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The Oxford History of Historical Writing

VOLUME 4

1800–1945

EDITED BY
Stuart Macintyre,
Juan Maiguashca, and Attila Pók

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF
HISTORICAL WRITING

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The Oxford History of Historical Writing is a five-volume, multi-authored scholarly survey of the history of historical writing across the globe. It is a chronological history of humanity's attempts to conserve, recover, and narrate its past with considerable attention paid to different global traditions and their points of comparison with Western historiography. Each volume covers a particular period, with care taken to avoid unduly privileging Western notions of periodization, and the volumes cover progressively shorter chronological spans, reflecting both the greater geographical range of later volumes and the steep increase in historical activity around the world since the nineteenth century. *The Oxford History of Historical Writing* is the first collective scholarly survey of the history of historical writing to cover the globe across such a substantial breadth of time.

Volume 1: Beginnings to AD 600

Volume 2: 400–1400

Volume 3: 1400–1800

Volume 4: 1800–1945

Volume 5: Historical Writing since 1945

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF HISTORICAL WRITING

Daniel Woolf

GENERAL EDITOR

The Oxford History of Historical Writing

VOLUME 4: 1800–1945

Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca, and Attila Pók

VOLUME EDITORS

Ian Hesketh

ASSISTANT EDITOR

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General Editor's Acknowledgements

The Oxford History of Historical Writing has itself been the product of several years of work and many hands and voices. As general editor, it is my pleasure to acknowledge a number of these here. First and foremost are the volume editors, without whom there would have been no series. I am very grateful for their willingness to sign on, and for their flexibility in pursuing their own vision for their piece of the story while acknowledging the need for some common goals and unity of editorial practices. The Advisory Board, many of whose members were subsequently roped into either editorship or authorship, have given freely of their time and wisdom. At Oxford University Press, former commissioning editor Ruth Parr encouraged the series proposal and marshalled it through the readership and approvals process. After her departure, my colleagues and I enjoyed able help and support from Christopher Wheeler at the managerial level and, editorially, from Rupert Cousens, Seth Cayley, Matthew Cotton, and Stephanie Ireland. I must also thank the OUP production team and Carol Carnegie in particular.

The series would not have been possible without the considerable financial support from the two institutions I worked at over the project's lifespan. At the University of Alberta, where I worked from 2002 to mid-2009, the project was generously funded by the Offices of the Vice-President (Research) and the Provost and Vice-President (Academic). I am especially grateful to Gary Kachanoski and Carl Amrhein, the incumbents in those offices who saw the project's potential. The funding they provided enabled the project to hire a series of project assistants, to involve graduate students in the work, and defrayed some of the costs of publication such as the production of images and maps. It also permitted the acquisition of computer equipment and of a significant number of books to supplement the fine library resources at Alberta. Perhaps most importantly, it also made the crucial Edmonton conference happen. At Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, where I moved into a senior leadership role in 2009, funding was provided to push the project over the 'finish-line', to transfer the research library, and in particular to retain the services of an outstanding research associate, Assistant Editor Dr Ian Hesketh. I am profoundly grateful for Ian's meticulous attention to detail, and his ability ruthlessly to cut through excess prose (including on occasion my own) in order to ensure that the volumes maintained editorial uniformity internally and also with other volumes, not least because the volumes are not all being published at once. A series of able graduate students have served as project assistants, including especially Tanya Henderson, Matthew Neufeld, Carolyn Salomons, Tereasa Maillie, and Sarah Waurechen, the last of whom almost single-handedly organized the complex logistics of the Edmonton conference. Among the others on whom the project has depended

I have to thank the Office of the Dean of Arts and Science for providing project space at Queen's, and the Department of History and Classics at Alberta. Melanie Marvin at Alberta and Christine Berga at Queen's have assisted in the management of the research accounts, as has Julie Gordon-Woolf, my spouse (and herself a former research administrator), whose advice on this front is only a small part of the support she has provided.

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Foreword

Daniel Woolf, General Editor

Half a century ago, Oxford University Press published a series of volumes entitled *Historical Writing on the Peoples of Asia*. Consisting of four volumes devoted to East Asia, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and South Asia, and based on conferences held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London in the late 1950s, that series has aged surprisingly well; many of the individual essays are still being cited in our own day. The books were also remarkably ahead of their time since the history of historical writing was at that time firmly understood as being the history of a European genre. Indeed, the subject of the history of history was itself barely a subject—typical surveys of the early to mid-twentieth century by the likes of James Westfall Thompson and Harry Elmer Barnes, following Eduard Fueter's paradigmatic 1911 *Geschichte der Neuren Historiographie*, were written by master historians surveying their discipline and its origins. The Oxford series provided some much needed perspective, though it was not followed up for many years, and more recent surveys in the last two or three decades of the twentieth century have continued to speak of historiography as if it were an entirely Western invention or practice. Since the late 1990s a number of works have been published that challenge the Eurocentrism of the history of history, as well as its inherent teleology. We can now view the European historiographic venture against the larger canvas of many parallel and—a fact often overlooked—interconnected traditions of writing or speaking about the past from Asia, the Americas, and Africa.

The Oxford History of Historical Writing is conceived in this spirit. It seeks to provide the first collective scholarly history of historical writing to span the globe. It salutes its great predecessor of half a century ago but very deliberately seeks neither to imitate nor to replace it. For one thing, the five volumes of *OHHW* collectively include Europe, the Americas, and Africa together with Asia; for another, the division among these volumes is chronological, rather than by region. We have done the first because the history of non-European historical writing should, no more than that of its European counterpart, be viewed in isolation. We have chosen the second in order to provide what amounts to a cumulative narrative (albeit with well over 100 different voices) and in order to facilitate comparison and contrast between regions within a broad time period.

A few caveats that apply to the entire series are in order. First, while the series as a whole will describe historical writing from earliest times to the present, each individual volume is also intended to stand on its own as a study of a particular

period in the history of historical writing; these periods shrink in duration as they approach the present, both because of the obvious increase in extant materials and known authors, but also because of the expansion of subject matter to a fully global reach (the Americas, for instance, feature not at all in volume 1, non-Muslim Africa in neither volume 1 nor volume 2). Second, while the volumes share a common goal and are the product of several years of dialogue both within and between its five editorial teams and the general editor, there has been no attempt to impose a common organizational structure on each volume. In fact, quite the opposite course has been pursued: individual editorial teams have been selected because of complementary expertise, and encouraged to 'go their own way' in selecting topics and envisioning the shapes of their volumes—with the sole overriding provision that each volume had to be global in ambition. Third, and perhaps most important, this series is, emphatically, neither an encyclopedia nor a dictionary. A multi-volume work that attempted to deal with *every* national tradition (much less mention every historian) would easily spread from five to fifty volumes, and in fact not accomplish the ends that the editors seek. We have had to be selective, not comprehensive, and while every effort has been made to balance coverage and provide representation from all regions of the world, there are undeniable gaps. The reader who wishes to find out something about a particular country or topic not included in the *OHHW*'s over 150 chapters can search elsewhere, in particular to a number of reference books which have appeared in the past fifteen or so years, some of which have global range. Our volumes are of course indexed, but we have deemed a cumulative index an inefficient and redundant use of space. Similarly, each individual essay offers a highly selective bibliography, intended to point the way to further reading (and where appropriate listing key sources from the period or topic under discussion in that chapter). In order to assist readers with limited knowledge of particular regions' or nations' political and social contexts, certain chapters have included a timeline of major events; this has not been deemed necessary in every case. While there are (with one or two exceptions) no essays devoted to a single 'great historian', many historians from Sima Qian and Herodotus to the present are mentioned; rather than eat up space in essays with dates of birth and death, these have been consolidated in each volume's index.

Despite the independence of each team, some common standards are of course necessary in any series that aims for coherence if not uniformity. Towards that end, a number of steps were built into the process of producing this series from the very beginning. Maximum advantage was taken of the Internet; not only were scholars encouraged to communicate with one another within and across volumes, but draft essays were posted on the project's website for commentary and review by other authors. A climactic conference, convened at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Canada, in September 2008, brought most of the editors and just over half the authors together, physically, for an energizing and exciting two days during which matters of editorial detail and also content and

substance were discussed. A major 'value-added', we think, of both conference and series, is that it has introduced to one another scholars who normally work in separate national and chronological fields, in order to pursue a common interest in the history of historical writing in unique and unprecedented ways. As the series general editor, it is my hope that these connections will survive the end of the project and produce further collaborative work in the future.

Several key decisions came out of the Edmonton conference, among the most important of which was to permit chronological overlap while avoiding unnecessary repetition of topics. The chronological divisions of the volumes—with calendrical years used instead of typical Western periods like 'Middle Ages' and 'Renaissance'—remain somewhat arbitrary. Thus volume 1, on antiquity, ends about AD 600, prior to the advent of Islam, but overlaps with its successor, volume 2, on what in the West were the late antique and medieval centuries, and in China (the other major tradition of historical writing that features in every volume) the period from the Tang through the early Ming dynasties. Volumes 4 and 5 have a similar overlap in the years around the Second World War; while 1945 is a sensible boundary for some subjects, it is much less useful for others—in China, again, 1949 is the major watershed. Certain topics, such as the Annales School, are not usefully split at 1945. A further change pertained to the denotation of years BC and AD; here, we reversed an early decision to use BCE and CE on the grounds that both are equally Eurocentric forms; BC/AD have at least been adopted by international practice, notwithstanding their Christian European origins.

It became rather apparent in Edmonton that we were in fact dealing with two sets of two volumes each (vols. 1/2 and 4/5), with volume 3 serving in some ways as a bridge between them, straddling the centuries from about 1400 to about 1800—what in the West is usually considered the 'early modern' era. A further decision, in order to keep the volumes reasonably affordable, was to use illustrations very selectively, and only where a substantive reason for their inclusion could be advanced, for instance in dealing with Latin American pictographic forms of commemorating the past. There are no decorative portraits of famous historians, and that too is appropriate in a project that eschews the history of historiography conceived of as a parade of stars—whether Western or Eastern, Northern or Southern—from Thucydides to Toynbee.

As noted in the introduction, *OHHW* vol. 4, under the editorship of Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca, and Attila Pók, covers the crucial period in the formation of the modern 'discipline' of history and all the institutional infrastructure that has supported it—universities, national historical organizations, modern academic journals, organized public record publications, and so on. It is a period bracketed by two era-changing military confrontations, the Napoleonic wars at the outset and the Second World War at the conclusion. It is the age of modern global empires (several of them either destroyed or radically reconfigured by the two world wars in the first half of the twentieth century) and of the beginning of modern electronic communications and machine-driven travel. It is the time of

rampant nationalism (which interacted with history in different ways, according to the setting) and of a range of other 'isms'—Romanticism, historicism (and its not entirely synonymous German counterpart, *Historismus*), Marxism, and so on. And, of perhaps greatest significance, given the global aspirations of this series, it is the extended *conjoncture* in our cumulative narrative at which Western forms and styles of historicity (a rather broad category which admits of wide variations in the several parts of Europe and its colonial offshoots) spread to embrace most of the planet. Academic disciplinary structures and 'historical methods' were either imposed by the European metropolis on its subject peripheries and settler offshoots, or they were willingly adopted by independent Asian powers—China and Japan being the outstanding but not the only examples—seeking to use history as a means to 'modernize' themselves and keep pace with the perceived progress of the West. In some cases (the Americas first, and later India and Africa), history would serve the cause of eventual independence from European rule; the conclusion of that process is recounted in the already published *OHHW* vol. 5). As the editors note, one by-product of this successful dissemination of Western methods and practices was the near total elision, until recently, of non-Western forms from most accounts of the history of historical writing. By both accounting for the establishment of modern historiography and recognizing the alternatives that it displaced or marginalized, the editors and authors of *OHHW* vol. 4 have here helped set the 'rise of history' in a rather different, and clearer, light.

NOTE ON TRANSLATION AND TRANSLITERATION

Non-Roman alphabets and writing systems have been routinely transliterated using the standard systems for each language (for instance, Chinese using the Pinyin system). Non-English book titles are normally followed (except where meaning is obvious) by a translated title, within square brackets, and in roman rather than italic face, unless a specific, published English translation is listed, in which case the bracketed title will also be in italics.

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Notes on the Contributors

Monika Baár is Rosalind Franklin Fellow and Senior Lecturer at the University of Groningen. Her recent publications include *Historians and Nationalism: East-Central Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (2010) and 'Abraham Viskaski, the Patriarch of the Ruritanian Nation: An Attempt at Counter-Factual History', *Storia della Storiografia*, 2 (2008), 3–20.

Thomas Bender is University Professor of the Humanities and Professor of History at New York University. He is the author of *New York Intellect* (1987), *Intellect and Public Life* (1993), and, most recently, *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History* (2006).

Michael Bentley is Professor of Modern History at the University of St Andrews and currently a Leverhulme Major Research Fellow working on a comparative study of Western historiography. He is well known for his *Companion to Historiography* (1997) and *Modern Historiography* (1999).

Stefan Berger is Professor of Modern German and Comparative European History at the University of Manchester, UK, where he is also Director of the Manchester Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence. His latest monograph is *Friendly Enemies: Britain and the GDR, 1949–1990* (2010).

D. A. Brading is Emeritus Professor of Mexican History at the University of Cambridge. Among his publications are *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (1991) and *Mexican Phoenix, Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* (2001).

Peter Burke was Professor of Cultural History, University of Cambridge, until his retirement in 2004 and remains a Fellow of Emmanuel College. His studies of historiography include *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (1969) and *The French Historical Revolution* (1990).

Ciro Flamarion Cardoso (Ph.D., France, 1971) teaches history at the Universidade Federal Fluminense (Niterói, Brazil). He has also taught in France, England, the United States, Mexico, and Costa Rica. He has published many books and articles on the history of modern slavery, the theory and methodology of history, and ancient history.

Dipesh Chakrabarty is the Lawrence A. Kimpton Distinguished Service Professor in History and in South Asian Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago. His books include *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (2000, 2007). His current research focuses on the emergence of history as a profession in colonial and post-colonial India.

Youssef M. Choueiri is Reader in Islamic Studies at the University of Manchester. His publications include *Islamic Fundamentalism* (2003), *Arab Nationalism* (2001), and the *Blackwell Companion to the History of the Middle East* (2005).

Antoon De Baets is a historian working at the University of Groningen, the Netherlands. His books include *Censorship of Historical Thought: A World Guide, 1945–2000* (2002) and *Responsible History* (2009). He coordinates the Network of Concerned Historians and is preparing a *History of the Censorship of History (1945–2010)*.

Pim den Boer is Professor of European Cultural History at the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Among his publications are *History as a Profession: The Study of History in France, 1818–1914* (1998) and *Europa: De geschiedenis van een idee* (6th edn, 2009).

Toyin Falola is the Frances Higginbothom Nalle Centennial Professor in History and University Distinguished Teaching Professor, the University of Texas at Austin. His latest book is *Colonialism and Violence in Nigeria* (2009).

Eckhardt Fuchs is Deputy Director of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research and Professor of the History of Education at the Technical University in Braunschweig, Germany. Recently he has co-edited *Informal and Formal Cross-Cultural Networks in History of Education* (2007); *Writing World History, 1800–2000* (2003); and *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in a Global Perspective* (2002).

Ian Hesketh (Assistant Editor) is a research associate in the Department of History at Queen's University in Kingston, Canada. Among his publications are *Of Apes and Ancestors: Evolution, Christianity, and the Oxford Debate* (2009) and *The Science of History in Victorian Britain: Making the Past Speak* (2011).

Georg G. Iggers is Distinguished Professor Emeritus at University at Buffalo (SUNY). His previous publications include *The German Conception of History* (1968), *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (1993), and (co-author) *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (2008). From 1995 to 2000 he was president of the International Commission for the History and Theory of Historiography.

Cemal Kafadar is Professor of History at Harvard University. Among his publications are *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (1995) and a chapter on the Ottoman Empire in Howell Lloyd *et al.* (eds.), *European Political Thought, 1450–1700* (2007). He served as curator of a selection of films with the theme of 'Rebels, Saints, and Troubadours' at the International Istanbul Film Festival of 2009.

Hakan T. Karateke is Associate Professor of Ottoman and Turkish Culture, Language, and Literature at the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations of the University of Chicago. He recently published an annotated edition of *An Ottoman Protocol Register* from the Ottoman State Archives.

Gabriele Lingelbach is Professor of Global History at Bamberg University, Germany. Among her monographs are *Klio macht Karriere: Die Institutionalisierung der Geschichtswissenschaft in Frankreich und den USA in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (2003) and *Spenden und Sammeln: Der westdeutsche Spendenmarkt bis in die frühen 1980er Jahre* (2009).

Stuart Macintyre is Professor of History at the University of Melbourne. Among his previous publications are volume four of *The Oxford History of Australia* (1986), *The History Wars* (2002), and *The Poor Relation: A History of the Social Sciences in Australia* (2010).

Juan Maiguashca is Associate Professor Emeritus at York University, Toronto, Canada. Among his publications are *Historia y Región en el Ecuador, 1830–1930* (editor and

contributor, 1994) and *Historia de América Andina: Creación de las repúblicas y formación de la nación* (editor and contributor, 2003).

Anthony Milner is Basham Professor of Asian History at the Australian National University and Professorial Fellow at the University of Melbourne. His publications on Southeast Asia include *The Malays* (2008, 2010) and *Southeast Asia in the Ninth to Fourteenth Centuries* (co-editor, 1986).

Mauro Moretti is professor of Contemporary History at University for Foreigners in Siena, Italy. He has published widely in the field of the history of the historiography and the university. Among his publications are *Michele Amari* (2003) and *Pasquale Villari storico e politico* (2005).

Xosé-Manoel Núñez obtained his Ph.D. at the European University Institute in Florence and is Professor of Modern History at the University of Santiago de Compostela. His recent publications include *Fuera el invasor! Nacionalismo y movilicación bélica en la guerra civil española, 1936–1939* (2006), *Patriotas y demócratas* (2010), and *Los enemigos de España* (editor, 2010).

Attila Pók is Deputy Director of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Visiting Professor of history at Columbia University in New York. His publications include *A Selected Bibliography of Modern Historiography* (1992) and contributions to *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing* edited by Daniel Woolf (1998).

Ilaria Porciani is professor of Contemporary History and the history of historiography at the University of Bologna. Together with Lutz Raphael she has edited the *Atlas of European Historiography: The Making of a Profession, 1800–2005* (2010) and, with Jo Tollebeek, *Setting the Standards: Institutions, Networks and Communities of National History* (forthcoming).

Lutz Raphael is Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Trier and a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Modern European History*. His publications include *Die Erben von Bloch und Febvre* (1994), *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeitalter der Extreme* (2003), and *Nach dem Boom: Perspektiven auf die Zeitgeschichte seit 1970* (2008, with Anselm Doering-Manteuffel).

Christopher Saunders is Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. He is author of, *inter alia, The Making of the South African Past* (1988) and co-author of *South Africa: A Modern History* (5th edn, 2000).

Axel Schneider is Professor of Modern China Studies at Göttingen University, Germany. Among his previous publications is *Truth and History: Two Chinese Historians in Search of a Modern Identity for China* (1997; Chinese version in 2008).

Benedikt Stuchtey is Deputy Director of the German Historical Institute London and Associate Professor of Modern History at Konstanz University, Germany. His most recent publications are *Die Europäische Expansion und ihre Feinde* (2010) and *Science across the European Empires, 1800–1950* (editor, 2005).

Gyula Szvák is professor, head, and founder (1995) of the Centre for Russian Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. He is the author of fifteen books, editor of the series *Knigi po rusistike*, organizer of bi-annual Budapest symposia of Russistics, member of the editorial board of several Russian historical journals, and doctor *honoris causa of* the Russian Academy of Sciences (2006).

Stefan Tanaka is Professor of History at the University of California, San Diego. He is author of *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (1993) and *New Times in Modern Japan* (2004).

Jo Tollebeek is professor of cultural history from 1750 at the University of Leuven, Belgium. He has published work on university history and the history of historiography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries including *Writing the Inquisition in Europe and America* (2004) and *Fredericq en Zonen: Een antropologie van de moderne geschiedwetenschap* (2008). He headed the Belgian *lieux de mémoire* project: *België, een parcours van herinnering* (2008).

Rolf Torstendahl is Emeritus Professor at Uppsala University, Sweden. Among his publications are *Källkritik och vetenskapssyn i svensk historisk forskning, 1820–1920* (1964), *History-Making: The Intellectual and Social Formation of a Discipline* (1996), and *An Assessment of Twentieth-Century Historiography* (2000).

Marius Turda is Deputy Director, The Centre for Health, Medicine and Society, Oxford Brookes University. His publications include *Modernism and Eugenics* (2010) and *Eugenism si antropologia rasiala in Romania, 1874–1944* (2008).

Daniel Woolf (General Editor) is Professor of History at Queen's University in Kingston, Canada. Among his previous publications are *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing* (1998) and *The Social Circulation of the Past* (2003). He has also written *A Global History of History* (2011).

Donald Wright teaches in the Departments of Political Science and History at the University of New Brunswick. He is the author of *The Professionalization of History in English Canada* (2005).

Advisory Board

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Editors' Introduction

Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca, and Attila Pók

The period covered by this volume of *The Oxford History of Historical Writing* sees history established as an academic discipline. The study of history came into being during the first half of the nineteenth century as a distinct branch of knowledge with its own principles and methods, and as a profession with its own procedures and institutions. The process began first in Germany and was followed, with significant variations, elsewhere in Europe. It was also taken to countries of European settlement and taken up by other societies as they responded to European supremacy, so that by the first half of the twentieth century historical research was an international phenomenon that exhibited a number of common characteristics. The research was conducted by specialists working in universities and ancillary institutions, who also provided the training and determined the standards of the profession. Through professional associations, journals, and other collegially controlled outlets they laid down the specialized fields of research and disseminated the results. By means of their academic status and state recognition, they acquired an unprecedented authority.

The period also opens with a prolonged European war that revised territorial boundaries and stimulated national aspirations. The capitalist economy increased productivity and stimulated innovation. Science and technology transformed industry, transport, and communications, while the extension of education and literacy broadened social horizons. European countries used their augmented capacity to acquire overseas territories, break down barriers to trade, and impose a global division of labour. Their writing of history was marked by ideas that accompanied these changes: progress and order, democracy and authority, liberalism and socialism, imperialism and nationalism, and—as a result of the First World War—communism and fascism.

Yet our period closes with the exhaustion of Europe in the Second World War, bringing decolonization and a new world order. From a present-day vantage-point the notion that academic history, both as a way of knowing the past and a means of organizing historical knowledge, is the only form of history that matters is no longer tenable. There is a heightened interest in other ways of writing history outside Europe and ways they interacted with the academic discipline. Recent works such as Georg G. Iggers and Q. Edward Wang's *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (2008) and *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective* (2007), the collection edited by Stefan Berger, explore these alternative traditions, while the title of Dipesh Chakrabarty's book *Provincializing Europe* (2000)

suggests the consequences. Equally, there is greater awareness of the different forms of history-writing within Europe along with the various patterns of intellectual formation and institutional arrangements made to support them. This is the subject of a major collaborative project that has yielded the book edited by Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National History* (2008).

Finally, there is a curious paradox that haunts our period. The growth of academic history in tandem with the nation-state both narrowed its ambit and distorted its content, contradicting the goal of providing a comprehensive and reliable understanding of the past. The universal history associated with the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment gave way to more restricted, state-oriented histories that served national objectives. This tendency culminated in the enlistment of European historians in the belligerent aims of their countries at the outbreak of the First World War. They were then caught up in the clash of ideologies that brought a Second World War.

These considerations inform the coverage and arrangement of the volume. Part One of the book, The Rise, Consolidation, and Crisis of European Traditions, begins with a series of chapters that examine how the discipline of history was created, how it assumed institutional forms inside and outside universities, and why it exercised such a powerful influence on human activity. The process is situated within the political, intellectual, religious, and cultural context in the aftermath of the French Revolution and the post-Napoleonic remaking of Europe. Thus Stefan Berger explains the Romantic rejection of Enlightenment universalism in favour of unique national traditions, Georg G. Iggers the way that Leopold von Ranke insisted on the need to work from the particular to the general. Together, these opening chapters provide genealogies of a new way of thinking about the past, one that applied the philological tradition of source criticism to lay claim to an objective and truthful account of the past.

While both chapters accord primacy to German historiography, each emphasizes its particular circumstances. Leopold von Ranke is commonly regarded as the founder of a new approach to the study of history that would characterize the discipline in Germany, but it is shown here how heavily he drew on pre-disciplinary intellectual influences; and having applied his own training in classics and theology to the study of the past, it is hardly surprising that the next generation, who were trained in history, should have regarded him as a transitional figure. Ranke certainly affirmed and propagated the view that knowledge is formed and comprehended historically, a powerfully pervasive understanding that would come to be known as historicism and which Berger renders in its German form, *Historismus* or historism—although Iggers has observed that the term was not in common use during Ranke's lifetime.

The origin and development of the discipline in Germany were shaped by the circumstances of that country. In contrast to France and Britain, both of which were politically unified states with dynamic economies and established forms of

civic participation, Germany lagged behind. Its university reforms, within which history became a research discipline, were part of a reaction against French cultural hegemony and the Napoleonic invasion that encouraged a drive for modernization. Other countries had their own modes of historical scholarship, and later chapters in this volume suggest how they reformulated them as part of the professionalization and institutionalization of the discipline, but German universities attracted students of history from many countries in the second half of the nineteenth century. Their methods of research and research training, above all the seminar, were widely imitated, along with the emphasis on the nation and its unique characteristics as the object of study. Yet these innovations were not always accompanied by an appreciation of their philosophical import. The interpretation by some American historians of Ranke's dictum *wie es eigentlich gewesen* as meaning 'the past as it actually happened'—prominent though not universal during the very period when history was assuming a prominent place in the burgeoning research university—reminds us of the slippages in translation.

It is striking, nonetheless, how quickly the conventions of the discipline were formed—and how soon they hardened. Across different countries with their own circumstances, concerns, and intellectual traditions, university-based historians joined in the pursuit of an objective knowledge of the past on the basis of archival research, rigorous source criticism, and carefully documented monographs. The orientation was clearly influenced by the rise of the natural sciences, and academic historians laid claim to the scientific status of their subject, thereby distinguishing it from alternative forms of antiquarian and literary history-writing. Scientific history might well reveal a providential pattern of national destiny, but it was committed to the same principles of systematic investigation that guided the advance of knowledge in other disciplines.

Even so, historians were conspicuously resistant to attempts to subsume their discipline into a social science. The mid-century challenge of Auguste Comte's positivism and Henry Thomas Buckle's attempt to formulate laws of historical development stimulated German historians to enunciate their own historicism, and historians in France, Britain, and elsewhere were scarcely more receptive to such grand schemes. The German historians were certainly more insistent in the closing decades of the century on the autonomy of their discipline, standing out against the neo-Kantian attempt to establish a more hermeneutical formulation of the social sciences. Michael Bentley notes the absence of any such *Methodenstreit* in British historiography, while Pim den Boer suggests that in France a less established, less philosophically oriented, and more politically engaged profession was still open to cross-disciplinary intellectual exchange. Yet even there the investigation by Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges of large-scale patterns over long stretches of time gave way by the turn of the century to Charles Seignobos's *histoire événementielle* based on strict historical method.

The chapter by Eckhardt Fuchs explores a number of challenges to the epistemological and methodological foundations of history in the course of

the nineteenth century, and suggests that they had their greatest influence in countries where the discipline was still developing. The Lamprecht controversy in Germany during the 1890s indicates the enhanced capacity of the profession in that country to enforce its conventions, yet the general trend was to demarcate history as a separate field of knowledge with its own procedure and standards. Alternative approaches, economic history, cultural history, world history, operated on the academic periphery; Marx's historical materialism found no foothold until the twentieth century.

Lutz Raphael provides an account of how history broadened in Europe and North America to encompass economic and social history. He links this development to problems thrown up by the end of the nineteenth century: the growth of the capitalist economy brought greater dependence on the operation of capital and labour markets, increasing vulnerability to slumps and unemployment; poverty and inequality generated class conflict. Historians with liberal and social democratic sympathies were among the investigators who sought answers to 'the social question', and in doing so they turned to forms of collective behaviour and the use of quantitative data. Politically, the growth of democracy and extension of citizenship fostered a more popular approach to national history, while the redrawing of territorial boundaries at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 sharpened the treatment of national identities. Raphael's chapter also suggests why historians in some countries resisted the new modes of history while other countries were more receptive to them: they took root first in Northern and Western Europe as well as the United States, but flowered most influentially in France with the Annales School. A democratization of history, extending the concern from politics to society and embracing both material circumstances and popular experience, was a pronounced feature of the first half of the twentieth century.

These comparisons draw attention to the other crucial development that accompanied the professionalization of history, its institutionalization. As Berger notes, the university was just one site among many of the early historical discipline. Much of the history-writing in the first half of the nineteenth century was undertaken by independent scholars, sometimes occupying official positions as administrators or politicians, sometimes under state patronage and sometimes in opposition to the established regime. Museums, archives, historical associations, and their journals, as well as arrangements to gather, edit, and publish collections of historical sources, operated alongside the university. Yet the growth of the university was a crucial feature of our period, with decisive consequences for the exercise of intellectual and cultural authority. Before the end of the century the university was the principal site of historical research, and by 1945 the professoriate defined the nature of the discipline.

In showing how this occurred in leading European countries, Gabriele Lingelbach draws attention to the different systems of higher education and the alternative institutional arrangements that were made to support historical research. In Germany the key development was the research seminar, later the institute, in

a state-controlled system of universities that combined teaching and research; whereas in France research was concentrated in special schools within a specialized hierarchy of higher education institutions that separated the two activities. In England, the collegial foundations of Oxford and Cambridge retained a much stronger pastoral orientation, though the new civic universities were more receptive to innovation. In the United States, by contrast, private universities were quicker to embrace historical research and research training, and then were followed by state universities. Subsequent chapters record the organizational forms adopted in other countries, often shaped by a conscious endeavour to build national capacity by emulating the practices of more successful predecessors.

The same holds for the facilities that supported historical research. In most countries a variety of local and regional antiquarian societies preceded the professionalization of history, along with learned academies under royal patronage. Most European governments created more specialized academies and historical commissions in the course of the nineteenth century, and the establishment of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in 1819 began a series of projects to assemble the documentary sources of national history. As part of the same process, public archives greatly expanded the scope of earlier private and local collections. The nascent historical profession sometimes participated in the activities of lay bodies; it played a central role in the work of the specialized national institutions. At the same time it formed its own associations and founded its own academic journals, strengthening professional norms and reinforcing disciplinary conventions.

As Lingelbach suggests, the establishment of such national associations depended partly on the size of the profession, partly on its degree of cohesion and need for cooperative endeavour. She notes, for example, that the American Historical Association, founded in 1884, undertook a range of activities—including an employment agency—whereas French historians failed to form an equivalent body. Germany, Britain, the Lowland and Scandinavian countries, Spain and Portugal all had professional associations by 1914, but Monika Baár notes in her chapter on history in East-Central Europe that Hungary preceded them all with its historical society in 1867. She suggests a more general tendency whereby peripheral nations often led the way, turning the absence of established structures to their benefit and using them to advance national ambitions. The tendency is apparent in Latin America, where Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela all had such professional associations by 1914, and provides an instructive contrast with the British Dominions, where the Canadian Historical Association was formed in 1922 but Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa felt no need for one until after the Second World War.

Both the production and consumption of academic historical research was initially restricted to a small and exclusive minority. Pim den Boer points to the prominence of aristocratic and clerical authors in France during the first part of the nineteenth century and estimates that no more than 2.5 per cent of the population had the training, means, and opportunity to keep up with the literature.

The audience would expand with the state provision of universal education, and the growth of secondary schools gave fresh momentum to the training of historians in universities, but most European countries lagged behind France in this endeavour. In his chapter on 'lay history' Peter Burke likens professional history to the tip of an iceberg: a self-enclosed and increasingly self-referential circle of specialists, and below them a large body of enthusiasts engaged in activities that provided the public with messages about the past. The upsurge of popular history during the nineteenth century, not just in amateur history-writing but in novels and poems, plays and operas, art and architecture, and increasingly in large-scale commemorations and national institutions, brought a corresponding determination on the part of academic historians to distinguish their own work. This was one reason, surely, why professional history adopted a prose style of sober precision, forsaking the sonorous oratory of Macaulay and the vivid and emotional intensity of Michelet.

Popular forms of history were concerned particularly to mark out shared forms of memory as binding national traditions. Formative events were dramatized on the stage, heroes and martyrs celebrated in school texts, raised on pedestals, memorialized in place names and honoured in commemorative ceremonies. As Burke explains, such activity lent itself to alternative traditions, religious and secular, monarchical and republican. Some initiatives were official, such as the equestrian statue of Wilhelm I financed by the German Reichstag for the centenary of the Kaiser's birth in 1897, while others were unofficial, such as the subscription for a statue of Voltaire that an anticlerical French editor initiated in 1867. The hand of the state was strong in institutional forms of 'lay history' such as museums, galleries, and public schools—yet it was also apparent in the universities, where professional history was conducted.

