's new survey of Italian society between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. This chronology is determined at one end by the acres of print generated by the Florentine *catasto* of 1427 — which the social historian would presumably ignore at his peril — and, at the other, by the attacks of 'enlightened' commentators on characteristic early modern institutions such as confraternities. A *longue durée* perhaps, and Black does indeed acknowledge his debt to Braudel by beginning with the geography and natural resources of the peninsula, but he proceeds to focus on the people who lived in mountainous regions or who traded along rivers, alongside those who did neither. The sheer scale of the task, both chronologically and in view of the regional nature of much historical research in Italy, prompt the author to preface his text with defensive remarks about the limitations imposed on the project and about the audiences who might benefit from the results. He can now breathe a sigh of relief for his objectives have been met. The 'general reader' so keenly wooed by authors and publishers will emerge from these pages with a substantial quantity of factual information.

Undergraduate students whose reading probably takes them no further than the Venetian *terraferma* or the Florentine subject territories, when they venture at all beyond the lagoon or the Porta Rossa, will be able to compare and contrast the social circumstances of individuals and groups living in republican and non-republican regimes.

As Black admits, social history must necessarily be selective. His challenge is all the more daunting because of the huge quantity of research to be assimilated in his chosen field. At the same time the sheer quantity of secondary literature is such that a periodic digest of it can be of use even to the specialist. Though not an overtly historiographical exercise, the stocktaking aspect of this volume may prove to be of value to scholars. One of the most significant decisions made by Black is that the social elite ought not to take precedence over any other groups, a decision reflected in the fact that their peculiar concerns, including the granting of noble status, are saved for the eighth of twelve themed chapters. The structure of the entire survey is also profoundly affected by the decision not to take women out of their varied social contexts, urban or rural, rich or poor, sacred or secular, and treat them as some sort of separate theme. It is to be hoped that their high profile throughout the volume is not the result of some other form of positive discrimination. One of the most successful chapters deals with the structures and nature of parochial life, a selection that yields interesting results because of the interaction between ecclesiastical bureaucracy, lay spirituality and post-Tridentine educational provision. When chronological selections have to be made, they tend to be in favour of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at the expense of the fifteenth and eighteenth — Trent looms large — but this is perfectly understandable. The geographical selections are also made judiciously: although many points are not unexpectedly illustrated by examples from Florence, Rome and Venice, there is a conscious attempt to balance these against others from as far afield as the *Mezzogiorno* and Piedmont. This largely descriptive account ranges around the peninsula and the time-span with ease and no obvious jolts.

Plague looms suitably large in this volume, whether in terms of actual suffering, investigation by appalled officials of the poor housing in which it spread so rapidly, or acts of public contrition designed to appease the Almighty. There is a rather different plague apparent in our own time: that of very minor errors in texts going undetected by computer spell-checking facilities. Examples in this volume include 'contact' for 'contract' and 'heath' for 'health' (45 and 66 respectively). A few shorter words appear to be missing from the text in various places, and accents are occasionally misused or

omitted, but these are minor irritations that ought not to present serious distractions from enjoyment of the subject matter for most readers. It is to be hoped that measures can be taken — perhaps the allowance of a little more time for copy-editing or proof-reading — to ensure that this plague does not reach epidemic, let alone pandemic, proportions.

S.R. Fletcher

Alexander De Grand, *The Hunchback's Tailor: Giovanni Giolitti and Liberal Italy from the Challenge of Mass Politics to the Rise of Fascism, 1882–1922*, Westport, CT and London, Praeger, 2000; x + 294 pp.; 027596874X, £49.95 (hbk)

For the great majority of even academic historians, the political history of Italy from the end of the Risorgimento until the rise of Fascism remains obscure. Some vague sense of one officially Liberal government rapidly replacing another, of colonial humiliation at Adowa in 1896, of tardy entry into the First World War in 1915, and thereafter of an inadequate war effort which would produce the great defeat of Caporetto, and finally a knowledge of the surrender of Liberal Italy to Mussolini are enough for most of us. Asking for some detail about such prime ministers as Benedetto Cairoli or Giuseppe Saracco or Alessandro Fortis is likely to defeat even the best-informed quiz show star. The only politician of the Liberal era who retains a certain presence in the non-Italian reckoning with the past is Giovanni Giolitti, five times prime minister, and political dominator of the 'Giolittian decade' from 1901 to 1914. It was in these years that the national economy grew relatively rapidly, and social modernization advanced at a rate not seen before and not to be outmatched until the 'Italian miracle' began in the mid-1950s.

Both the ignorance and the half-knowledge are reasons to welcome Alexander De Grand's new political history of Giolitti's life from his birth in provincial Piedmont in 1842 till his death in 1928. By then Fascist dictatorship was trashing most of the Liberal values which he had used to chart a path through life. Worse, Italy's other Liberals, almost to a man, had accommodated themselves to Mussolini's rule, and Giolitti was a lonely and isolated figure in his refusal to recant his past views. De Grand, who has built a splendid reputation with a succession of revealing studies of Nationalism and of Fascism in twentieth-century Italy, has researched his new topic

with rigour and span. No other historian, not even an Italian one, can match his comprehension of the detail of Liberal political life, rhetoric and practice.

Giolitti, De Grand explains, was Italy's greatest Prime Minister after Cavour, and 'exactly what he seemed to be — honest, direct, unrheterical, but lethal in debate, hardworking' (5), a parliamentarian to his boot-straps. At the same time, Giolitti was 'more conservative, nowhere nearly so all-powerful, more prone to error, and more human than his contemporaries and other historians have viewed him' (7). The title of the book displays De Grand's conclusion. Giolitti himself told his daughter that, in the real world of Italian weakness and backwardness, corruption and violence, he had to replicate the acts of a tailor who 'does not succeed in dressing a hunchback if he does not take the hunch into account' (1). Armed by this salutary pessimism of the intellect but most often remaining some sort of optimist of the will, De Grand's Giolitti does very well in much of his humdrum administration. However, certainly in 1921–4 and perhaps on other occasions, his narrow understanding of the possibilities of liberalism and his distaste for, and incomprehension of, mass politics marked him as a figure destined in the end to lose. Here was a man who could not reckon with the world opened by the First World War, that event which Giolitti, in old age, damned feelingly but ineffectually as 'the greatest disaster for humanity after the great flood' (254).

Scholarly circles can therefore rejoice at the publication of De Grand's book and the resultant availability of a fuller and calmer assessment of Giolitti's policies than can be found elsewhere. And yet there are some grounds for regret. In his preface De Grand notes that he had been persuaded by the editors at Praeger to cut his text by 'what seemed an impossible amount' (x), but says that they were correct in their advice. This reader, however, is inclined to differ. The cutting shows. As published, the book is sometimes uneasy in its choice of detail. The use of frequent internal headings further helps to break up the prose and undermines the nuance of the argument. Transitions are on occasion halting; footnotes, by contrast to text, copious. At a cost of almost £50, the book actually has under two hundred pages of historical writing in it, which is rather sparse at the price and is all the more annoying given the evident profundity of De Grand's knowledge.

In his conclusion, De Grand reviews the fate of Giolitti's reputation after 1945, concluding elegiacally with the suggestion that the new Italy, now incarnated in the Berlusconi government and in current-day revisionist 'Anti-Anti-Fascist' historiography, is unlikely to have much time for so devoted a parliamentarian as Giolitti. The

crudity of self-interest among present-day 'new liberal' advocates of the market and their triumphantly crass manipulations of the masses through popular culture seem to sadden De Grand as certainly they must the ghost of that Giolitti who, however fearfully, went on hoping that the new classes of the twentieth century could one day acquire the high culture of the Enlightenment. But in reading De Grand's book as presented by his publishers, there is another, professional (if, doubtless, narrow and self-interested) reason for historians to be melancholic in our new millennium. How, we are prompted to ask, in the globalized market, can the serious monograph on a relatively peripheral topic like the politics of Liberal Italy survive? Read against the grain, De Grand's *The Hunchback's Tailor* seems to show that it cannot. Or should we all just accept that nowadays we must cut our cloth to fit the dwarfish history which our age, or its masters, want?

