

members eschewed the patronage of the movement's founders by introducing drink and reforming the C.I.U. council, but many members also complained of decreasing intellectual content of any kind.

An assessment of the quality of leisure, however, is not the point of this book — it is concerned primarily to explore the segregation of leisure along class lines. With a welcome and stimulating reappraisal of the concept of respectability, Bailey has presented a sensitive study of many themes to be discerned in the expanding recreation of the period.

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MARTIN KITCHEN. — *The Political Economy of Germany 1815-1914*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978. Pp. 304.

R. J. EVANS, ed. — *Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany*. London: Croom Helm, 1978. Pp. 305.

The interest in German history has shifted during the last decade. The nearly exclusive concern with the Third Reich, especially with its political and ideological origins, has been changed to a concern with the nature of German society. A social-historical approach is slowly emerging. Both of these studies reveal aspects of that shift as well as the degree to which political issues still infuse German social history.

Kitchen's first attempt at economics and social structures is not as successful as some of his previous studies. This book is written at a high level of generalization, lacks a comparative perspective and asserts rather than demonstrates the main arguments. It is a competent, but not engagingly written, text which can serve as a guide to a senior honours or beginning graduate student as opposed to the researcher or those whom Kitchen wanted to reach, namely those concerned "with the debate on the question of why German society evolved in its own particular and unique manner" (p. 7).

In pursuing the question why "economic modernization did not lead to social modernization" (p. 7) Kitchen reviews Germany's economic development, especially the process of industrialization. The accounts of the state of agriculture, serf reform, the guild system or transport in the early nineteenth century provide little novel information. The development of the Zollverein is traced in a familiar manner with special emphasis placed upon the railways as the "major stimulus to the Industrial Revolution" (p. 55), and economic unification. If Kitchen's major contribution might be expected in the impact of economic developments upon social relations, one looks in vain for a schematic outline or numerical delineation of the country's social structure, or for an explanation of the 1848 Revolution which encompasses, challenges or goes beyond Hamerow's brilliant essay of 1967. (It is not mentioned in the bibliography which also omits Kemp, Kollmann, Landes, Stearns, among others.) Similar criticisms could be offered for much of the book even though it does contain some striking illustrations of the extent to which economic interests underlay political decisions.

Most questionable in Kitchen's study are the general assertions. For instance, after recounting Böhme's familiar story of the "feudalization" of big business, Kitchen claims "A social order that was no longer adequate to the needs of a modern industrial society was thus not only able to survive but was supported and strengthened... by those elements

which should have been among the most determined to overthrow it" (p. 128). Kitchen does not illustrate the inadequacy; he assumes it. There is no comparative information to show that class tensions were fewer in other industrializing countries or that other élites did not have to resort to "manipulative and demagogic politics" (p. 128). Repeatedly, Kitchen claims that an economic revolution took place but that the social structure was put in "quarantine" (p. 168). He notes what measures — colonialism, negative integration, imperialism, coalition groupings — were undertaken by the élites to maintain themselves but suggests that in the end they were all "miserable" failures (p. 226). What he does not explain is why those élites were able to maintain themselves for a whole century. For example, Kitchen may see a political response to improved economic conditions as well as a game of prestige politics to overcome class tension in Germany's *Weltpolitik*. But his assertion that it was a doomed attempt is belied by his own presentation of a century during which such temporizing measures functioned. The general conclusion, which restates the idea that political democracy is the form most likely to overcome the worst aspects of industrialization, could only be proven through a comparative approach; an approach which might disprove the assumptions of German uniqueness. Further, the claim that "birth, education, wealth and even religion counted for more than ability" (p. 281) may be accurate but nowhere has Kitchen examined social mobility in depth. If Kitchen has found that German élites were prepared to risk war in 1914 rather than "fundamental reform and modernization", is that not an expected feature of the political economy he has presented? Like his conclusion much of the book is aimed at explaining why Germany had its Third Reich and most of the answers have a political overtone.