Historically, the university had close ties to church and state, yet laid claim to institutional autonomy as a self-governing intellectual community. Nineteenth-century liberalism strengthened this tendency with arguments affirming freedom of thought and the free competition of ideas. Meanwhile, the natural sciences established the principle that knowledge advanced by a process of continuous enquiry, one that involved experts with the knowledge and training to formulate, test, and verify hypotheses, the objectivity to subordinate their own beliefs to the search for truth, and a professional commitment to submit their findings to peer assessment. A new emphasis on education as a process of discovery, articulated most influentially by Wilhelm von Humboldt in early nineteenth-century Germany, encouraged the idea that teaching and research were interdependent activities joined in an untrammelled pursuit of truth. While distinguishing its methods of enquiry, history took its place in the university on this basis.

Yet precisely because the university was so important as a nation-building institution, national considerations shaped its growth. Throughout the chapters of this volume that consider the institutional arrangements made in different countries, we see governments establishing new chairs of history, demarcating new areas of

activity, creating new institutions, and reforming old ones. We also see historians engaging in public debate, and in some cases participating directly in politics through membership of legislatures or tenure of national office. Leaving aside the contestation over national foundations and distant events that were still pregnant with meaning—the Kalmar Union between Denmark, Sweden, and Norway in 1397 is a prominent example in Rolf Torstendahl's chapter on Scandinavian historical writing—much contemporary history was deeply divisive.

In his chapter on censorship and history, Antoon De Baets is concerned primarily with the dictatorial regimes—he counts sixteen of them in Europe alone—that flourished in the inter-war period. De Baets acknowledges that democratic states also interfered with historians, especially those that ruled empires and sought to suppress colonial unrest. He begins by noting the heavy investment of many dictators in the legitimation of their regime and its historical mission, and then compiles an inventory of the techniques used against those who contravened the official ideology: censorship, denunciation, dismissal, exile, imprisonment, extermination. He also considers the ineffective response of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, formed in 1926 out of earlier international meetings, while tracing patterns of resistance, defiance, refutation, and international solidarity that more resolute historians maintained. The chapter concludes with a list of inter-war events and topics that remained subject to interference after 1945.

The second part of the volume is concerned with the application of the historiographical traditions invented in Europe to historical scholarship and national traditions. Some of the European chapters fill out the interplay of pre-existing modes of historical writing with the academic mode; they show the various ways in which history was professionalized and institutionalized in different settings, and identify the competing schools of national history that resulted. One advantage of such a survey is to dispel the notion of a common European or Western understanding of history. There were certainly academic centres that attracted attention not only in Europe but in other regions: German historicism and French Romanticism exercised such an influence during the nineteenth century, as did the Annales School at the close of our period. The patterns of foreign study and voluntary or forced resettlement invite closer investigation, as does the transmission of ideas through academic channels. But the most powerful ideas that shaped history in this period—modernization, secularism, clericalism, liberalism, socialism, communism, nationalism—circulated more widely and were practised in local idioms.

Across the European case studies it is possible to suggest some recurring features. First, national history typically emerged at the interface of conflicting regional, national, and transnational narratives. It postulated a deep and enduring relationship between people and place on an enlarged scale, marking out the boundaries within which a binding national culture had formed. The competition with sub-national narratives was most apparent in countries that had yet to

establish a national union, such as Italy where Ilaria Porciani and Mauro Moretti reveal the persistence of regional forms long after unification. Such localism was less pronounced in places where nationalist historians were striving to restore a lost nation or fashion a new one, as the chapters on East-Central Europe and the Balkans illustrate. A newly formed nation-state such as Belgium was quick to establish its history, but Jo Tollebeek's chapter indicates how alternative Flemish and Walloon histories soon emerged. Similarly, Xosé-Manoel Núñez contrasts the national framework of Portuguese history with the strength of regionalism in Spain, as well as the pervasive presence of a larger Iberian perspective. In Great Britain, which was a comparatively recent union of nations, Michael Bentley shows the hegemony of a metropolitan and imperial history until Irish and Scottish history were institutionalized.

Second, each of these European histories drew on a shared narrative repertoire to assert its own special path. There was a concern with origins deep in antiquity, with the continuity and vitality of national traditions marked by epic victories and tragic defeats, cycles of success and failure, lost homelands and revivals. Many nations looked back to a golden age below the horizon of modernity that exemplified freedom and virtue: the medieval communes provided such a model in Italy, Spain, and other countries, while for the Netherlands it was the Reformation and the republic. As Stefan Berger observes, the new scientific historians established their authority as interpreters of the past by debunking the myths of Romantic history and yet applied their archival research to set national history on firmer foundations. In doing so, some drew on additional branches of science, so that in the Balkans geography, archaeology, and physical anthropology were all pressed into the service of a racial account of nationhood. Other disciplines were used to construct a cultural lineage: Greek historians, for example, advanced the idea of a nation based on Hellenism, and the emphasis on vernacular languages is a prominent feature.

Third, within the common framework of separate national histories there were different models of development. The interest in history arose from a faith in progress and a belief that science, technology, and society were advancing in a coherent process of purposeful change best understood through history. This understanding provided a powerful model of modernization when applied to non-European countries, yet even within Europe it was contested. Hence Gyula Szvák explains how the Napoleonic wars fostered a Russian nationalism that was keenly attentive to Western intellectual currents and yet mistrustful of their consequences. The Slavophile school of historians projected the components of official nationalism—orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality—back into the past to demonstrate Russian exceptionalism; and even the opposing school, the Westernizers, conceded Russia's long detour from the path to modernization. The histories produced by nationalist intellectuals in the lands controlled by the Romanov, Habsburg, and Ottoman empires wrestled with feelings of incompleteness, most notably the absence of statehood and a failed historical mission.

Similar misgivings were expressed in countries that had lost most of their overseas empires, notably Spain and Portugal.

A different challenge confronted the countries of European settlement as they negotiated their paths to nationhood. A series of chapters considers the forms of history created in the Americas, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, all of which were colonized by European powers and planted with European populations, institutions, and principles. Sometimes described as neo-Europes, we prefer to describe them as Europe's offspring, for the logic of their development was autonomy. The United States was the first to seize independence, on the eve of our period; the Latin American colonies followed in the first part of the nineteenth century, while the British ones moved through stages of self-government to sovereign status after the First World War. Deriving their cultural heritage from Europe, such settler societies came to understand themselves in terms of their novel circumstances and future prospects. Just as the New World was free of incubus of the Old, so it was free to invent its own history.

In doing so, however, settler societies confronted the predicament of their novelty. National histories in Europe employed what Stefan Berger has called the principle of longevity. In his introduction to the recent collection of essays *Writing the Nation*, Berger draws attention to the importance that was attached to national origins; the further back they could be traced into a dim and distant past, the greater their authenticity. Lacking such longevity, the new nations that formed among Europe's offspring had to find alternatives. Berger argues that three strategies were available to them. They could borrow the past of their parent, and he suggests that this was the path followed by Argentina, Australia, and New Zealand. They could fashion a long history by adopting the past of their indigenous people, and he gives Mexico and Peru as examples. Finally, they could decide that they did not need a long history, and here Berger cites the United States. This is a useful typology, though in practice examples of each strategy can be found in all of the new nations, for none of them was fully persuasive.

It was in the United States that a belief in immanent destiny was strongest, and Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis gave the idea of beginning anew perhaps its most influential expression. In a recent book, *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History* (2006), Thomas Bender challenged the habit of writing the country's history as a story of self-sufficiency, and in his chapter here he draws attention to the ways that earlier historians employed a longer perspective. The New England writers Francis Parkman and George Bancroft shared a deeply Protestant view of American nationalism, showing the extension of Anglo-Saxon energies on a continental scale, and the first professional historians stressed the Teutonic origins of American democracy. They were able to do so because the country was so secure in its destiny, as indeed its strong commitment to higher education and research allowed the Progressive historians to interrogate national traditions.

In Mexico, where the character and territorial integrity of the new republic was less secure, the imperial inheritance was more contentious. While conservatives

upheld the Spanish conquest and the role of the church, liberals and then agrarian radicals asserted a more indigenous nationalism. Similar divisions were apparent in Spanish South America, where, moreover, Juan Maiguascha shows how an earlier shared identity as *americanos* yielded to separate national republics. In the former Portuguese territories, on the other hand, the separate regions were joined in a Brazilian Empire and then knitted into a national republic. Complicating these trajectories of nationhood was the late development of academic history. Lay and clerical writers established the chief schools of historical interpretation; institutionalization in libraries, archives, and academies preceded professionalization in universities, which were strongly influenced by national objectives. One consequence of this was the absorption of academic practitioners in their own history (Ciro Flamarion Cardoso observes that in Brazil studies of other times and places were considered a waste of time); another, paradoxically, was an openness to European intellectual influences, especially French historiography.

The pattern in British settler societies was quite different. Here the long evolution towards Dominion status allowed for a reconciliation of national and imperial history, the one building on the other. Insofar as nineteenth-century writers drew attention to local circumstances in their criticism of imperial policies, it was to argue for greater recognition and fuller application of self-government on British lines. A more assertive nationalism developed, emphasizing the special character of the place and its people, and celebrating the advanced democracy of the New World, but before 1945 it found little expression within the academic discipline. On the contrary, the universities took their curriculum from British ones and the history profession retained strong links to Oxford, Cambridge, and London. This orientation was challenged, however, in Canada and South Africa, where French and Dutch settlers affirmed a separate historical path.

All European settler histories were complicated by their non-European components. In each of them an ethnic nationalism had to deal with the presence of the original inhabitants, who comprised the majority in South Africa, as well as the African slaves and inter-racial groups that figured prominently in Latin America. Berger identifies Mexico as an example of a country that adopted the past of its indigenous people to create a longer history, and D. A. Brading's chapter shows how this was done. Local historians, reacting against adverse foreign judgements of Aztec civilization, used carved glyphs, codices, and early church annals to postulate a more positive assessment. Their work found recognition in the raising of a statue of Cuauhtémoc, the last Aztec emperor, on the central avenue of the capital in 1887; in the same year the National Museum displayed the Aztec Sun-Stone, which became a national symbol. Yet a lengthening of this kind created new difficulties—it cast fresh doubt on the Conquest and the role of the church—and it is notable how often Mexican scholars sought to find a foreign provenance for the Aztecs. The incorporation of the Brazilian Indians began earlier, and was initiated by the German naturalist Karl Friedrich Phillipp von Martius.

British settler societies reveal a different logic. Beginning with annexation, and sometimes using treaties, they denied that they were products of conquest. In Canada, as Donald Wright and Christopher Saunders explain, English-Canadians saw their history as an anti-conquest, an incorporation of French-Canadians and native peoples into the benefits of British rule. Once the military threat or utility of the indigenous inhabitants disappeared, so they disappeared from the history. In New Zealand, on the other hand, the prolonged Maori warfare against the newcomers during the 1860s laid the basis for their incorporation into national history. In South Africa the white interaction with the black majority was a central theme and a point of contestation between white supremacists and humanitarians, but almost invariably on white terms. Australia was the outlier, quickly forgetting its original aggression and writing Aboriginals out of its history. Yet even here a desire for a deeper attachment remained dormant, to awaken after 1945 with the remarkable growth of Aboriginal history that Bain Attwood describes in *OHHW* vol. 5.

This volume concludes with a group of chapters on non-European cultural traditions. We are confronted with a remarkable breadth of traditions, some going back as far as the earliest forms of history written in the West, others emerging through cultural interactions that preceded the Western presence. It is here that we encounter most directly the problem of treating history as a Eurocentric discipline and form of knowledge. Each of the chapters records the impact of European historical practice; all of them resist the idea that this was simply a case of diffusion and assimilation.

Axel Schneider and Stefan Tanaka distinguish two long-standing forms of historical writing in China and Japan. In one of them the past marked out the cosmic principles that guided human behaviour and historians related the consequences of adherence to or deviation from them. We might regard this as a form of providential history and identify analogous ways of understanding the past in other civilizations according to the precepts of their religious systems. Alongside it Schneider and Tanaka discern other works that recorded the words or deeds of rulers, again with a normative function of legitimizing the current dynasty or demonstrating the ills that resulted from earlier misrule. Similar court annals can again be found in other civilizations, though they were less significant in Europe. Perhaps one way of understanding the different historiographical traditions is by reference to the relationship between government and religion: the organizational separation of the church and its declining authority seem to have created a space for history to emerge in Europe as an autonomous discipline.

The application beyond Europe was quickly evident in regions where European powers imposed imperial control. The chapters on India, Southeast Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa show how knowledge of subject peoples, their resources, legal systems, organization, beliefs and practices, was an instrument of colonial rule. Many nineteenth-century writers drew on existing sources—chronicles, annals, various literary forms, as well as oral history—to compose descriptive narratives

that would guide trade, missionary effort, and colonial administration. While these works varied in their treatments of the pre-colonial past and appraisal of the civilizations that they described, they carried an insistent message of transformation. The sifting of reliable information from myth was intended to yield a narrative sequence of events using a secular understanding of time and a linear concept of progress.

Such colonial histories, however, preceded the advent of the academic discipline, which came late to these regions, and meanwhile the subjects of colonial rule adapted their own ways of writing history to their altered circumstances. As Anthony Milner demonstrates, new chronicles were undertaken in Southeast Asia with a greater emphasis on verification and an enlargement of concern from the monarch to the people. Toyin Falola explains how indigenous historians mobilized local traditions to assert a collective African identity. Dipesh Chakrabarty identifies an upsurge of interest in history in India at the close of the nineteenth century when its reconceptualization as a science was accompanied by the systematic collection of sources; but the imperial administration continued to restrict access to the official archives long after the discipline was introduced to Indian universities. So, too, the popular struggle for recognition of an Indian past persisted alongside academic conventions of objectivity.

It was different in China, Japan, the Ottoman Empire, and the Arab world. While subjected to Western incursion, these durable civilizations retained their sovereignty and accordingly were able to determine the arrangements for writing history. We see them both reworking old forms and appropriating new ones, providing a path to modernity on their own terms. The recruitment in 1887 of Ludwig Riess, a distant disciple of Ranke, to the newly founded Tokyo University is a striking example of such appropriation. The state was closely involved in the process, creating institutes and academies, ordaining new calendars, declaring language policies, forming archives, and selecting appropriate foreign models for its universities. Out of this came a welding of disparate peoples into a nation of citizens and a synchronization of the national past with an international temporality. Yet as Schneider and Tanaka explain, this transformation positioned the traditional order as lagging behind the West. If timeless tradition became synonymous with backwardness, then the new history required the forgetting of certain elements of the past in favour of others that supported the new national identity. In Japan, the most successful modernizer, this created a narrative of Asian development with Japan as its pinnacle, and it is hardly surprising that Chinese historians should have drawn on Japan's success.

We are reminded here of the influence exercised on Spanish South American historical scholarship by Santiago and Buenos Aires, both centres of innovation that attracted historians from further north. The influx of refugees from tsarist Russia to the late Ottoman Empire suggests a similar cross-fertilization, while the early Turkish republic consciously fashioned its historiography from diverse sources. Among the Arab states, Egypt and Lebanon displayed a similar form of

selective appropriation. As Cemal Kafadar and Hakan T. Karateke remark, by the twentieth century there was an awareness of European models of history and resistance to their hegemony. The resistance was both historical and historiographical. In contesting European control and seeking to determine their own forms of modernization, non-European societies began to reject a Eurocentric interpretation of world history; and in developing their national histories they found ways of incorporating their own forms of knowledge. Such responses, moreover, went beyond resistance: the insistence that oral tradition was a necessary component of historical knowledge would have a powerful international effect on the discipline.

Our volume, then, is concerned with the establishment of history as an academic discipline throughout the world, with nationalism and modernization as its dominant concerns. The establishment took place through a process of institutionalization and professionalization that increased participation. At the beginning of our period knowledge of the past was restricted to a privileged minority. The establishment of archives and other institutions; the creation of chairs, departments, and disciplinary training as part of the growth of public education; the development of historical journals, conferences, and other outlets—these innovations provided a career path for a burgeoning profession and fostered its ethos of intellectual meritocracy. Yet our chapters also reveal the exclusionary effects. The historical profession was restricted in its composition along lines of gender, religion, ethnicity, and politics.

Even in England and the United States, where authors such as Catharine Macaulay and Mercy Otis Warren had previously written major national histories, women were shut out of the university-based profession. Several contributors draw attention to female forms of historical writing in the nineteenth century, and the way that they were associated with the use of imagination rather than archival scholarship; yet Ilaria Porciani and Mauro Moretti note that the reluctance of Italian academics to engage in contemporary history allowed at least some women to assemble sources for the Risorgimento. Lucy Salmon, a notable early academic historian in the United States, pioneered a new form of social history; and it is notable also that scholars such as Eileen Power in England and Astrid Friis in Denmark established reputations in economic history when that field was marginalized in the profession. While many countries opened their universities to female students, there was limited opportunity for them to pursue academic careers before 1945.

The historical profession had a close relationship with the nation that it served. Where religion was a component of the national identity, there was usually an expectation of conformity. Divergent religious perspectives were possible in nations with more than one faith, but the patterns of patronage and preferment favoured the dominant creed. The same applied to ethnic differences as part of the growing concern with racial definitions of nationhood. Countries of European settlement accommodated alternative schools of history—the French Canadians,

the Dutch/Afrikaans in South Africa—but made little provision for indigenous historians. The United States was exceptional in its nineteenth-century creation of 'black colleges', and in 1888 W. E. B. Du Bois obtained a scholarship to proceed from one of them to doctoral studies at Harvard, which provided entry to an academic career. The influence of his generation of African-American intellectuals extended to Africa, yet Thomas Bender reminds us that Du Bois's study *Black Reconstruction* (1935) passed unnoticed in the *American Historical Review*.

This gate-keeping function of the profession, determining what was reputable historical scholarship and excluding other forms of historical knowledge, is less often noticed than the institutional forms of control. Antoon De Baets sets out the methods whereby dictatorial regimes rooted out dissident historians during the inter-war period, and there were clear limits to academic freedom before then. Although the profession never achieved complete independence from external interference, it did establish a measure of self-regulation. The demarcation of lay and professional history increased with the upsurge of popular forms that Peter Burke describes. It extended to practitioners whose work challenged the conventional historical method, such as Karl Lamprecht in Germany or Vicente Fidel López in Argentina. It denied recognition to radical and socialist interpretations, and disdained the more popular and democratic fields of historical enquiry.

There were modes of history—universal history, comparative history, and even regional history—that seemed to have a promising future at the beginning of our period but faded into the background. How might we explain their eclipse? One possibility might be the method of scientific history, with its emphasis on a critical evaluation of the sources and insistence on working from the particular to the general. In practice this favoured correspondence over coherence as the basis of historical knowledge; that is, every significant statement of what had happened required a corresponding document to back it up. The effect was to orient research towards a political history based on national archives, and the same orientation shaped the organization of archives as well as other institutions of the discipline.

This tendency was compounded by the turn towards national history. As Stefan Berger explains, the Romantic ideology of nationalism propounded by Johann Gottlieb Fichte sacralized the nation, privileged 'pure' nations, and thus established the idea of a hierarchy of nations. A compulsive European self-centredness contributed to a decline of interest in non-European civilizations. The histories that were produced outside Europe were further disadvantaged by their reliance on sources that were seen as lacking the authority of archival documentation, the provenance and chronological precision that gave European history its momentum. This neglect of non-European perspectives was the greatest exclusion of the historical discipline in our period, and one that would come under particular challenge after 1945.

This volume is the work of many hands, and in this respect it differs from the books mentioned above, as well as Daniel Woolf's recently published *A Global History of History* (2011). Its preparation has benefited from these treatments of historical writing as a global phenomenon, and from discussions with these and other historians who joined in its preparation. The novelty of our presentation is the involvement of more than thirty specialists on different aspects of history and the consideration of so many places where history was written. In suggesting here how the discipline was formed and organized, and providing such an extended range of narratives of historical writing in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, we hope that the rich complexity of the activity will be better understood.

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PART I

THE RISE, CONSOLIDATION, AND CRISIS OF EUROPEAN TRADITIONS

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Chapter 1

The Invention of European National Traditions in European Romanticism

Stefan Berger[1]

In the first volume of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, Wilhelm Giesebrecht emphasized the close connection between the rise of the national idea and the rise of the historical sciences in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century.[2] The professionalization and institutionalization of historical writing as an autonomous university discipline with pretensions to scientificity did indeed start in the German lands and has been traced back to the University of Göttingen and the late eighteenth century. During the nineteenth century it spread throughout Europe, but really took shape only from around the middle of the century onwards. In the first half of the century, by contrast, history-writing was popular, but was not yet carried out within a thoroughly professionalized framework. What made it so popular was its ability to mobilize people by giving them an identity and orientation. The construction of national identity through history and the interpretation of ruptures in national development, such as revolutions, became the main concern of historians during the nineteenth century. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the invention of such national traditions was associated with the intellectual movement referred to as Romanticism.

Romanticism is perhaps best described as a literary, philosophical, and artistic movement directed against the rationalism of the Enlightenment. Precisely because it was a reaction to the Enlightenment, most of its representatives would

[1] I would like to express my sincere thanks to the many people who have participated in the five-year European Science Foundation programme entitled 'Representations of the Past: The Writing of National Histories in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe', which I had the pleasure to chair between 2003 and 2008. Without them this chapter could not have been written. I am also grateful to Peter Lambert and Juan Maiguashca for making a number of useful suggestions which have improved this contribution. Finally, my thanks to Jörn Leonhard and Ulrich Herbert, the directors of the School of History, Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies (FRIAS), who, together with the FRIAS fellows, made my stay there in 2008–9 so productive and allowed me, among many other things, to finish this chapter.

[2] Wilhelm Giesebrecht, 'Die Entwicklung der modernen deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1 (1859), 11.



Map 1. Europe, 1815


Dvina
FINLAND
Helsinki
St Petersburg
Novgorod
Volga
Riga
Moscow
Smolensk
LITHUANIA
R U S S I A
Warsaw
VOLHYNIA
KING. OF
P O L A N D
Kiev
Dniepr
Don
Volga
U K R A I N E
ARY
E M P I R E
MOLDAVIA
Kherson
Odessa
Caspian Sea
WALLACHIA
Bucharest
SERBIA
Danube
B l a c k S e a
Batum
Baku
BULGARIA
Sofia
Adrianople
Constantinople
O T T O M A N E M P I R E
G R E E C E
Athens
Tigris
Euphrates
Crete
Cyprus
Damascus
S e a
Jerusalem
Alexandria
E G Y P T
Cairo
Nile

be unthinkable without it, despite their celebration of diverse forms of irrationalism, naturism, and spiritualism. Philosophically, they took their cue from Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Gottfried Herder. Politically, theirs was an extremely malleable movement and included people from across the political spectrum.

If the French Revolution of 1789 was identified with Enlightenment ideas and if Napoleon's attempt to conquer Europe was similarly dressed up in notions of bringing the fruits of the French Revolution to a despotic and absolutist Europe, then Romanticism was a reaction against those universal claims of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Against such universalism the Romantics pitted the idea of the specificity and uniqueness of national identities, and they defined the task of history as tracing those authentic and special national trajectories through time to a dim and distant past. European history thus became the history of national special paths—an idea which was to have major significance for the framing of national history throughout the modern period and up to this very day. History constructed national traditions which in turn justified existing nation-states and called for the creation of non-existent ones. It also began rapidly to legitimate notions of the superiority of some nations over others, including territorial expansion and discrimination against perceived external and internal enemies.

This chapter traces the symbiotic relationship between history-writing and nationalism from the French Revolution to the European revolutions of 1848. It does so by looking, first, into the way in which the modern university discipline of history developed, before turning to the importance of the French Revolution for the subject of history across Europe. Next, the chapter will systematize the basic elements that went into the construction of national histories across Europe, and it will ask what institutions were important in the shaping of historiographical nationalism. Finally, the chapter will briefly review some of the historiographical traditions evolving at the time and will also challenge the increasingly symbiotic relationship between historical writing and the construction of national identities.

NATIONAL HISTORY-WRITING AS A RESPONSE TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT

It was the Enlightenment that freed history from its ties to theology and opened up the possibility of secular histories dealing with non-religious themes in a rational manner. Voltaire—as well as David Hume, Edward Gibbon, and William Robertson—laid the foundations of an independent historical science. Enlightenment historians had a keen interest in national history, but only insofar as they were tracing universal norms and values through national history. The development and progress of mankind through the ages could be made visible through accounts of national trajectories. In their attempts to seek an explanation

of human development through history, Enlightenment historians established some of the grand narratives of modern historical writing.

One of the earliest centres of Enlightenment history in Europe, and one that sought to professionalize historical writing, was the University of Göttingen. And yet the beginnings of the professionalization of historical writing in the German lands is often postdated to the more widespread establishment of historical 'seminars' in the 1830s and 1840s. In the historical sciences the ingredients of an emerging professional ethos were promoted above all by Leopold von Ranke, who was appointed as professor of history to the University of Berlin in 1825, and taught there uninterruptedly until the 1870s. Through his teaching and his publications, which included reflections on the methodology and the ground rules of historical writing, he became the European-wide father figure of a movement referred to as *Historismus*, which has sometimes been translated as 'historicism' but will here be identified as 'historism'.[3]

Ranke's influence on European historiography cannot be overestimated. In particular, his belief in different national trajectories rooted in historically specific primeval national types (e.g. Celts, Germans, and Latin and Slavic peoples) became influential throughout Europe. Ranke wrote national histories in order to establish the specificity of those national types. Thus he can be described as a European historian of nation-states who was keenly interested in the interrelationship of European nations. Ranke perceived the national level of historical analysis as intermediate between the analysis of individual historical actors and the analysis of global history. The entire historist movement in nineteenth-century Europe, including Ranke, was deeply influenced by the philosophical thought of Herder. Herder, who had been a pupil of Immanuel Kant at Königsberg University, was steeped in Enlightenment thought and had initially welcomed the French Revolution. Yet he also rejected the Enlightenment's universalism and instead began to search for national authenticity in the values and norms of the common people. Preoccupation with the authenticity of national cultures encouraged the birth of folklore studies and the collection of fairy tales as well as other research into popular cultures all over Europe. Herder criticized the generalizing impulse of the Enlightenment and put the specificity and distinctness of national cultures in its place. He searched for the individuality of a specific nation, culture, or (his preferred term) *Volk*. Like every individual person, so every *Volk* had a unique personality with its own values and principles. This national character (*Volksgeist*) was unchanging and revealed itself through national history. Unique historical collective personalities evolved over time. For Herder, the fundamental unit in world history was the nation. He equated it with the family, making the organic

[3] 'Historism' (*Historismus*), as associated with Leopold von Ranke, is an evolutionary, reformist concept that understands all political order as historically developed and grown, and should not be confused with 'historicism' (*Historizismus*), as defined and rejected by Karl Popper, which is based on the notion that history develops according to predetermined laws towards a particular end.

national community an a priori phenomenon, which preceded the state. He insisted that national languages were key to national spirits, and defined nationality primarily in cultural terms. He assessed the originality of each nation's culture and praised cultural diversity and the plurality of peoples and nations. This also meant that he condemned national pride and feelings of national superiority.[4] He was thus far removed from the bulk of later nineteenth-century nationalists, yet, ironically, he also became the most important intellectual reference point for them. With reference to Herder, legions of national historians across Europe tried to establish the historical roots of their specific nations and reconstruct their national spirits, and some, like the Hungarians, tried hard to disprove the master who had famously predicted that the Magyar language would become extinct among the Slavs, Germans, Wallachians, and other peoples surrounding the Magyars.[5]

Herder's influence on historism was particularly marked, but one should also note the closeness of historism to theology throughout the nineteenth century. Ranke was only one among many nineteenth-century historians who had studied theology. In Protestant Europe, many came from homes where the father had earned a living as a pastor. Ranke's belief that nations were the thoughts of God, like Thomas Arnold's belief that divine will could be made visible through historical writing, is testimony to this continued influence of theology over historical writing.[6]

The fact that many Protestant historians in the first half of the nineteenth century came from pastors' homes prompts questions about the social origins of historians in this period. Priests were prominent in many places, for instance Catholic priests in the Bohemian lands and Croatia, Orthodox priests in Russia and Romania, and Lutheran pastors in Finland, Sweden, and the German lands. In the more developed civil societies of Western and Central Europe, European intellectuals who lived, often precariously, on the fruits of their intellectual endeavours emerged. Independent writers, publishers, and journalists were at the same time prominent historians. In Hungary and Poland, aristocrats with independent financial means were over-represented among early historians. In Norway, civil servants and business people were more important. In Serbia, the first historians often acted as ethnic tribal leaders. Across Europe, political leaders frequently also wrote history. It was rare to find craftsmen, artisans, and peasants among early national historians, but apart from that there seems to be little unity in terms of the social background of European national historians before 1850.

[4] H. B. Nisbet, 'Herder: The Nation in History', in Michael Branch (ed.), *National History and Identity: Approaches to the Writing of National History in the North-East Baltic Region, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Tampere, 1999), 78–96.

[5] Johann Gottfried Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784; Leipzig, 1841), vol. 2, part 4, book 6, ch. 2.

[6] Thomas Albert Howard, *Religion and the Rise of Historicism*: *W. M. L. de Wette, Jakob Burckhardt and the Theological Origins of Nineteenth-Century Historical Consciousness* (Cambridge, 2000).

It was not only to theology that history-writing remained close during the first half of the nineteenth century. It also retained its ties to literature. Most work was not yet aimed at a specialist audience, but was written for the educated general public. Historians such as Thomas Babington Macaulay were famous for their literary style rather than for deep archival knowledge. Sir Walter Scott's historical novels served as an inspiration to generations of European national historians who shared Augustin Thierry's assessment of Scott as 'the greatest master of historical divination that has ever existed'.[7] Novelists and poets, such as Jan Frederick Helmers in the Netherlands, Esaias Tegnér in Sweden, Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger in Denmark, Hendrik Conscience in Belgium, Alessandro Manzoni in Italy, and Alexander Pushkin in Russia, all served historians as models of how to craft a gripping narrative. It was no coincidence that the first official 'historiographer of the Russian Empire', Nikolai M. Karamzin, appointed by Tsar Alexander I in 1803, was a novelist. Language and literature were the disciplines most closely associated with Romantic national history. The search for authentic literary canons and for the codification of language was part and parcel of a nationalizing historiography. National literary histories like Georg Gottfried Gervinus's *Geschichte der Poetischen National Literatur der Deutschen* [History of the Poetic National Literature of the Germans] (5 vols., 1835–42) were among the most influential national histories written in this period. History was still predominantly perceived as an art form, but the professionalizing historians also began pointing to history as something in between art and science. Laborious work in archives involving personal sacrifice was held up as a precondition for historical research. Yet even Ranke was adamant that it was the historian's prime task to find aesthetic forms of narration that would be as pleasing to the reader as literary forms.

NATIONAL HISTORY-WRITING AS A RESPONSE TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Few events have had as great an impact on historical thought as the French Revolution and the subsequent export of its values by Napoleon. Much of the European intellectual world found itself first enthused by the ideals of the French Revolution and then appalled by the Terror. The French Revolution was the most outstanding expression of the birth of modern nationalism, especially in its linking of the entire population of a given national territory to the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The violent export of French universalism by Napoleon and the hijacking of the Enlightenment's universalism by French nationalism were widely rejected elsewhere in Europe. French revolutionaries and their enemies,

[7] Cited from Lionel Gossman, *Between History and Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 95.

and Napoleon and his adversaries, shared the perception that theirs was an epoch of fundamental historical change. It brought upheaval on a scale sufficient to bury the old order and create a new one, the exact shape of which remained unclear. It is therefore unsurprising that a sense of fundamental crisis characterized the intellectual climate during the first half of the nineteenth century. One important reaction to this crisis was historism, which sought to provide reassurance in the form of organic historical development and authentic national characters.

In the German lands, the first half of the nineteenth century marked a boom period for national histories, even if many of their authors were not yet university professors.[8] These national histories, written by and large in a historist mode, were characterized also by their moral and epistemological relativism. They argued that the nation developed according to its own logic. Since it was often regarded as impossible to understand fully a 'foreign' national culture, it not only became impossible for outsiders to sit in judgement over 'other' national histories but also narrowed the possibilities for historians, since they could only ever hope to understand their own national culture. An understanding of each national culture as comprising a cosmos of its own at least partly explains the concentration of historians on national history. The Enlightenment notion of a universal civilization was thus replaced by that of the specificity of national trajectories. The concept of (universal) civilization was increasingly replaced by the concept of (national) culture, thereby reflecting the nationalization of historiography, which accompanied its professionalization.

The Romantic idealization of the historian as seer, priest, and martyr in the service of history, who resurrects the past through the 'eye of history', contributed further to the attempt of professionalizing historians to set themselves up as *the* privileged interpreters of national pasts.[9] Marking themselves out as a group of people with privileged access and powers of interpretation over the past was a key aim of those keen to professionalize historical writing. Its methodology, in particular source criticism and the philological-critical method, allegedly gave the historian a better vantage point from which to view the past. In the late eighteenth century, classical and biblical scholars in the German lands like Friedrich August Wolf had pioneered a hermeneutical-philological approach, which spread to history in the nineteenth century. In particular Barthold Georg Niebuhr, professor of ancient history at the University of Berlin between 1810 and 1816, rewrote Roman history through a critical re-examination of textual and material remains, thereby setting standards in how to apply philology to history.

[8] For a list of German national histories between 1803 and 1848/9 see Hans Schleier, *Geschichte der deutschen Kulturgeschichtsschreibung*, vol. 1: *Vom Ende des 18. Bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Waltrop, 2003), 298–9.

[9] Jo Tollebeek, 'Seeing the Past with the Mind's Eye: The Consecration of the Romantic Historian', *Clio*, 29:2 (2000), 167–91.