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Jens Petersen and Wolfgang Schieder, eds, *Faschismus und Gesellschaft in Italien: Staat, Wirtschaft, Kultur*, Köln, SH-Verlag, 1998; 333 pp.; 3894980214

This volume published in the series *Italien in der Moderne*, is devoted to a wide range of problems in the history of Fascist Italy (1922–43). The book includes articles written by researchers from Germany, Italy and Hungary. They cover various aspects of the development of Italian society and state in the period of Fascism.

The editors of the book, Jens Petersen and Wolfgang Schieder, aspire to present life in Fascist Italy as fully as possible. There are papers about economic and political developments, about the culture and science of Italy between 1922 and 1943, and about economic relations between Germany and Italy. It is necessary to remark that priority was given to articles devoted to problems of welfare (which is doubtless an advantage of the book). The policies of the Fascist regime in the sphere of culture have been insufficiently studied at the present time.

The introductory article 'Das faschistische Italien als Gegenstand der Forschung' (Fascist Italy as an Object of Research), written by the editors of the book — explains in detail the tasks set by the editors. In it, a review of the main directions of research on Italian Fascism in Germany and Italy is given, and the main task of the

book is formulated: to make a contribution to the writing of 'a social history of Italian Fascism'. The articles are all brought together into clusters of topics: the first is devoted to relations between state and society in Fascist Italy, the second to problems of Fascist culture, the third to questions of Fascist economics. One of the articles of each group is written by an Italian researcher specializing in the relevant sphere: Giuseppe Galasso discusses relations of the Fascist state and Italian society, Gabriele Turi relations between Fascism and culture, and Brunello Mantelli the economic policy of a Fascism.

The work of Giuseppe Galasso is devoted to one of the major problems in the history of the Fascist regime in Italy: the problem of the institutionalization of the Fascist state. From the author's point of view, Mussolini, from the very beginning, set about reforming the state's structure, by establishing a dictatorship that would allow him to achieve a stabilization of the Italian society and state. Galasso rejects the argument that the creation of the dictatorship began only during the Matteotti crisis of 1924. In his opinion, Mussolini, even before assuming full authority, had in mind the idea of a complex re-structuring of society.

The Hungarian researcher Árpád von Klimó, in his original contribution, has created a kind of collective portrait of the Italian bureaucracy, i.e. of the top officials of the Italian ministries, in the period from 1890 to 1930 (or, as this period is characterized by the author, the epoch of transition from the liberal state to the Fascist state). The author comes to the conclusion that the establishment of the Fascist regime did not result in a specific politicization of the Italian bureaucracy, and that in the first decade of the Fascist regime the process of bureaucratic professionalization that had started at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was completed.

The article of Daniela Giovanna Liebscher, 'Organisierte Freizeit als Sozialpolitik' (Organized Leisure Time as Social Policy) is devoted to one of the most interesting welfare phenomena of the Fascist period — the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro (National Organization 'After Work'). The author compares this organization with the equivalent cultural-political organization in Nazi Germany, Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy). Liebscher pays special attention to the contacts between the two organizations, successfully revealing common features and coming to the indisputable conclusion that the activity of these bodies devoted to the organization of leisure activity strengthened totalitarian control in both Italy and Germany.

In the article by Gabriele Turi, 'Faschismus und Kultur' (Fascism and Culture), general issues relating to the cultural policy of the Fascist regime are explored. The author, a professor of the Uni-

versity of Florence and expert in the field of Fascist culture, demonstrates that the cultural sphere was one of the major targets of Fascist policy. Turi underlines the political responsibility of Italian intellectuals and their role in the stabilization of the Fascist regime. At the same time, he shows that the claim of those Italian scholars who have spoken of a 'treachery' of the intellectuals is unjustified. For Turi, it is vitally important to understand the fact that Italian intellectuals, via their support of the Fascist regime, managed to create a self-defined 'free field' of intellectual and cultural activity. As Turi shows, Fascism could not achieve total control of Italian cultural life.

The author of the following contribution, Jürgen Charnitzky, deals with an aspect of Fascist social policy, that directed at school education, which had as its main aim the creation of a Fascist intelligentsia. Special attention is paid here to the activities of one of the most famous philosophers and figures of Italian culture, Giovanni Gentile, author of the famous *Doctrine of Fascism*, in which the main postulates of Fascism are laid down. Charnitzky emphasizes that Fascism totally controlled the system of education, and that in this it was supported by the activity of Fascist children's and youth organizations such as Opera Nazionale Balilla.

Friedemann Scriba devotes his paper to the Roman art exhibition of 1937–8, the *Mostra Augustea della Romanità*. This exhibition is one of the shining manifestations of the so-called 'Lictor Cult', the mythologization of ancient Rome as a direct predecessor of the Fascist regime. The propagation of Ancient Rome as an image, as some kind of heroic myth assumed a significant place in the life of Fascist Italy. According to Mussolini: 'Rome is our starting point, it is our character, it is our myth.' In accordance with a personal decision of Mussolini, the central part of Rome, the district of the *Via dei Fori Imperiali*, was cleared. During the Roman Empire the city centre had been located here, and this was the site of the forums of the Republic, of Julius Caesar and of Octavianus Caesar Augustus. The ancient monuments were now stripped of additions from later periods and opened for visitors. Mussolini personally participated in the construction work and the cleaning of ancient buildings, and expected that in the centre of Rome all buildings 'of the centuries of decline' that followed the death of Augustus would be demolished. The image of Mussolini as the successor of the Caesars, the emperors of Ancient Rome, as bearer of the idea of *Littorio*, was gradually raised to the status of a cult.

The same purpose — glorification of the greatness of Fascist Italy as a successor of Ancient Rome — was followed in archeological research in Libya as shown in the piece by Stefan Altekamp. Libya

was for Fascist Italy a kind of object of historical memory, recalling the Roman victory over Carthage which enabled Rome to assume dominance over the western Mediterranean. Excavation was a form of propaganda for the Fascist regime, and proof of the 'magnificent imperial project of Mussolini.' A film, *Scipione l'Africano* (1937), devoted to the victory of Rome against Carthage, was actually produced in Libya.

Andrea Hoffend, in 'Verteidigung des Humanismus? Der Italienische Faschismus vor der kulturellen Herausforderung durch den Nationalsozialismus' (A Defense of Humanism? Italian Fascism faced with the Cultural Challenge of National-Socialism), stresses that, after 1933, Fascist policy in the sphere of culture was under strong pressure from Nazism. Hoffend shows the transformation of the image of German culture in the period between 1933 and 1939, during which time Italian propaganda about the Germans shifted from 'the barbarians behind the Alps' to supporters in a common struggle. The perception of German culture accordingly changed too.

The connection between society and the economy is considered in four contributions to the book. In that by Rolf Petri, the link between Italian businessmen and the Fascist regime is outlined, and the role of businessmen in the economic development of Fascist Italy is demonstrated. The studies of Anne von Oswald and Brunello Martelli are devoted to economic relations between Germany and Italy. Von Oswald deals with the period of relative weakening in economic co-operation between Germany and Italy in the 1920s. Martelli considers the period of intensive development in German-Italian economic links in the 1930s. Finally, Alexander Nützenadel examines the agrarian policies of Fascism, reaching an important conclusion regarding the success of the policy of autarky in the agrarian sphere: it resulted, he states, in the transformation of Italy from an importer into an exporter of agrarian products.