Evans' book also contains a high degree of "high politics" (p. 23) though it claims to represent the new history written "by approaching politics from below" (p. 36). In an excellent historiographical essay reviewing the major German schools of thought, Evans outlines the emergence of a new "orthodoxy" among younger West German historians. He reviews the methods that this school asserts were used by the feudal-military élite to retain political control. Evans claims these German historians (like their predecessors and opponents) approached "history from above" (p. 22). Yet the first essays in this collection — one revising the image of Bülow as chancellor and one on Krupp's relations to the naval office — are history in a very old style. They may be revisionist about both subjects, but provide few novel insights into German politics or society. However, the next essays penetrate to novel depths. Lenman illuminates how the policies of the Bavarian state affected the avant-garde colony of artists through its patronage or its lack of repression. As Evans stated in the introduction, this essay plus the regional studies on the peasant leagues or the labour movement in the Ruhr, should make historians more cautious in generalizing about Germany when speaking only of Prussia or the upper classes. Ironically, Geoff Eley returns to the national political scene as he takes issue with historians who have seen a direct continuity between the political Right of Imperial Germany and the Nazis. He seeks to point out the stages by which the Right was transformed. In the process he provides a direct challenge to Kitchen's approach to "German social formation" as the source of the Third Reich (p. 115). What Eley wishes to point out is that the prevalent theories of continuity do not account for the responsiveness by the élites to certain pressures from below, in particular what he terms petty bourgeois mobilization. Though Eley only sketches his ideas and provides a limited amount of information, he appears to be on an interesting and insightful track, one which Volkov recently trod in her account of German artisans. If Eley is not shy with his claims about the significance of information yet to be detailed, neither is Farr nor Blackburn who both examine aspects of Catholic politics, one suggesting that the peasant leagues were populist and not necessarily conservative and the other that the Catholic Centre party was driven to join forces with the government by its membership and not necessarily by its opportunism. Both studies get beyond previous Berlin-focused examinations but they hardly go beyond the well-established traditions of studying political parties via their organizations, leaderships and ideologies. A similar fate befalls the bourgeois' feminist

movement in Evans' hands. But he does make an excellent test case of German liberalism out of this issue to illustrate that the views of neither Wehler nor Zmarzlik fit Imperial German society.

The last three essays examine aspects of labour and socialist history. Hickey examines the miners of the Ruhr and suggests that much of the history of Germany's labour movement could be explained if other studies too laid bare the "social and industrial roots of the working class" (p. 237). Hickey operates within that tradition of British authors who emphasize the work and life experience of the lower class as he tries to explain collective protest and the organizational focus of the Ruhr labour movement. In his study on the SPD youth movement, Alex Hall adds some details on working apprentices' problems and examples of the party leaders working with the unions to channel youth, but he mainly repeats such general assertions as that socialist youth headed further left in wartime and revolution because they rejected state power *per se*. Such an assertion would require more proof than a general review of the statistics of growth and isolated indications of central control before 1914 admit. What makes the concluding essay by Geary special is the obtuse manner in which it is written, a feature all the more evident when the other authors write especially clearly and forcefully. For example:

It makes little sense to talk of the entirety of the German working class or even its political leadership being 'integrated' into Wilhelmine society in 1918. Secondly, the social crisis of 1918 to 1923 and the related emergence of a mass revolutionary movement cannot be dismissed as a transient product of war. For some sections of the German labour force far more was at stake than the admittedly important issues of peace and democracy (p. 267).

While it might be possible to agree with each statement, their relevance to some greater whole makes the reader wonder about the author's intentions. But, eventually Geary musters an impressive quantity of published and unpublished materials to illustrate how the German working class was remade during this period and the extent to which its militant elements had "structured roots" (p. 283) so that he advances the explanations of 1918-19 well beyond the verbal fights of party leaders.

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A. JAMES HAMMERTON. — *Emigrant Gentlewomen: Genteel Poverty and Female Emigration, 1830-1914*. London: Croom Helm, 1979. Pp. 220.

In *Emigrant Gentlewomen*, James Hammerton examines the use of emigration as a solution to the problem of distressed gentlewomen in the British Isles. He challenges the traditional stereotype of the helpless, dependent gentlewoman, forced by economic misfortune to become a "downtrodden" governess, by asserting that many of these same gentlewomen possessed the courage and determination to create new lives for themselves in the colonies. While Hammerton is not alone in querying the stereotype of the gentlewoman, he has provided a pioneer study of single female emigration. By tracing the evolution of organized efforts to promote women's emigration from 1830 to 1914, he shows that at each stage gentlewomen were included in the movement. Even in the 1830s, when emigration to Australia was still associated with convict deportation and the rigours of the voyage were severe, gentlewomen applied for the assisted passage scheme promoted by the Colonial