This hermeneutical-philological method was widely seen as the best means of bridging the expanse of time dividing the present from the past. It was above all this method that allowed the new 'scientific' historians to lay claim to objectivity and truth, staked out in meticulously researched monographs which became the most important means of career progression and a hallmark of scientificity. The historians' familiarity with the archives, which mostly meant state archives, many of which were only established during the nineteenth century, and their skills in applying the hermeneutical-philological method to source criticism, ensured such scientificity. Whilst 'scientific' historians could point to the successful debunking of historical myths, they also used their methodological finesse (apart from a good deal of imagination) to legitimate 'their' respective nation. After all, they were the only ones capable of speaking about the past authoritatively. Hence there existed an irresoluble tension between history as threatening national mythology and yet simultaneously as constructing national identity.

Although this critical-philological method worked against the Romanticization of the past and debunked many of the Romantic myths about the past, it served the same purpose as the Romantic stylization of the historian. Whether as Romantics or professionals, the historians' claim to occupy the interpretative high ground of history-writing was put into the service of national identity-formation. Historical knowledge was supposed to provide practical orientation for action in the present. An understanding of the past was necessary in order to be able to forge the future. History's close relationship to identity found expression in the widespread belief that one could not answer the questions of who one was or where one was going without first establishing who one had been in the past.

Romantic national historians took their cue from Herder, but also from Johan Gottlieb Fichte, who sacralized the nation as the moral collective connecting the generations through the ages. Writing against the Napoleonic claims of French universalism, he followed Herder in emphasizing the ethnic and cultural particularity of nations, but went further than Herder in arguing that those who had maintained those particularities most purely were the best nations. Thus the problematic idea of a hierarchy of nations was born. Fichte specifically demanded a national history of the Germans as the best defence against French universalism: 'Amongst the means to strengthen the German spirit it would be a powerful one to have an enthusiastic history of the Germans, which would be a national as well as a people's book, just like the Bible or the Gesangbuch.'[10] Fichte's idea of history as bulwark against the French Revolution had its parallels elsewhere, such as in the thought of Joseph de Maistre in France itself and of Edmund Burke in Britain. For all of them, the study of national history allowed access to a vision of a nation fundamentally at odds with the one created in the French Revolution. With their emphasis on the continuity of historical evolution, Friedrich Schlegel's Vienna lectures on modern history of 1811 summarized some of the key characteristics

[10] Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (Leipzig, 1944), 104.

of Romantic history-writing. Invariably, each state and nation had its own individuality and each *Volk* its peculiar authenticity. The totality of Christian Europe was made up of such national individualities. Overall, authenticity, longevity, unity, and homogeneity became the hallmarks of Romantic national history-writing. 'Growth' and 'evolution' were its key metaphors, stressing the endurance of national characteristics and the permanence of the *Volk*. Tradition, as represented by history, was juxtaposed to sovereignty as formulated by the French revolutionaries.

The power of history was also emphasized by those philosophers not necessarily connected to European Romanticism. G. W. F. Hegel's 'world spirit' (*Weltgeist*) operated in and through history. It evolved through various historical stages to perfection. Hegel famously identified the spirit with the development of reason and the idea of freedom. His notion of the development of more rational political organizations in history owed more to the Enlightenment than to Romanticism. For Hegel the most rational political organization was the state governed by laws and epitomized in the Prussian example. Hegel's intellectual influence helps explain the concern of German historians with the state as an ethical end in itself. And given the model function of German historiography in Europe, this German statism came to pervade many other historiographies in Europe, making the state and the law guiding concepts of European national history-writing. In Sweden, for example, Erik Gustaf Geijer could not conceive of the Swedish nation without the state and without state power embodied by the kings. The primacy of state interest, which could also be represented by state bureaucracies and the rule of law, were to remain a guiding light of Swedish national history until challenged by a focus on society in the twentieth century. That this had some effect on the general historical consciousness can be gauged from a poll among schoolchildren aged seven to twelve in 1912. When asked about their heroes, the top three were Swedish kings: Gustavus Adolphus, Gustaf Vasa, and Charles XII.[11]

PATTERNING NATIONAL HISTORIES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

National history-writing in Europe grew at a spectacular rate between 1800 and 1850. It was a period in which a first wave of national history syntheses were produced. From Willem Bilderdijk's *Geschiedenis des Vaderlands* [History of the Fatherland], published posthumously between 1833 and 1853 and providing the Dutch with a grand panorama of their national history, to František Palacký's *Dějiny*

[11] Ragnar Björk, 'The Swedish Baltic Empire in Modern Swedish Historiography', in Frank Hadler and Mathias Mesenhöller (eds.), *Lost Greatness and Past Oppression in East Central Europe: Representations of the Imperial Experience in Historiography since 1918* (Leipzig, 2007), 35–62.

národu českého v Čechách a v Morave [The History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia] (5 vols., 1836–67), which demarcated Czech national history from German, most existing and aspiring European nation-states of the first half of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of national historical master narratives in this period.

If we analyse these national histories, we can establish shared narrative patterns that make up the basic structure of the vast majority of national histories in this period. Some of the most important ones include (a) the attempts to delineate a fixed national territory, (b) the close interrelationship between national and regional narratives, (c) the closeness or distance of historical narratives to the history of the state, (d) issues of periodization, (e) the proximity of master narratives of nationality to master narratives of ethnicity, class, and religion, and (f) the gendering of national master narratives. There are other notable characteristics of national histories, such as the construction of canons of national heroes and enemies, but these can only be treated cursorily here. First, they commonly attached importance to defining the territory of the nation. In line with Rousseau's idealization of nature, Romantic national historians attributed particular characteristics reflecting natural surroundings to peoples. Thus, for example, Johannes von Müller's Swiss national history, which appeared between 1786 and 1808 and was immensely influential for historical writing in the German-speaking lands during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, idealized the Swiss as a hearty mountain people. Innumerable German national histories made the German forests a hallmark of German national character.

In the larger nations of Europe, territorial definitions of the nation incorporated the idea of the nation being made up of diverse regions. Regions were considered the foundation-stones of nations, in that regional identities were often older and more thoroughly established (if by no means less constructed) than national ones. Hence it became important not to construct regions as a competitor to the nation but to position the nation as holding together and incorporating the diverse but united regions.[12] It was also often the case that a particular region took on a particular significance for national history, as was the case with Prussia for German, Piedmont for Italian, and Flanders for Belgian national history. Whereas the unification of Germany was Prussia's vocation, the Flemish medieval communities were widely depicted as the cradle of the Belgian nation-state. The integration of regional into national history was paralleled in various nation-states' construction of European missions. Among them, the mission of being Europe's shield against invading non-European forces, especially those of Muslims, was a particularly strong feature of several national histories, from Spain to Poland and Hungary to Russia.

[12] Ann-Marie Thiesse, *La Creation des Identites Nationales: Europe XVIII–XIX Siecle* (Paris, 1999); and S. Brakensiek and A. Flügel (eds.), *Regionalgeschichte in Europa* (Paderborn, 2000).

In the state nations of Europe, the territory of the nation was identified with the territory of the (evolving and modernizing) state, and the orientation towards the state necessitated the prioritization of politics, foreign policy, and affairs of the state more generally. Statehood was the most important criterion for the early differentiation between 'historical' nations and nations without history. Especially as history was often equated with political history or history of states, states became vital agents for the creation of national movements, national narratives, and national histories.[13] The resultant state-centredness of national history helps explain the importance of military history, dynastic history, and constitutional history in many national histories.

The most famous case of national history as constitutional history is the English whig historiography associated with Macaulay and his intellectual successors. Macaulay's *History of England* (5 vols., 1848–61) was focused on the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and set out to show how this Revolution prevented violence and bloodshed, which was to be the fate of the more unfortunate French. Although a revolution, 1688 brought about reconciliation rather than division, and its collective hero was the nation that rallied to the maintenance of liberty and the rule of law. His *History* was published shortly before the 1848 revolutions, and Macaulay was convinced that it was 1688 that saved England from the same fate that befell many parts of the Continent. Macaulay's successors within the whig tradition wrote English history as the progressive growth of civil and religious liberty and the parliamentary constitution. English freedoms, as the constitutional historian William Stubbs repeatedly emphasized, originated in the Middle Ages and had Teutonic roots. The seventeenth century was the most important for the consolidation of those freedoms.

Battles, wars, and civil wars were particular concerns of national historians. Arminius's victory over the Roman legions in the Teutoburg forest was often placed at the beginning of German national history. The battles of Morgarten and Sempach in 1315 and 1386 respectively were key foundational moments for Swiss national history. The Reconquista, and especially the taking of Granada in 1492, were defining moments for Spanish national history. The Polish victory over the German Order at Tannenberg in 1410 and the battle of Czenstouchau in 1665 defined much of the Polish national spirit. Tragic defeats were just as much anchor points of national history as glorious victories. The Ottoman defeats of the Serbs in 1389 and of the Hungarians in 1526 were constructed as moments of lasting significance for national history, as was the battle of Courtrain in 1302 for Flemish national identity. Indeed, Belgian national histories frequently went so far as to describe Belgium as the 'battlefield of Europe'. Resistance, including military resistance, against foreign oppressors was a crucial concern of national histories in both Greece (against the Ottomans) and Ireland (against the English).

[13] John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (2nd edn, Manchester, 1993); and id., *Myth-Making or Myth-Breaking? Nationalism and History* (Birmingham, 1997).

Many national histories, however, could not link their territorial claims to present or even past statehood. In such cases we often find a national history which was de-coupled or at least semi-detached from the state and which concentrated instead on the history and culture of the people living in a given territory and aspiring towards statehood. The foundation of the Finnish Literature Society in 1831, and the publication of the *Kalevala* in 1835, for example, marked the moment when the Finnish nation found its national master narrative in poetry and folk culture. After that the Fennomen, young radical nationalists, wrote national history tied to these notions of folk culture and literary traditions. But ethno-cultural definitions of the nation almost immediately encountered problems with ethno-national dualisms. In Finland, for example, the question as to how to deal with the Finnish–Swedish division of society arose. In the Bohemian lands, the problem was how to delineate the histories of Czechs and Germans.

Where it underwent ethnicization, national history tended to celebrate ethnicity as culture. In the early nineteenth century, ethnicity was semantically very close to culture and civilization. At the same time, however, ethnic national histories also already carried racial connotations. So, for example, Augustin Thierry in his *Histoire de las conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* [*History of the Conquest of England by the Normans*] (1825) portrayed English history as a racial struggle between Anglo-Saxons and Normans. This interpretative model was also applied to Belgium by Kervyn de Lettenhove, whose history of Flanders was structured around a struggle between the Flemish of Saxon blood and those in the middle and south of Belgium whose roots were Frankish.

Whether state-driven or underpinned by narratives of ethnicity, national histories can also be divided into those that explicitly legitimated an existing political order and those that challenged such an order. In the states of Western Europe, much state-sponsored national history-writing had the explicit task of legitimating existing or nascent nation-state formations. In Russia after 1803 and in Prussia after 1841, the state appointed official historians to idealize the existing state and its ruling dynasty. But one also encounters oppositional histories, which sought to develop alternative frameworks for existing or non-existing nation-states. So, for example, Palacký was appointed 'Historiographer of Bohemia' by the Bohemian Diets in 1831 in order to establish Czechness as an alternative identity concept to that of Germanness.

Issues of territoriality were at the heart of national histories, but periodization was also a major concern for national historians keen to trace the nation as far back in time as possible. The search for origins took historians to a dim and distant past, where reliable evidence merged with myth. The problem with the beginnings of national histories lay precisely in the tension between the historians' objectivity claims and their difficulty in making use of their methodological arsenal to establish certainty. In many European national histories, we find the association of early primitive societies with national resistance against foreign oppressors. The ancient forebears of the nation were connected to manly, warrior-like

behaviour, which, in a liberal age and among liberal historians, carried democratic overtones. Whether we take the Goths in Spain and Sweden, the Belgae in Belgium, the various Germanic tribes in Germany, the Batavi in Holland, the Anglo-Saxons in England, the Huns in Hungary, or the Gauls in France, tribal ancestry myths were conspicuous in early nineteenth-century European national histories, even if little could be said about them with any certainty.

The *longue durée* was important for national history, and hence historians could not avoid the problem of beginnings. However, they concentrated far more intensely on the Middle Ages as an important foundational moment for national histories.[14] Here, they generally found themselves on more certain grounds, given the much greater availability of sources. Romantic historians like Johann Friedrich Böhmer, secretary to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* after 1824,[15] glorified the Middle Ages as one of the proudest periods of national history. Source editions of medieval texts were published across Europe to underpin claims to national greatness. Medievalism was one of the most enduring characteristics of Romantic national history-writing—especially, of course, in those European nations which had 'big' Middle Ages.

Alongside their strong emphasis on origins and on the Middle Ages, many historians followed a periodization that portrayed national history as a succession of phases of rise and decline—a model established by Gibbon in *The Rise and Decline of the Roman Empire* (6 vols., 1776–88). Periods of growth and development culminated in golden ages of the nation, only to be followed by decadence and weakness which led to decline, dark ages, and sometimes even extinction of the independent nation-state. Eventually, the nation would rise again and aspire to a new golden age. The narrativization of national history along lines suggested by the 'rise and decline' model meant that historians dealt with the relation between narrative and historical time very differently for different epochs. In periods where dramatic developments were held to explain important turning points in national history, narrative time slowed down and many pages were filled with detailed accounts of a few years or even weeks, whereas for other times, a few sentences sufficed to summarize whole centuries.

Many of the nineteenth-century national narratives celebrating the extension of the idea of liberty contained ferocious critiques of despotism and the corruption of aristocratic elites. They also often singled out religion and the church as key villains in the national story, guilty of attempting to halt 'progress'. This was very much in line with an earlier Enlightenment tradition of portraying the

[14] Robert Evans and Guy Marchal (eds.), *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States: History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins* (Basingstoke, 2011).

[15] Ernst Schulin, 'Der Einfluss der Romantik auf die deutsche Geschichtsforschung', in id., *Traditionskritik und Rekonstruktionsversuch: Studien zur Entwicklung von Geschichtswissenschaft und historischem Denken* (Göttingen, 1979), 24–43.

struggle between 'civilization' and 'barbarity'. However, religion was by no means always portrayed as 'other' in European national histories. On the contrary: religious master narratives abounded and forged a symbiotic relationship with national master narratives in many European national histories. The Christian religion, whether of the Orthodox, Catholic, or Protestant variety, became one of the most defining characteristics of the nation's spirit. In nations with more than one faith, confessional national histories telling the story of the nation from different denominational vantage points made an appearance.

Religious master narratives were older than national ones, and the nascent national histories of the first half of the nineteenth century had to position themselves vis-à-vis religion and the church. Class master narratives, by contrast, rose at the same time as modern national master narratives. Social concerns, associated with narratives of class, were voiced in the context of the French Revolution, and the major French historians, above all Jules Michelet, but also the utopian socialists subsequently constructed class narratives which positioned themselves vis-à-vis national histories. As we will see below, some of the latter were written against the grain of a unifying national history, but here it is important to note that most class histories were written within national historical frameworks. Those interested in the history of the 'third estate' in Europe often wrote its history as a narrative of missing or unfinished inclusion into the nation-state, as a task yet to be fulfilled by the nation-state of the present or future.

Finally, national histories were heavily gendered affairs. First, this simply reflected the fact that they were largely written by men. As history professionalized, women were increasingly marginalized, and it needs painstaking work from today's historians to recover the role of women in the production of historical knowledge.[16] While many women excelled in genres other than national history (e.g. biography), some became famous national historians. Catharine Macaulay, for example, wrote a much-noted republican account of the century of revolution in England. Giustina Renier Michel, a Venetian aristocrat, and Cristina Trivulzio di Belgiojoso were examples of Italian women promoting Risorgimento studies and historical patriotism through their writings.[17] Women also played an important role in the French *sociétés savantes* during the early nineteenth century. But, second, national histories were also gendered in the way they were narrated. A 'healthy' nation was most frequently described in terms of a 'healthy' family—with divided spheres (public vs. private; active vs. passive; heroic vs. suffering) for men and women and a distinctive view that the happiness of the nation was built on men and women each fulfilling their designated gender roles. As the public

[16] Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Angelika Epple, *Empfindsame Geschichtsschreibung: Eine Geschlechtergeschichte der Historiographie zwischen Aufklärung und Historismus* (Cologne, 2003); and Mary O'Dowd and Ilaria Porciani (eds.), 'History Women', special issue of *Storia della Storiografia*, 46 (2004).

[17] Ilaria Porciani, 'Italy', in Mary Spongberg, Barbara Caine, and Ann Curthoys (eds.), *Companion to Women's Historical Writing* (Basingstoke, 2005), 275–88.

and active roles in society were largely reserved for men, women tended to be marginalized not only as the subjects, but also as the authors of history-writing.

THE INSTITUTIONS OF HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NATIONALISM

Where did the production of national history narratives take place in the first half of the nineteenth century? The university was just one site among many. Arguably, it was not even the most prominent, given the fact that history as an autonomous subject was only at the very beginning of its institutionalization and professionalization. Historical associations, museums, journals, and major source editions, as well as individuals working as civil servants, politicians, or just scholars of independent means, were all more important than universities and university-based historians in establishing national histories across Europe. Antiquarians such as Ludovico Muratori, the ducal librarian at Modena, became models for those intent on collecting and editing historical sources. Along with these inspiring 'father figures' of national historiographies, historical societies—dominated by 'amateurs'—played an influential role in promoting a sense of national history.

Across Europe, these historical societies tended to be small. They counted their members in the tens or at best hundreds. Many were geared more towards the history of regions or provinces than to national histories (although, as mentioned above, provinces or regions often become the foundation for national histories). In Switzerland, most historical societies remained focused on the history of the canton, although some also showed nationalizing ambitions. A national historical association, the Schweizerische Geschichtsforschende Gesellschaft, was short-lived, lasting only from 1811 to 1833. The Society of History and Russian Antiquity at the University of Moscow was founded in 1804 as a state-sponsored institution attempting to use history to support the tsar. It had a professional as well as a social function, and was the most important means of communication between Russian historians in the early nineteenth century. Under the Habsburgs, provincial history societies preceded university-based historical research in establishing historical narratives. The Habsburg case also demonstrates how confusing semantics could be in the context of the first half of the nineteenth century. When historians talked about their task of national education in the Habsburg lands, they did not have nineteenth-century nationalism in mind, but aimed rather at fostering loyalty to the dynastic state. Hence their 'national education' served a supranational ideal.

The collection and publication of sources became a prominent feature of historical activities across Europe. Sometimes it was state-sponsored; always it was in line with historism's belief in the continuities of national histories over the *longue durée*. The model for these source collections originated once again in the German lands. The *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* was launched in 1819 under

the direction of an archivist, Georg Heinrich Pertz. Its seal immediately gave away its patriotic intentions: an oak wreath with the words 'Sanctus amor patriae dat animum' (The Sacred Love of the Fatherland Inspires) inscribed on it.

If the source editions of the first half of the nineteenth century were particularly important for establishing national master narratives, the same can be said for the historical journals. Characteristically, in Russia, virtually all the important historians were journal editors who sought to disseminate historical knowledge primarily through their journals. In Belgium, the privately organized *Messager des sciences historiques*, first published in Ghent in 1832, remained the most important historical journal for the rest of the century. During the 1840s, the Romanian Archive, published in Iaşi by Mihail Kogălniceanu, published medieval sources as well as historical articles dedicated to patriotic history. Most historical journals were not yet professional in the sense of being dominated by university historians. Among the earliest professional historical journals were the Danish *Historisk Tidskrift*, founded in 1840, and the *Historische Zeitschrift*, founded in 1859. In the first half of the nineteenth century, influential general journals such as the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Revue des deux mondes* published articles on history, but they were, by and large, written by amateurs, and historical articles stood next to articles on other matters of intellectual and political interest.[18]

National museums appeared in major European cities before a professional history established itself at the universities. The British Museum was one of the earliest, founded in 1753. In France the Musée des monuments français opened its doors in Paris in 1801. One year later the Hungarian national museum followed suit in Budapest, and in 1818 it was the turn of the Bohemian Museum in Prague. After 1815 many German states and statelets were also keen to open history museums. In what is now Latvia, the Museum of the Province of Couronia opened its gates in Jelgava (then Mitau) in 1818. Some of these launched important editorial projects. For instance, the titles published by the Bohemian Museum included its own 'Review', and the first source edition of the Bohemian state entitled *Scriptores rerum bohemicarum*.

CHALLENGES TO THE NATIONAL TRADITION IN HISTORICAL WRITING

The nationalization of historical writing during the first half of the nineteenth century marked a deep crisis for the Enlightenment interest in non-European civilizations. In the German lands, Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren, who was silenced by his national critics savaging his work in the early 1830s, has been

[18] Claus Möller Jorgensen, 'The Historical Journals', in Ilaria Porciani and Jo Tollebeek (eds.), *Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography: Comparative Approaches* (Basingstoke, forthcoming).

described as the last proponent of world history.[19] Yet national history was not the only show in town. One of the most widely read German historians of the Vormärz was Friedrich Christoph Schlosser, whose work is not characterized by any narrowing to national and state fields of vision. His interest in universal and cultural history remained undiminished. And the curricula of most German-speaking universities demonstrated a continuing commitment to regional history (*Landesgeschichte*) on the one hand, and empire (*Reichsgeschichte*), European, and world history on the other.

Given the fact that much of Europe was still organized in empires rather than nation-states, national histories often struggled to emerge institutionally, as empires had little interest in encouraging national narratives. The British imperial state in Ireland, for example, regarded history as a problem. When it set up new universities in Belfast, Cork, and Galway in 1849, no separate chairs of history were founded. History was regarded as too contentious a subject from a religious and political point of view.[20]

The continuing popularity of transnational forms of history-writing also extended to the history of the pan-movements, such as pan-Germanism, pan-Slavism, pan-Celticism, or Scandinavianism. Historical interpretations of the pan-movements, which rose to prominence from the 1840s onwards, were geared either to a cultural or racial understanding of ethnicity, and started from the assumption that all Germanic or Slavic peoples shared particular transnational characteristics. They aimed at the self-emancipation and liberation of those peoples and encouraged transnational solidarities between them.

Local and regional history also still served as a counterpoint to national history in the first half of the nineteenth century. Justus Möser's 1768 history of Osnabrück is a good example of a species of local history that seeks to explain local characteristics in terms of the historical peculiarity of the locality without reference to its role and significance in a wider national context. Such localism and regionalism was widespread within Europe throughout the Romantic period. Historians of major cities that were not national capitals, such as Turin, Barcelona, or Hamburg, also frequently developed their own local historiography, consciously distancing it from the nationalizing narratives of national historians.

Quite apart from the spatial alternatives to national history-writing, there were also some attempts to write history along other, non-spatial axes. Class was one of these axes, and in the liberal national histories of the nineteenth century from

[19] Horst Walter Blanke, '"Verfassungen, die nicht rechtlich, aber wirklich sind": A. H. L. Heeren und das Ende der Aufklärungshistorie', *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 6 (1983), 156–7. Jürgen Osterhammel has stressed how much early modern history was interested in histories outside Europe, an interest that was almost absent from European historiography between the 1830s and the 1920s. See Osterhammel, *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats: Studien zu Beziehungsgeschichte und Zivilisationsvergleich* (Göttingen, 2001), 91–102.

[20] Mary O'Dowd, 'Ireland', in Ilaria Porciani and Lutz Raphael (eds.), *Atlas of the Institutions of European Historiographies 1800 to the Present* (Basingstoke, 2011).

Macaulay to Michelet and Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann we also encounter a rising bourgeoisie trying to assert its authority over the state. Some early socialists wrote history along an interpretative axis which highlighted the division between the classes within the nation and aimed to foster the historical consciousness of the proletariat. Louis Blanc was a prominent exponent of this approach. For him and some subsequent historians of class, the French Revolution and the Republic were the preconditions for the emergence of socialism, but the emancipation of the working class through the class struggle remained the central theme of their history-writing. However, as was pointed out above, that struggle was frequently represented as taking place within the national framework.

CONCLUSION

The rise of historism in the German lands during the first half of the nineteenth century, and the missionary zeal it developed over the course of the century, meant that it influenced national history-writing virtually throughout Europe. But the rise of historiographic nationalism in the period under discussion was not just the result of developments internal to the historical profession. It was also in large measure a reaction to the universalism of the French Revolution, French revolutionary nationalism, and the Napoleonic armies. Ranging over a wide variety of European national historiographies, this chapter has identified some of the basic elements of the construction of national histories as they can be found in virtually all national master narratives: the importance of territorial definitions of the nation and the attention paid to borders and borderlands in particular; the state orientation of national histories with their emphasis on military, dynastic, and constitutional history; the alternative strategy of an ethnicized national history, where the national storyline could not be hung on a state; the establishment of a *longue durée* view on national history, losing its beginnings in the mist of time and emphasizing the Middle Ages as a crucial period for nation formation; the rise and decline model of national history-writing; the construction of liberal national histories as the extension of the idea of liberty; the creation of a canon of national heroes and national enemies (both internal and external to the nation); and the strong interrelationship of national narratives with narratives of religion and class and the prominent gendering of national histories.

It has to be stressed that the commitment of historians across Europe to the production of historically informed national master narratives was Janus-faced. On the one hand, many of those national histories had emancipatory concerns. The strong link between liberalism and national history-writing indicates to what extent national history was functionalized in order to provide arguments for a more liberal political order and for more participation of greater numbers of people in the affairs of the state. Equally, the link between non-dominant ethnic groups and national history-writing underlines the emancipatory potential

of national history for collectivities that felt themselves to be oppressed by empires, multi-national states, or ethno-national groups. However, whilst it is important to recognize this emancipatory potential of national history-writing, it is equally vital to highlight what could be termed the 'dark side' of national history. It was noted above how, at least from Fichte onwards, national history-writing was associated with creating national hierarchies, where some nations were more worthy than others whilst yet others were denied historicity and hence the right to exist. We have also seen how many national histories developed racial connotations and how they marginalized particular social groups, regions, ethnicities, religious denominations, and women. Furthermore, the focus on national histories led to a Eurocentric vision of world history, in which all non-European peoples were destined to spend their time in the 'waiting room of history', in which their only hope was eventually to reach the stage of development of the European benchmark nations—a never-never land for many of them.[21] National histories written to underpin national identities have been responsible for contributing towards intolerance, discrimination, ethnic cleansing, genocide, and war.

From establishing the narrative patterning of national historical narratives and drawing up the balance sheet of the close link between history-writing and nationalization, this chapter went on to examine the institutions in which historiographical nationalism took shape. With some exceptions, the universities were not yet the places where such traditions were prominent, and university historians were not necessarily in the vanguard of establishing national historical master narratives. In many parts of Europe, it was civil servants, members of the clergy and the aristocracy, middle-class writers, and intellectuals as well as politicians who were the authors of key historical national narratives. These 'amateur' historians formed historical associations and museums and edited journals as well as major source editions, and it was these institutions far more than the early nineteenth-century universities that provided the institutional framework for the rise of national historical master narratives.

Whilst the rise of national history-writing was one of its prominent features, it would be entirely misleading to present all the historical endeavours of this period as having been guided by the national paradigm since many historians remained committed to alternative traditions of historical writing. And yet, around 1850, as Giesebrecht's observation mentioned at the beginning of this chapter underlined, an increasing number of historians looked back to the first half of the nineteenth century as the period in which the key national historical master narratives of 'their' respective nations had been established. It would fall to them, in the second half of the nineteenth century, to make them more 'scientific', if by no means less national(istic).

[21] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincialising Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, 2000).

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Chapter 2

The Intellectual Foundations of Nineteenth-Century 'Scientific' History: The German Model

Georg G. Iggers

In the 'Introduction' to his book on historical studies in America, John Higham wrote: 'The historical movement of the nineteenth century was perhaps second only to the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century in transforming Western thought and shaping our modern mentality.'[1] This, of course, involves not only a conclusion about the way history began to be written in the nineteenth century, with its emphasis on critical sources by professional scholars; it also replaced older notions of a stable universe that could be understood through abstract reasoning with a new orientation which comprehended all aspects of human knowledge in terms of change and development, substituting history for philosophy as the key to understanding things human. To an extent this observation is correct; on the other hand it encompasses too much. It presupposes a sharp dividing line between the work of professional historians, who would claim that their work is scientific, and many others, supposed amateurs, who continued to write history as it had been written before. Various students of the new historical scholarship and the new historical outlook identified the emergence of a scientific model of historical writing with a revolution in historical studies which originated in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century and was accepted as a model internationally wherever universities became professionalized research centres.

Whereas Thomas Babington Macaulay in the mid-nineteenth century lamented that there were no German historians worthy of the name, just a few decades later Lord Acton observed that German historical writing was far superior to the historical work produced in other countries. Thus the introductory article to the first issue of the *English Historical Review* (1886) was dedicated to the 'German Schools of History'.[2] According to Acton, the beginning of a scientific

[1] John Higham with Felix Gilbert and Leonard Krieger, *History* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1965), ix–x.
[2] Lord Acton, 'German Schools of History', *English Historical Review*, 1 (1886), 7–42.

history was made by Barthold Georg Niebuhr with his critical examinations of the surviving texts of Roman history and then developed further for the modern period by Leopold von Ranke. But what did a 'scientific' approach to history actually mean? For the American historians who elected Ranke in 1885, a year after the American Historical Association was founded, as its first honorary member, whom they honoured as 'the father of scientific history', the Rankean approach to history meant a historiography based on a strict reconstruction of the past, on the 'facts' as they appeared through a critical examination of the sources, avoiding any moral judgements or any recourse to theory, and simply writing history as they understood Ranke's famous dictum 'wie es eigentlich gewesen', in other words with a commitment to strict objectivity.[3]

Increasingly the German historical school of the nineteenth century was identified with Ranke, particularly outside Germany. Too often Ranke was identified with three dicta which were always repeated, the one we have just cited, 'wie es eigentlich gewesen';[4] his desire 'to extinguish his self and let history speak through him', in other words his desire for absolute objectivity;[5] and his famous statement that 'every epoch is immediate to God'.[6] As we shall see, none could be accepted at face value.

There were two constituent elements that were an indispensable part of the new scholarly orientation of the German historical school's conception of what constitutes historical science, one is methodological, the other institutional. Without them historical studies would not conform to the historical school's conception of scientific history.

THE METHODOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHIC FOUNDATIONS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE

Niebuhr and Ranke have been given credit for having placed historical studies on a sound methodological basis and thus revolutionized historical research. Their reputation rested on their insistence that all historical writing must rest on *Quellenkritik*, the critical examination of primary sources. For Niebuhr none of the accounts of Roman history, for Ranke those of modern history, were

[3] See Georg G. Iggers, 'The Image of Ranke in American and German Thought', *History and Theory*, 2 (1962), 17–40. On the misinterpretation of Ranke's objectivity see Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), 21–31.

[4] Leopold von Ranke, 'Preface to the First Edition of the Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations', in Georg G. Iggers (eds.), *The Theory and Practice of History* (London, 2011), 86.

[5] *Sämtliche Werke*, 54 vols. (Leipzig, 1875–90), xv. 103 (*selbstauslöschen*).

[6] 'On Progress in History (From the First Lecture to King Maximilian of Bavaria "On the Epochs of Modern History"—1854)', in *Theory and Practice of History*, 53.

sufficiently reliable because they were based largely on secondary sources. Niebuhr's main criticism regarded the reliability of Livy, Ranke's that of Guicciardini, with regard to Roman and early modern European history respectively. Ranke in his first work, *Geschichten der lateinischen und germanischen Völker* [The Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations] (1824), dispensed with the existing accounts of the emergence of the modern state system in the Italian wars at the end of the fifteenth century, and relied heavily on the reports of the Venetian ambassadors, to which he had had access. His book earned him an appointment at the University of Berlin in 1825. In part his fame rested on its preface in which he proclaimed that he would refrain from all moral judgements, that he merely wanted to portray 'what really [*eigentlich*] happened', and rely on 'memoirs, diaries, letters, reports from embassies and on original narratives of eyewitnesses'.[7] While it offered an account of 'what happened', a second book, published simultaneously, was intended to 'present the method of research and the critical results'.[8]

Neither Niebuhr nor Ranke can be understood without the philological tradition which preceded them. Niebuhr acknowledged the debt he owed to the Halle philologist Friedrich August Wolf, who had established in his *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (1795) through an analysis of the language of the Homeric poems that they were not the work of one person, Homer, but were composites from a variety of poets transmitted orally in an age preceding writing. Niebuhr similarly assumed that the early sources of Roman history were not written. Ranke was a student of the philologist Gottfried Hermann at the University of Leipzig, but also studied theology, and concentrated on the Greek classics, foremost Thucydides, on whom he wrote his dissertation, which has since been lost.

The aim of *Quellenkritik* cannot be understood without the philosophic foundations on which it tested. A first assumption was that all reality is historical. The key ideas of the idealism of the German historical school were best formulated by Wilhelm von Humboldt in his essay 'On the Historian's Task' (1821). The first sentence of the essay reads like Ranke three years later: 'The historian's task is to present what happened.' Humboldt then enunciates a key idea of the German historical tradition: 'An event, however, is only partially visible in the world of the senses; the rest has to be added by intuition, inference, and guesswork.'[9] The events, persons, and historical formations that compose the historical world are

[7] Ranke has often been cited as saying in the 'Preface' to his *Geschichten der lateinischen und germanischen Völker*, that he wanted to *zeigen* or 'show' what really happened (*zeigen wie es eigentlich gewesen*). Actually the 1824 edition speaks of *sagen* or 'say', possibly 'tell'. See also Konrad Repgen, 'Über Rankes Diktum von 1824, "Bloss sagen wie es eigentlich gewesen"', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 102:2 (1982), 439–49; and Siegfried Baur, *Versuch über die Historik des jungen Ranke* (Berlin, 1998), 93 n. 177.