The contribution by Claudio Natoli, 'Antifaschismus und Resistenza in der Geschichte des Italienischen Einheitsstaates' (Anti-Fascism and Resistance in the History of the Italian State) falls outside the scope of the book's main foci. However, the editors of the book note the special importance of Natoli's contribution because it critically reviews studies of Fascism and anti-Fascism and links the book to the 'tradition of Italian anti-Fascist historical research which only now is merging with research into Fascism'. As the editors of the book remark, Natoli's article, along with other contributions to the book, show the great advances made by German research on Fascism while Italian researchers were arguing among themselves.

Evaluating the book as a whole, it is possible to conclude unambiguously that the authors and editors have succeeded in creating a comprehensive and polygonal picture of the development of Italian society in the Fascist era in its interrelation with the Fascist regime. They have not only successfully explored various aspects of the social, cultural and economic policies of Fascism, but have also demonstrated an increasing degree of interrelationship between the Fascist and Nazi regimes that resulted in certain similarities in their social and cultural policies.

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W. Beik, *Louis XIV and Absolutism: A Brief Study with Documents*, New York, St Martin's Press, 2000; xv + 247 pp.; 0312227434, \$39.95

Even during the twilight of his reign, when the lengthening shadows cast by the War of the Spanish Succession threatened to eclipse his own rays, Louis XIV continued to inspire the devotion of his friends, and the emulation of his foes. Though the French countryside had been swept again and again for new recruits to feed his insatiable desire for *gloire* and conquest, famine threatened in the provinces, and even the King's toy soldiers — the legacy of childhood — had been melted down to pay the wages of his real armies, Louis still remained the unquestioned master of France.¹ If the victories of Marlborough and Eugene of Savoy, at Blenheim and Ramillies, had shattered forever his carefully constructed myth of invincibility, then Vauban's mighty ring of fortresses ensured that the English and the Austrians did not penetrate far beyond the borders of his realm. Even if his curtailment of religious liberties had led to the emigration of some of the most skilled, industrious and gifted of his subjects — the glass-makers to Denmark, and the silk-weavers to England and Holland — then the desperate sacrifices and heroic struggles of the Protestant *Camisards* in the Languedoc did little to shake the firm foundations of his monarchy, or to make him question his persecuting resolve.

After a reign of 72 years, 3 months and 18 days, it is little surprise that later historians have found difficulty in separating the man from his age, or in balancing his administrative and political abilities with his overt militarism and embodiment of an intolerant, absolutist ethic. While Voltaire and Saint-Simon respectively applauded and

vilified his legacy, in Britain, Lord Acton could believe him to have been 'by far the ablest man who was born . . . on the steps of a throne', while Sir Winston Churchill could brand him as 'the curse and pest of Europe', a 'high-heeled, beperiwigged dandy, strutting amid the bows and scrapes of mistresses and confessors to the torment of his age'.² More recently a flood of works dedicated to reconstructing everything from Louis's use of music and imagery, to his conduct of warfare and the evolution of the French state have added immensely to our understanding of the nature and formation of the absolutist system, under this most gifted of kings.³ Seminar studies, which have ranged from the excellent to the frankly impenetrable, have similarly sought to illuminate the period for the sixth form student and the undergraduate alike, and it is to this genre that William Beik's new study firmly belongs.⁴ From the outset it benefits from both a clarity of vision and of exposition, limiting itself primarily to an analysis of the first half of the reign, and a wholly original — and highly valuable — inclusion of first-hand material. Concise and scholarly exegesis of major themes such as religion, central and regional government, and political dissent, are accompanied by the author's translations of extracts from seventeenth-century sources. As a result, the book transcends the traditional limitations of the seminar guide — that of a primer, or crammer — and acts as an extremely useful teaching tool, which purposely circumvents the better-known accounts — such as Saint-Simon's aforementioned *Mémoires* — in favour of lesser known, but arguably more empirically exacting and representative texts drawn from governmental records, correspondence and sworn testimonies. In this manner, the Fronde is viewed through the eyes of Monsieur Bru — a Royalist bookseller — who witnessed the fall of the city of Agen to the Princes; Pierre-Joseph de Haitze — a local historian — who was caught up in the riots which engulfed Aix in 1649; and by the petitioners to the Prince of Conti, apologizing for localized revolts in Guyenne and Bordeaux.⁵ Similarly, the religious justifications for absolutism are represented by selections from Bishop Bossuet's *Politics Drawn from the Very Words of Holy Scripture*, while the twin campaigns launched against the Jansenists and the Huguenots, are drawn from the reports of intendants, secretaries of state, prelates and local clergymen.⁶ Both the text of the 'Commission for the Execution of the Edict of Nantes' published in 1663, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes of 25 October 1685, are included, allowing for comparison and for an interesting examination of the change in religious temperatures and thought within the space of less than a generation.⁷ The deep, and enduring, psychological blow to French Protestantism occasioned by Turenne's conversion to

Catholicism is also examined, though without attributing the motives of the old soldier to either sudden intellectual revelation or to the operation of purely naked ambition.

While a helpful chronological guide is included, Beik does not aim to provide yet another biographical study of the King. With Wolf's authoritative and magisterial study still largely unchallenged or superseded, such an undertaking would be clearly beyond the scope of a short monograph.⁸ Instead, the author wisely chooses to provide snapshots of the King and his work practices, at key junctures during his reign. This approach is entirely successful, drawing the student away from simple recourses to the 'great man' school of history and allowing the figure of Louis XIV to be observed through the reflecting prisms of Colbert's financial memoranda, the pen of Pope Innocent XI and the King's own, self-serving, writings. The author is fully conversant with the latest scholarly research upon his subject, and builds upon recent studies of the impact, and use, of monarchical imagery. As a result, fascinating accounts of the King's 'advertising' of his power, through tapestries, paintings and architecture are also included, together with a detailed provincial report on the advisability of raising a statue to the sovereign in the main square at Montpellier. Aided by the provision of well-chosen illustrations, bold maps and informative genealogies, this is a gem of a book that exudes the author's confidence, love and deep knowledge of his subject. Between its covers lies everything that is needed to enable college tutors to stimulate, encourage and to guide debate. Whether the student body is inclined to be swayed in its judgements by the splendours of the Trianon and the achievements of the Academy of Sciences, or by the flooded plains barring the road to Amsterdam and by the devastation wrought at Nîmes by the *dragonnades*, the evidence — both pro and con — is soberly and judiciously set forth here. Yet in regarding the triumphal arches raised at Paris, Tours, Besançon and Lille, one might well feel compelled to agree with Leopold I of Austria, when, following the routs of the French armies, raised his own monument proclaiming with direct reference to Louis XIV 'that no man before his death should be called either happy or great'.⁹ Those courtiers at Versailles, who — in 1704 — fearing for their positions, could not bring themselves to pass on to their sovereign the disastrous news from the front, might well have had grim — though quite different — reasons to concur.

Notes

1. M. Baldet, *Lead Soldiers and Figurines* (New York 1961), 6; J.G. Garratt, *Model Soldiers* (London 1958), 36–7.
2. Lord Acton, *Lectures on Modern History* (London and Glasgow 1960), p. 223; W.S. Churchill, *Marlborough: His Life and Times*, 2 vol. edition (London, 1933 rpt. 1947), Vol. I, Book One, 228.
3. P. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London 1992); C.J. Ekberg, *The Failure of Louis XIV's Dutch War* (Chapel Hill, NC 1979); R.M. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King* (Ithaca, NY 1973); P. Sonnino, ed., *The Reign of Louis XIV* (New Jersey and London 1990); G. Walton, *Louis XIV's Versailles* (Chicago 1986).
4. In the former category is J.H. Shennan, *Louis XIV* (London 1986); in the latter, R. Wilkinson, *Louis XIV, France and Europe, 1661–1715* (London 1993).
5. Beik, op. cit., 36–47.
6. Beik, op. cit., 175–83, 189–93; J.-Bossuet, *Politics Drawn from the Very Words of Holy Scripture*, trans. and ed. P. Riley (Cambridge 1990).
7. Beik, op. cit., 185, 193–5.
8. J.B. Wolf, *Louis XIV* (New York 1968).
9. V. Cronin, *Louis XIV* (London 1964), 342–3.

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Simon Burrows, *French Exile Journalism and European Politics, 1792–1814*, Woodbridge, Royal Historical Society, 2000; xvi + 272 pp.; 0861932498, £40

The émigré experience in Britain during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era is, as Simon Burrows notes (11), a remarkably unstudied one, although a very few recent works are attempting to change that. This is one such, sallying into the minutiae of life at what claimed to be the cutting edge of counter-revolutionary opinion — its newspapers. Thirteen exile journals are studied, to which contributed nearly thirty minor writers and rather fewer major ones. Of the latter, a few names stand out as the real characters of the story — the distinguished authors Montlosier and Mallet du Pan, the abbé de Calonne, and the more workaday Jacques Regnier and Jean-Gabriel Peltier. The latter worked as an exile writer and editor from 1792 to 1818, continually needling the French authorities, and was convicted of criminal libel against First Consul Bonaparte by an English court in 1803, during the peace of Amiens. It appears that the outbreak of hostilities left him unsentenced, however, and he made a fortune from selling his account of the proceedings (121–7).

This kind of intriguing detail enlivens the second half of a book which begins with rather less promise. Fairly enough, Burrows begins with an attempt at a material analysis of the business of émigré publishing, and of the identities of its main protagonists. However, since it emerges that the business was a patchy, sometimes chaotic one, and that there is much that remains enigmatic about many of the figures involved, the first two chapters struggle to establish a strong narrative thread. This work is clearly the fruit of painstaking research, but in places this needed to have been better summarized.

The work really gets into its stride when it moves from consideration of the confused ideological map of the mid-1790s to the clearer dimensions of anti-Napoleonic émigré writing — a period which embraces some three-quarters of the book's chronological scope. Whereas much of the mid-1790s saw hardline or *pur* royalists contesting inconclusively with *monarchiens* over the apportionment of blame for the acknowledged horrors emerging from France, the period after 1799 saw, with the general reconciliation of *monarchiens* to Napoleonic order, a clearer focus amongst the remaining émigrés. The sections of the book that deal with this later period have a crisper structure, partly perhaps due to the fact that the oppositions under discussion became more clearly polarized. Burrows delineates the extent to which, throughout this period, émigré journalists can be seen as fulfilling a key function in maintaining a continuous counter-revolutionary public discourse. On the other hand, as he observes, they tended in both revolutionary and Napoleonic eras to reach excessive heights of rhetorical denunciation, exaggerated atrocity-mongering and quasi-pornographic personality-politics. Especially in the case of Napoleon, this fabrication of a 'Black Legend' was so extreme as to pander only to the prejudices of the most ardent counter-revolutionaries, and to marginalize this current of thought in the post-Napoleonic context.

Overall, Burrows demonstrates that the exile press was both a commercially successful and politically meaningful venture, and that while publishers' decisions were largely based on commercial motives, the press had a clear, if complex and fluctuating, relationship with both the British state and the elite of the émigré community. Close study of the press shows that political divisions within that community were not as fixed as frequently thought, although it also reinforces a sense of the lack of political astuteness shown by most of its members. Perhaps the most interesting general point made here concerns the target audience that the British government reached for, partly at least through the journalists considered here. Burrows calls it 'almost . . . a "courtly public sphere"' (223) of pan-

European political elites, and suggests that, rather than being a mistaken throwback to 'pre-bourgeois' ideas of representative publicity, this may have been a reflection by the British of the real state of 'public' life on the continent, thus challenging the chronology of Jürgen Habermas's original contentions on this subject.

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Susan Grogan, *Flora Tristan: Life Stories*, London and New York, Routledge, 1998; viii + 280 pp.; 0415049628, \$75

Stéphane Michaud, ed., *Flora Tristan, George Sand, Pauline Roland: Les Femmes et l'invention d'une nouvelle morale, 1830–1848*, Paris, Créaphis, 1994; 109 pp.; 2907150502, 125 FF

These two books highlight and analyse the contributions of three fascinating French women of the early nineteenth century, and in particular, the life and ideas of Flora Tristan (1803–44).

Through a new study of Flora Tristan, the New Zealand-based historian Susan Grogan underscores the fact that in the space of the last thirty years we now have access to a great deal more documentation by and about Flora Tristan than ever before. Her publications, once extremely hard to find, are now accessible in French reprint editions and translations, her extant correspondence has been located and published, and she has repeatedly tempted biographers, both popular and scholarly: in an Appendix to Grogan's work is a list of Tristan publications (which misses several translations, notably those published by Indiana University Press, and the texts in Cross and Gordon, *Early French Feminists*, among others); all we lack now would seem to be a leather-bound edition of her collected works, a film, and a web-site. Thus, as Grogan points out, it seems odd that a persistent notion continues to permeate the abundant Tristan literature, to the effect that she is 'unduly forgotten', or 'fallen into oblivion', etc. (7). Susan Grogan points to a 'curious conjuncture of remembering and forgetting Flora Tristan' — a remembering by some feminists and socialists, and a forgetting by everyone else, in particular by those who have formulated the modern French literary canon.

Grogan opens her work with a brief but penetrating discussion of methodological issues concerning the relationship between biography and historical memory (see especially 10–12). The body of the book is organized around 'facets' or 'aspects' of Flora Tristan's

life, providing what Grogan refers to as a 'multi-chronological' or 'layered' approach. Among my own favourite chapters (there are twelve altogether) are Chapter 5: 'Social Scientist', Chapter 7: 'Mother of the Workers', and Chapter 9: 'The First Strong Woman'. Grogan's method bears comparison with that of another historical biographer, Edith Gelles, whose treatment of the late eighteenth-century American writer Abigail Adams has so elegantly pioneered such a thematic approach. Unlike Abigail Adams, whose husband's story (he was the second president of the United States) threatened to usurp her own, Flora Tristan (whose estranged husband attempted to murder her in 1837) succeeded in creating a series of dramatic personas that could hold centre stage in a highly unsympathetic society.

Grogan's study is balanced, thoughtful, carefully researched, and above all, compassionate, even when Grogan is critical of Tristan. Grogan has an eye for choice quotations, and Tristan provides them aplenty. I would rank this beautifully written study as one of the most refreshing and enjoyable books I have read in the last several years. It is certainly the best book on Tristan to date in English, but enthusiastic English-language readers who wish to get even better acquainted with Flora should read Grogan's account in tandem with Laura S. Struminger's equally fascinating study organized around Tristan's journeys (*The Odyssey of Flora Tristan*, New York 1988) and with the more recent study of her political thought by Máire Cross and Tim Gray (*The Feminism of Flora Tristan*, Oxford and Providence, RI 1992). Flora Tristan emerges from all these studies as a strong personality — a woman who knew her own mind, had ambition, was self-confident, even opinionated, entrepreneurial, adventurous and daring. In all, Tristan's work offered a holistic approach to knowledge, combining reason and emotion in a 'scientific passion' (91). Perhaps, among the many intriguing European women of the nineteenth century, only Germaine de Staël and Lola Montez provide readers with more adventure-packed life stories than does Tristan.