[8] *Zur Kritik nevrer Geschichts schreber* (Berlin, 1824).

[9] Wilhelm von Humboldt, 'On the Historian's Task', in Georg G. Iggers and Konrad Moltke (eds), *The Theory and Practice of History* (Indianapolis, 1973), 5–23.

highly individualized, not parts of a grandiose whole as for Hegel. There is thus multiplicity in history which requires intuitive understanding, not reduction to a system. Yet behind the apparent chaos this diversity presents, there is a moral order that gives meaning to history. The highpoint of this order is the modern Christian world; hence the superiority of Western civilization.

There is a sharp contrast between what Ranke promises in the famous preface and what he actually succeeds in doing. It is significant that the title of his book is *Geschichten* (Histories) in the plural, not a *Geschichte* (History) in the singular. Ranke wants to proceed from the sources to a coherent story. He sees the Latin and Germanic peoples, or nations as he calls them, as a unit, not Christianity as a whole, nor geographic Europe, which would include Russia and Turkey. He states that 'an attempt will be made to show . . . to what extent these nations have evolved in unity and kindred movement'.[10] Yet the critics, most notably the Hegelian Heinrich Leo,[11] but also others, held that Ranke in fact had written 'histories', narratives without any connection between them. Ranke's second book, *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtsschreiber* [In Criticism of Modern Historians] (1824), reflects his philological training. The focus in his first book was on political and military history. Yet philology could also lead in other directions, as August Boeckh, a student of Wolf, showed in his work on the Athenian economy, based on an analysis of money, prices, and the state budget.[12] Ranke's early work went beyond narrow political confines. He never was a nationalist, but rather a European, although he began to recognize the role nations, but not necessarily nation-states, played in the nineteenth century. His third work, published in 1827, was a history of the role of the Ottoman Empire and Spain in the emergence of a modern European state system, followed by his book on the Serbian Revolution.[13] His subsequent research trip to Italy resulted not only in a thorough examination of the archives, which led to *Die römischen Päpste in den letzten vier Jahrhunderten* [*History of the Popes in the Last Three Centuries*], but also to two very different books, one on Italian poetry and one on Italian art.[14]

THE INSTITUTIONAL BASIS OF GERMAN HISTORICAL SCIENCE

Yet history as a 'science' or *Geschichtswissenschaft*, as distinct from the writing of history or *Geschichtsschreibung*, rested not only on the methods of historical

[10] 'Preface to the First Edition of *Histories of the Latin and Germanic Peoples* (October 1824)', in Iggers (ed.), *The Theory and Practice of History*, 85.

[11] On the Leo–Ranke controversy see Baur, *Versuch über die Historik des jungen Ranke*, 112–23.

[12] August Boeckh, *Der Staatshaushalt der Athener*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1817).

[13] *Fürsten und Völker in Südeuropa im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1827); and *Die serbische Revolution* (Hamburg, 1829).

[14] 'Zur Geschichte der italienischen Kunst' (1837), in *Sämtliche Werke*, li–lii; and *Zur Geschichte der italienischen Poesie* (Berlin, 1837).

enquiry but involved the transformation of historical studies into an academic discipline. As we have seen, critical methods of historical studies were not new, either in Europe or in East Asia.[15] What was new was their professionalization, in Germany increasingly in faculties of history at universities.[16] Before the university reforms of the nineteenth century there were virtually no trained historians. A survey of ninety-three scholars who taught history at German universities in the eighteenth century found that 60 per cent of them were theologians and 29 per cent had studied law.[17] It was only in the nineteenth century that history became a well-defined academic discipline. The turning point in the development of universities was the establishment of the University of Berlin in 1809. While it was the aim of the elite secondary school, the *Gymnasium*, to educate male students in the classics, the university was now oriented towards research.

Professionalization was part of a process of modernization. The question then arises why Germany occupied a pioneer role in the modernization of scholarly studies. Employing the classical conception of modernization,[18] which included not only the advancement of scientific knowledge, which was shared, and industrial development, but also the establishment of a capitalist world market followed by the consolidation of civil society, and the establishment of liberal democracies in progressive stages throughout the Western world, Germany lagged behind, particularly Great Britain, but also France as well as the United States. Yet it was in these countries, particularly Great Britain, that the professionalization of historical studies came much later. To be sure, modernization took different forms in different countries. In German societies of the early nineteenth century, such as Prussia, an absolute monarchy and a bureaucracy recruited on the basis of education occupied a dominant position compared with Western societies where economic status, admittedly joined to education, had greater social and political influence. The German universities, particularly the Protestant ones, reflected this condition. The atmosphere in which the new university came into being cannot be understood outside the context of the general intellectual climate in early nineteenth-century Germany, which, unlike France, did not have a revolution and, unlike Great Britain, did not have a history of political reforms. The initial enthusiasm for the French Revolution yielded to a reaction against the Enlightenment ideals that the

[15] See Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984).

[16] Peter H. Reill, *The German Enlightenment and the Rise of Historicism* (Berkeley, 1975). Christoph Gatterer established a philological seminar at the University of Göttingen in 1773 but neither he nor his Göttingen colleague August Ludwig Schlözer applied critical philological methods to their lectures and publications on universal history.

[17] Jeremy Telman, 'The *Aufklärung* Strikes Back', unpublished manuscript, p. 27; revised version in 'Reviews', *History and Theory*, 33:2 (1994), 249–65.

[18] See P. Nolte, 'Modernization and Modernity in History', in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 15 (Amsterdam, 2001), 9954–62; and also Stephen R. Graubard (ed.), 'Multiple Modernities', a special issue of *Daedalus* (Winter 2000).

revolution sought to implement and a Romantic rediscovery of the past. The Wars of Liberation against Napoleon, 1813–15, resulted in a surge of German national identity, freed not only from French domination but also from the political model it represented. The outcome was the combination of a sense of national unity with the acceptance of traditional authority. Moreover, the new understanding of who belonged to the nation differed from the French revolutionary conception, which identified the nation in terms of citizenship, with a much more exclusive notion of national identity in Germany, and which considered the nation in terms of its biological roots, excluding Jews and other ethnic groups.[19]

This new surge of nationalism was not unique to Germany. In Germany, and later elsewhere, the professionalization of historical studies went hand in hand with the determination to explore the national past with its roots in the Middle Ages with the new methods of the discovery and the critical examination of sources. In Germany the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* was launched in this spirit in 1819, relying at first on private contributions but soon largely supported financially by the states.[20] In 1821 the École des chartes was founded in Paris to train archivists professionally, followed in 1836 by a systematic collection and edition of documents of the French medieval past initiated by François Guizot, then minister of public instruction. By 1844, when the Rolls Series was begun in Great Britain, several European countries from Spain to Scandinavia and Greece had already followed suit. How the medieval past was interpreted, however, differed in the political contexts of Germany and France. While German historians sought to discover the roots of modern Germany in the complexities of medieval corporative society, in France historians such as Jules Michelet, Augustin Thierry, and Guizot traced a vibrant burgher culture struggling on the side of the monarchy against feudal domination. Most of Eastern Europe followed the German pattern more closely as historical studies at the new universities were subsidized by the governments in the service of a sense of national identity.[21] Thus there was a contradiction wherever historical studies underwent a process of professionalization between lip service to objectivity and a conscious commitment to nationalist ideologies.

RANKE AS THE FOUNDER OF MODERN HISTORICAL SCIENCE

Yet what does science mean exactly when Ranke is identified as the founder of the modern tradition of scientific history? We need to examine the meaning

[19] Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation* (Westport, Conn, 1979), 30.

[20] On the *Monumenta* see Horst Fuhrmann, *'Sind eben alles Menschen gewesen': Gelehrtenleben im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1996).

[21] Effi Gazi, *Scientific National History: The Greek Case in Comparative Perspective (1850–1920)* (Frankfurt, 2000).

of the term 'science' in a German context.[22] The idea of science as a system of knowledge which built on a series of theories had been well established in the natural sciences since the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century, but ideas of what constituted science in other areas did not always follow the model of the Cartesian conception of a world organized along clear rational lines.[23] Giambattista Vico in his *Szienza Nuova* [*New Science*] (1725) had early made a classical distinction between nature and history. While nature was not man-made and thus could not be understood because it did not encompass conscious meaning, history as part of the human world could be understood because it involved human actions and intentions. Although Vico was largely unknown in Germany,[24] a very similar distinction between the methods of the natural and the historical sciences was formulated in German historical thought. Yet the historical sciences, although differing from the natural sciences in their conception of what constituted a proper methodology for history, shared with the latter the ideal of objectivity and the scientific or scholarly ethos that it required.[25]

Despite his insistence on 'the strict presentation of the facts, no matter how conditional and unattractive they might be',[26] Ranke did not maintain the sharp division that some later historians posited between history and literature. Ranke was also very much aware that 'history is distinguished from all other sciences in that it is also an art'.[27]

Yet there are problems with Ranke's demand that the historian be 'impartial' (*unparteylich*) and abstain from judgements about the past and merely relate the past 'as it actually was'.[28] He distinguished himself from G. W. F. Hegel, who attempted to proceed from the general to the particular, by insisting that the historian proceed from the particular. 'Philosophy', he writes, 'always reminds of the claim that there is a supreme idea. History, on the other hand, reminds of the conditions of existence.'[29] 'From the particular, perhaps, you can ascend with careful boldness to the general. But there is no way leading from the general theory to the particular.'[30] Yet Ranke is convinced that behind the particular events or facts there are transcendent ideas, reflecting the great forces operating in history, which reveal themselves 'intuitively' (*ahnden* [in contemporary German, *ahnen*]) through immersion into the sources. There is a critical method

[22] Telman, 'The *Aufklärung* Strikes Back', 16; and Wolfgang Hardtwig, 'Die Verwissenschaftlichung der Geschichtsschreibung und die Ästhetisierung der Darstellung', in Reinhard Koselleck *et al.* (eds.), *Formen der Geschichtsschreibung* (Munich, 1982), 150–1.

[23] See Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (New York, 1951), ch. 5.

[24] Herder had apparently read Vico. See George A. Wells, 'Vico and Herder', in Giorgio Tagliacozzo (ed.), *Giambattista Vico: An International Symposium* (Baltimore, 1969).

[25] See Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 1–2.

[26] Ranke, 'Preface to the First Edition of *Histories of Latin and Germanic Peoples*', 86.

[27] 'On the Character of Historical Science', in *Theory and Practice*, 8.

[28] Ibid., 13–15 (on impartiality).

[29] Ibid., 10–11.

[30] 'A Dialogue on Politics (1836)', ibid., 63–4.

for establishing the facts—in fact Ranke has an empiricist faith that these facts can be established, proved, or disproved—but history for him does not end with facts but seeks coherence. And there is no critical method for establishing this coherence. Here again intuition (*Ahndung/Ahnung*) comes into play. On the surface, world history presents a 'chaotic order'. Yet it is possible to portray this coherence, because there are 'moral energies' and 'spiritual, life-giving, creative forces', 'tendencies', which reveal themselves through the immersion into the sources. 'They cannot be defined or put in abstract terms, but one can behold them and observe them.'[31] It is his belief in God, rooted in his lifelong adherence to Protestant Lutheran religiosity, which offers the foundation for his conviction that behind the chaos of history there is ultimately a moral order.[32]

Yet despite his disavowal of the Hegelian idea of progress, asserting that 'every epoch is immediate to God' and warning that to assume that each generation is only a 'stepping stone for the one that follows would be an injustice on the part of the deity',[33] in the final analysis he too believes in progress. For him as for Hegel, the modern West represents the highest form of historical development. Ranke in his histories steadfastly assumes the superiority of the Christian religion and of Protestantism, and is convinced of the essential soundness of the civilization of the West in the nineteenth century. He refuses to deal with the histories of China and India because he claims that they have no histories in any real sense, but are stagnant and thus at best have 'natural histories'.[34] Here again Ranke and Hegel merge.

Ranke shares Hegel's conception of the state as the key institution in society and the embodiment of a moral order. Like Hegel he assigns to war a central and productive role in history. The power of the state is not merely based on force, but represents spiritual strength. Thus Ranke observes, in a manner not very different from Hegel: 'You will be able to name few significant wars for which it could not be proved that genuine moral energy achieved the final victory.'[35]

THE PRUSSIAN SCHOOL[36]

These contradictions characterized post-Rankean historiography in Germany particularly sharply. Ranke taught at the University of Berlin until 1871. His

[31] 'The Great Powers (1833)', ibid., 52.

[32] See Baur, *Versuch über die Historik des jungen Ranke*; Leonard Krieger, *Ranke: The Meaning of History* (Chicago, 1977); and most recently Johan Daniel Braw, 'Leopold von Ranke and the Religious Foundations of Scientific History', D.Phil. thesis, University College of London, 2008.

[33] 'On Progress in History', 21.

[34] 'On the Character of Historical Science', 16.

[35] 'A Dialogue on Politics', 65.

[36] See Iggers, *German Conception of History*, 90–123; and Richard Southwick, *Droysen and the Prussian School* (Lexington, Ky., 1977).

influence on German historiography has generally been overestimated, particularly outside Germany where he continued to be viewed as the founder of a historiographical orientation, who placed historical studies on a firm 'scientific' and professional basis. The generation that followed Ranke in Germany, particularly the historians identified with the Prussian School, of which in fact only Heinrich von Sybel was a direct student of Ranke working in modern history,[37] acknowledged his important contributions to critical method, but increasingly regarded him as a monument, albeit a living one, who belonged to a bygone age. For them Ranke's social and political conservatism underestimated the extent to which the European world was undergoing fundamental transformations and misunderstood the dynamic character of nationalism. This next generation was committed to national unification, while Ranke, who still believed in a German Austrian–Prussian dualism within the context of the European community of the great powers, was not. His works at the later stage of his life included a multi-volume history of early modern France (1852–61) and one of early modern England (1859–66) in the emergence of the modern European state system, and finally his Western-oriented uncompleted *Weltgeschichte* [World History] (1880–8). They instead championed a so-called small German (*kleindeutsch*) solution under the leadership of Prussia excluding Austria. They viewed themselves as liberals who wanted political reforms in the direction of a parliamentary monarchy, but after the failure of the 1848 Revolution they compromised their liberalism in support of a strong Hohenzollern monarchy and later of Otto von Bismarck's 'blood and iron' policy. After 1848 only Georg Gottfried Gervinus refused to make these concessions, continued to support democratic principles, and saw the unification within a semi-autocratic monarchy as a dire threat to Germany's future.[38] While they remained committed to the critical examination of the sources and insisted on the need for archival research, they questioned Ranke's notion of impartiality and assigned an overt political mission to a history committed to Prussian leadership. As Sybel wrote: 'Every historian who has had any significance in our literature has had his colors. There have been believers and atheists, Protestants and Catholics, liberals and conservatives, historians of all parties, but no longer any objective, impartial historians devoid of blood and nerves.'[39] Like Ranke they believed that immersion into the sources revealed great tendencies, 'moral forces' (*sittliche Mächte*), and regarded the state as an institution embodying them. Akin to Ranke, they still believed that behind these forces, there was in Johann Gustav Droysen's words 'God's almighty government'.[40]

[37] Georg Waitz should be mentioned as an important student of Ranke, but as a medievalist.

[38] Gangolf Hübinger, *Georg Gottfried Gervinus: Historisches Urteiil und politische Kritik* (Göttingen, 1984).

[39] Quoted in Iggers, *German Conception of History*, 117.

[40] Quoted ibid., 104, 112.

Droysen, Sybel, and Heinrich von Treitschke radicalized Ranke's view of power. For them the state cannot be limited by normal considerations of ethics in following its power interests. Thus Droysen writes that if the soldier 'wounds and kills, desolates and burns because he has been ordered to do so, he acts not as an individual and in accordance with his individual opinions . . . he can feel secure in his conscience when he complies with his higher duty'.[41] For the Prussian historians in the last half of the nineteenth century this also required the establishment of German colonies. For them a sharp distinction existed between civilized and barbarian peoples, an attitude not restricted to Germany but broadly shared throughout the Western world. Thus Treitschke writes: 'Every virile people has established colonial power . . . All great nations in the fullness of their strength have desired to set their mark upon barbarian lands.'[42] 'Only in war does a nation become a nation,' he writes. In war, he counselled, the life and property of civilians should be respected if this did not interfere with military operations. This, however, only applied to 'civilized' (i.e. Western) peoples; the laws of war do not protect 'barbarians' (e.g. blacks).[43] Among the next generation of historians, the so-called neo-Rankeans, Ranke's conception of the balance of powers in Europe was extended to a worldwide scale to provide a historical basis for imperial Germany as a world power.[44]

DROYSEN'S *HISTORIK*

Droysen's lectures, delivered repeatedly from 1858 to 1882 on how history could be raised to the level of a science, can be considered the most important methodological and theoretical formulation by a Prussian historian.[45] Already in his critical review in 1862 of Henry Thomas Buckle's *History of Civilization in England* (2 vols., 1857–61) the confrontation between two historiographical orientations, Buckle's radical form of positivism and Droysen's historicism, became apparent, a distinction that would dominate much German historical thought well into the twentieth century.[46] It implied a fundamental difference between what was seen as a German and a Western historical outlook linked to different paths of polit-

[41] Quoted in Iggers, *German Conception of History*, 115.

[42] Quoted in D. K. Fieldhouse, '"Imperialism": An Historiographical Revision', *Economic History Review*, 14 (1961), 207; on Treitschke see Andreas Dorpalen, *Heinrich von Treitschke* (New Haven, 1957).

[43] Quoted in Georg G. Iggers, Q. Edward Wang, and Supriya Mukherjee, *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (Harlow, 2008), 124.

[44] Hans-Heinz Krill, *Die Rankerenaissance: Max Lenz und Erich Marcks* (Berlin, 1962).

[45] Johann Gustav Droysen, *Historik: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, ed. Peter Leyh, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1977); trans. E. Benjamin Andrews, *Outline of the Principles of History* (Boston, 1893).

[46] See 'Positivistic History and Its Critics: Buckle and Droysen', in Fritz Stern (ed.), *The Varieties of History* (New York, 1973), 120–44; and Droysen, 'Erhebung der Geschichte zum Rang einer Wissenschaft', in *Historik*, 451–69.

ical modernization, democratization in the West and incomplete democratization in Bismarckian and post-Bismarckian Germany.

Droysen, in his lectures, built on Ranke's conception of what constitutes the scientific character of historical studies but refined it in several ways. Like Ranke he rejected a Hegelian philosophical approach, which proceeded from the general to the particular, and endorsed a historical approach, which through the immersion into the particular revealed the great forces governing history. For him, too, intuition played a key role in historical cognition. But Droysen is much more aware than Ranke of the subjective element in the task of the historian. The essence of historical study is what Droysen calls 'interpretation'.[47] There is no direct knowledge of the past through the presentation of the facts. All historical knowledge is indirect, a construction, but not an arbitrary construction. It is this recognition of the subjective element in historical knowledge that in part explains why Droysen has been taken so seriously in the twentieth century.[48] But this subjective factor does not lessen his conviction that in the final analysis objective knowledge is possible. Like Ranke he invokes God. Droysen expresses his faith 'that a divine hand carries us, that it guides the fates of great and small alike', and that the task of history as a science lies in 'justifying this faith'.[49] Droysen in many ways occupies a middle position between Hegel and Ranke. Droysen is much more convinced than Ranke that there is one History. Moreover, he firmly believes that in the process of the religious development of mankind, Christianity and Christian civilization emerged as the highest form of development. He also posits the modern West as the apex of the historical process. He not only denies that so-called lower cultures have a history, but that they have a culture at all.

THE NEO-KANTIANS[50]

The problem of reconciling the search for objective knowledge and the role of subjective factors led to the questions raised by a series of neo-Kantian philosophers, who all recognized the difference between the methodologies required by the natural sciences and those needed for history and the social and cultural sciences. The neo-Kantian philosophers, foremost among whom were Wilhelm Windelband, Heinrich Rickert, and Wilhelm Dilthey, continued the emphatic separation of the natural and historical sciences, which Ranke had already maintained, and with it the confrontation with positivism, which Droysen had initiated. But at the same time they wanted to place history on a firmer methodological

[47] Droysen, 'Interpretation', ibid., 22, 169–216.
[48] Iggers, *German Conception of History*, 111.
[49] Quoted ibid., 105.
[50] See Thomas E. Willey, *Back to Kant: The Revival of Kantianism in German Social and Historical Thought* (Detroit, 1978).

basis by focusing on the logic of historical studies. In a sense the German historical tradition appeared as a counterpart to the positivism supposedly dominant in the West, identified with Auguste Comte and Buckle. In fact none of the great French historians of the nineteenth century, notably Alexis de Tocqueville, Jules Michelet, and Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, or English historians other than Buckle, were positivists.[51]

The neo-Kantian philosophers accepted two basic concepts from the German Historical School, the idea that all reality is historical, and with it the rejection of natural law, and the emphasis that history differs fundamentally from the natural sciences, the one dealing with the individual and particular, the other with the general and abstract. There was nothing fundamentally original when Wilhelm Windelband in his famous inaugural address in 1894 distinguished between the natural sciences and history.[52] For him the basic difference between the two did not consist in the content with which they dealt but in their methods. Heinrich Rickert made a similar distinction between what he called the natural and the cultural sciences (*Kulturwissenschaften*). The task of the latter was to examine the values defining cultures and societies which could not be reduced to mere abstractions but had to take into account their highly specific and individualized character. Wilhelm Dilthey had earlier made the same distinction in his *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften* [Introduction to the Cultural Sciences] in 1884. His intent, as he wrote, was strictly scientific, to do in a 'critique of historical reason' what Immanuel Kant had done in his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* [*Critique of Pure Reason*] (1781). Yet he soon went in a different direction from the neo-Kantianism of Windelband and Rickert. He shared with them the conviction that objective knowledge is possible in these areas of study supporting the Kantian conviction that the relationships that we perceive are not those that exist objectively but ones imposed by our mind. But he conceived of thought as a vital rather than a cognitive function. The unique in history could not be understood rationally. Analysis destroyed the context of life. This explains why Dilthey, who was taken very seriously by historians of literature in the pre–First World War period, profoundly influenced the epistemological discussions only after the First World War in a very different intellectual climate. The neo-Kantians had an indirect influence on the historians.

MAX WEBER

Max Weber continued the neo-Kantian concern with establishing a rational methodology for the social and cultural sciences distinct from that of the natural

[51] Perhaps Hippolyte Taine, *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1863–4) comes closest to a positivistic approach.

[52] Wilhelm Windelband, 'Geschichte und Naturwissenschaft, Strassburger Rektoratsrede 1894', in id., *Präludien: Aufsätze und Reden zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte* (7th and 8th edn, Tübingen, 1921).

sciences, but at the same time broke with the German Idealist tradition which saw history as a meaningful process. God was now effectively dead. Weber agreed with Rickert that the social scientist must study cultural phenomena in terms of their value relatedness, free of their own value judgements. But the tenuous link between ethics and reason, which still existed for Rickert, was cut abruptly by Weber. For him two radically different worlds confronted each other, the irrational world of values and the rational world of cognition. No one could seriously believe anymore that the world has meaning (*Sinn*).[53] We are confronted by 'the ethical irrationality of the world', he stated.[54] On the other hand, in the best neo-Kantian tradition, Weber was convinced that rational and objective cognition is possible. There are no universally valid values but on the other hand logical reasoning does have universal validity. 'For it is and will remain true that methodologically correct proof in the social sciences, if it is to achieve its purpose, must be acknowledged as correct even by a Chinese, who, on the other hand, may be deaf to our conception of the ethical imperative.'[55] As H. Stuart Hughes observed, Weber's great contribution to the social and historical sciences was doubtless not his insistence on a value-free approach to social and historical phenomena, but his attempt 'to introduce conceptual rigor into a tradition where either intuition or a naive concern for the "facts" had hitherto ruled unchallenged'.[56] Weber criticized both the German Historical School of Economics of Gustav von Schmoller and Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Roscher and the classical political economy of the Vienna School of Carl Menger. While the latter assumed that there are laws of economic behaviour operating in all societies, the former overlooked the social and historical contexts of economics.

These ideas are basic to Weber's conception of world history. Alone among neo-Kantian philosophers and German historians, he undertook a comparative analysis of major civilizations, India, China, and the ancient Greeks and Hebrews. Weber recognized the role of science in non-Western societies, but held that what is lacking in all but the West is an abstract conception of logical reason, which plays a key part throughout the history of the West, and is reflected not only in its science but in many aspects of its culture, including even the arts and music.[57] For Weber, therefore, the West is not merely different from other civilizations but superior.

Weber's direct influence on historical studies came late. The one historian in imperial Germany and the Weimar Republic who worked in many ways parallel to Weber was the economic and social historian Otto Hintze, who turned away from the historicism of the Prussian school of economic historians, which Weber

[53] Cited in Iggers, *German Conception of History*, 160 n. 147.
[54] Quoted ibid., 160.
[55] Quoted ibid., 161.
[56] Quoted ibid., 160–1.
[57] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York, 1958), 13–31.

had criticized, to a broad interpretation of social and economic institutions including feudalism and capitalism. The great influence of Weber on German historians came after 1960 when a generation of historians educated after the Second World War applied Weberian concepts of class to examine critically the German past in the industrial era which prepared the way to National Socialism.[58]

THE GERMAN MODEL ABROAD

So far we have dealt primarily with Germany. However, as historical studies were increasingly professionalized throughout continental Europe, North America, and Japan in the late nineteenth century, German scholarship was viewed increasingly as a model to be imitated. Yet what was understood as the 'German model' varied markedly in different national settings, and although Ranke was increasingly invoked as the 'father of modern historical science', he was interpreted very differently. Historical studies were to become 'scientific', but, again, 'scientific' meant different things in the various countries. It generally meant a history written on the basis of the strict philological analysis of sources, generally but not only consisting of written documents. The German model also involved the transformation of history into an academic research-oriented discipline. Yet there was a broad spectrum in what was understood as scientific—at the one end the incipient American school, which saw a sharp distinction between history and literature, and at the other an orientation which survived in Great Britain into the twentieth century, which while also committed to strict scholarly methods was still very aware of the literary aspects of historical studies. In all these cases, the idealistic philosophy on which the writings of Ranke, Droysen, and the neo-Kantians rested was ignored.

Germany acquired a tremendous reputation by the second half of the nineteenth century, as did the German university as a research-oriented institution. Large numbers of students, including from Eastern Europe, the United States, France, and Japan, flocked to Germany for training as historians.[59] Within the two decades between 1876 and 1895 professional historical journals were founded in Europe, the United States, and Japan patterned on the German *Historische Zeitschrift*, founded by Heinrich von Sybel in 1859. As Sybel declared in the preface: 'This periodical should, above all, be a scientific one. Its first task should, therefore, be to represent the true method of historical research and to point out the deviations therefrom.' The journal should neither be 'antiquarian' nor present a political point of view. Nevertheless, he did not consider it 'contradictory' if the

[58] See Iggers, Wang, and Mukherjee, *A Global History of Modern Historiography*, 262–5.

[59] On France, the United States, and Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century see Christopher L. Hill, *National History and the World of Nations* (Durham, NC, 2008).

journal precluded 'feudalism, which imposes a lifeless element on progressive life, radicalism, which substitutes subjective arbitrariness for organic development, ultramontanism which subjects the national and spiritual evolution to the authority of an extraneous Church'.[60] Thus Sybel saw no conflict between a historiography written from a Protestant national point of view and the political centre, which he represented, and a history which purports to be scientific. Its scholarly articles were intended not to be arcane but to address a broad educated public, not only specialists.

The British example is interesting as representing one end of the spectrum we described. As we have seen, the first number of the *English Historical Review* opened with an article by Lord Acton entitled revealingly 'German Schools of History', not 'The German School of History' in the singular, covering a multiplicity of historical writings in the nineteenth century. Acton, a Catholic, had studied in Germany with the Catholic historian Johann Joseph Ignaz von Döllinger, not with Ranke or the Protestant Prussian School. While Ranke, profoundly influenced by Niebuhr, made the canons of criticism obligatory for every serious historian, Acton stressed that Ranke 'expects no professional knowledge in his readers, and never writes for specialists'.[61] The professionalization of historical studies proceeded relatively slowly in England, although certain historians such as William Stubbs had already earlier sought to base their scholarship on German models. The Ph.D. was introduced in Oxford only in 1917 and in Cambridge in 1920, and for a long time historians teaching at English universities were not expected to have doctorates.

The impact of the so-called German model in France cannot be underestimated, as it often is.[62] France had a rich collection of historical writing in the nineteenth century and a political heritage very different from Germany's. As observed above, both sought the sources of their modern history in the Middle Ages, but they viewed that history very differently. German scholars were interested in the corporate feudal society, French scholars in the origins of the urban bourgeoisie. German critical scholarship largely dealt with the reconstruction of medieval sources, while in France similar projects were founded to train archivists. And the major French historians, among them François Guizot, Jules Michelet, and Adolphe Thiers, fulfilled a conscious political function, relying much less on the critical examination of archival sources than on their poetical imagination. Yet the process of modernization, intensified by France's military defeat by Prussia in 1870–1, led to a reform of higher education that followed German models more closely. Already in 1868 a research-oriented school of

[60] Sybel, 'Vorwort', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1 (1859), pp. iii–v; English translation in Stern (ed.), *The Varieties of History*, 171–2.

[61] Acton, 'German Schools of History', 13.

[62] See, for instance, William R. Keylor, *Academe and Community: The Foundations of the French Historical Profession* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975).

higher studies, the École pratique des hautes études, was founded, which introduced a Rankean-style seminar. Then, in the 1870s, the moribund universities, which had been much less important than the secondary schools, were revived and transformed following in part the German model of the research university but embodying a very different republican ethos. Yet an advocate of reform like the 'scientific' historian Charles Seignobos, who studied in Germany, was highly critical of the German tradition and considered Ranke outdated.[63] The French historians tended to work with a conception of history as a science, fundamentally different from the neo-Kantian understanding of history as a *Geisteswissenschaft*, and part of the humanities. While they did not follow the mechanical positivism of Comte or Buckle, in many cases they viewed history as part of the social sciences as Emile Durkheim had understood sociology. Only in the 1930s when the faith in the possibility of objective knowledge was shaken was serious attention paid to the German neo-Kantian orientation in the work of Raymond Aron.[64]

It was in the United States and in Japan that Ranke was invoked most frequently in the process of the professionalization of historical studies.[65] In 1876 Johns Hopkins University was established as the first American university patterned on the German model, offering a Ph.D. Soon other American universities, among them Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Princeton, Columbia, and Wisconsin, followed suit. In 1884 the American Historical Association was founded and, as mentioned above, in the following year elected Ranke as its first honorary member. Although a large number of historians had studied in Germany, Ranke was badly misunderstood as a non-philosophical historian concerned with the establishment of facts, particularly in the political sphere, and uninterested in the theoretical foundations of historical studies. The founders of history as an academic discipline, among them H. B. Adams, J. W. Burgess, and H. L. Osgood, acknowledged their indebtedness to Ranke, 'whose sole ambition was to narrate things as they really were'.[66] But also the critics of Ranke among the New Historians, including James Harvey Robinson, who had still studied in Germany, and Carl Becker, saw Ranke in these terms. An exception was George Bancroft, the only American historian who had actually studied under Ranke and whom Ranke had called 'the greatest historian of the democratic school', who saw Ranke in broader terms. But the new generation of American professional historians

[63] Charles V. Langlois and Charles Seignobos, *The Study of History* (New York, 1925), 149.

[64] Raymond Aron, *La Sociologie allemande contemporaine* (Paris, 1936); trans. Mary and Thomas Bottomore, *German Sociology* (London, 1957); and Aron, *Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire: Essai sur les limites de l'objectivité historique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1937); trans. George J. Irwin, *Introduction to the Philosophy of History: An Essay on the Limits of Historical Objectivity* (London, 1947), 140.

[65] See Novick, *That Noble Dream*.

[66] Quoted in Iggers, 'The Image of Ranke in American and German Thought', 21.

considered Bancroft's approach non-scientific because for them he still stood in the tradition of narrative history dealing with broad themes.[67]

Although there was a long tradition of historical writing in Japan, historical studies were transformed in the period of modernization following the Meiji Restoration in accordance with a Western, specifically a Rankean model.[68] The Imperial University of Tokyo was founded along German lines and a young German scholar, Ludwig Riess, went to Tokyo in 1887 to establish the history department. The language of instruction was English. Parts of Ernst Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode* [Textbook of Historical Method] (1889) were translated. At the same time a Japanese historical association and a historical journal were founded. Riess, who considered himself a Rankean, focused on techniques used to produce a fact-oriented history with little recognition of the idealistic aspects of Ranke's thought. The application of critical methods to the medieval past resulted in the discovery by a leading historian in the Rankean manner, Kume Kunitake, that treasured accounts of the past proved to be fictions and led to his dismissal from the university and the confiscation of his works.

Ultimately, in the twentieth century the transformation of historical studies in academic disciplines along Western patterns occurred elsewhere, in China, Latin America, the Islamic world, India, and Sub-Saharan Africa. All these regions had long traditions of historical writing, although highly different cultural contexts and institutional settings. It has often been overlooked that Sub-Saharan Africa, too, had long traditions not only of oral histories but also of historical writing which long preceded European penetration.[69] In China professional historical scholarship went back over two millennia, although in a different institutional framework in the imperial bureaucracy. By the eighteenth century evidential scholarship in the form of philological approaches to the sources had developed independently from the West but with important similarities.[70] These facilitated the adoption of Western models of scholarship. Professionalization took on similar forms in all these countries. But the idealistic philosophy of history that had served as an intellectual foundation of the German historical school of the nineteenth century was a thing of the past.

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[67] Ibid., 19.

[68] Sebastian Conrad, *Geschichtswissenschaft in Japan* (Göttingen, 2006).

[69] On African historiography before the modern period see the eight-volume *UNESCO General History of Africa* (London, 1978–2000).

[70] Q. Edward Wang, *Inventing China Through History* (Albany, NY, 2001).

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Chapter 3

Contemporary Alternatives to German Historicism in the Nineteenth Century

Eckhardt Fuchs

Over the course of the nineteenth century, historical studies became an academic discipline. This process of professionalization—producing an academic caste that defined its subject in methodological terms—seems to have followed a more or less similar path throughout the West, although occurring at different times. By the middle of the nineteenth century, a methodological understanding going back to Wilhelm von Humboldt, Barthold Georg Niebuhr, and Leopold von Ranke had become firmly established in Germany. In other countries this process began later: in England, it was initiated by the appointment of historians devoted to the study of archival sources to the Regius chairs of history at Oxford in 1866 and at Cambridge in 1869; in France with the reform of the educational system from the 1860s; and in the United States in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The emergence of historical institutions did not, however, mean that history had automatically become 'scientific'; in other words, it did not indicate any consensus regarding theoretical or methodological procedures, or standards unique to historical research.

The professionalization of historical studies and the redefinition of their theoretical and methodological foundations in the second half of the nineteenth century were embedded in the processes of European modernization and nationalization.[1] Historians not only began to create their own institutions, but also laid down new epistemological and methodological concepts in order to establish a valid 'scientific' basis for their profession. For many nineteenth-century historians this notion was a major source of controversy. The debates surrounding the epistemological and methodological foundations of historical writing differed with regard to country, time, intensity, and results. Whereas in Germany historicism—as described further below—became a leading paradigm over the course of the nineteenth century,[2] other concepts such as economic, cultural, and

[1] A good introduction is provided by Michael Bentley, *Modern Historiography: An Introduction* (London and New York, 1999).

[2] See ch. 2 by Georg G. Iggers in this volume.

world history came into existence at the academic periphery. The overlapping issue was the epistemological question of how to write history scientifically and how to create historical knowledge independently of other fields.

THE NOMOTHETIC APPROACH TO HISTORY IN GERMANY

A central issue of the theoretical debate was the question as to whether historical writing should follow a hermeneutic or idiographic approach that would describe historical phenomena as singular events based on the study of original sources, or a nomothetic approach that would seek causality and explain the historical process in terms of laws. In Germany the historicist paradigm was fully developed by the second half of the nineteenth century. Based on methodological tools of philology and a hermeneutic approach to history, German historians made the critique of sources, *Quellenkritik*, the basis of their research and emancipated the writing of history from its philosophical synthesis by Kant and Hegel. However, the historicist paradigm was challenged by the rise of positivism as an historical concept as developed by Auguste Comte and applied to history by the British amateur historian Henry Thomas Buckle in the 1850s. This nomothetic 'scientific history' was based on epistemological and methodological problems raised by the natural sciences. In the 1850s and 1860s it was Auguste Comte's positivism—his theory of science, his empiricism, his social theory, and his ideas about laws in history and society—that seemed to bridge the epistemological gap between the natural and social sciences, including the humanities, and gained prominence among scholars and scientists.

Henry Thomas Buckle, who published his influential *History of Civilization in England* in two volumes in 1857 and 1861, provided the key link between Comte's positivist method and historiography.[3] Buckle's conception of 'scientific history' differed from the historicist 'science of history' in many ways: for Buckle the history of mankind was based on historical laws that could be found and explained by historians through the application of 'scientific methods' such as statistics, and through the use of the latest findings in the natural sciences, such as meteorological, geological, and psychological knowledge. History was to be made 'scientific' by applying the model of the explanatory character of the natural sciences.

In the mid-nineteenth century, once the process of professionalization had become much more advanced, the historical profession in Germany showed little interest in new concepts of history, let alone a willingness to incorporate them. Buckle's definition of historical science was therefore immediately rejected by German academic historians, especially by Johann Gustav Droysen, who formulated the

[3] For details of Buckle's theoretical and methodological views see Eckhardt Fuchs, *Henry Thomas Buckle: Geschichtsschreibung und Positivismus in England und Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1994).

historicist paradigm in sharp contrast to a positivist concept of historical writing, both in his lectures and in his manual *Historik* (1858).[4] However, in view of the rise of the modern natural sciences and their authority, there was vehement discussion during the second half of the century as to how distance might be placed between the latter and the epistemological and methodical foundation of historical science. German philosophers such as Wilhelm Dilthey and the German neo-Kantian School of Wilhelm Windelband and Heinrich Rickert were particularly prominent in attempting to establish a scientific basis for the cultural sciences. They were thus opposing the subsumption of the arts and humanities under the umbrella of the natural sciences, as posited by English philosopher John Stuart Mill in his *System of Logic* in 1843. While Droysen in his *Grundriss der Historik* [*Outline of the Principles of History*] (1858) justified his specific method for history-writing, 'understanding by investigation', through a rejection of positivism with the particular object of gaining historical knowledge, Dilthey attempted in his *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften* [*Introduction to the Human Sciences*] of 1883 to place distance between both approaches by differentiating ontologically between *Geist* (spirit) and *Natur* (nature).

For the neo-Kantians, history occupied its own space alongside the natural sciences not because of its subject matter, but as a result of its distinctive aims and methods of acquiring knowledge. In his inaugural lecture at Strasbourg University entitled 'History and the Natural Sciences' in 1894, Windelband characterized the ideographical concept of history as a 'science of events' that cannot be explained by means of general laws. His disciple, Heinrich Rickert, who differentiated between the distinctly separate cultural sciences and the more generalizing natural sciences,[5] justified the difference between the natural sciences and historical scholarship not ontologically but epistemologically, claiming that history, as a value-oriented science of the real world, was geared towards distinct features of reality.

Max Weber, Rickert's student, did not share his teacher's view; nevertheless, his theory of science was based on an assumed distinction between concept and reality.[6] While he claimed that reality is specific and unique—in other words, distinct—the concept abstracts from the idea of reality are diversified, aiming towards the universal. Concepts, therefore, cannot portray the more distinct aspects of reality. The problem of how the cultural sciences constitute sciences of reality, a consequence of this differentiation between the natural and cultural sciences, was solved by Weber ascertaining the significance of a phenomenon in terms of its value relation (*Wertbezug*). Only this value relation can transform such

[4] Johann Gustav Droysen, *Historik: Vorlesungen über Enzyklopädie und Methodologie der Geschichte*, ed. Rudolf Hübner (Munich, 1937).

[5] *Kulturwissenschaft und Naturwissenschaft* (Tübingen, 1899); 'Individualisierende Methode und historische Wertbeziehung' (1924), in Hans Michael Baumgartner and Jörn Rüsen (eds.), *Seminar: Geschichte und Theorie: Umrisse eirner Historik* (Frankfurt, 1976); and *Die Grenzen der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung*, 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1896–1902).

[6] E.g. Weber's *Die 'Objektivität' sozialwissenschaftlicher und sozialpolitischer Erkenntnis* (Tübingen, 1904).

a phenomenon into a cultural phenomenon, and thus into an object of *Erkenntnis* (knowledge) within the cultural sciences. As value can only be attributed to concrete phenomena it would be impossible—according to Weber—to derive them from a system of nomological terms, as the latter's value relation is always of an abstract nature. Weber's new approach, as opposed to Rickert's, consisted in the historicizing and thus the versatility of these values. The procedure of forming a concept in terms of the *Idealtyp* made it possible to define, on the one hand, the value judgements according to which a research topic would be selected, thus rendering them the fundaments of research in the cultural sciences, and, on the other hand, to guarantee that the research was conducted in an 'objective' (i.e. 'scientific') manner. In reality there was no equivalent for the 'ideal types' themselves, not even the laws of the natural sciences; rather, these *Idealtypen* formed the basis for classifying fact within the 'chaos' of the real world and the theoretical and methodological procedures of the cultural sciences. For Weber, 'understanding' and 'explaining' are complementary processes, constituting a method that, while certainly pertinent to the social sciences, is not specific to them.

The conflict between the historicist and nomothetic approach erupted in the 1890s and became known as the Lamprecht controversy. It was focused on Karl Lamprecht's twelve-volume *Deutsche Geschichte* [History of Germany] (1891–1909), which was dismissed by the historicists on account of its alleged anti-national 'materialism'. It was not only Lamprecht's idea of a series of distinct cultural ages—much in the style of ethnic psychology—that irritated his critics; it was also his rejection of an intentionally specific writing of history restricted to 'great men', 'ideas', and 'states' in favour of an evolutionary view that used collective phenomena to facilitate the explanation of causalities. Established historians led by Georg von Below and Friedrich Meinecke very much opposed Lamprecht's view with the ultimate consequence that Lamprecht was increasingly excluded from academic history until his death in 1915.[7]

THE NOMOTHETIC APPROACH TO HISTORY IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES

It was Buckle's approach that initiated the epistemological quarrels of the second half of the nineteenth century. However, for contemporaries, Droysen's critique of Buckle neither answered the question of the scientific character of history and the other social sciences, nor did it solve the theoretical problem of historical

[7] Lamprecht's critique of Ranke is articulated in his *Alte und neue Richtungen in der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Berlin, 1896); and 'Was ist Kulturgeschichte? Beitrag zu einer empirischen Historik', *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1 (1896–7), 75–150. On Lamprecht and the Lamprecht controversy see Roger Chickering, *Karl Lamprecht: A German Academic Life* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1993); and Luise Schorn-Schütte, *Karl Lamprecht: Kulturgeschichtsschreibung zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik* (Göttingen, 1984).

laws.[8] At the periphery and outside the academic historical profession there was a widespread interest in the views of Buckle and other more evolutionary concepts based on the works of Charles Darwin, particularly among social scientists, cultural historians, and amateur scholars. Beyond the borders of Germany, these ideas met with a much more positive reception. In England, France, and the United States there was a much broader response among historians to the developments in the natural sciences. After all, Comte's system fitted in with an unlimited and optimistic belief in progress and a corresponding faith in science. In all three countries the natural sciences were academically well established and prestigious, and empiricism and rationalism were also prevalent in the disciplines of the social sciences. Unlike in Germany, historiography was not embedded in a Hegelian historical theology and speculative philosophy. As a result, their debates on the scientific status of history differed from those taking place in Germany. In these three countries, the gap between the natural sciences and the humanities never gained the same prominence as it did in Germany.[9]

In England, positivism was soon to attract wide attention from scientists and scholars, and the writings of Buckle proved to be catalytic for the rise of 'scientific history' in the 1860s and 1870s. Its main representatives included Edward Spencer Beesly, who later became professor of history at University College London, and the journalist and historian Frederic Harrison. Despite their different views of Comte's philosophy, John Stuart Mill, John Morley, and the young historian W. E. H. Lecky must also be counted as supporters of 'scientific history'. For these 'scientific historians' the epistemological aim of historiography was to discover historical laws. In their view, such laws were based on applying methods borrowed from the natural sciences. However, the debate about 'scientific history' and the positivist concept of science soon moved away from both Comte's original definition and Buckle's work. The triumph of Darwinism and new, anthropologically based concepts of evolution, as well as the narrowing down of Comte's intentions to a sectarian 'positivistic society' led to a decline in positivism, rendering Buckle's theory of history less attractive. More important was the fact that, from the 1870s onwards, history began to establish itself as an academic discipline at the English universities, which brought a professional status for English historians.[10] This was associated with the devaluation of the amateur status of many 'men of letters' who pursued science as a hobby, and was reflected in the way in which professionals attacked them for an alleged shallowness, bias, and an excessively didactic approach. The professionalization of history and the establishment of the 'research ideal' were tied by professional

[8] Johann Gustav Droysen, 'Die Erhebung der Geschichte in den Rang einer Wissenschaft', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 9 (1863), 1–22.

[9] On 'scientific history' see Matthias Waechter, *Die Erfindung des amerikanischen Westen: Die Geschichte der Frontier-Debatte* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1996).

[10] On the history of historiography in England see Christopher Parker, *The English Historical Tradition since 1850* (Edinburgh, 1990).

historians to objective and systematized knowledge—or in other words, factual knowledge. This expert knowledge could be verified, mastered, and extended only by specialists who had acquired the requisite theoretical and methodological standards from a thorough training. History as the 'science of history' now brought together primary research and source criticism, with a division of labour between the various historical disciplines.

The American evolutionary 'scientific history' that originated and quickly gained influence after the 1870s also drew on Comte, Buckle, and later Herbert Spencer. The historian George Frederic Holmes, who had popularized Comte's ideas in the United States as early as in the 1850s, was followed by John William Draper, who in his *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* (1863) formulated stages of the historical process that were based on geographical and climatic conditions. A few years later the historian John Fiske based his historical writings on historical laws in his *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy, Based on the Doctrine of Evolution, with Criticism of the Positive Philosophy* of 1874. In contrast to England and Germany, 'scientific history' in the United States also became popular among academic historians such as Henry Adams and Herbert Baxter Adams, who used theories and concepts of the natural sciences as the basis of their historical approaches. Beside Comte's positivism and Buckle's nomothetic history, another concept had a strong impact on American historiography: social evolutionism. This concept found its origin in the work of the English sociologist Herbert Spencer, who compared the development of society with the laws of a biological organism. For many academic historians, Spencer's evolutionism offered new perspectives on explaining the historical process. In his *Germanic Origin of New England Towns* (1882) the German-trained Herbert Baxter Adams sought to apply evolutionist theory to the development of Anglo-Saxon political institutions. Similarly, Henry Adams interpreted early American history in terms of social evolution in his *History of the United States under the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison* (1890). Fiske and the two Adamses were among the most popular of the American scientific historians in the second half of the nineteenth century. While Americans studying in Germany were impressed by the German method of *Quellenkritik* and the German historical seminar, they adopted neither the German 'science of history' idea, nor the institutional forms of the German profession.[11] More so than in England, the diverse blend of concepts available to American historians served to open up their academic field, which was less ideologically restricted and hierarchical than its German counterpart.[12] Evolutionist assumptions formed the basis for the historical concepts in Frederick Jackson

[11] See ch. 4 by Gabriele Lingelbach in this volume.

[12] Gabriele Lingelbach, 'The German Historical Discipline: A "Model" for the United States in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century?' in Eckhardt Fuchs and Benedikt Stuchtey (eds.), *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective* (Lanham, 2002), 183–204. On American historiography see Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988).

Turner's understanding of the *Significance of the Frontier in American History* (1894) and the rise of 'progressive history' at the turn of the century, with its main representatives Charles Beard, James Harvey Robinson, and Carl Becker.

In France the Romantic and liberal historians of the early nineteenth century such as Jules Michelet, François Mignet, François Guizot, Adolphe Thiers, and Augustin Thierry—to name just a few—attempted to explain the specific character of the French nation and to come to terms with the French Revolution either by searching for a particular 'spirit' of the French people derived from abstract physical conditions or by interpreting their national history as a continuing struggle of different social groups.[13] They were much less concerned with theoretical and methodological issues. But in contrast to German historians, who focused on political history, French historians took social and cultural aspects into consideration as early as in the first half of the nineteenth century. Freedom and democracy—such as in the work of Alexis de Tocqueville—were seen as key objectives for historical investigation, rather than the state—or indeed 'ideas'. Hippolyte Taine can be considered one of the few French contemporaries who picked up the positivist paradigm and attempted to establish a 'science of history' based on generalizations. He saw the main forces in history as inherent in race, environment, and time. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that debates arose on the foundation of the 'science of history', producing a parallel to the German Lamprecht controversy in the 1890s. As in the United States, there were two general positions: the stance represented by historians such as Charles Seignobos and Charles V. Langlois, who doubted the possibility of a nomothetic historiography and argued for a reconstruction of history based simply on historical political events, and the other position, defined by scholars such as Paul Lacombe, François Simiand, and Emile Durkheim, who as 'scientific historians' favoured the principle of causality. A third group of French historians attempted to mediate between these two positions.[14] The competition between the disciplines was not one that pitted history against the natural sciences, as in Germany. In France it was the new empirical social sciences that appeared to pose a threat to the professional historians. The interdisciplinary opening of the historical discipline to economics, geography, and ethnology, to name but a few, undermined in Langlois's and Seignobos's eyes the exceptional role of history in society, its cultural influence, and academic primacy.

'Scientific history' according to Buckle and the 'science of history' *à la* Ranke soon spread to many other countries. In Belgium and the Netherlands, for example, positivism received wide attention in the intellectual milieu but did not

[13] See ch. 9 by Pim den Boer in this volume.

[14] Raphael, Lutz, 'Historikerkontroversen im Spannungsfeld zwischen Berufshabitus, Fächerkonkurrenz und sozialen Deutungsmustern: Lamprecht-Streit und französischer Methodenstreit der Jahrhundertwende in vergleichender Perspektive', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 251 (1990), 336. In general see Pim den Boer, *History as a Profession: The Study of History in France, 1818–1914* (Princeton, 1998).

attract many historians.[15] 'Scientific history' did occupy a key position within Dutch historical discourse until the end of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it was not the nomothetic conception but rather the broad cultural and social approach that was followed, and Buckle's liberal views were well received.[16] In Belgium, which was intellectually much closer to France, a methodological debate among historians only began in connection with the writings of Karl Lamprecht in the 1890s. While almost the entire German academic community rejected Lamprecht, the debate in Belgium was more heterogeneous, and Henri Pirenne became one of the most famous defenders of this German cultural historian.

ECONOMIC HISTORY

While Buckle and other positivist historians were developing their view of history, the foundations were being laid for another strand of historical thinking that would have a major influence on history-writing in the twentieth century: Marxist historiography. In its theoretical roots, the view of history held by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels did not essentially differ from the historical thought of their time, which believed in an objective history determined by regularities. While Buckle saw the driving force of history in the intellect and the historicists saw it in 'higher ideas', for Marxists the driving force was the class struggle against social inequality and exploitation. The mutual dependency of productive forces and the relations of production defined the course of history: hence they distinguished a series of five economic modes of production. The goal and destination of the story was a classless (i.e. communist) society in which there were no more social antagonisms. Revolutions caused by the growing tensions between modes of production and the development of productive forces, which took the form of the class struggle, were seen as the engine for social and political progress. Marx's concept of 'dialectical materialism', which finds its expression in the constant social struggle as a result of antagonistic economic interests, owes much to Hegel. Both Marx and Engels exemplified their materialistic views in the famous *Communist Manifesto* (1848) and in various historical essays and studies; however, it was not until the twentieth century that they gained influence over the historical profession. The French Socialist Jean Jaurès adopted some of these ideas in his multivolume *Histoire socialiste 1789–1900* (1901–8) as well as in his *Histoire socialiste de la Révolution française* [Socialist History of the French Revolution] (1901–7).

Marxist theory and historical writing was only one source of economic and social history. They also became popular among the non-Marxist new school of

[15] P. Gérin, 'La condition de l'histoire nationale en Belgique à la fin du 19e et au début du 20e siècle', *Storia della Storiografia*, 11 (1987), 64–103.

[16] Kaat Wils, 'Les insuffisances historiques du positivisme', in Andrée Despy-Meyer and Didier Devriese (eds.), *Positivismes: philosophie, sociologie, histoire, sciences* (Turnhout, 1999), 163–88.

economic history, with Gustav Schmoller as its main representative. The school declared the economy to be not the result of universal laws but rather a historical process in the context of national institutions. Unlike Marxism, which posited a polarization of capitalist society into two antagonistic classes, national economics aimed to integrate the working classes into a pre-established society. While this claim was supported by countless empirical studies, it did not remain unchallenged. The so-called controversy on methodology (*Methodenstreit*) that began in 1884 between Schmoller and the Viennese economist Carl Menger accused the descriptive studies by the new national economists of a lack of scholarly rigour. Otto Hintze, one of the first German economic historians, and also Max Weber, became involved in this debate, which contributed to the emergence of an historical sociology in Germany.[17] Similar developments occurred in other European countries as well. From the 1880s onwards, economic, labour, and social history became institutionalized in Europe through the works of such figures as W. J. Ashley, William Cunningham, and Beatrice and Sidney Webb in Great Britain, Emile Levasseur in France, and within the context of modernization and social reform in the United States.[18]

CULTURAL HISTORY

The dominant 'historicist' paradigm was also challenged by approaches to cultural history that would move beyond politics and the state. This cultural history took different shapes, such as that of Jacob Burckhardt (history seen as art), Karl Lamprecht (history based on the natural sciences), and the amateur people's histories (as everyday life history). Alongside Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges from France, who worked on the culture of Ancient Greek cities, the Swiss Burckhardt was one of the key representatives of cultural history, despite being the only cultural historian at a German-speaking university at the time.[19] Unlike earlier writings in the field of cultural history, such as the work of Johann Christoph Adelung, which remained committed to the Enlightenment ideal, Burckhardt's view of culture reflected the modernist sense of crisis. History was described as the story of loss. Unlike his university colleagues, Burckhardt rejected central premises of historicist history-writing: belief in the primacy of the state and the idea of historical progress. Burckhardt's history-writing was thus not based on the chronological course of events; rather, it was geared towards an analytical model of three 'powers': state, religion, and culture, and

[17] George G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Middletown, Conn., 2005), ch. 3.

[18] See ch. 5 by Lutz Raphael in this volume.

[19] See, in particular, Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique* (Paris, 1864); and Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Basel, 1860).

their mutual dependence. At the same time, Burckhardt's work represented an aesthetic approach to the writing of history.

Alongside Burckhardt's writing of cultural history with its critique of civilization, another approach was kept alive by Friedrich Kolb, Friedrich von Hellwald, Otto Henne-Am Ryhn, and Friedrich Jodl, amateur historians who reviewed the work of Buckle, Darwin, and Ernst Haeckel and whose work became widespread.[20] Others concentrated on the customs and lifestyles of a given people. It is consequently impossible to speak of a specific historiographical direction of the time, as the various representatives of the field followed diverse understandings of the concept of 'culture'. Although cultural history was frowned upon by most academic historians as 'unprofessional', some of its approaches found their way into universities, and countless historical associations were established, particularly at a regional level, which concentrated on the history of material culture. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that 'culture' became the catchphrase of various controversies at the intersection of national economics, historical studies, and ethnology. The national economist Eberhard Gothein and the historians Kurt Breysig and Karl Lamprecht took up the concept of cultural history, thus triggering the vehement debates on methodology of the late nineteenth century.

While Lamprecht was by no means the only historian to advocate a new social and cultural history, he was the most influential. The French debates on an historical synthesis called for by Henri Berr in his journal *La revue de synthèse historique*, the genesis of the 'new' or progressive history in the United States, or Pirenne's *Histoire de Belgique* (1899–1932) reflected a general dissatisfaction with the traditional, national- and 'idea'-oriented history that was not able to submit explanatory models for the rapid social changes of the turn of the century. Yet historians in Eastern Europe (Poland, Russia), in Latin America, and in East Asia (China, Japan) were nevertheless inspired to move towards a new social and cultural history linked to a critical reflection on the political and social order.[21]

THE NATIONAL PARADIGM

Redefining the scientific character of historical studies also meant narrowing its geographical range. During the Enlightenment the writing of world history had still been part of the arsenal of historiography. The universalization of European historical thought in the nineteenth century coincided with the rise of a national historiography that barely took non-European peoples into account. However, at

[20] Hans Schleier, *Geschichte der deutschen Kulturgeschichtsschreibung* (Waltrop, 2003).

[21] Georg G. Iggers, Q. Edward Wang, and Supriya Mukherjee, *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (Harlow, 2008), 164–5.

the end of the nineteenth century, non-European spaces were once more included and world history found its way back into historiography. Again, this trend was rejected by most (nationalist) academic historians as 'non-academic'.

The writing of world and universal history can be traced back to the Enlightenment. Scottish Enlightenment historians and German-speaking universal historians of that era, such as Isaak Iselin, Johann Cristoph Gatterer, August Ludwig Schlözer, and Friedrich Schiller, based their histories of mankind on travel reports, linked historical with anthropological and ethnological data, and rejected traditional historiography as a history of kings and dynasties.[22] Johann Gottfried Herder's concept of world history was the most ambitious because he took the position that every culture deserved an equal place in human history. He recognized that neither the enlightened civilization of Europe nor the idea of progress operated as universal principles in a progressive process of perfectibility. Rather, he emphasized the singularity of other peoples, creating a cultural diversity that could not be understood with European normative concepts and teleology.[23] For these cosmopolitan philosophers and historians who based their accounts on century-old traditions of oriental studies and travel reports, the Orient was part of a universal worldview.[24]

However, the idea of the difference between primitive and civilized peoples—or, more accurately, the inferiority of other cultures to Indo-European ones—can be found as early as the Scottish Enlightenment but also in German historical writing, for example in Christoph Meiners's *Grundriß der Geschichte der Menschheit* [History of Mankind], published in 1785. Generally speaking, the global approach to history was abandoned during the course of the nineteenth century. The development of history as an academic discipline in the nineteenth century encouraged the narrowing of its geographic coverage. Jürgen Osterhammel has described this process between 1780 and 1830 as the transformation from the 'inclusive Eurocentrism' of the Enlightenment that took the superiority of Europe to be an assumed heuristic hypothesis to an 'exclusive Eurocentrism' that took the hypothesis for granted.[25] The Eurocentric claim for representing human civilization found its philosophical justification in Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte* [*Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*] (1840) and its

[22] For general information see Jürgen Osterhammel, 'Neue Welten in der europäischen Geschichtsschreibung (ca. 1500–1800)', in Wolfgang Küttler, Jörn Rüsen, and Ernst Schulin (eds.), *Geschichtsdiskurs*, vol. 2: *Anfänge modernen historischen Denkens* (Frankfurt, 1994), 202–15; Peter Hanns Reill, *The German Enlightenment and the Rise of Historicism* (Berkeley, 1975); and Michael Harbsmeier, 'World Histories before Domestication: Writing Universal Histories, Histories of Mankind and World Histories in 18th-Century Germany', *Culture and History*, 5 (1989), 93–131.

[23] Johann G. Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, 4 vols. (1784–91).

[24] Jürgen Osterhammel, 'Peoples Without History', in Benedikt Stuchtey and Peter Wende (eds.), *British and German Historical Thought in British and German Historiography 1750–1950: Traditions, Perceptions, and Transfers* (Oxford, 2000), 265–87.

[25] Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1998), 380.

historiographical foundation in Ranke's *Weltgeschichte* [World History] (1881–8).[26] European history was elevated to the level of a world history. The universalization of European historical thought coincided with a nationalistic and Eurocentric historiography that barely took non-European peoples into account or, with the exception of the classical civilizations, condemned them as 'stagnant' or 'without history'. There was a close connection between modernity, the modern historical discipline, and Eurocentrism. The latter found its initial historiographical expression in the European national histories. When the new discipline began to fragment during the process of professionalization, the universal approach was lost and non-European history became—with the exception of the historian and geographer Carl Ritter—the domain of other disciplines, from folklore, anthropology, and ethnology to archaeology, American, and oriental studies.

World history itself played a minor role in German historiography for most of the nineteenth century. Early world histories, such as those by Friedrich Christoph Schlosser and Carl von Rotteck, were written in the universalistic tradition of the Enlightenment and, in Schlosser's case, were based on Kant's philosophy of history.[27] With the exception of Ranke's *Weltgeschichte*, world history was written on the periphery or outside of historical scholarship. In these works world history did not mean the universal history of mankind but the history of cultivated peoples as embedded in the state.

Two decades later the situation changed. Around the turn of the century professional historians turned to world history. On the one hand, historical events such as the Civil War in the United States, the re-formation of Russia after 1861, and the Meiji Revolution in Japan drew attention to the fact that there was a real development around the world. World history became relevant for the imperial politics of the great powers, and the colonial empires required knowledge of their colonized peoples. On the other hand, new archaeological, ethnological, and anthropological discoveries supplied historians with many new historical facts about the history of so-called primitive peoples and non-Western societies.

However, the world histories written by professional historians, with their assumption of a universal spread of occidental Christian culture, became even more limited than the preceding world histories. As early as 1857, Georg Weber had stated in the introductory remarks of his *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte* [World History]

> that the German people more than any other are called upon to give world history its real shape and formation. Their position in the middle of Europe, their aspiration for universal education, and their inborn cosmopolitan inclination, which also applies the standards of

[26] For German historiography see Andreas Pigulla, *China in der deutschen Weltgeschichtsschreibung vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1996); and Christoph Marx, *'Völker ohne Schrift und Geschichte': Zur historischen Erfassung des vorkolonialen Schwarzafrika in der deutschen Forschung des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1988).

[27] Friedrich Christoph Schlosser, *Weltgeschichte für das deutsche Volk*, 19 vols. (Frankfurt, 1844–57); and Carl von Rotteck, *Allgemeine Geschichte vom Anfang der historischen Kenntniß bis auf unsere Zeiten: Für denkende Geschichtsfreunde*, 11 vols. (Freiburg, 1813–18).

humanity, justice and philanthropy to the strange and hostile, seems to enable the Germans to act as the guardians and managers of historical treasures.[28]

This statement indicates a shift from a world history written from the Enlightenment perspective of a universal mankind and Ranke's European view of world history to the perception of the world through the German eye that occurred in German historiography during the course of the nineteenth century. Around the turn of the century, professional historians such as Dietrich Schäfer and Hans Delbrück published world histories focused on political aspects of the state that served the imperial aims of the German Empire.[29] They not only confined world history to the history of the cultured peoples of Europe, as did Ranke, but they moved Germany to the centre of human history. Whereas for Ranke German history was part of European history, Schäfer, for instance, placed the German people above European and human civilization. This combination of nationalism and Eurocentrism might be explained by the general *Zeitgeist* of the imperial age. However, there was also a subversive discourse in Germany. Certain cultural historians, such as Karl Lamprecht and Kurt Breysig, as well as some outside academic circles, such as Hans Helmolt, opposed the one-sided political history of historicism and attempted to introduce a non-nationalistic world history. Helmolt's scheme was not based on historical chronology or the development of various stages but rather on ethnogeographical criteria.

Apart from Lamprecht and his socio-psychological theory of 'cultural ages' (*Kulturzeitalter*) that he applied not only to his *Deutsche Geschichte* but also to his conception of universal history,[30] the most prominent historian to conduct universal history before the First World War was Kurt Breysig, a professor in Berlin. Based on the idea of the unity of humanity, Breysig stated that world history followed a sequence of conditions or phases that were the same for all peoples but which they passed through at different times. In the first volume of his *Die Geschichte der Menschheit* [History of Mankind], published in 1907, Breysig elaborated the thesis that contemporary primitive peoples reflected the original stage of the so-called cultural peoples. His evolutionary model of history was based on universal comparison.[31]

But Breysig faced strong resistance among historians. It is not surprising that a few years after the German debates on the scientific character of history, the so-called *Methodenstreit* (controversy on methodology), which had ended in 1899

[28] Georg Weber, *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*, 19 vols. (Leipzig, 1857–81), i, p. xiii.

[29] See Hans Delbrück, *Weltgeschichte: Vorlesungen, gehalten an der Universität Berlin 1896–1920. Erster Teil: Das Altertum* (Berlin, 1924); and Dietrich Schäfer, *Weltgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1907).

[30] Karl Lamprecht, 'Universalgeschichtliche Probleme', in Karl Lamprecht (ed.), *Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft: Fünf Vorträge* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1905), 103–30. On Lamprecht's concept of world history see Roger Chickering, 'Karl Lamprechts Konzeption einer Weltgeschichte', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 73 (1991), 437–52.

[31] Kurt Breysig, *Der Stufenbau und die Gesetze der Weltgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1927).

in the defeat of Lamprecht's cultural history by the historicists—mostly from Berlin—Breysig's ideas and works were rejected by his colleagues in the Berlin faculty, as was his plan to create an interdisciplinary institute for comparative historical research in Berlin ten years later. Their critique—in some ways justified—was aimed at Breysig's construction of historical laws, the renunciation of empirical work, and the exceedingly broad scope of his approach. Behind this rejection, however, lay ideological prejudices that had already shaped the debates on Buckle's historical approach in the 1860s and 1870s, and which erupted again during the Lamprecht controversy in the 1890s. It was a political and ideological antagonism that divided the combatants. By and large, the historicist tradition, with its focus on the 'individuality' of the historical process and the centrality it accorded foreign policy, reduced universal history to the political history of European powers and banished alternative approaches from the discipline. The exclusion of 'primitive peoples' served not only the political purpose of cultural superiority and colonial imperialism; it must also be seen as an attempt to isolate the historical discipline from others such as anthropology, ethnology, and the social sciences, which professional historians viewed as a major threat.