The collection of articles edited by Stéphane Michaud, commemorating the 150th anniversary of Flora Tristan's death, features eight articles, of which six concern Tristan — though few speak to the collection's subtitle, the 'invention of a new morality'. The editor's announced intent is 'to break with the unfortunate temptation to congeal certain women in an illusory exemplification' that precludes 'critical appreciation' (6), a point to which he returns in a subsequent essay. Get off that pedestal, Flora! The critics are en route, armed with saws.

Maurice Agulhon underscores the point made by Susan Grogan

concerning Flora Tristan's 'rediscovery', pointing out that she had long been accorded respect by historians of the French workers' movement prior to 1968, though admittedly her feminism had been of secondary interest. This emphasis changed markedly in the 1970s and after, as Tristan's life and feminist views became known to a broader public. Agulhon also emphasizes the extraordinary simplicity of Tristan's idea of a national Workers' Union, even as he insists on its unrealizability in the conditions of the 1840s.

Other contributors explore various facets of Tristan's career, examining, for instance, the cool reception she received from workers in the industrial towns of the Loire region during her *tour de France* (despite the efforts of one important friend in the regional press), and her scorn for the provincials, whom she considered both unattractive and ignorant. Decidedly, in Flora Tristan's view, as Didier Nourrisson points out, the men of the working class were not up to the requirements of their historic mission. Pascale Hustache argues that Tristan's novel *Méphis* was strictly a means of conveying her messages to a broader audience (thus suggesting its lack of literary qualities). Norbert Bachleiter provides a useful survey of the response of Metternich's censorship to *Méphis* — totally banning the book on Austrian territory. The Austrian censors also banned a number of other works by French women writers, in addition to twenty novels by George Sand, presumably on the grounds that they were offensive to religion. Bachleiter also probes archival and printed sources concerning the reception of Tristan's publications, especially *Union ouvrière*, both by the Young Hegelians and by Marx and Engels. Takayoshi Kosugi considers the difficulties of translating Tristan into Japanese, noting that in Japan the French romantic socialists had long been ignored, on account of the Marxist-Leninist biases of Japanese left-wing intellectuals. Stéphane Michaud compares Tristan's approach to social change and maternity with that of Pauline Roland, a comparison that does not favour Tristan. The book concludes with two thoughtful essays mostly concerning the thought of George Sand, by Madeleine Rebérioux and Michelle Perrot, respectively. Taken together, these works provide rich context for understanding the nature and extent of the contributions of a remarkable nineteenth-century French woman.

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Edward J. Arnold, ed., *The Development of the Radical Right in France: From Boulanger to Le Pen*, Basingstoke and New York, Macmillan and St Martin's Press, 2000; xxii + 288 pp.; 0312231652, \$59.95

Studies of the French extreme right have become a prominent feature of the historiographical *fin de siècle*. From the founding works of Paxton and Winock through the ideological path provided by Sternhell and the more socially rooted work of Soucy and Passmore, there has been an immensely fertile outpouring of work on the many currents and several backwaters of the French right from the vacuous adventurism of Boulanger to the Poujadist posturing of Le Pen. Indeed, it is a tribute to this collective historical effort that many of the contributions to Arnold's new collection seem all too familiar. The Blanquist flirtation with Boulangism, the modest achievements of the *Cercle Proudhon* and the different currents which co-existed within the Vichy regime have all become digested elements of how we view the modern history of France. This sense of déjà vu is in truth not helped by some of the contributors to this volume, especially those based in France who seem to have used the conference in Dublin (from which these essays are derived) to reheat old soup with just a patronizing hint of *l'histoire de la France expliquée aux anglo-saxons*.

Such shortcomings should not, however, detract from the merits of this volume which over and above the strengths of certain of its constituent essays (notably those by Arnold himself on the *Jaune* trade-union movement of the 1900s, and Pascal Perrineau's lucid account of changes in the Front National's basis of support) provide an opportunity to glimpse the relative historiographical consensus which now exists about the modern history of the French extreme right. Consensus is of course a brave word to use about a subject which at least since the publication of Sternhell's *Ni droite ni gauche* in 1983 has been strewn with historiographical, epistemological and even legal disputes. Legacies of these battles are much in evidence in a number of the essays in this collection, with the contributors dividing along predictable lines regarding the existence or otherwise of an identifiable phenomenon of French fascism. Thus, the French contributors, notably Michel Winock and Jeannine Verdès-Leroux, predominantly deny any French tradition of fascism, while the essays of Kevin Passmore and (in absurdly hyperbolic mode) Roger Griffin seek to demonstrate the fascist nature of the Croix de Feu of the 1930s and the Nouvelle Droite of the 1970s respectively.

These, however, are battles of the past which, as Arnold observes in his judicious introduction, easily degenerate into sterile arguments

over definition, abstracted from any historical context. And, behind such disputes, it is three elements of consensus which unite most if not quite all of the contributions to this volume. The first of these is the durability and relative success of the French extreme right. Certainly it never had the same moment of emphatic success as did the extreme right in some other areas of Europe; but, as Arnold argues in his introduction, the essential formula of the extreme right has demonstrated a fertile ability to adapt to the very different environments of the 1890s, the 1930s and the 1980s. Secondly, the essays in this collection are united by a concern with diversity. Plural use of the terms 'extreme right', 'radical right' and 'fascism' predominate in a historical world where recognition of the fractured landscape of the French right is viewed as imperative. Lastly, the collection rests upon a basic assumption of continuity which provides both the volume's mundane rationale and its intellectual backbone. Analogies between, for example, the 'national populism' (Perrineau) of Boulanger and Le Pen arise easily in a historiographical milieu in which the modern evolution of France since 1880 is explicitly or tacitly assumed to form a single span.

All three elements of this consensus have much to commend them. Yet, one of the intriguing features of this volume is the way in which, while demonstrating the strengths of the current orthodoxy, it also hints at the possibilities for dissidence. The first element of durability and adaptability is well demonstrated by the *Jaunes* of the 1900s and the leagues, periodicals and parties of the 1930s, but the fact remains that at none of the various points in its modern evolution (including the very strange summer of 1940) has mass support for the French extreme right proved able to break through a ceiling of circa 15–20 percent of the population. Explanations of this French distinctiveness are largely absent from this volume which, in a significant contrast to much of the recent work on Nazism, consists largely of analyses of ideologies and movements at the expense of empirical studies of the predominantly provincial social reality. Secondly, the emphasis placed on diversity, while emphatically necessary, always risks breaking the bonds of unity which underpin this collection. Why should we, to take one example among many, assume that the Catholic integrists and post-Dreyfus nationalists of the 1900s belong in the same volume? Diversity and plurality in such cases easily shades into a subversive recognition of fundamental difference, suggesting that the very concept of a French extreme right, as Christophe Prochasson hints in his elusive but stimulating essay, is at times more of an obstacle than an aid to comprehension. Finally, there is the assumption of continuity, which has become the rock on which have been built not merely studies of the extreme right

but so much of the historical writing about twentieth-century France. Nobody would seriously question its essential merit; one only has to think how much more implausible it would be to produce a book with a title similar to this one about Germany. Historical resonances and a felt continuity of traditions constitute an indispensable element of the modern history of France. But this reality can easily degenerate into a cultural cliché about the unchanging (or at most slowly evolving) nature of France, in which comparisons between, say, Déroulède and Le Pen are not viewed as a stimulating tool of research but become an end in themselves. This danger is well recognized by Pascal Perrineau who in the final essay warns against a culturalist interpretation in which the French extreme right of the 1980s and 1990s is analysed largely in terms of its debt to past models rather than being located in the emphatically novel milieu of post-1960s French urbanization. If nothing else, such points of divergence suggest that, contrary to the impression conveyed by certain contributions to this volume, not quite everything has yet been said about the history of the French extreme right.