CONCLUSION

The rise of 'scientific' concepts of history drew heavily on the methodology of the natural sciences and their knowledge, focused on causality in history, and sought to discover historical laws. The main subjects were social, cultural, and economic history as well as the history of ideas. The protagonists of a nomothetic 'scientific history' were mostly non-academic, amateur historians, or scholars from other disciplines. The first key figure was the English historian Buckle, whose ideas became popular in many countries in the second half of the nineteenth century but who was soon dismissed by most academic historians. The famous Lamprecht controversy in Germany, the debate on 'new history' in the United States, and the French debate around the turn of the century cannot be understood in isolation from the impact of this first attempt to establish laws in history, which had inspired Droysen to formulate his *Historik*, for instance. Marx and Engels knew Buckle's work but did not pay much attention to it. Their own concept of history was as nomothetic and progressive as Buckle's, but without his idealistic presuppositions.

At the end of all these debates, we can observe around the turn of the century a successful resistance to nomothetic, cultural, and world history by most professional historians in Germany. But the level of this resistance varied. In German historical scholarship the historicist orthodoxy was unique in its absolute refusal of any other approach than that of the historicists. This holds true not only for methods and concepts from the natural sciences but also for subjects requiring a different approach. Radical new ideas such as the concept of historical science as research, as raised by Max Weber in the first decades of the twentieth century, did

not draw attention from historians; voices criticizing an objective 'history of science', such as Friedrich Nietzsche's, were not heard; and social and cultural history, such as that conducted by Karl Lamprecht, were sharply rejected.

Other countries, in contrast, did not completely exclude concepts from other disciplines. Their historical professions were therefore much more divided, opening up new paths for historiographical innovation. There were two main reasons for this. First, the countries in which these alternative concepts arose went through different phases of professionalization. Second, these countries harboured specific philosophical traditions: Germany, with its idealistic philosophy; England and the United States, with their utilitarianism; and France, with its rational philosophy and positivism. As the case of the United States indicates, the nomothetic approach seems to have found much more resonance among historians because the historical discipline was only at the beginning of its professionalization around the middle of the century, and the historiographical field was not completely formed. English historiography was confronted with 'scientific history' at a time when it was beginning to establish itself as an academic discipline. In other words, 'scientific history' occurred in England during the early phase of the process of professionalization. Although it was criticized and condemned by the first academic historians, the discussion between professional and positivist 'scientific' historians lasted until the turn of the century. In France, debates on the theoretical foundations of the discipline were shaped by the amalgam of scientific theories, the rise of social sciences, and an adherence to an event-oriented, hermeneutic approach.

The strict separation of the natural and historical sciences in Germany after the 1840s differed from the situation in other countries and even marked a shift from early versions of historicism such as that of Wilhelm von Humboldt, who at the beginning of the nineteenth century had founded his *Ideenlehre* (theory of ideas) partly on one specific form of Enlightenment scientism in order to create a science of humanity using organic metaphors.[32] A new era of debates on the redefinition of historical science began in the early twentieth century with a critique of the objectivism of 'scientific history' and 'history of science' by Max Weber, Georg Simmel, and Emile Durkheim. These debates led to a new concept of historical science that acknowledged the relativity and infinity of historical research, allowing complementary theories and interpretations of the historical process to ensue.

The process of making history a science was linked to nationalism and Eurocentrism. Historians in the nineteenth century concentrated on national history. A key social and political purpose of historiography was to define social norms and employ a model of history with the authority of science to create a

[32] Peter Hanns Reill, 'History and the Life Sciences in the Early Nineteenth Century: Wilhelm von Humboldt and Leopold von Ranke', in Georg G. Iggers and James M. Powell (eds.), *Leopold von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline* (Syracuse, NY, 1990), 21–35.

national myth that would place the historian's nation at the centre of the historical discourse. Aimed at legitimizing political and cultural values, history was instrumentalized for national purposes. Redefining the scientific character of historical studies therefore meant narrowing its subject matter. The universalization of European historical thought in the nineteenth century coincided with a national historiography that barely took non-European peoples into account. European history was elevated to the level of world history in which the 'Other' simply faded away. It was this 'invention' of a Europe with a unified history and culture going back to ancient Greece that caused certain peoples and societies to be excluded from world history.[33] Notwithstanding the fact that the objective of capitalism and modernity was a universal power, Eurocentrism found its initial historiographical expression in national histories.

The notion of historical science has therefore changed over time, but these changes cannot be interpreted as a linear development or as a process of modernization. There has never been just one uniform scientific model of the 'science of history' or 'scientific history', either in Germany or anywhere else. The search for the scientific status of historical studies in the nineteenth century was a broad intellectual movement both within and outside academia; many different concepts competed, not only between different countries but also within national boundaries. Making history a science, accompanied by this professionalization, led to the establishment of disciplinary institutions. Historical scholarship was able to emancipate itself from other disciplines such as philology, philosophy, biology, and the social sciences.

Scientific ideas, many of which did not derive directly from positivism but were the expression of an intellectual consensus based on inductive reasoning, empirical observation, and evolutionary theories, were quickly accepted in historical studies. The general lack of interest shown by leading historicists in the development of thought in the natural sciences, together with their ignorance of serious attempts to test new methods, contrasts with the high level of historical awareness shown by scholars from other disciplines. Moreover, an important debate was taking place within the other social sciences that went considerably further than academic historiography in responding to the natural sciences. The famous and—for German historiography—influential Lamprecht controversy at the end of the century was both the highpoint and the endpoint of these discussions among historians.[34] The result of the discussions led to a radical rejection of the innovative potential of other disciplines and the closure of the discipline to a wider range of

[33] See James M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York, 1993); see also Eckhardt Fuchs, 'Reshaping the World: Historiography from a Universal Perspective', in Larry Eugene Jones (ed.), *Crossing Boundaries: The Exclusion and Inclusion of Minorities in Germany and the United States* (New York, 2001), 243–63; Pigulla, *China in der deutschen Weltgeschichtsschreibung*; and Marx, *'Völker ohne Schrift und Geschichte'*.

[34] On other debates this time see Annette Wittkau, *Historismus: Zur Geschichte des Begriffs und des Problems* (Göttingen, 1992).

historiographical and theoretical approaches. The concentration on the individualization of the historical process and on political history, the elevation of hermeneutics and its idiographic method into an absolute value, and a self-imposed limitation to editorial work based on textual criticism, ultimately favoured an a-theoretical empiricism. The 'victory' of historicism in historical scholarship in Germany over the course of the nineteenth century was not due to a more advanced stage of its scientific character but to the domination of the academic field by the historicists themselves, which led to their gaining control of professional institutions and also to their marginalizing—and even excluding—academic 'outsiders' and non-academic historians from the disciplinary community.[35]

Although the controversy between idiographic and nomothetic concepts dominated theoretical and methodological discussion in the nineteenth century, it would be misleading to assume that this controversy overshadowed the historical enterprise completely. It was never more than a minority of historians who participated in these debates. They did, however, succeed in shaping the discipline and dramatically affecting the way in which history was researched and taught. Further, the rise of social and cultural history in the second half of the nineteenth century can be linked to nomothetic models but not reduced to them. This holds true, for instance, for French Romantic historians or non-Marxist economic history. The rise of the human sciences, particularly that of the cultural sciences and sociology, around the turn of the century reflected the challenges brought about by social, political, and economic change. The influence of economics, geography, psychology, and sociology on historical writing affected academic history in a way that would make the historicist model appear old-fashioned and the nomothetic model, with its affinity to the natural sciences, too simplistic. Society and culture were to replace politics and ideas in history, whereas the Eurocentric focus on the nation and the West remained. Historicism was not replaced as the leading model of historical writing in the early twentieth century, but other methods and paradigms—as the Annales School symbolizes—became acknowledged approaches within historical scholarship.

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Chapter 4

The Institutionalization and Professionalization of History in Europe and the United States

Gabriele Lingelbach[1]

The nineteenth century, and especially the years from the 1850s to the First World War, witnessed a decisive growth of academic institutions for the historical discipline, old and new, inside and outside the expanding universities. At the same time, the professionalization of history took an important step forward: the writing of history that had been practised by 'amateurs' for centuries became a discipline whereby historians could earn a living and pursue new career patterns. The processes of institutionalization and professionalization, however, varied significantly between the countries in Europe and the United States, depending on the degree of state influence on academic institutions and the degree of functional differentiation of the institutional landscape.

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF HISTORY

The term 'institution' encompasses several dimensions. On the one hand it refers to the material dimension of an organization with its structures, committees, staff, and funding. On the other hand it encompasses a social and symbolic dimension as institutions set norms and rules and provide orientation; they are also places for processes of social negotiation, work, and communication structures; and they shape the cognitive structures of activities that take place within them. Consequently, institutions relevant to the discipline of history are also

[1] I owe much of this chapter to the work of Team 1 of the European Science Foundation Program 'Representations of the Past: The Writing of National Histories in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Europe', the Team responsible for writing about 'Institutions, Networks, and Communities'. Some of the data assembled here derives from the preliminary version of Ilaria Porciani and Lutz Raphael (eds.), *Atlas of European Historiography: The Making of a Profession, 1800–2005* (Basingstoke, 2011).

vehicles for methodological and thematic standardization as well as places of forming a *habitus* for the history profession of a particular region or country.

Institutions of higher learning—that is, institutions in which historians are engaged in teaching and often also in research—were crucial for the development of the historical discipline because they shaped the process of professionalization, influenced the choice of topics and methods, and set standards of historical writing and research. But the various European countries took very different paths. Some, such as Germany, based academic training solely in the universities, whereas others, such as France, added supplementary organizations to the educational framework.

In the period under consideration, historians in German-speaking regions were predominantly educated at universities that were spread out over the entire area, differed in number, size, and relevance, and did not take a uniform, but rather very different paths to institutionalize the historical discipline. But they shared a point of origin: history had for a considerable period of time a merely propaedeutic function, so that historical knowledge was imparted within the framework of theological or juridical classes. It was not until the last third of the eighteenth century that history was gradually elevated to the ranks of an autonomous subject.[2] In the process of a quantitative enlargement and the assertion of history as an autonomous discipline, the establishment of seminars proved to be of profound importance. Such seminars were rooted in 'associations' hosted by university professors outside the universities: these were private gatherings bringing together professors and selected advanced students in the professors' homes.[3] One of the first seminars began in 1809 in a historical society at Leipzig that was loosely affiliated with the university by a lecturer in history; history professors in other cities followed this example.

From the 1830s seminars (later called institutes) began to be established at several universities as a regular part of the university. This happened first in Königsberg in 1832, while Berlin was one of the last German universities to add a seminar in 1885. These seminars were separate institutional units, founded by statute, funded by the state, and generally run by a university professor. All in all, the institutes retained teaching as a crucial feature, but, in addition, they became places of historical research. Seminars not only altered the institutional structure of university disciplines but also changed teaching practices: whereas lectures had

[2] Josef Engel, 'Die deutschen Universitäten und die Geschichtswissenschaft', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 189 (1959), 223–378.

[3] Markus Huttner, 'Historische Gesellschaften und die Entstehung historischer Seminare—Zu den Anfängen institutionalisierter Geschichtsstudien an den deutschen Universitäten des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Matthias Middell, Frank Hadler, and Gabriele Lingelbach (eds.), *Historische Institute im internationalen Vergleich* (Leipzig, 2001), 39–83.

been the central instrument of instruction, seminars introduced the principle of dialogue.[4] This meant, for example, the deciphering and interpreting of primary sources, discussion of research projects, or the discussion of research results, with the lecturer ideally acting as *primus inter pares* (the reality was often more mundane). This seminar-based teaching significantly contributed to the methodological standardization of the discipline, as subsequent generations of historians were introduced to the critical assessment of primary sources as well as to the writing of scholarly papers.

While historical training in Germany took place almost exclusively within the bounds of the universities, this was not the case in all European countries: in some countries a special school model provided further tertiary education apart from that offered at the universities. The *grandes écoles* of France can be taken as an example: enrolment for students who wanted to study history in the second half of the nineteenth century was possible at the *facultés des lettres*, which were spread all over the country. Yet in Paris there were several additional institutions besides the universities where historians taught. The Collège de France, for example, established the first chair in history in 1791: this was a very prestigious institution where members would predominantly pursue research but also offer lectures for a general audience. Another institution was the École normale supérieure, where history was taught from 1815. It was here that the elite of future secondary school teachers was trained, and the majority of future university professors also studied at the École. Another special school was the École des chartes, founded in 1821, which prepared its pupils for a future career as archivists. The École pratique des hautes études was added in 1868, with its own separate department for history and philology, where research-oriented courses were offered.

In consequence, the *facultés des lettres* were only one among several organizations dedicated to academic education in history. Compared with Germany, the universities remained rather marginal well into the 1880s: historians employed by the *facultés* were primarily occupied with preparing rhetorically refined lectures for a broader audience. Furthermore, secondary school pupils and future school teachers took exams under their supervision. Because of the existence of the École normale supérieure, the *facultés* had only a very minor relevance in the education of secondary school teachers until the 1880s. Research did not form part of the universities' field of activities until a relatively late period. Whereas in Germany the unity of research and instruction prevailed at the universities, in France there was an institutional separation in these fields of activity. It was only during the 1880s that the French government tried to improve learning conditions at the *facultés* by providing university grants for students and by encouraging professors to pursue their own research projects. Only then was the foundation laid to turn

[4] Regarding changes of instruction at universities see the international comparison Gabriele Lingelbach (ed.), *Vorlesung, Seminar, Repetitorium: Universitäre geschichtswissenschaftliche Lehre im historischen Vergleich* (Munich, 2006).

the French universities into real educational institutions for historians. However, institutions such as the École pratique des hautes études remained intact, thus continuing the fragmentation of tertiary education in France.

The French institutions providing history training devised their own forms of teaching, according to educational objectives, size, and funding. Whereas the Collège de France offered just lectures, in the 1870s the *facultés des lettres* introduced the *conférences* or *exercices pratiques*, which were reserved for enrolled students. Compared with the lectures, they were more dialogical in nature since they prepared students for oral exams. As admissions were restricted to only a few pupils each year, courses at the École normale supérieure and the École des chartes were taught as a class while courses at the École pratique des hautes études were seminars and students were encouraged—at least by some lecturers—to pursue their own research projects. Differences in organization involved differences in the daily routine: the academic staff at some institutions such as the Collège de France had considerably more time and resources for research while historians at institutions such as the *facultés des lettres* were more involved in teaching and examining. The differences between the French institutions on the one hand and the geographically fragmented yet organizationally unitary systems of Germany or the United States on the other were striking.

The second half of the nineteenth century is commonly seen as the central phase of expansion for the institutionalized historical discipline—the number of professors often being taken as a benchmark. This expansion of the professoriate was frequently accompanied by specialization: in some countries professorships that initially had a general profile were gradually replaced by chairs with more specific duties, sometimes defined chronologically—Ancient History, Medieval History, Modern History—and sometimes by theme or region. However, this development in the second half of the nineteenth century affected only some European countries, for there were also 'latecomers'. In Germany the expansion of university-based historical studies started relatively early: there were already several chairs of history in the late humanist period and their numbers grew from the start of the eighteenth century.[5] There were twenty-seven history chairs in 1850 in the many German-speaking universities.[6] Twenty-five years later, the number exceeded forty-five. At this stage the specialization process was well under way, displayed by the fact that several chairs had been established in ancient, medieval, or modern history. In 1900 there were sixty history professors, and a large number of associate professors, professors not holding a chair, as well as *Privatdocenten* (see below). Due to the fragmented nature of its special school model and the continuing fragmentation resulting from the foundation of new institutions in the 1860s and 1870s, the discipline in France was less dominated

[5] Horst Walter Blanke, 'Historiker als Beruf', in Karl-Ernst Jeismann (ed.), *Bildung, Staat, Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert: Mobilisierung und Disziplinierung* (Stuttgart, 1989), 343–60.

[6] Porciani and Raphael (eds.), *Atlas of European Historiography*.

by university historians. In the mid-1870s, twenty-three historians taught at the *facultés des lettres*, and in 1882 the number of chairs for history or history-related subjects had risen to twenty-eight (by adding another ten persons hierarchically below the chair-holding professor).[7] There were nine history-oriented chairs at the Collège de France, three at the École normale supérieure, seven at the École des chartes, and five at the École pratique des hautes études. In the course of the reform and expansion of the French universities, the *facultés des lettres* were able to strengthen their position: in 1911, 114 lecturers taught in history and related disciplines on various levels of the hierarchy at the *facultés des lettres*. Thirteen historians were teaching at the Collège de France, nine at the École des chartes, five at the École pratique. In general, the universities prevailed. History profited not only from the government's hope that the discipline would promote social integration and national unity but also from the goal that French science and French universities should be able to compete with their counterparts east of the Rhine. In other European countries the expansion of history did not evolve as clearly and as early as in Germany or France.[8] In Romania, the first university chair in history was established in 1864; in Bulgaria the first lectureships were established in the late 1880s, and in both countries expansion occurred slowly. By 1900 Romania counted only eight chairs (two of them in Slavic Studies and thus not primarily in history), whereas Bulgaria had one full professor and four lecturers in history.

In many countries the academic establishment of history at the university level coincided with the establishment of history as a school subject: the more hours in the school curriculum dedicated to history, the more history teachers were needed, and consequently there were more lecturers in history at universities—if teachers were educated at university. The size of the country as well as its degree of centralization, its path towards nationhood, the structure of the university system (that is to say, whether there was a special school model and whether the university system was geographically strongly centralized or more fragmented, as in Germany), the connection of the university with secondary education, the interest of the state in fostering national historical identities and in ensuring adequately trained teachers for state schools, and the overall involvement of the state in funding academic historical studies—all these were key factors that determined when expansion began, how fast it proceeded, and the degree to which specialization occurred.

EXTRA-UNIVERSITY RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS

As already noted, research was a part of the historians' workload in some of the institutions of academic training such as universities. In Germany during the

[7] Gabriele Lingelbach, *Klio macht Karriere: Die Institutionalisierung der Geschichtswissenschaft in Frankreich und den USA in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 2003), 761–7.

[8] Porciani and Raphael (eds.), *Atlas of European Historiography*.

nineteenth century, historical research was mainly conducted inside the university walls, especially in the historical seminars. But universities were not the only places where historical research could be conducted: research institutions outside the universities were also important. The *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* gained particular fame. From its establishment in 1819 its task was to edit essential sources relevant for 'German' history, particularly in the Middle Ages.[9] The *Monumenta* quickly developed into a large-scale enterprise with its own employees and an extensive production of various editions of documents. Such editions were an essential factor for the scientific school of history: they provided historians with material, relieving them of costly archival visits, and in their critical and scholarly annotations the editions set an example for the rigorous application of an apparatus of critical source appraisal.

Among the extra-university research institutions, academies were important. Academies gave researchers the opportunity to initiate major collective projects that a university professor working alone or with the assistance of a few employees of that university's institute could not match. Pure research (*Grundlagen forschung*) was their primary concern; that is to say, academies provided material which could later be used by other researchers in the preparation of monographs. In the field of history these were mostly source editions or reference works, often encompassing many volumes. Publication took years, if not decades. In most cases that meant the costs were covered by the state. The various academies in the different German states were especially prolific. Before German unification in 1871, some monarchies such as Bavaria and Prussia initiated academies in which historical projects were pursued. The Bavarian Academy disposed of an entire 'class' of historians, that is to say a group of members working exclusively on historical topics. Taking up an initiative of Leopold von Ranke, a History Commission was founded in 1858, closely connected to the Bavarian Academy. Here also historians who were not members of the academy were given the opportunity to conduct research projects. This arrangement proved to be highly productive. From 1862 the History Commission edited, among other publications, the yearbook of German history, a multi-volume, strictly chronological collection of sources on Franco-German rulers since the Carolingians. Also noteworthy is the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, a huge reference work of fifty-six volumes containing 25,000 biographies of persons active in the German-speaking realm, edited under the aegis of the Commission. Thus, the academies made a substantial contribution to the development of historical studies in Germany.

France also had an academy that was important for the historical discipline. The two branches of the Institut de France—the Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres and the Académie des sciences morales et politiques—provided, for example, editions of documents. By awarding prizes the academy also guided the

[9] Horst Fuhrmann, *'Sind eben alles Menschen gewesen': Gelehrtenleben im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1996).

directions of research, for it defined the historical subjects for which prizes were available. By these means the academy also determined the thematic standards of historical scholarship. The foundation of academies was a common European phenomenon. Spain, for example, reorganized its Royal Academies in 1847 and the Real Academia de la Historia was especially eager to publish editions of sources such as the *Collecciòn de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, which appeared in 113 volumes by 1895. As most of these extra-university institutions profited from government sponsorship, countries where the state remained less active in promoting the advance of knowledge lagged behind in developing the historical discipline: in Britain, for example, the first government-sponsored institute was established only in 1921.[10]

INSTITUTIONS OF SCHOLARLY COMMUNICATION

Besides the universities and the extra-university research institutions, there were other structures that were important for the development of the historical discipline. Institutions of scholarly communication played an important role. These institutions were central for the development of social networks among historians but also for the consolidation of guild standards and promoting contact with a broader public. Historical journals, for example, performed the task of creating a public for the discipline during the nineteenth century and stimulated a sense of identity for historians.[11] Such academic periodicals did not just publish the results of research, they promoted networks and provided important information about the activities of colleagues and of other institutions. Their reviews and bibliographies disseminated information on projects and served to disseminate and consolidate disciplinary standards. For these purposes, most of the journals contained different sections: a couple of core articles, critical reviews scrutinizing current historical literature, and information about the profession—for example, news of appointments and calls for contributions or announcement of prizes. An editorial board would supervise the selection of articles for publication, thus setting standards as to what would distinguish a good article accepted for publication from a bad one that was rejected. By selecting the contents of a leading national history periodical, the editors implicitly brought about a thematic standardization. Articles published, for example, in the French *Revue historique* between 1876 and 1900 comprised 26 per cent on biographical topics, 21 per cent on issues in national politics, and 16 per cent on foreign policy, while only 8 per cent of the articles contributed to social history and 4 per cent to economic history.[12] Almost

[10] Doris S. Goldstein, 'The Professionalization of History in Britain in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *Storia della storiografia*, 3 (1983), 23.

[11] Margaret F. Stieg, *The Origin and Development of Scholarly Historical Periodicals* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1986).

[12] Alain Corbin, 'Matériaux pour un centenaire: Le contenu de la Revue historique et son évolution', *Cahiers de l'Institut d'histoire de la presse et de l'opinion*, 2 (1974), 202.

two-thirds of all contributions highlighted episodes of French history. However, the editors made not only a thematic but also a social selection: for a long time female historians were barred from publishing in major journals. Likewise, other groups such as Jewish or Catholic authors were marginalized in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, as were African-American authors in the *American Historical Review*. Consequently, the leading national periodicals acted as conservative gatekeepers, socially as well as thematically and methodologically.

In addition, the reviews of books fostered a methodological standardization. Through a constant reiteration of a set of specific criteria central to every review, a canon was gradually established. Consultation of sources, knowledge concerning the latest state of research, originality in the sense of yielding new results, impartiality, as well as a clear and precise language were central elements of the nineteenth-century canon.[13] If a monograph was based on original research and thorough use of primary sources, if the footnotes proved that the author was acquainted with the relevant literature, if the text was written in a neutral language, it was lauded by the reviewer. The case of the Italian *Rivista storica italiana*, founded in 1884, exemplifies the concern to encode the standards of the discipline: during the first forty years of its existence this journal published more than 8,000 reviews.[14] The circumstances leading to the first professional journal specializing in history differed from country to country. The foundation dates hint at a specific national context: in Germany the *Historische Zeitschrift* was launched in 1859, the French *Revue historique* in 1876, the *English Historical Review* in 1886, and the *American Historical Review* did not see the light of day until 1895. The timing of foundations depended on the degree of specialization within the humanities, and also on the number of professional historians with the resources to conduct research. A journal that was not aimed at a popular readership depended on a sufficient professional audience. This accounts, for example, for the late publication of the first Spanish professional journal in 1940. The 'national' historical journals were not the only publications to assume the task of disseminating knowledge among established university historians. In many European countries periodicals were founded with a regional focus and a variety of periodicals were dedicated to sub-disciplines such as medieval history or economic history. Consequently, the number of new journals is an index of the specialization of the discipline. Thus in Britain there were forty-two history journals in 1875, each with a different purpose; by 1928 there were seventy-nine historical periodicals. In the same period the number of Italian historical journals rose from twenty-nine to seventy-five.[15]

[13] Bertrand Müller, 'Critique bibliographique et construction disciplinaire: L'invention d'un savoir-faire', *Genèses*, 14 (1994), 105–23.

[14] Edoardo Tortarolo, 'Die Rivista Storica Italiana 1884–1929', in Matthias Middell (ed.), *Historische Zeitschriften im internationalen Vergleich* (Leipzig, 1999), 89.

[15] Porciani and Raphael (eds.), *Atlas of European Historiography*.

Another institution of scholarly communication was the historical society. Historical societies, too, provided the opportunity for historians to develop networks, exchange news on current projects, or plan new research. In contrast to the periodicals, face-to-face contacts established during meetings of such societies were particularly important for the social cohesion of the profession. However, most historical societies were amateur initiatives and a large proportion of them remained amateur in nature. They had mostly a local or regional orientation, taking as their purpose the strengthening of local or regional identities by conducting research into the local past. In addition, they were also places of socializing, especially for the local upper class.

Along with the journals and the historical societies, national historical associations like the American Historical Association (founded 1884), the British Royal Historical Society (founded 1886), and the Deutscher Historikerverband (founded 1895) can be cited as institutions of scholarly communication. At their regular meetings, historians shared formal and informal information regarding the work and careers of their colleagues, discussed the results of the newest research, initiated new co-ordinated projects, or formed and enhanced social ties with colleagues. Thus the regular meetings helped to strengthen the coherence of the profession: they connected those who worked in the same field, provided the framework for social networks between members of the profession, and provided a milieu in which contacts could be made and kept alive. The regular conventions also sometimes took on the quality of a cattle market, where young historians or those trying to climb the career ladder performed under the eyes of potential employers. It is noteworthy that not all countries with a flourishing academic historical discipline featured a national association. Whereas the United States was a pace-setter, with its national association formed in 1884, German historians lagged more than a decade behind: the Deutscher Historikerverband was formed in the 1890s. Some nations possessed very active associations that performed many tasks, for example in the American case, whereas other national associations were rather small and not very innovative. And some countries, for example France, had no national historical association at all. Yet some countries failed to establish national associations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The more geographically centralized a nation, the less likely that a strong national association emerged: as the American case shows, in decentralized countries the annual conventions were often the only occasion to meet each other, while in France, for example, most of the French professional historians lived or worked in Paris during the second half of the nineteenth century, and therefore had many opportunities for face-to-face contacts. In addition, the ideological diversity or homogeneity of the national discipline was a determinant. The more ideologically diversified and fractured the discipline was, the less certain it was that historians could be convinced to enter a unified organization. The French case is revealing in this respect: as the historical community was relatively ideologically fragmented and as there were

alternative organizations for historians, there was no necessity to add another to the already dense institutional network.

Thus, as it was the case for institutions for academic training and research, institutions outside the universities and for the institutions of scholarly communication, the role of historical associations differed significantly from country to country. The institutional landscape varied in scale and composition according to factors such as geographic diversity or centralization. Differences in the growth of the history profession and the corresponding degree of professionalization also influenced the process of institutionalization of periodicals, historical societies, and associations.

SERVICE INSTITUTIONS FOR THE PROFESSION

The development of service institutions was another important aspect of history's institutionalization. Such institutions helped historians conduct their research, teach, and publish. Of particular importance were archives,[16] which catalogued, organized, and took stock of sources, thus providing indispensable material for any professional historian committed to a scientific approach. Looking at the various national archival landscapes, different levels of provision can be distinguished: apart from the national archives and those state and communal archives at the regional and local levels, there were also depositories administered by private institutions such as historical societies. Again, the commitment of the state was pivotal in determining whether state archives or private institutions advanced to become crucial depositories of material. In the United States, for example, record management started later than in other countries. The state archives were inventorized relatively late and the National Archive founded only in the 1930s. Consequently, private institutions became more important in the United States than in other more centralized countries, such as France. Indeed, the degree of centralization of the state archives and the timing of their establishment as well as their professional inventorization differed from country to country. This reflected both political events and the path towards nationhood. France established a national archive as early as 1790, which also served as legitimization of the newly established regime. Spain, on the other hand, conceived plans for the construction of one central, encyclopedic archive; however, these plans were not put into practice so that numerous archives remained on the terrain of the former autonomous kingdoms. Archives not only made available documents that were essential for the historian's research, they also offered a range of supplementary services such as editions of sources. For example, the British Public Record Office printed a vast amount of sources, among them the Rolls Series, the registers of the British administration.

[16] Bruno Delmas and Christine Nougaret (eds.), *Archives et nations dans l'Europe du XIXe siècle* (Paris, 2004).

National associations also acted as service institutions by providing tools to ease the everyday work of their members: some of the national historical associations printed editions of documents, such as the Hungarian historical association, which began to publish its *Történelmi Tár* [Historical Repository] in 1878, which encompassed source publications of moderate length.[17] Besides editions of documents, some national associations provided bibliographies. Inventories of archives, leading historians to the primary sources necessary for their research, were also often published by national historical associations. The Swiss historical association, for example, started the *Inventare Schweizerischer Archive* [Inventories of Swiss Archives] at the end of the nineteenth century; this contained descriptions of the contents of the various Swiss depositories. Many national historical associations also published historical journals. In the Netherlands, the Koninklijk Historisch Genootschap (Royal Historical Society) issued the *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* [Papers on the History of the Netherlands]; in Sweden the Svenska Historiska Föreningen (Swedish Historical Association) was responsible for the *Historisk Tidskrift*. In summary, some national associations were crucial in providing essential tools to the members of the historical discipline, as in the Swiss case, whereas others concentrated on organizing regular conferences, as in Germany. The scope of alternative institutions may be cited to explain why some national associations were more active and offered more services to their members than others. Hence there were almost no scholarly organizations outside the universities in the United States during the last decades of the nineteenth century (leaving aside the many local and regional historical societies), so the national association assumed greater responsibilities.

PROFESSIONALIZATION

Many of the institutions discussed above furthered the professionalization of history. Professionalization is defined here as an ideal type process that encompasses the following elements: an existing activity—that is to say exploring history, writing history, and possibly teaching it—becomes a specialized profession requiring an ever greater standardization, formalization, and thus homogenization of an education based on fixed curricula;[18] the knowledge acquired is accredited through exams and confirmed by certificates; the profession increasingly defines standards of education, observing their compliance, and thus also controlling access to the profession itself; and the education produces experts, endowed with esoteric skills, who then monopolize the supply for their services. The following questions

[17] Steven Bela Vardy, *Clio's Art in Hungary and in Hungarian-America* (Boulder, Col., 1985).

[18] Hannes Siegrist, 'Professionalization as a Process: Patterns, Progression and Discontinuity', in Michael Burrage and Rolf Torstendahl (eds.), *Professions in Theory and History: Rethinking the Study of the Professions* (London, 1990), 177–201.

regarding the standardization of higher education help to put these rather abstract formulations into empirical perspective. How were university curricula conceived and standardized? What kind of exams were to be taken? Who decided the design of university studies and the specification of examination criteria? Furthermore, which criteria had to be met by an individual striving for a career in higher education, and which criteria would have to be met in order to rise within the hierarchy? From the answers to these questions emerged the normal path of a professional career, developing earlier in some countries than in others.

Numerous groups were excluded from an academic career: women were allowed to study in some countries in Europe during the nineteenth century—in France and in Switzerland from the 1860s, in Germany only at the turn of the century—but they were mostly barred from receiving certificates that would have enabled them to pursue a university career. Prussia in 1908 explicitly forbade universities to confer the *Habilitation* (or second doctorate) on women.[19] It was only during the Weimar Republic that women were allowed to *habilitate*, and in 1922 the first female historian received this degree.[20] But even in the United States, where coeducation began earlier than in Germany, it was only in 1893 that the University of Wisconsin conferred the first Ph.D. on a female historian; the first female historians teaching at a university level in the United States can be found at the end of the nineteenth century, initially at women's colleges for the most part.[21] Ethnic minorities were also often denied a normal career. In Germany, for instance, individuals of Jewish faith were commonly hindered from attaining the most prestigious positions in the university (full professorships), one reason being that faculties often denied the *Habilitation* to Jews, another that in the atmosphere of rising academic anti-Semitism in the late nineteenth century, faculties refused to appoint Jews.[22] In the United States, twentieth-century African-Americans were widely excluded from pursuing a career in academia. It is also necessary to consider the social criteria for a successful career: young historians from socially disadvantaged parents commonly lacked the economic, social, and cultural capital necessary for academic success.[23] Here again there were differences among the countries—in Germany social selection proved much stronger than in the United States. Thus, professionalization was restricted to a group defined by gender, ethnicity, and social background, with religious denomination being a further factor.

[19] Annette Vogt, 'Wissenschaftlerinnen an deutschen Universitäten (1900–1945): Von der Ausnahme zur Normalität', in Rainer Christoph Schwinges (ed.), *Examen, Titel, Promotionen: Akademisches und staatliches Qualifikationswesen vom 13. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert* (Basel, 2007), 714.

[20] Sylvia Paletschek, 'Historiographie und Geschlecht', in Johanna R. Regnath (ed.), *Eroberung der Geschichte: Frauen und Tradition* (Hamburg, 2007), 105–27.

[21] Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), 185–212.

[22] Notker Hammerstein, *Antisemitismus und deutsche Universitäten* (Frankfurt, 1995).

[23] Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, trans. Peter Collier (Cambridge, 1988).

As with the process of institutionalization, the process of professionalization displays international differences in certification, the courses of the careers, and the dates when professionalization started and culminated. Attention has to be paid to the role of the state in this process. In some countries the discipline could act with substantial autonomy in defining the standards of academic education (as in the United States), whereas historians in other countries (such as France) witnessed extensive interference by state authorities. The following two case studies illustrate how very different processes of professionalization could evolve.

THE FRENCH CASE

Until the last third of the nineteenth century aspiring historians in France were predominantly educated at two institutions.[24] At the École des chartes a maximum of twenty new students—future archivists, librarians, or assistants for editions of sources—were admitted each year.[25] During a three-year course students were educated in palaeography, the history of law, constitutional and general history, diplomacy, medieval archaeology, Roman languages, as well as archive and library studies. They sat annual exams and in the third year they wrote a scientific work on their own, a *thèse*. Having passed the exams, they received the certificate 'Archiviste-Paléographe', which opened the door to employment on projects of source editions—for example with the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres—or in one of the numerous archives or in one of the government libraries. The École des chartes was subordinate to the Secretary for Education, who exerted substantial influence on both curriculum and exams.

The majority of future history teachers in French secondary schools received their education at the state École normale supérieure. The students of this institution were part of an elite which had been selected by a rigorous *concours*. The primary goal was to prepare students for the exams that were supervised by the universities; in the case of students in the humanities, the *faculté des lettres* in Paris was responsible for supervision. After one year the *normaliens* had to pass the so-called *licence ès lettres*, an exam in the humanities, which included elements of history but was first and foremost dedicated to classical studies. After three years the *agrégation d'histoire* had to be taken, which tested mainly the mnemotechnics and the rhetorical abilities of the candidates but, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, was supplemented by more substantial components. The fact that the education became less generalist and more specialized is also displayed by the fact that in 1894 an additional exam was introduced, which had to be taken before the *agrégation*, the *diplôme d'études supérieures*, which demanded the

[24] Pim den Boer, *History as a Profession: The Study of History in France, 1818–1914* (Princeton, 1998); and Lingelbach, *Klio macht Karriere*, 285–330.

[25] Yves-Marie, Bercé, Olivier Guyotjeannin, and Marc Smith (eds), *L'École des chartes: Histoire de l'école depuis 1821* (Paris, 1997).

independent writing on a research-related topic. The *agrégation* itself was, again, a *concours*, a selection, where the number of exam certificates to be awarded had been fixed in advance by the state. Corresponding with that number, only the best students passed. Therefore access both to the position of secondary school teacher and universities was to a large degree regulated by the state since those who aspired to a university career also required the *agrégation*. Residing and studying at the École normale supérieure was not the only way of preparing for the *licence* and the *agrégation*; enrolling at one of the *facultés* was another option. Here students could prepare themselves independently. However, students who were not educated at the École normale supérieure had significantly poorer prospects. It was only during the expansion of universities from the 1880s that it became common to enrol in one of the *facultés des lettres* for exam preparation and the École normale supérieure lost its central position.

Those who aspired to a university career in France also had to acquire a Ph.D. The doctorate was introduced to French universities in 1810 and the first dissertation with a historical subject was submitted in 1817. For a long period dissertations in the humanities were often unspecific in subject matter and standards were low. Therefore doctoral students could simultaneously teach at school and write their dissertation, which in fact most Ph.D. candidates did. After the dissertation, appointment to a position in one of the *facultés des lettres*, most likely in the provinces, became possible. At first universities featured only two levels of hierarchy: the *suppléant*, meaning the replacement for a professor holding a chair, and the full professor. The culmination of any university career was a position at the Sorbonne in Paris or at the Collège de France. The judgement of state inspectors was crucial in determining which candidate would climb the career ladder. In addition to academic qualifications, political conformity, a certain standardized *habitus*, and affinity with humanistic educational ideals were important.

Despite the university reforms of the 1870s and 1880s the career pattern in France remained largely unaltered, but some changes were discernible. First, the expansion of faculties led to an increased number of students enrolled at universities in order to prepare for exams, thus turning the faculties into institutions of education. Second, the doctoral thesis became more demanding and complex, gradually developing into highly specialized research projects. Third, the hierarchical framework became more diversified as new steps were added to the career ladder: from the late 1870s and early 1880s the positions of *maîtres de conférences* and the *chargés de cours* were established, each providing young historians with a livelihood. Moreover, after 1885 the position of *professeur adjoint* was created above the *chargés de cours*. With the diversification of the hierarchical framework the path to full professorship became longer and more complex. At the same time, the power of a few influential patrons increased: they enjoyed good relations with the Department of Education and were thus able to influence the mechanisms of recruitment. Finally, state intervention in curricula and the

selection of personnel declined. Lecturers were given more freedom in the choice of their course topics and in the appointment process the opinion of experts was given more importance than the opinion of non-scientists. All in all, careers for historians at French universities were intensively standardized. Only institutions such as the Collège de France or the École pratique des hautes études offered historians who deviated from the conventional educational pattern a chance for an academic career.

THE GERMAN CASE

The education of a historian in late nineteenth-century Germany differed from the French pattern in several ways.[26] As in France, the final exams at secondary school were a prerequisite for further study; however, there was no equivalent to the *licence*. There were only final examinations at universities. Along with the Ph.D., the *Staatsexamen* for future secondary school teachers was one of the optional degrees.[27] This exam provided access to the teaching profession and was organized by the state. In Prussia the *examen pro facultate docendi* was introduced as a state exam for future secondary school teachers in 1810. It vaguely laid down that candidates for the teaching profession should have studied a minimum of six semesters and have sufficient knowledge in many subjects, including history. In addition, the pedagogic qualities of the candidates were tested with the imposition of a test lesson. In 1831 the exam regulations became more specific: they defined exam requirements within the various subjects and included history in the canon of subjects to be examined. Specializing in a particular subject did not become possible before 1866, when exams could be taken in a chosen field. From the very beginning exams were taken under the supervision of a board recruited by the state—and the political loyalty of the candidate played a role. After 1826 candidates had to do a probationary year teaching without salary at a school. From 1890 this practical education was modified by the addition of teaching in pedagogical principles. In summary, access to the profession of teaching at secondary schools was regulated relatively early on in Prussia; many other German states followed the Prussian example sooner or later. The fact that the state increasingly required proof of, among other things, knowledge in the field of history from future secondary school teachers stabilized the subject at the university level.

In the second half of the nineteenth century those historians who aspired to a university career had to have acquired a doctoral degree. But in the German-speaking region the conferment of doctorates was organized differently, depending on where the university was situated. At the University of Leipzig

[26] Sylvia Paletschek, *Die permanente Erfindung einer Tradition: Die Universität Tübingen im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart, 2001), 226–60.

[27] Volker Müller-Benedict, 'Das höhere Lehramt', in id. (ed.), *Akademische Karrieren in Preußen und Deutschland 1850–1940* (Göttingen, 2008), 187–93.

(Saxony), for example, up until 1842 a doctorate was conferred on those who had passed an oral examination with others—no written work was necessary.[28] In Prussia, on the other hand, the doctorate had been standardized earlier. On the whole, it became the standard procedure that those who wished to acquire a doctorate degree had to hand in a dissertation and pass an oral examination. As the expectations of this dissertation became more sophisticated, the prospective historians consequently needed more time to prepare it, which resulted in a steadily increasing average age of doctoral candidates. Furthermore, the dissertation became subject-related. Before 1900 it was still often the case that candidates wrote a dissertation in fields such as classical philology or philosophy and nonetheless were later appointed professors of history—such extra-historical work was more rarely the case with historians appointed after 1900.[29]

Another feature of the German system was that after the doctorate, the education of the historian in Germany was not yet complete; an additional title had to be acquired, the so-called *Habilitation*, which increasingly became a prerequisite for an academic career. Although requirements to be met by *Habilitation* candidates varied greatly from university to university, some common points may be observed. Initially, the *Habilitation* mainly certified the candidate's university teaching credential, which was often verified in examinations, disputations, and sometimes also in lectures. In the late nineteenth century, it developed into a research-related examination, as it became usual at many universities to hand in a series of shorter articles for the *Habilitation*, whose quality was evaluated. However, around the turn of the century, a second extensive work, the *opus magnum*, was often required for the *Habilitation*. The increasing demands posed by this work were also reflected by the time of completion; while in the mid-nineteenth century the average time-span between the doctorate and *Habilitation* had been three years, it lengthened to approximately five years by the end of the First World War.[30] The standardization of the *Habilitation* implied that alongside their teaching at a *Gymnasium* or working in a research project, candidates were required to write further articles or monographs, and at the end of the process they had to pass an oral examination (*Kolloquium*) as well as give a sample lecture to demonstrate their capability to teach. It was only by way of this initiation ritual they acquired the title of *Privatdocent* and could lecture at universities. This was not, however, a paid position; the lecturers were mostly unpaid and could merely hope to receive small sums called *Kolleggelder* from the students attending their lectures. Even if they continued rising in the academic hierarchy and were granted the title of *Extraordinarii*, for example, they were often poorly paid. In

[28] Huttner, 'Historische Gesellschaften', 66.

[29] Wolfgang Weber, *Priester der Klio: Historisch-sozialwissenschaftliche Studien zur Herkunft und Karriere deutscher Historiker und zur Geschichte der Geschichtswissenschaft 1800–1970* (Frankfurt, 1984), 163.

[30] Weber, *Priester der Klio*, 127–9.

general, full professors and holders of chairs were the only ones paid enough to make a living. As *Privatdocenten* generally had to wait several years for a 'real' professorship—if they were offered such a position at all—their career path in Germany was a highly selective one, since not all of them could afford the long wait and run the very real risk of not being appointed in spite of years of work. This strengthened the tendency to social closure. Thus most history professors came from educated, upper-class families; their fathers had either been professors themselves, or had worked as secondary school teachers or priests. Among all the historians appointed full professors at a German university during the nineteenth century, only one, Dietrich Schäfer, came from a working-class background. The path to a professorship was extremely arduous—socially and mentally. But the post could lead to a highly prestigious position that offered its holder immense possibilities to exert influence.[31]

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Just as with the process of institutionalization, the German and the French examples document that professionalization started in different countries at different times and that it was accomplished at a different pace. In some parts of Europe the process began relatively early, but there were many nations in which fully trained historians did not monopolize university posts. Even during the late nineteenth century the Italian state, for example, appointed full professors who had not taken the regular path and who could not provide professional certification. And some systems introduced professional credentials rather late: for example, Oxford established advanced degrees in history only in 1895 and introduced the Ph.D. in history as late as 1917.[32] In addition, there were many different ways to enter the profession. In France and England studies were dominated by the final examinations, which resulted in teaching being very much oriented towards this goal. Teaching thus became standardized and the preparation for research work was of minor importance. In Germany, meanwhile, one of the goals was to train new researchers. In other countries this was less important, as in England, where history education served primarily as a liberal education for a future elite, particularly a political one.[33] In consequence, as late as the 1960s it was still possible in Great Britain to obtain a university lectureship in history without previously having written a Ph.D. thesis.[34] Thus in all countries the career steps took different shapes.

[31] Fritz K. Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890–1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969).

[32] Goldstein, 'The Professionalization of History', 13.

[33] Reba N. Soffer, *Discipline and Power: The University, History, and the Making of an English Elite, 1870–1930* (Stanford, 1994).

[34] Alan Booth, 'The Making of History Teaching in 20th-century British Higher Education', http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/teaching_of_history.html, 2 (accessed 3 March 2009).

The German *Habilitation*, for example, was not copied everywhere, especially in English-speaking countries, where no functional equivalent was introduced.

Today, the career path of the professional historian is designed differently from country to country, and there is evidence both of path dependency and the effect of practices whose origins can be traced over the centuries. US historians are still amazed by such exotic structural characteristics as the *Hausberufungsverbot*, whereby in Germany a professor cannot be employed at the university where he or she qualified as a university lecturer, which means that he or she is forced to change universities after *Habilitation*. On the other hand, the German prospective historian knows the US tenure-track system only from hearsay. Such differences seriously affect individual career paths and show that we are yet a long way from an alignment of professionalization patterns.

CONCLUSION

This short overview shows that the processes of institutionalization and professionalization had different timings and different trajectories in different countries. Specific circumstances shaped specific institutional and professional landscapes. It cannot be said that a 'German model', 'German' institutional structures, and 'German' career patterns were spread across Europe and the Atlantic.[35] The institutionalization and professionalization of history depended on the role the state played in this process; on the country's national, political, social, and economic developments; and they also differed in timing and form according to the role of the state in academic affairs, whether the academic system was geographically centralized or decentralized, whether the universities had close connections to the school system or were more independent. Whereas professionalization showed at least some similarities between the different countries thanks to the internal rules of disciplines becoming 'scientific', clear differences remained. Even today our academic landscapes differ greatly. Whether the process of globalization and the intensification of scholarly exchange will lead to greater similarity is still an open question.

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[35] Gabriele Lingelbach, 'Cultural Borrowing or Autonomous Development? American and German Universities in the late Nineteenth Century', in Thomas Adam and Ruth Gross (eds.), *Travelling between Worlds: German–American Encounters* (College Station, Tex., 2006), 100–23.

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Chapter 5

'Experiments in Modernization': Social and Economic History in Europe and the United States, 1880–1940[1]

Lutz Raphael

In the shadow of the master narratives of national history and of the triumph of the new 'scientific' Rankean history of political events and institutions, the writing of social and economic history expanded steadily in the second half of the nineteenth century. The simple fact that both adjectives occur together is an indication of the ambivalent status of these new subfields of historiography at this time. Exploring new themes and neglected unknown areas of the past, social and economic historians announced other approaches to the past, following other methods and using concepts other than the orthodox ones of the early professional discipline.[2] Recent historians of historiography tend to link the rise of economic and social history to the epistemic shift from the different national styles of elitist and idealist, often whig, historiographies of the nineteenth century to the new 'modern' historiographies of the 1960s and 1970s.[3] Indeed, at the end of the nineteenth century, the study of social and economic themes was closely intertwined with the great debates about the general orientations of historiography. In the United States, the debate over the 'New History', in Germany the argument provoked by Karl Lamprecht's proposals for a new direction in historiography,[4] and in France the controversies about the relationship between sociology and history—all these debates had to do with these new subjects and their place in historiography.[5]

[1] The title refers to the subtitle of Ernest Breisach's study, *American Progressive History: An Experiment in Modernization* (Chicago and London, 1993).

[2] See chs. 2 and 3 by Georg G. Iggers and Eckhardt Fuchs respectively, in this volume.

[3] Breisach, *American Progressive History*; Michael Bentley, *Modernizing England's Past: English Historiography in the Age of Modernism 1870–1970* (Cambridge, 2005); Friedrich Jaeger and Jörn Rüsen, *Geschichte des Historismus* (Munich, 1992); and Georg G. Iggers, *Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1993).

[4] See ch. 3 by Eckhardt Fuchs in this volume.

[5] In a comparative view: Georg G. Iggers, 'Geschichtswissenschaft und Sozialgeschichtsschreibung 1890–1914: Ein internationaler Vergleich', in Wolfgang Küttler (ed.), *Marxistische Typisierung und*

MODERNIZATION AND THE RISE OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY

At the close of the nineteenth century, social and economic history had become attractive: the public was interested in reading books about the origins of capitalism, the history of the Industrial Revolution and its many faces, the history of great merchants and commercial adventurers. In a period of imperialism and Western expansion, social and economic history underpinned the master narrative of the 'Rise of the West', but at the same time participated in the intellectual debates about the cultural costs of Western modernity. With regard to the European countries and their colonies, the new historiographical themes seemed best suited to the challenges posed by the modernization of society and the economy, politics and culture since the middle of the nineteenth century. The dynamics of industrialization, especially its social dilemmas—class conflict, unemployment, illness, and poverty—and the fundamental democratization of society—the empowerment of subordinate groups and classes formerly excluded from political participation—created new demands for better knowledge about social and economic processes. Many themes of social and economic history were of clear political relevance: the history of mercantilism and the regulation of foreign trade had direct political implications in a period of free trade but of growing pressure for economic protectionism after 1880. The many contemporary historical studies of agriculture and land reform, taxation and class conflict, were often read as scholarly contributions to contemporary controversies on social reform and social protection and their authors were often eager to contribute to the resolution of contemporary social and economical conflicts.[6] Accordingly, economic and social history had strong political biases and political engagement provided a strong link between modernization and democratization in the writing of these forms of history.

Before 1914, it was social reform and the social question that mobilized many scholars in this subfield. Many German economists who contributed to the historical field were members of the 'Verein für Socialpolitik' (Association for Social Politics) whose object was to propagate social reforms for the benefit of the labouring classes in the newly founded German Empire.[7] The economic and

idealtypische Methode in der Geschichtswissenschaft (Berlin, 1986), 234–44. For US 'New History' see Breisach, *American Progressive History*; and for France see Luciano Allegra and Angelo Torre, *La nascita della storia sociale in Francia dalla Commune alle 'Annales'* (Turin, 1977).

[6] Rüdiger vom Bruch, 'Nationalökonomie zwischen Wissenschaft und öffentlicher Meinung im Spiegel Gustav Schmollers', in Pierangelo Schiera and Friedrich H. Tenbruck (eds.), *Gustav Schmoller in seiner Zeit* (Berlin, 1989), 153–80; and Breisach, *American Progressive History*, 41–114.

[7] Dieter Lindenlaub, *Richtungskämpfe im Verein für Sozialpolitik: Wissenschaft und Sozialpolitik im Kaiserreich vornehmlich vom Beginn des 'Neuen Kurses' bis zum Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges (1890–1914)* (Wiesbaden, 1967).

social history produced there was typically a combination of social enquiry, political intervention, and historical research. Scholars in other European countries did more or less the same. Social democrats and the Fabian Society, together with the group around R. H. Tawney at the London School of Economics, represent a similar kind of interventionist economic and social history.[8] Another example may be found among the Progressive historians in the United States who saw their historical writing and teaching as part of a larger civic engagement for social reform and democratization of their nation.[9] For many decades, social and economic history was linked to social liberal, social democratic, or socialist politics, while conservatives tended to defend political history as the best form of historical legitimation for the ruling elites and established social hierarchies. But a conservative tendency had always been present in this sub-discipline, giving rise to a nationalist and ethnocentric version of social and economic history called *Volksgeschichte* in the German speaking areas and its neighbouring countries after 1918.[10]

Alexis de Tocqueville's distinction between democratic and aristocratic nations and their different narratives of the past provides a deeper insight into the strategic position economic and social history held in this period.[11] In the first case, the 'people' are the heroes of a collective past, while political and military events are minor elements in a much broader narrative of social, cultural, and economic processes leading to the making of the modern nation. France is a classic example: with the rise of the republican bloc of liberals and reformist socialists at the end of the nineteenth century, the social and economic dimensions of the French Revolution received official recognition. The city council of Paris began by funding a special chair for the history of the French Revolution at the Sorbonne and in 1903 Parliament voted for the credits necessary for the foundation of a commission of the social and economic history of the French Revolution, thus starting a collective research programme to edit the *cahiers de doléances*. This treatment of the social and economic facts of the revolution was progressive in orientation and a similar impulse can be seen in the collective work organized by the socialist deputy and intellectual Jean Jaurès, transforming his socialist history of the French Revolution into a narrative of continuing

[8] Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Ronan van Rossem, 'The Verein für Socialpolitik and the Fabian Society: A Study in the Sociology of Policy-Relevant Knowledge', in Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol (eds.), *States, Social Knowledge, and the Origins of Modern Social Policies* (Princeton, 1996), 117–62; and A. M. McBriar, *Fabian Socialism and English Politics 1884–1918* (Cambridge, 1962).

[9] Breisach, *American Progressive History*; and Axel R. Schäfer, 'German Historicism, Progressive Social Thought, and the Interventionist State in the United States since the 1880s', in Mark Bevir and Frank Trentmann (eds.), *Markets in Historical Contexts: Ideas and Politics in the Modern World* (Cambridge, 2004), 145–69.

[10] Willi Oberkrome, *Volksgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1993); and Manfred Hettling (ed.), *Volksgeschichten im Europa der Zwischenkriegszeit* (Göttingen, 2006).

[11] Frank Meyer, 'Social Structure, State Building and the Fields of History in Scandinavia', in id. and Jan Eivind Myhre (eds.), *Nordic Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (Oslo, 2000), 28–49.

democratization and social reform in the French Republic.[12] From then on, social history became the dominant approach to the history of the French Revolution among academic specialists.[13]

In countries where local dynasties or elites had created an autocratic state or even an empire (e.g. tsarist Russia)—the aristocratic model had much greater support and often established itself as the orthodoxy with the professionalization of historical writing. In general, the aristocratic model rejected the notion that economic and social history should be regarded as important as political history in the national narrative. Typically, in Germany the conservative practitioners of this aristocratic model understood history as the rise and the construction of a unified nation-state ruled by an enlightened bureaucracy in close association with a military dynasty. Countries with strong military dynasties thus became sites of bitter controversies about the place of economic and social history in national historiography. The chronology of the transformations from one model to the other depended mainly on the political history of each country. Denmark and Sweden provide two instructive examples: in Sweden the history of 'everyday life' was under attack by professional historians and conservatives in the 1880s when the writer and amateur historian August Strindberg published the cultural history *Svenska folket* [The Swedish People]; but in Denmark, a country with a comparable past of battles and kings but a ruling liberal elite that had yet to abandon the aristocratic model after the defeat of 1864, there was a ready acceptance of Troels Troels-Lund's similar study, *Dagligt Liv i Norden i det 16.Arhundrede* [Everyday Life in Scandinavia in the Sixteenth Century].[14]

Generally speaking, the democratization of constitutions, the extension of voting rights, and finally the defeat of the four empires in Central and Eastern Europe in 1918 pushed the academic world towards considering the 'masses' or the 'people' and their participation in national history. As a result, more scholars began to analyse economic and social phenomena. The 'people' or the 'nation' became the terms to mark the positive aspects of the new egalitarian epoch, in sharp contrast to the 'masses', who were associated by conservative academics with revolution and disorder. Thus *Volksgeschichte* became one of the key terms representing this new continental blend of national and often straightforwardly nationalist historiography and social, cultural, and economic history. Its origins can be traced back to Romanticism but it incorporated both liberal and in some countries democratic positions in favour of a new kind of holistic narrative of an ethnic unity. The 'people' and their material culture had to be studied

[12] On the socialist history of the French Revolution see Madeleine Rebérioux, 'Le Livre et l'Homme', in new edn of Jean Jaurès, *L'Histoire socialiste de la Révolution française*, vol.1 (Paris, 1969), 35–51.

[13] See the works from Jean Jaurès, *L'Histoire socialiste de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1901–7); Albert Mathiez, *La Vie chère et le mouvement social sous la Terreur* (Paris, 1927); Georges Lefebvre, *Les Paysans du Nord* (Lille, 1924); and id., *La Grande Peur* (Paris, 1932). See Allegra and Torre, *La nascita della storia sociale in Francia dalla Commune alle 'Annales'*, 133–84.

[14] Ibid., 36.

by all the new methods the social sciences put at the historians' disposal. Economic and social history did not escape the radicalization of nationalism brought about by the First World War. The shift towards new public and political mobilization in defence of national diasporas, and to affirm the cultural heritage and regional folklore, especially in borderlands, was closely linked to the post-war settlement. The lack of legitimacy of the new borders drawn at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919–20 created a growing political demand for historical justification both for revision or defence of these borders and in both cases social, cultural, and economic historians took up the task to legitimate these claims largely by using new methods such as cartography, archaeology, onomastics, or folklore. The topic of borders became one of the central issues of *Volksgeschichte* during the inter-war years—written by historians often financed by new public foundations or directly by government ministries.[15]

To summarize, economic and social history grew more important as a result of the modernization of the economy, society, and politics that had been transforming Europe since 1850. The rise of nationalism, imperialism, and the impulses of national politics were forces that stimulated early social and economic history. Both ideas and methods were strongly marked by national traditions, generating specific 'experiments' in modernization of historiography in response to the changing economic and political situations of the different countries. These differences grew deeper after 1914.

THE INTELLECTUAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ORIGINS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

The intellectual roots of economic and social history lay within earlier understandings of the historical process. One starting point for social and economic history was the histories of civilization written during the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century by historians such as Voltaire. Such histories tended to include descriptions of social and economic life, of arts and crafts, and of moral and social manners. We can also find an early exploration of social and economic history in the history of law and legal institutions that often included the regulation of economic activities and the classification of social or professional groups. From the 1860s, the historical school of Roman and Germanic law became directly involved in social and economic history with authors such as Otto Friedrich von Gierke and, in the 1880s, Frederic William Maitland writing about medieval institutions.[16] A third place where economic and social phenomena of the past

[15] The institutional ties are analysed for the German case by Ingo Haar, *Historiker im Nationalsozialismus: Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft und der 'Volkstumskampf' im Osten* (Göttingen, 2000).

[16] Very influential examples are Otto Friedrich von Gierke, *Rechtsgeschichte der deutschen Genossenschaft* (Berlin, 1968); and Frederic William Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England* (Cambridge, 1897).

were treated in historical studies was in local and regional historical associations, where gentleman historians reported them as evidence of the glory of their cities or counties. From the 1840s, in centres of trade such as Genoa or Hamburg, Augsburg or Venice, the local history of commerce became an essential part of civic pride and generated a kind of 'myth'.[17] A fourth starting point was the discipline of political economy itself. From its intellectual beginnings in the eighteenth century, this discipline used the economic data of the past as part of the search for universal laws and general theories. The interest in economic history grew with the critical debates over the validity of classical liberal political economy; an international debate that gave birth to the so-called historical schools of national economy founded since the middle of the century by scholars such as Karl Knies, Wilhelm Roscher, and Bruno Hildebrand, later on continued by economists such as Gustav Schmoller, Karl Bücher, Werner Sombart, and Max Weber. They insisted on the historicity of economic 'laws' and on inductive instead of deductive methods in research. These 'schools' were very influential in Germany but also spread to other European countries such as Great Britain, Italy, Finland, Sweden, and Russia.[18]

Yet it was not until the 1880s that economic and social history became a historical subject in its own right. Thereafter it found a place in academic teaching and the first chairs for this new speciality were created. The institutionalization of social and economic history, however, followed different paths: in Germany and other countries such as Sweden or Finland where the historical approach to economic facts was firmly established at university level economic history was generally an integral part of economics and mainly taught by scholars belonging to its different 'historical schools'. When these schools were marginalized in the 1920s, economic and social history lost its established institutional backing in these countries. It was partly compensated for by the creation of new specialized chairs of economic and social history during the inter-war period. In Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France, specialized chairs for economic history were created within history departments and the subject became an integral part of the history curriculum from the beginning of the twentieth century. In many countries, chairs for regional history became a niche for social and economic history when such posts were founded in provincial towns or universities.[19] In

[17] See Gabriele B. Clemens, *Sanctus amor patriae: Eine vergleichende Studie zu deutschen und italienischen Geschichtsvereinen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 2004), 290–4.

[18] Karl Pribram, *A History of Economic Reasoning* (Baltimore, 1983); Keith Tribe, *Strategies of Economic Order: German Economic Discourse, 1750–1950* (Cambridge, 1995); Erik Grimmer-Solem and Roberto Romani, 'The Historical School 1870–1900: A Cross-National Reassessment', *History of European Ideas*, 24 (1998), 267–99; and Geoffrey Martin Hodgson, *How Economics Forgot History: The Problem of Historical Specificity in Social Science* (London, 2001), 41–165.

[19] Karl-Georg Faber, 'Geschichtslandschaft—Région historique—Section in History: Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Wissenschaftsgeschichte', *Saeculum*, 30 (1979), 4–21; and Irmline Veit-Brause, 'The Place of Local and Regional History in German and French History: Some General Reflections', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 16 (1979), 447–78.

France, where a rigidly centralist system privileged mainstream political historiography, social history profited from new chairs in the provincial universities that took up social or economic themes as part of their regional studies; thus Henri Sée at the university of Rennes studied the rural classes in Brittany during the *Ancien Régime*.[20]

The number of chairs and teaching positions for the new sub-discipline grew after the First World War. In 1928, more than fifty chairs existed at thirty-nine universities or institutions of higher education throughout Europe.[21] The rise of the sub-discipline continued until 1939, spreading from Germany and England to all European centres of historical research and learning, with new centres in the Soviet Union and France. It gave birth to a series of specialized journals for themes of social and economic history that had previously been more or less marginalized in both general historical reviews as well as in the economic reviews founded by members of the above mentioned 'historical schools' in economics, such as in *Schmollers Jahrbuch*. The establishment of academic journals devoted to social and economic themes of history began in 1893 with the *Zeitschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (since 1904 continued as *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*) and the *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte* (since 1904 as *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*), followed in 1908 by *La revue d'histoire économique et sociale* and in 1926 by the *Economic History Review*. The publication of handbooks of national or European Economic history in the inter-war period signals the end of a first cycle of research activities in the field. The most ambitious enterprise was the *Handbuch der Wirtschaftsgeschichte* [Handbook of Economic History] edited by Gustav Fischer at Leipzig and organized by the economist Georg Brodnitz.[22] The foundation of the French *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* in 1929 marks the symbolic culmination of this first period.

What kind of social and economic history took shape before the Second World War? What kind of questions were asked? What kind of documents were searched for? What kind of methods were used by the early professionals and practitioners of this new field of research? It should be kept in mind that the delimitation of 'historical sources' had been one of the basic innovations of the new 'scientific' approach to the past in the nineteenth century—having many practical implications and consequences for the definition of legitimate, 'critical' historiography.[23] Unpublished documents in public archives—especially the remainders of legal

[20] Henri Sée, *Les Classes rurales en Bretagne du XVIe siècle à la Révolution* (Paris, 1906); and Lucien Febvre, *Philippe II et la Franche-Comté* (Paris, 1911).

[21] From the database of Ilaria Porciani and Lutz Raphael (eds.), *Atlas of European Historiography: The Making of a Profession, 1800–2005* (Basingstoke, 2011) (chairs in economics are not taken in consideration): France, United Kingdom; 11 positions; Soviet Union: 7; Poland: 5; Netherlands, Germany: 4; Belgium, Switzerland: 3; Austria, Italy: 1.

[22] Gerog Brodnitz (ed.), *Handbuch der Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1918–36). Eight volumes have been published, dealing with the Netherlands, Denmark, Italy, France, Britain, Norway, and Russia and one volume on European medieval economic history.

[23] Daniela Saxer, *Die Erfindung des Quellenblicks* (Munich, forthcoming 2011).

transactions and public affairs—became the new 'database' of historiography. Social and economic historians followed specialists of political and legal history into the state archives. Their writings largely depended on legal and administrative sources and many early studies took up the history of institutions—the ties to legal and constitutional history remained strong—especially for the older periods such as the Middle Ages and the early modern period. The great handbooks of economic history written during the inter-war period clearly reveal an emphasis on qualitative description of institutional frameworks and of general trends, often using or refining the models of stages of economic development that the historical school of economics had proposed. By these means they classified the highly divergent materials produced by the many regional or local studies or the specialized monographs that formed the bulk of the professional writing of economic and social history between 1860 and the Second World War. Many historians in this field had a special interest in the history of state activity and the regulation of social and economic life. This reflects the specificity of the sources—mostly produced by public authorities controlling or attempting to control markets and private enterprise in production, distribution, and consumption. Thus kings and parliaments, city authorities and princes were prominent figures in these early versions of economic and social history, which often constructed rather anachronistic narratives of economic politics of medieval or early modern times as forerunners of contemporary national economies. The German economists of the different 'historical schools' particularly emphasized the role of the state in the making of markets, in the creation of industries, and in the regulation of commerce.

Social history, the other part of this sub-discipline in the making, lacked such unifying themes and concepts. The many faces of social life, the varieties of groups, beliefs and social manners, attracted the curiosity of cultural historians throughout the nineteenth century. Many of them were not professionals and wrote for a greater public, disdaining the new rigours of 'scientific' history.[24] In the eyes of the professionals, this amateurism was the endemic weakness of early social and cultural history. The use of literary or narrative texts as 'sources' was one topic of controversy. Most of the archival documentation for social history was still lying undiscovered and unclassified in the archives. Thus the decades after 1880 were a time of trial and error, of experimentation in methods, themes, and models of explanation. The list of themes studied and of approaches grew very quickly. Some famous titles of cultural or social historiography of the time illustrate the variety of subjects. Johan Huizinga's *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* [*The Waning of the Middle Ages*] (1919) sits alongside Max Weber's and R. H. Tawney's studies on religion and capitalism and Werner Sombart's *Der moderne Kapitalismus* (1902). Some themes attracted special interest. One of them was religion and its social effects in the past. Other themes included the origins of capitalism, city life

[24] See ch. 6 by Peter Burke in this volume.

in the Middle Ages, the condition of the labouring classes, and the activities of bourgeois merchants and entrepreneurs.

Who were the new social and economic historians? Henri Pirenne, Frederic Jackson Turner, Johan Huizinga, Otto Hintze, Frederic William Maitland, Charles A. Beard, Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre, Otto Hintze, Karl Lamprecht, Mikhail Rostovtzeff, Albert Mathiez, George Lefebvre, and Eileen Power are often cited as producing the modern classics of historiography; we may add the names of economists writing about economic and social history such as Werner Sombart, Karl Marx, Max Weber, Gustav Schmoller, and William Cunningham. On an international level a collective biography of the economic and social historians does not yet exist and the available information on their social and cultural background allows only some limited observations: most of them, like their academic colleagues, had middle-class origins and a majority tended towards liberal or even (social) democratic leanings—a political position often combined with an optimistic view of contemporary society and civilization. The voices of cultural conservatism and elitism were rarer than in other fields of the historical profession, but became more common after 1918.