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Frank-Lothar Kroll, *Utopie als Ideologie: Geschichtsdenken und politisches Handeln im Dritten Reich* [Utopia as Ideology: Historical Thought and Political Action in the Third Reich], 2nd edn, Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh, 1999; 368 pp.; 3506748270, DM 88.00

With this excellent study of the political thought of Adolf Hitler, Alfred Rosenberg, Richard Walter Darré, Heinrich Himmler and Joseph Goebbels, the Erlangen historian Frank-Lothar Kroll has provided perhaps the most useful study of the ideology of the Third Reich so far. Much of the earlier research on the Nazi dictatorship was, with regard to its ideology, characterized by either one of two defects. On the one hand, some scholars argued that there was no such thing as a consistent ideology of Nazism. Any attempt to interpret Nazi thought in an informative way is, from this point of view, a futile endeavour. Such an approach might be applicable with regard to the political biographies of individual Nazis. It creates, however, more problems than it solves with regard to the explanation of the emergence of the Nazi mass movement, and regime, or to the causes of the Holocaust and the Second World War. If ideology was not the driving force behind these phenomena, what was?

On the other hand, some of those scholars who acknowledged the crucial role of a relatively coherent Nazi ideology (however conceptualized) for an understanding of the Third Reich's institutions and policies tended either to simplify the issue by concentrating solely on Hitler's *Weltanschauung* or merely on Nazism's anti-semitism, or to differentiate insufficiently between Nazi thinking in general, and those ideas that became indeed important for the Nazi regime's structuring and policies, in particular.

Kroll's approach is original in that he analyses neither only Hitler's nor all Nazi thought. Instead, he focuses on those Nazi political leaders who were active publicists, and at the same time had at least some influence on the Third Reich's constitution and policies. This excludes those thinkers whose ideas had eventually only limited importance for the Nazi regime (e.g. Hans F.K. Günther, Ernst Kriek, Gottfried Feder, Otto Strasser [16]), and those prominent politicians who did not develop a sharp ideological profile of their own (e.g. Wilhelm Frick, Hermann Göring, Robert Ley [17]). The focus on only the above-mentioned five Nazi leaders, moreover, allows Kroll to present them in considerable depth, and to compare their individual concepts of History and their social utopias in a revealing way. Finally, Kroll's interpretation of Nazi future goals through the lenses of these five leaders' views on German and world history seems fully adequate in so far as references to historical patterns and a mythic Golden Age represent constituent parts of all fascist thinking.

Two of the many relevant findings of Kroll's study should be singled out here for close inspection. First, Kroll shows that a strictly biological racism was not as unequivocally dominant in Nazi thought as has been assumed in many earlier interpretations of the Third Reich (for instance, in those based largely on Hitler's world view). The 'major theoretician' of the NSDAP (123), Alfred Rosenberg, for instance, spoke of race as a 'mythic experience' (106). His particular antisemitism was anti-Judaic rather than biologically racist, and primarily based on an understanding of the Jews as an inferior religious community (121-3). With regard to the major propagandist of Nazism, Kroll goes so far as to speak of Goebbels's 'significant inner', 'extreme distance' from the idea of race (259). Thus Goebbels spoke, for example, of the 'rubbish of race-materialism' (259), and regarded Himmler as, 'in many regards, mad' (292).

Kroll, in general, puts significant emphasis on the polymorphous character of Nazi ideology which he links to the polycratic structure of the regime. All Nazi leaders had an extremely Manichean world view; yet, they understood the core conflicts in world history in

somewhat different ways. Whereas Hitler saw the main confrontation to be that of the Jews with the Aryans, Rosenberg juxtaposed the Germanic and Roman civilizations to each other, Goebbels the Western plutocratic states with national socialism, Darré the peasantry against the nomads (164), and Himmler Europe against Asia (214–15).

The conceptually most difficult case is, perhaps, Reichsbauernführer Richard Walter Darré. On the one hand, Kroll concedes that Darré's publications had, in contrast to Hitler's and Rosenberg's, at least, a touch of scholarliness (160). Darré was among the most extreme Nazi leaders with regard to the biological determinism of his views, and proposed, among other things, active racial breeding. At the same time, he was distinct in that his arguments had strong anti-modern, anti-industrial and anti-urban dimensions. Whereas Nazi ideology in general was clearly revolutionary, Darré's arguments could be seen as ultra-conservative, reactionary, romantic and even anachronistic. He idolized the peasantry as Germany's most healthy and important class. Mainstream Nazism was in agreement with Darré's perception of the current period as one of decadence and decay. Yet, whereas Darré seemed to propose a regression to some imagined pre-modern agrarian stage, a core concept for most Nazi ideologists was that of 'renewal' (*Erneuerung*, 86, 144, 289–93, 295, 300, 311).

It has to be mentioned though that Kroll clarifies that while, in Darré's kind of thinking, 'the "future" did not appear as an extrapolation of one's own time, but as a restoration of something gone' this, on the other hand, did not mean 'a mere repetition [of the times of yore], but was conceptualized as a novel formation on a "higher" level informed by historical experience' (189). In particular, Kroll shows that the past to which Darré referred when describing the ideal future for Germany was largely a constructed one, and in disagreement with historical empirical evidence. In particular, Darré claimed that the old Germanic tribes engaged in purposeful 'performance breeding' (*Leistungszucht*). Still, even with this orientation towards an imagined, rather than real, past, Darré stood somewhat apart from mainstream Nazi thought.

This difficult conceptual issue leads to the one, perhaps somewhat unfair, criticism to be made of Kroll's massive study. His book is a significant contribution not only to Nazism studies, but also to the field of comparative fascism, one that uses as its common denominator a more or less consensual definition of the core myth of fascist ideology (in contrast, for instance, to comparative totalitarianism studies which refers to common regime structures, or to extremism studies that claim to detect common hostile attitudes

towards democracy in different ideologies). In so far as Kroll's study deals with, and explicitly acknowledges the importance of, the ideology of the Third Reich, it would have been of interest to learn to what degree Kroll's reading of Nazi ideology corresponds to definitions of generic fascism as proposed, for instance, by Stanley G. Payne, Roger Griffin or Roger Eatwell. In particular, Roger Griffin's sophisticated conceptualizations of fascist ideology would be worth relating to the different visions of the Nazi leaders analysed by Kroll. This could help in clarifying an old issue in comparative fascist studies, namely whether Nazism should be seen as a variety of generic fascism, or not — as has been suggested by Juan Linz and perhaps most explicitly claimed by Zeev Sternhell. To this reader, Kroll's emphasis on the concept of 'renewal', and on the modern dimension of mainstream Nazi thought (which in turn made Darré look so peculiar), and, especially, his reference to the non-racist, or at least non-biologically racist, ultra-nationalism of Goebbels would all seem to support Nazism's classification as a permutation of generic fascism as defined by Payne, Griffin or Eatwell. Yet, perhaps, my interpretation of the result of Kroll's study in comparative perspective would conflict with his own — which is why Kroll's omission of a reference to comparative fascist studies is so regrettable.

This comment notwithstanding, it should be emphasized once more that Kroll's study is a comprehensive, dense and, in view of its clear focus and impressive depth, very useful presentation of Nazi ideology. It should encounter a grateful readership among researchers, find broad application in the teaching of interwar Europe, and greatly help to improve our understanding both of the Third Reich and of the phenomenon of fascism in general.

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Mark Mazower, ed., *After the War was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation and State in Greece, 1943–1960*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2000; xii + 302 pp.; 0691058423, £12.50 (pbk); 0691058415, £41 (hbk)

The turbulent period of the Axis occupation in Greece and the subsequent civil war constitute one of the most popular and controversial themes in modern European history. To be sure, this is a subject that cannot escape politicization — something demonstrated

by the angle from which most historians approached it over the years. Outside as well as in Greece the historiographical debate on Greek civil war was transformed into a battle between scholars of left and right. Their main concern in the period following the Truman doctrine (1947) was to attribute responsibility for the Greek civil war to their ideological rivals. In Greece, the same debate formed a historical *problématique* after the political restoration of 1974. Unfortunately, even then it would be reduced to a prejudiced assessment of political choices made both by the left and the right in Greece, or by the British and the American policy-makers of the period. What were utterly ignored — with a very few recent exceptions — were the micro-histories that took place within the same socio-political framework: issues of gender, culture, *Alltagsgeschichte*, local experience. The trauma of the civil war in Greece, and the burden of foreign agency in it, obliterated the multiplicity of historical experience.

The volume here reviewed, edited by Mark Mazower, marks a turning point in this respect: it sheds light on all these repressed or forgotten stories which the official record overshadowed for many decades. It is a collective work which, despite its diversity in terms of research, approach and academic language, manages to tell the tale of the longer-term social and psychological repercussions of civil war. Mazower's allusion to Svoronos's famous dictum that the causes of the conflict of the 1940s are to be found in 'the very structures of Greek society' (9) provides the book with a core theme. Written against the grain of established historiographical trends on the Greek civil war, which present the events against the winners–losers binarism, this book has a unifying theme, which focuses on the Greek domestic arena and explores internal conflicts that threatened the Greek social order — namely the law, the family and the nation.

The first essay by the editor re-addresses the question of power legitimacy in the post-Liberation period. The gap in central political power which the war generated became an object of contest among the returning liberal Papandreou government, EAM/ELAS (National Liberation Front/Greek People's Liberation Army) with its communist version of 'People's Justice' and a nationalist conception of ethnic justice. Mazower's unfolding of three different narratives of political criminality shows how difficult it is for historians to escape in their research the passage from ideological analysis to normative judgement and the very conception of justice. Chapters 2 (Elena Haidia) and 3 (Procopis Papastratis) deal with the attitude of the state, various institutions and the masses towards collaborators. Both essays show how fragile, geographically limited and

blocked by foreign (f)actors, such as the British, was the Greek government's attempt to punish them. Both essays comprise an in-depth analysis of the legitimacy crisis, thus complementing Mazower's opening chapter.

Chapters 4 (Polymeris Voglis) and 5 (Mando Dalyannis) form a poignant dialogue concerning political recantation. Voglis explores how the state used the death sentence to exert pressure on political prisoners and extort official renunciations of their ideology. The government condemned those who did not succumb; but those who repented had to live with the stigma of the traitor. The former, who faced the death sentence, had to choose between their sense of duty and their commitment to the party, and family pressure exercised on them in order to sign the recantation of their ideological positions. Dalianis's piece of oral history explores the ambivalence of feelings such decisions generated in the children of those political prisoners, as well as the degree to which ideological brainwashing affected their views.

Chapter 6 (Tassoula Vervenioti) is dedicated to the fascinating subject of women's position in post-war society. Although on some occasions the end of the war restricted these women who had joined the resistance to the domestic sphere once again, it could also assign them new roles that allowed their return to public action. Chapter 7 (Riki von Boeschoten) casts light on the changes the war wrought on Greek political geography. Von Boeschoten's microhistory of the village Ziakas witnesses how little rigid communist control permeated private life. The loyalties of the villagers rested more on their sense of community than on communism itself; this essay gives a moving narrative of the ways this communal feeling helped common people to survive the war. Chapters 8 (Stathis Kalyvas), 9 (John Sakkas) and 10 (Lee Sarafis) make a strong case for an abandoned field of research: the countryside's experience of the war. The communities of Argolid, Karpenisi and Deskati went through political control by EAM/ELAS, reprisals from the occupiers, and systematic murders. Though the tactics followed by both resistance groups and the Germans did not differ from place to place, reaction from the local communities betrays how national political loyalties were subjected to local interests and concerns.

In Chapter 11 Anastasia Karakasidou reads a series of decrees and administrative regulations as an attempt of the Greek state to construct a cult of national pride in the Greek part of Macedonia. Chapter 12 (Bea Lewkowicz) concentrates on Thessaloniki and looks into war memories of the survivors of the Jewish community. According to Lewkowicz the Jews who survived extermination withdrew from public life — a conscious response to their symbolic

exclusion from the Greek nation. In Chapter 13 Xanthippi Kotzageorgi-Zymari and Tassos Hadjianastassiou write about wartime memories of the Bulgarian occupation of north-eastern Greece. The ways these memories survive and are glorified (or not) by the first, second and third generations of the region show a shift in Greek mentality and the changing role of heroic history in the modern Greek world. Finally, Chapter 14 (Susanne-Sophia Spiliotis) is a study of the Merten scandal and its role in Greek–German post-war diplomacy.

The strong case this book makes is that the war *was not* over when the occupation and the civil strife came to an official end — an ironic conclusion, bearing in mind the title of the volume. The fact that the Greek domestic conflict and its aftermath are treated as a whole reveals how fragile and flexible supposedly historical categories and periods become when they are revisited impartially. As an enterprise, *After the War was Over* invites Second World War specialists, as well as historians of contemporary Greece, to reflect on their own writing and its ideological implications. The shift in terms of approach of such an important subject ought to find some emulators in the future. Returning to the theme of one of its chapters, one could ask whether this shift betrays an increasing awareness of the complexity of historical record or simply that the specific period became a distant memory, which cannot affect present attitudes and therefore can be rewritten as history, and not as a political manifesto.

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Lewis H. Carlson, *We Were Each Other's Prisoners: An Oral History of World War II American and German Prisoners of War*, New York, Basic Books, 1997; 258 pp.; 0465091237, \$15

This volume draws together the testimony of thirty-three male American and German Prisoners of War who were interned in the enemy homeland in the Second World War. The author Lewis Carlson places himself in a tradition of recovery history, confessing 'an affinity for the enlisted men, whose individual stories too often have been reduced to impersonal statistics in traditional military histories'. The men's histories are drawn from interviews and personal writings collected from over 150 POWs by the author between c.1991 and 1996. The collection also includes well-selected images drawn from both public and private collections (regretfully neither

the images nor the text are indexed), and a useful bibliography which lists monographs and non-fiction, memoirs, biographies and oral histories, novels and unpublished academic works, all organized according to nationality. The footnotes are equally user-friendly and the text is at all times accessible.

While the male individual who dies for his country can be endowed with heroic status, the soldier who is captured is more difficult to idealize as either a citizen or male. Between 1939 and 1946, 380,000 German POWs were held in the United States. After their release a year after the war's close, many remained POWs in England or France for up to another three years. American POWs, of whom there were 95,000 interned in Germany, were liberated on VE-Day. Few received any debriefing or transitional care. The author covers the experiences of these men from captivity to liberation. The first chapter, 'Soldiers and Prisoners', introduces through two lengthy narratives the themes explored in the subsequent chapters: being taken captive, internment, escape, political conditions within the American Camps, American *Sonder* prisoners (those POWs selected by the Germans for special treatment because of their religious persuasion, or because they were perceived as troublemakers or agents), and liberation and repatriation.

By drawing together in one volume the oral testimony of American and German prisoners of war, the author encourages comparison. The collection underlines the extent to which the experience of the POW was determined not only by his country of origin, but also the country of captivity. German POWs held in the USA, for example, had better living conditions (in terms of food, medicine, clothing, shelter and security) and were incarcerated away from the European battle-zone, but their family and friends were more likely to be in the combat zone.

Carlson also underlines where the culture of captivity is shared regardless of nationality. All men had to contend with boredom and anxiety and to develop survival techniques, such as avoiding the captor's attention or creating social bonds with fellow captives. Above all, POWs shared an understandable obsession with food, an obsession which outweighed any other bodily need, as a quotation from George Davis, an American POW, illustrates: 'Ten naked beauties could saunter into a room full of *Kriegies* [short for *Kriegsgefangene*, POW] and if they arrive without snacks, they would go unnoticed' (64). Never well fed, by the end of the war, American POWs, like German civilians, were starving. Carlson includes the oral testimony of Joseph Demler; famous for the photograph of his skeletal appearance that was taken on the day of his liberation and reproduced on the cover of *Life* magazine. Demler has supplied the

author with both 'before' and 'after' photographs of himself as an eighteen-year-old soldier and himself fifty years after the conclusion of the war so that the three images can be placed together in startling contrast.

Within the broad themes according to which the chapters are organized, other themes emerge from the narratives. The impact of race on the men's experiences can offer surprising twists, for example. Alexander Jefferson, a black Tuskegee Airman, had had to contend prior to captivity with both the German enemy and the racism of his own Army Air Corps. Shot down during his first strafing mission in 1944, Jefferson found he had no trouble with German authorities because of the colour of his skin. Furthermore, he was welcomed into barracks by white 'redneck' Southerners — because he was black, they could be certain he was not a German plant.

It would have been helpful to those interested in oral-history methodology if Carlson had included a more explicit explanation of his approaches to both interview and transcription. Although he includes five pages outlining his methodology, it is not clear how free or directed the interviews were, nor how the manuscripts were prepared for publication. Nonetheless, in such a collection it is the individual voices that remain with you, and it is to Lewis Carlson's credit that his introductory comments to each section encourage sensitive reading of the narratives that follow, illuminating, never dominating, the personal testimonies he has drawn together in this valuable collection.

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Georges Vigarello, *A History of Rape: Sexual Violence in France from the 16th to the 20th Century*, trans. J. Birrell, Cambridge, Polity, 2000; vi + 306 pp.; 0745621708 (pbk), £14.99

Georges Vigarello has produced a subtle, richly researched and thought-provoking work on this most disturbing of topics. To his credit, while his work is disciplined and scholarly in the best senses of these terms, he never loses sight of the human tragedies that these crimes represent.

Vigarello's argument is, firstly, that rape has a history: despite the sensationalization that frequently surrounds rape cases, these crimes are not the expression of some blind, masculine instinct, but are pro-

duced and constructed like other aspects of social history. Rape, therefore, is the expression of a 'complex interrelationship between the body, attitude and morality' (2).

During the early modern period, the letter of the law condemned rape in unequivocal terms. However, in practice, legal authorities tended to operate according to a patriarchal logic which could only understand rape as the theft by one man of another man's property. Correspondingly, the rape of a high-born woman was automatically assumed to be a more serious crime than the rape of a servant or a beggar; while the concept of the rape of a prostitute seemed a legal nonsense. Few rape cases ever came to the courts, for most female victims feared the inevitable dishonour that such publicity would bring. In other words, 'the focus on the moral offence made it impossible to see the violent offence' (38). Worse still, many men clung to the belief that any woman who really wished to resist a sexual assault could do so: even Rousseau and Voltaire rehearsed such arguments (43–5).

The first important change in attitudes emerged in the late eighteenth century, alongside the new public antipathy to the use of torture in criminal cases. The Revolution of 1789 overturned previous legal logic, by re-casting the conceptualization of rape in terms of injury to the victim, not theft of property (87). There was a recognition of the value of 'autonomy' as a legal principle. However, courts remained reluctant to act and, for example, there remained a strong official respect for the rights of the husband. Vigarello's judgement on the Revolutionary legacy sounds curiously familiar: 'Autonomy, as a result, risked being granted but restricted, affirmed but constrained' (89).

During the early nineteenth century, there was an optimistic belief that rape was an archaic practice which, like illiteracy, would vanish as civilization progressed. Legal authorities remained blind to the power of intimidation in incidents of rape: as late as 1820 one expert could write that 'a woman should prefer death to dishonour' (129). However, there had been a sea-change in public opinion, with a more frequent and more forceful condemnation of acts of violence (here, Vigarello signals his debt to Nibert Elias's analyses). In the late nineteenth century investigators finally began to turn their attention to the rapist: Mirbeau, Maupassant and Zola all wrote fictional accounts of sexual violence, and Lombroso's concept of 'degeneration' was pressed into service in an attempt to make sense of rapists.

While Vigarello certainly produces a full and informative analysis, it is regrettable that he fails to consider how incidents of rape

connected to wider masculine sub-cultures. At times, his references to 'public opinion' seem simplistic. One is left, however, with a lasting impression of the great originality and the value of this work, which is clearly a much-needed contribution to an important debate.

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Olga S. Opfell, *Royalty Who Wait: The 21 Heads of Formerly Regnant Houses of Europe*, Jefferson, North Carolina and London, McFarland, 2001; 242 pp.; 0786409010, £37.95

Only a few years ago it might have seemed that monarchy in Europe was an obsolete constitutional form. But the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Soviet bloc seem to have changed that perception. The election of ex-King Simeon of Bulgaria as his country's prime minister, the official appointment of ex-King Michael of Romania as advocate of Romania's NATO membership, the plebiscite on the restoration of the monarchy in Albania and the canonization of the murdered Romanov Tsar Nicholas II by the Russian Orthodox Church all suggest that there is life still in the idea of monarchy. The example of the one recently restored monarchy (Spain in 1975) which presided over the successful restoration and preservation of democracy offers strong evidence for the value of the institution in ensuring stable and constitutional rule.

Under the circumstances, Olga Opfell's book is a timely reminder of the current situation of the claimants to the twenty-one thrones that have disappeared since the start of the nineteenth century, most of them in the aftermath of the First and Second World Wars. This is not a book which explores the pros and cons of monarchy as an institution. But it is a fascinating picture of the lives and aspirations of ex-monarchs or claimants to long-vanished thrones. The more hopeless the cause, it seems, the more tenacious the claims. There are recurrent accounts of bitter feuds between rival claimants, disinheritings following marriages to commoners, and squabbles over family jewels. It is clear that disputes between rivals make restoration that much more unlikely, particularly in the case of France, to whose throne there are Bourbon, Orléanist and Bonapartist claimants, reflecting the nineteenth-century ups and downs of French royalty.

In some cases, Opfell's brisk capsule accounts of the royal houses make one wonder how the monarchies survived as long as they did. In Portugal, for instance, we read that Alfonso VI 'became

degenerate', João V 'fell into a deep melancholy', Maria I 'became demented' and Pedro IV and his brother Miguel fought recurrent civil wars before the monarchy was extinguished in 1910 and the last king, Manoel II, retired to Twickenham.

There is hardly a page of this book which does not yield an intriguing or charming nugget of information for those who delight in the byways of history. There is a chapter on Montenegro, which only had a king from 1910 to 1918 but had a tradition of theocratic rulers dating back to the sixteenth century. Among the things I learned were that the *Vladika* of Montenegro was required to be celibate and the succession went from uncle to nephew. The royal palace in Cetinje was popularly known as The Billiard Hall. The hero of Lehar's operetta *The Merry Widow* was modelled on Crown Prince Danilo of Montenegro. There is even a rightful king of Montenegro, Prince Nikola, great-grandson of the first and last king of the country. He is an architect in France who shows no desire for restoration but has a learned interest in the art and antiquities of his homeland. It is for information such as this that the book is such a delightful read.

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