Within the profession, there were three main groups. The first was made up of professional historians who made their academic careers specializing in economic or social topics. From the 1880s, and in Germany even earlier, economic or social history became an attractive new research area, even for young scholars who had started with classics and came from aristocratic or bourgeois families. In their professional habits, these economic and social historians did not challenge the dominant patterns of the new scientific history and they exhibited the same attention to impartiality, eschewing literary or rhetorical style in favour of a meticulous documentation of archival research, sceptical about general theories, and preferring empiricist or objectivist models of knowledge. However, as we shall see below, a minority of these practitioners took a greater interest in social theory.

The second group was formed by the economists who specialized in empirical studies of economic phenomena in the past. Most of them gave lectures in general economics, combining a more theoretical or generalizing approach, drawing on the contemporary concerns of their discipline to guide their research practice in economic history. This group was most numerous in countries where a historical, inductive approach to economics was predominant at the university level—as was the case in the German Empire, partly in Austria, and in the Scandinavian countries in the second half of the nineteenth century. In Britain, the historical approach to economics lost ground after 1900 when Alfred Marshall at Cambridge imposed a more theoretical approach, but the connection of economics and history remained strong at the London School of Economics, founded in 1895. The social background of this second group was more or less the same as that of the professional historians.

The third group was comprised of marginal scholars, socialist autodidacts, and intellectuals, who played an important role in early social and economic history.

The most famous examples are the Webbs and the Hammonds in Britain, two intellectual couples engaged in socialist politics whose works on the economic conditions of the English working classes and on trade unions became classics of social history.[25] Their background—the men pursuing careers in the civil service, the women connected to leading left-wing intellectual circles—was quite different from that of their academic colleagues. Another example is the group of socialist intellectuals the French socialist politician and Classics scholar Jean Jaurès gathered around himself for the writing of the socialist history of the French Revolution that he published between 1901 and 1907.[26]

Where were the centres of economic and social history? Germany was one of the early strongholds. Russian, French, and British historians often started their own research and wrote in confrontation with German scholars or spent part of their studies at German universities such as those of Berlin, Leipzig, Bonn, or Heidelberg. The pre-eminence of Germany followed from the existence of the so-called historical schools of national economy well established at the university level in the faculties of law and economics or '*Staaswissenschaften*' since the middle of the century. The transfer of practitioners and ideas from other disciplines into history contributed to the rich German and Austrian production in these fields. Thus in Germany, the rather small number of economic historians more than doubles once their colleagues in the other departments who engaged in historical research are added. Well-known economists such as Gustav Schmoller, Lujo Brentano, and Karl Bücher published important studies on historical themes while historians like Eberhard Gothein, combining economic and cultural history and the history of art, finished their careers holding chairs of national economics.[27] The German historical school gained an international reputation for its theories of the stages of economic development since antiquity and its methodological arguments against abstract theorizing.[28]

Great Britain became the second European centre of economic and social history. The rise and the institutional establishment of economic and social history started some twenty years later than in Germany and was less spectacular, but its development was continuous and did not encounter the cultural and political resistance typical of conservative German historiography.[29] From the 1880s, social

[25] Beatrice Webb and Sydney Webb, *History of Trade Unionism* (London, 1894); and J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, *The Village Labourer* (London, 1911). On the Hammonds see Peter Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats* (Cambridge, 1979), 154–63, 243–52.

[26] Jean Jaurès, *Histoire socialiste de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1901–7).

[27] Gustav von Schmoller, *Umrisse und Untersuchungen zur Verfassungs, Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1898); Lujo Brentano, *Eine Geschichte der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Englands*, 2 vols. (Jena, 1927–9); and Karl Bücher, *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1922).

[28] For the international context see Joseph Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis* (New York, 1954); Pribram, *A History of Economic Reasoning*; and Hodgson, *How Economics Forgot History*, 41–165.

[29] Bentley, *Modernizing England's Past*, 120–43.

and economic historians could be found in Oxford and Cambridge, and the new sub-disicipline found its way to new universities such as Birmingham and London. In the inter-war years, the social and economic history represented and promoted by renowned scholars like Richard Tawney, John Clapham, and Eileen Power established itself as an integral part of historical scholarship. With Lewis Namier, social history became a pivotal tool for the revisionist attack on the whig historiography of British parliamentary politics.[30]

Russia was the third European centre of social and economic history.[31] There the Moscow School around V. O. Kliuchevskii established itself as a revisionist challenge to the dominant state-centred national historiography.[32] More than other national schools, the Moscow School engaged in studies on foreign countries (especially France and French rural history as well as Britain) and on European economic history.[33] Prominent Russian scholars like Paul Vinogradoff or, later in the 1920s, Mikhail Rostovtzeff continued their work at British and American universities.[34]

Compared with these three countries, the institutional situation and the intellectual outcome of economic and social history in France, Italy, or the other European states was smaller and its place in the disciplines (history, economics, or sociology) more marginal. But everywhere, specialists of these subjects existed and participated in international debates. Authors such as Franciszek Bujak and Jan Rutkowski in Poland, Henri Pirenne in Belgium, Eli Heckscher in Sweden, the French historians Henri Hauser, Georges Lefebvre, Albert Mathiez, Lucien Febvre, and Marc Bloch, the Italian Gino Luzzatto, and Nicolaas W. Posthumus from the Netherlands were part of an international network of specialists established in the inter-war period. Pirenne became one of the leading figures of this international network.[35]

But the still small group of mostly French historians formed around the journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* proved the most influential for social and economic history. Febvre and Bloch were its outstanding historians. The medievalist Bloch treated many social and economic themes in his studies, but his outstanding intellectual status stems from his contributions to comparative European history, the history of feudal society, and his reflections on historical method.[36] Strongly influenced by Emile Durkheim and the new social sciences,

[30] Lewis Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (London, 1929).

[31] See Thomas M. Bohn, *Russische Geschichtswissenschaft von 1880 bis 1905: Pavel N. Miljukov und die Moskauer Schule* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 1998).

[32] V. O. Kliuchevskii, *Kurs russkoj istorii*, 5 vols. (Moscow, 1904–10).

[33] Joseph Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1929).

[34] Paul Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor* (New York, 1905); and Mikhail Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1926).

[35] On Pirenne see Bryce Lyon, *Henri Pirenne: A Biographical and Intellectual Study* (Ghent, 1974).

[36] Marc Bloch, *La société féodale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1939, 1940); and id., *Mélanges historiques*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1963).

he combined an institutional and structural approach with a very close attention to collective representations and emotional ties between groups and individuals. Together, Febvre and Bloch fought against the borders the established historical profession had erected against the new approaches and perspectives linked to social and economic history.[37] Just like their forerunners around 1900, they wanted to create a new kind of historiography but they preached by practice, not by programmes—a tactic that would be much more effective—as the broad international reception of their ideas after the Second World War demonstrates.[38]

NEW CONCEPTS AND METHODS

Economic and social history needs a separate chapter in this volume because its topics cannot be subsumed in the discipline as it developed during the nineteenth century. Paradoxically, the transformation of history into a fully fledged 'scientific' enterprise became an obstacle to historians' acceptance of the new approaches followed at the end of the century. As long as economic and social themes simply enriched the older traditions of historical scholarship and writing, such as the history of dynasties, states, or parliaments, mainstream historians were receptive and prepared to integrate economic and social material in their accounts of the past. But the logic of research in the field of social and economic history posed a challenge to the epistemological rules and professional norms of the discipline. It generated concepts of collective behaviour and quantitative data that could no longer be simply integrated in the individualistic narrative of historical writing. The challenge began with the historical method itself, for social and economic historians pushed the established standards of source criticism further. They often had to cope with 'a mass of indifferent trifles' in order to construct their 'facts' and narratives about social and economic phenomena of the past.[39] Statistical material was initially scarce, even for those practising the social and economic history of the contemporary period. The establishment of official statistical services providing a comprehensive coverage of the whole economic and social life of a nation was still in the making. The collection of economic data—prices, taxes, population tables—was thus one of the elementary tasks of early social and economic historians. Quite a number of these collections are still the backbone of

[37] Peter Schöttler, 'Eine spezifische Neugierde: Die frühen Annales als interdisziplinäres Projekt', *Comparativ*, 4 (1992), 112–26; and Lutz Raphael, 'The Present as Challenge for the Historian: The Contemporary World in the AESC, 1929–1949', *Storia della storiografia*, 21 (1992), 25–44.

[38] Carole Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History* (Cambridge, 1989); and Ulrich Raulff, *Ein Historiker im 20. Jahrhundert: Marc Bloch* (Frankfurt, 1995).

[39] 'A mass of indifferent trifles was Fritz Hartung's comment about the sources edition of the 'Acta borussica', one of the largest collections of administrative documents concerning economic and social life in ancient Prussia. Hartung, 'Gustav von Schmoller und die preußische Geschichtsschreibung', in Arthur Spiethoff (ed.), *Gustav von Schmoller und die deutsche geschichtliche Volkswirtschaftslehre* (Berlin, 1938), 277–302, at p. 299.

more sophisticated and enlarged databases used in current research in the field.[40] The construction of historical statistics was one of the basic methodological innovations of social and economic historians.

These new approaches undermined the evidence used in the philological approach—the new unifying idea for the different kinds of historical sources was that of 'traces' of the past. They had to be transformed into 'facts' and 'data' by a complex work of theoretical and methodical construction. Together with statistics, new auxiliary sciences came to the fore: archaeology, cartography, geography, linguistics. A look at one of the classic publications of early economic history—for example, Karl Lamprecht's study of the economic life of the Rhineland in medieval Germany—reveals all these new elements: lists of place names, statistics, maps.[41] Similarly, Frederick Jackson Turner in the United States tried to found his 'New History' on maps, statistics, and the new geography of voting behaviour.[42] Regional history turned out to be one of the most innovative research areas during the inter-war years, especially under the impact of these new methods of research.

Social and economic historians were confronted with at least two fundamental theoretical dilemmas that were at stake in the many controversies about methods between 1880 and 1910. The first concerned the nature of historical knowledge. Here the contemporary opposition was that between nomothetical and idiographic knowledge. The dominant philosophies of knowledge led to confusion on this question, because positivism and idealism were seen as defenders of the two different positions, the positivist searching for general laws on the one hand, the idealistic in defence of the understanding of the individuality and the particularity of past human life on the other hand. In many countries, historians saw themselves as defenders of a 'scientific' discipline in accordance with the positivism of the natural sciences; however, they did so by producing idiographic knowledge with their own scientific methods. It soon became evident that the practice of social and economic history could not be subsumed under these categories. The economists of the different 'historical schools' developed two procedures of theoretical generalizing as a compromise between purely deductive general theories, as defended by the classical and neo-classical schools, and the simple collection of data and facts, as defended by radical defenders of the inductive methodology. The first procedure used general models of economic or social evolution; the theories of stages of economic development from Karl Marx to Karl Bücher are the classic versions of this kind of historical 'laws'. The second employed ideal types, models that deliberately followed a deductive logic to expose the

[40] Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices* (Oxford, 1866–87); and Julius Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Leipzig, 1886).

[41] Karl Lamprecht, *Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben im Mittelalter*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1885–6), esp. ii.

[42] See Wilbur R. Jacobs, *The Historical World of Frederick Jackson Turner* (New Haven, 1968), 174–5.

specificities of a whole class of comparable historical phenomena. Max Weber was the most outspoken theorist of this model, but he simply generalized a practice widely used by the economists of the historical school. A second dilemma concerned the historicity of values in use by historians. A general debate in cultural studies and the philosophy of knowledge under the impact of historicism was vital to social and economic historiography as many of its practitioners tried to legitimize their own moral judgements and proposals for social reform by reference to history and laws of historical development. The relationship between historical enquiry and political commitment was discussed at great length—with no consensus, but most rejecting the risks of relativism.

Social and economic historians were divided in their answers to these dilemmas. The majority followed common sense empiricism and opted for ontological realism, idiographic practice, and defence of values in history. A minority opted for a constructivist understanding of their own knowledge, often in dialogue with the neighbouring social sciences where these positions were stronger and where theoretical debates had a deeper impact than in the historical discipline.

Those social and economic historians who were more ambitious and tried to change their own discipline borrowed extensively from neighbouring disciplines. Herbert Spencer's organological evolutionism, Weber's new categories for the dynamics of power, markets, and sociability, and Durkheim's models of religion, division of labour, and structure of societies were taken up by this group of social and economic historians in order to make sense of their material. But they encountered a profound weakness of the new disciplines: there was no agreement on method, no established practice of research. Rather, alternative approaches coexisted with no resolution of the differences, so that programmatic claims and philosophical speculation replaced 'positive' facts. The disciplines of anthropology and sociology were still in the making and the first systematic approaches to social facts largely depended on social philosophies such as evolutionism, positivism, or idealism. Social psychology—especially its macro-theories about the psychic specificities of cultures, people, and the 'masses'—attracted many social historians in search of valuable 'scientific' theories for their 'positive facts'. Geography was also embraced. Historians such as Turner, Lamprecht, and Febvre borrowed heavily from human geography and its concepts. When dealing with economic, social, or cultural themes, regional history largely turned to geography, using the methods of cartography to classify its documents and taking up geographical theories about space and human behaviour. The *Volksgeschichte* of the inter-war period further developed this 'spatial turn'.[43]

Social and economic history had to wait for another generation, that of the inter-war years, to establish a practical cooperation and communication with the

[43] For the spatial turn see Jürgen Osterhammel, 'Raumerfassung und Universalgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert', in Gandolf Hübinger, Osterhammel, and Ernst Pelzer (eds.), *Universalgeschichte und Nationalgeschichten* (Freiburg, 1994), 51–72.

new social sciences. Here, the French Annales historians and the disciples of Durkheim took the lead, testing the 'sociological idea' in confrontation with concrete themes and problems of empirical research.[44]

Social and economic history did inform the new 'historical ideas' that circulated among historians. For Siegfried Kracauer, 'historical ideas' identify those general explanations that shape a whole field of research by setting new agendas and generating new master narratives.[45] One such idea was the concept of nations or other political units as bundles of collective energies. Romanticism had spread the holistic idea of nation or people, giving it a spiritual core and linking it to the idea of individuality and growth.[46] The progress of the natural sciences pushed forward analogies between biological-organic evolution and historical development. Evolutionism inspired vitalistic and organic models for the understanding of collective phenomena in human history. Lamprecht tried to develop a holistic model of the collective making of the German nation where the anonymous forces and the people played an essential part. He transplanted the idea of individuality from the single person to the nation, defining it as a kind of collective actor. In a period of nationalism and imperialism such a transfer was very successful and we can find many other examples of this kind of blending together of organicism, evolutionism, and holism. Turner's idea of the 'frontier' followed the intuition that 'behind institutions, behind constitutional forms and modifications, lie the vital forces that call these organs into life and shape them to meet changing conditions'.[47]

Another historical idea with strong ties to social and economic history was that of class conflict. The discovery and classification of class conflicts was not the work of economic or social historians; on the contrary, they found it already well established in historiography. It was the French liberal school of historiography of the early nineteenth century that had invented the class conflict before Marx and his school took up the idea. The contemporary realities of growing class struggle—both as organized conflicts about material resources and as the political formation of social classes—gave further impact to this idea. But only the liberal and progressive wing of social and economic historians saw it as a positive fact. For them, class conflict was the driving force behind progress and freedom. This optimism was common to Marxists and to social democrats and liberals. Class struggle became the key to understanding the great political events and turning points of the past. In 1912 Lucien Febvre published his study about Burgundy in the second half of the sixteenth century.[48] He interpreted the victory of the Spanish

[44] Schöttler, 'Eine spezifische Neugierde'; Raphael, 'The Present as Challenge for the Historian'; and Johan Heilbron, 'Les métamorphoses du durkheimisme, 1920–1940', *Revue française de sociologie*, 26 (1985), 203–37.

[45] Siegfried Kracauer, *History: The Last Things before the Last* (Oxford, 1969), ch. 4.

[46] See ch. 1 by Stefan Berger in this volume.

[47] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 2; cited in Breisach, *American Progressive History*, 78.

[48] Febvre, *Philippe II et la Franche-Comté*.

monarchy in direct connection to the internal class struggle in this province between the nobility and the bourgeoisie. Charles A. Beard's famous study of the economic foundations of the US Constitution was even more radical in adopting the idea of class interest and class struggle to a classical theme of American whig history.[49] His key to the understanding of the Constitution was a prosopography of its defenders and protagonists that identified their economic interests.

Thus the variety of theoretical approaches to history widened under the rising impact of research on the social and economic aspects of the past, but no unified paradigm took shape before the Second World War that would bind together the different versions and visions of social and economic history. Possibly one of the lasting effects of this early work is that it contributed to the pluralism of approaches and currents that is one of the particularities of history in 'modern' as well as in 'postmodern' times.

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[49] Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York, 1913).

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Chapter 6

Lay History: Official and Unofficial Representations, 1800–1914

Peter Burke[1]

This chapter offers a panoramic view of a vast and varied subject, a subject that is easier to define negatively than positively. Concerned with the age in which historical research, thought, and writing were becoming professionalized, it focuses by contrast on versions of the past that were aimed at the 'laity'. These accounts, many produced by non-professional historians and often taking the form of images or rituals rather than texts, might be described as 'unofficial' history, were it not for the fact that governments encouraged or even commissioned many of them. Hence the choice of the title 'lay history'.[2]

If professional history was the visible tip of the iceberg in our period, the subject of this chapter is the larger and less visible part, since many people received their impressions of the past from the work of amateur historians, male and female, and also from novels, plays and paintings, encyclopedias, museums and monuments. This was true for other periods too but it was especially true in this so-called age of historicism. The aim of this chapter will therefore be to discover who was saying what to whom about the past by these means, and how different audiences and spectators responded to these messages. The chapter concentrates on Europe and the Americas, where most of these types of representation were both produced and consumed—the rise of both the historical novel and the historical monument in the Middle East, China, and Japan, obvious enough today, took place after 1914 (although the statue of Saigo Takamori in Ueno Park in Tokyo was erected in 1898).

TEXTS

Some well-known writers of the period produced works of history as well as essays or fiction. Thomas Carlyle, for instance, published *The French Revolution*

[1] My thanks to Juan Maiguashca and Mark Phillips for their constructive criticisms of the original version of this chapter, and to Lucy Riall for advice on Italy.

[2] Cf. Hugh Trevor-Roper, *History, Professional and Lay* (Oxford, 1957).

(1837). In France, the Goncourt brothers, who also wrote novels, produced works of social history such as *Women in the Eighteenth Century* (1862), while from 1887 onwards the librarian Alfred Franklin published twenty-seven volumes on *A History of Private Life*. In Germany, another librarian, Gustav Klemm, wrote a pioneering *Allgemeine Kultur-Geschichte des Menschheit* [Cultural History of Mankind] (9 vols., 1843–52), while Gustav Freytag, best known as a novelist, was also the author of five volumes of *Bilder aus der Deutchen Vergangenheit* [Pictures from the German Past] (1859–67). Another successful amateur historian was the clergyman J. R. Green, author of the *Short History of the English People* (1874).

Some popular histories were also produced by men in public life such as François Guizot in France, author of histories of European and French civilization,[3] and in Britain Thomas Babington Macaulay. Macaulay was a Member of Parliament and a journalist, while Guizot, who had been a professor at the Sorbonne early in his career, played a leading role in French politics from 1830 to 1848.

Macaulay's *History of England* (5 vols., 1848–61) was a success from the start. Three thousand copies of the first volume were sold in less than a fortnight. The book had reached its twelfth edition by 1856, and it was translated not only into French, German, and Spanish but also into Danish, Finnish, Greek, Czech, Polish, and Hungarian. Other bestselling histories of the period included the *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843) and the *History of the Conquest of Peru* (1847) by William Hickling Prescott, a private scholar who had studied at Harvard.

Some histories for children also sold well, among them Mrs Markham's *History of England* (1823) and Maria Callcott's *Little Arthur's History of England* (1835). Indeed, the histories that were most widely read, however reluctantly, were probably the history textbooks produced for use in schools in a century in which universal education became compulsory in one country after another, while history, especially national history, was generally given an important place on the curriculum, leading to what we might call an 'explosion' of history textbooks in the 1880s.

Information and ideas about the past reached many people through encyclopedias, even if the historical entries were skimmed rather than studied. This period was an important one in the history of encyclopedias, which were expanding in numbers as well as in size. In the German-speaking world, people turned to Brockhaus (the fifth edition of this multi-volume work, published in 1819–20, was a particularly important one). In the French-speaking world, there was Larousse: the *Grand Dictionnaire* (1863–76) and its successor, the *Nouveau Larousse Illustré* (1897–1904).[4] English-speakers could have recourse to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, especially to the eleventh edition (1911).

However, images of the past derived from works of fiction probably made a deeper impression on their readers. These include one major historical poem,

[3] *Cours d'histoire modern*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1828–30).

[4] Pascal Ory, 'Le "Grand Dictionnaire" de Pierre Larousse', in Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les Lieux de mémoire*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1984–93), i. 229–46.

perhaps the last important epic in the history of European literature, *Pan Tadeusz* [Mr Thaddeus] (1834) by the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz. Set in the former Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth in 1811–12, the poem combines a love story with a narrative of a rural revolt against Russian occupation. Another successful historical poem, or series of poems, was Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* (1842), which had reached its seventh edition by 1846, making the ideas about early Rome put forward by the German scholar Barthold Niebuhr available to a much wider public. The dominant genre of fiction concerned with the past, however, was the historical novel.

Historical novels or romances had already been written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[5] All the same, the work of Sir Walter Scott marks a break with tradition because his novels were conscious attempts to reconstruct the manners and customs of the past, whether in eighteenth-century Scotland (*Waverley*, 1814, set in 1745, and *The Heart of Midlothian*, 1818, set in 1736), or in medieval France (*Quentin Durward*, 1823) or England (*Ivanhoe*, 1819).

Scott's work was an inspiration to many other novelists, most obviously to Alessandro Manzoni, whose *I promessi sposi* [*The Betrothed*] (1827) was set in Milan and its surroundings in the seventeenth century. The French had Honoré Balzac's *Les Chouans* (1829), about peasants who resisted the French Revolution, Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris* [*The Hunchback of Notre Dame*] (1831–2), and Stendhal's *Le Chartreuse de Parme* [*The Charterhouse of Parma*] (1839). The Russians had Lev Tolstoy's *Voyna I mir* [*War and Peace*] (1865–9). The Poles had Henryk Sienkiewicz—known internationally for his novel *Quo Vadis?* (1896), set at the time of the emperor Nero but celebrated in his own country for his evocations of Polish history, such as *Potop* [*The Deluge*] (1886), on the Swedish invasion in the seventeenth century, and *Krzyżacy* [Crusaders] (1900) about the defeat of the knights of the Teutonic Order.

The Spanish Walter Scott was the prolific Benito Pérez Galdós, who produced forty-six volumes devoted to the reconstruction of what he called 'national episodes', while his Hungarian equivalent was the almost equally prolific Mór Jókai, whose historical novels included *Erdély aranykora* [The Golden Age of Transylvania] (1852), *Egy Magyar nábob* [A Hungarian Nabob] (1853), and *Kárpáthy Zoltán, Janicsárok végnapjai* [The Last Days of the Janissaries] (1854).

At their most ambitious, the historical novels of this period offered their own interpretations of the past, often supporting but sometimes diverging from the views of professional historians. For example, Scott's *Ivanhoe* described twelfth-century England as two nations, the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons still separate and hostile. Again, where historians praised Napoleon's strategy and tactics,

[5] Peter Burke, 'History, Myth, and Fiction', in José Rabasa, Masayuki Sato, Edoardo Tortarolo, and Daniel Woolf (eds.), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 3: *1400–1800* (Oxford, forthcoming).

Stendhal and Tolstoy notoriously presented the battles of Waterloo and Borodino 'from below' as chaotic situations that no one was able to control.

The most popular historical novelists of the period were probably Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Alexandre Dumas, and Henryk Sienkiewicz. Bulwer-Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834) was translated into ten languages. Dumas became a celebrity as well as a wealthy man following his *Les Trois Mousquetaires* [*The Three Musketeers*] (1845) and *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* [*The Count of Monte Cristo*] (1844–6), both stories appearing as serials in journals before they were published in book form. Sienkiewicz became internationally famous for *Quo Vadis?*. The novel had been translated into twenty-three languages by 1900, while 400,000 copies were sold in the United States in a single year.[6]

Despite the great success of some of these books, it is likely that artefacts and performances played an even greater part than texts in the construction or reconstruction of the ideas and images of the past held by ordinary people.

PERFORMANCES

In the nineteenth century, in which so many national or municipal theatres were constructed, historical plays were a major dramatic genre. The period opens with the premieres of a number of historical plays by Friedrich Schiller, who was once an academic historian but became much more famous for plays such as *Wallenstein* (a trilogy, 1798–9), *Maria Stuart* [Mary Queen of Scots] (1800), *The Maid of Orleans* [Joan of Arc] (1801), and *William Tell* (1804). The period more or less closes with the historical plays of August Strindberg, among them *Gustav Vasa* and *Erik XIV* (both 1899). Historical plays were also produced by a number of writers who are better-known for their work in other genres—among them Goethe, Hugo, and Dumas.

Even more popular at the time were historical operas. The French composer Daniel Auber wrote operas about the seventeenth-century rebel *Masaniello* (1828) and the assassination of the Swedish King *Gustav III* (1833), while French audiences could also listen to *Robert le diable* [Robert the Devil] (1831) and *Les Huguenots* (1836), composed by Giacomo Meyerbeer. German operas included Richard Wagner's *Rienzi* (1842) and his *Die Meistersinger von Nüremberg* [*Mastersingers of Nuremberg*] (1863), and Russian ones *Zhizn' za tsarya* [*A Life for the Tsar*] (1836) by Mikhail Glinka and *Borís Godunóv* (1874) by Modest Mussorgsky.

It was of course in Italy that audiences could learn most history at the opera. Gaetano Donizetti wrote operas about Ann Boleyn, Lucrezia Borgia, the Duke of Alba, and so on. Giuseppe Verdi also liked to take his themes from history, especially Italian history: *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* [*The Lombards*] (1843),

[6] Maria Kosko, *Un 'best-seller' 1900: Quo Vadis?* (Paris, 1960).

for instance, as well as *Les vêpres siciliennes* [*The Sicilian Vespers*] (1855), and the Doge of Genoa *Simon Boccanegra* (1857).

A few successful historical films were launched at the end of this period, among them the Italian productions of Bulwer-Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii* (Mario Caserini, 1908) and Manzoni's *I promessi sposi* (E. M. Pasquali, 1913). D. W. Griffith's controversial *Birth of a Nation* dates from 1915.

The many organized commemorations of the time, especially anniversaries and centenaries, may be viewed as multimedia performances that engraved certain images or interpretations of the past on the minds of viewers. It was for this reason that the German writer Ernst Moritz Arndt recommended national festivals, including the anniversaries of German victories in the battle of the Teutoberger Forest (against the ancient Romans) and the battle of Leipzig (against Napoleon). Commemoration is an ancient custom, but the regular celebration of centenaries is a relatively new one that spread in the eighteenth century and became still more popular in the second half of the nineteenth.

Among the major festivals organized in the period 1800–1914 were two millenaries, one in 1896 to celebrate the arrival of the Magyars in what became Hungary, the other in 1901 to commemorate the death of King Alfred. The sexcentenary of the birth of Dante, conveniently occurring soon after unification, was celebrated in Italy in 1865. The quincentenary of the birth of Jan Hus was celebrated by the Czechs, still in a subordinate position within the Habsburg Empire, in 1869. The quatercentenary of the landfall of Columbus in the New World (1892) was marked by festivities, especially in the United States, with parades marching under the Columbus Arch on New York's Fifth Avenue and in Chicago, a year late, the Columbian Exposition of 1893.[7]

The tercentenary of the Lutheran Reformation (1817) and the tercentenaries of the birth of Shakespeare (1864) and his death (1916) were major events in Germany and England respectively. The Germans celebrated 1817 with a torchlight procession, speeches, and hymns at the castle of Wartburg, where Luther had taken refuge. In 1864 the English celebrated Shakespeare in both London and Stratford with performances of his plays, while in New York the foundation stone of a monument to the dramatist was laid in Central Park.

The centenaries of the American Revolution (1876), the British settlement in Australia (1888), and the French Revolution (1889) were also commemorated on a grand scale, as the Eiffel Tower, constructed in Paris to mark the centenary, may remind us.[8]

Still more important in cultural and political life, thanks to their frequency, were anniversaries, such as the French celebration of the taking of the Bastille on

[7] Claudia Bushman, *America Discovers Columbus: How an Italian Explorer Became an American Hero* (Hannover, NH, 1992).

[8] Pascal Ory, 'Le Centenaire de la Révolution Française', in Nora (ed.), *Les Lieux de mémoire*, i. 523–60; and Lynn Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia* (Cambridge, 1997).

14 July 1789. Regular celebrations of '*le quatorze juillet*' as a national festival began in 1879 under the Third Republic, making a good example of what Eric Hobsbawm has called 'the invention of tradition'.[9] In similar fashion, 4 July was celebrated in the United States to commemorate the Declaration of Independence in 1776, 2 May in Spain to remember the French attack on citizens of Madrid in 1808, 12 July in Northern Ireland to celebrate the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 when the Protestant William III vanquished the Catholic James II, and 5 November in England, to remember the failed attempt of the Catholic Guy Fawkes to blow up Parliament in 1605.[10]

Another form of performance that should not be forgotten is the speech, whether delivered in a Parliament or Chamber of Deputies or outside. Speeches often made references to historical events. Macaulay for instance, a Member of Parliament as well as an historian, made a speech about the reform of parliament in 1832 which located 'the Bill which is now on our table' in a 'great progress' which had begun in the Middle Ages and included 'The Great Charter, the assembling of the first House of Commons, the Petition of Right, the Declaration of Right'.[11]

VISUAL CULTURE

Paintings too may be regarded as performances and painters often chose themes from the past. The great age of history painting in Europe was the nineteenth century, especially the long nineteenth century from 1789 to 1914, and within this period the years 1850–1900 were especially important. Large numbers of historical paintings were produced at this time—about 700 paintings on subjects from British history alone were exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1769 and 1904. Some famous artists specialized in the genre—Paul Delaroche and Ernest Meissonier in France, for instance, John Millais in England, Adolf Menzel in Prussia, and Jan Matejko in Poland.

Popular subjects for such paintings were heroic rulers and commanders, national symbols such as King Alfred and Queen Elizabeth in England, Queen Isabel the Catholic in Spain, Kings Gustav Adolf and Charles XII in Sweden, Frederick the Great in Prussia, Henri IV and Napoleon in France, Washington in

[9] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983). Cf. Christian Amalvi, 'Le 14-Juillet', in Nora (ed.), *Les Lieux de mémoire*, i. 421–72.

[10] Diana K. Appelbaum, *The Glorious Fourth* (New York, 1989); David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fêtes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1997); Christian Demange, *El Dos de Mayo: mito y fiesta nacional, 1808–1958* (Madrid, 2003); Dominic Bryan, 'Interpreting the 12th', *History Ireland*, 2 (1994), 37–41; and Brenda Buchanan, David Cannadine, Justin Champion, David Cressy, Pauline Croft, Antonia Fraser, and Mike Jay, *Gunpowder Plots* (London, 2005).

[11] Quoted in John Clive, *Macaulay: The Shaping of the Historian* (London, 1973), 178.

the United States, and Bolívar in South America. Religious heroes were also common, among them Jan Hus, Martin Luther, the Scottish Protestant preacher John Knox, and the Polish Catholic preacher Piotr Skarga. Other culture heroes included Columbus, Cervantes, and a number of artists themselves, notably Raphael and Titian. The choice of great painters of the past may have been an attempt to persuade the public of the importance of art, but the majority of these heroes were chosen because they were what have been called 'national icons'.[12]

Major historical events were frequently represented. Victorious battles were popular subjects. Meissonier painted the Battle of Friedland, in which Napoleon defeated the Russians and Prussians, Menzel painted Frederick the Great at the battle of Hochkirch, while Matejko painted the Polish victory at the Battle of Tannenberg. Other major events chosen by historical painters included the American Declaration of Independence (painted by John Trumbull in 1818), the oath of Cortés at Cadiz in 1810, the *Firma del Acta la Independencia* [Signing of the Act of Independence] by Martín Tovar in Venezuela, and in Brazil the *Grito do Ipiranga* [Cry of Ipiranga] by Pedro Américo de Melo, the local equivalent of the cry of Hidalgo (since with this shout, Pedro I declared Brazilian independence from Portugal). Another favourite theme was the colonization of new territories, exemplified by the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers in Massachusetts, for instance, or that of the Magyars in Hungary (the theme of Mihály Munkácsy's *Honfoglalás* [The Conquest], painted for the Parliament in 1893, to coincide with the millenary of the event depicted).

The graphic arts also played an important part in spreading images of the past. Reproductions of famous paintings, such as the engraving of Delaroche's *Cromwell* (1833) or the lithograph of the painting of the Sicilian Vespers by Francesco Hayez, were seen by far more people than could ever have had access to the originals. The illustrations in history books, including school textbooks, may have been a more effective means of communication than the text, especially for younger readers. John Cassell's *Illustrated History of England* (1856–64) was a publishing success, reaching its ninth edition by the year 1905. Leading artists such as Menzel illustrated works of history, concentrating in his case on Frederick the Great.

The early nineteenth century was the time of the foundation of many museums displaying objects from the past, especially the national past. The Hungarian National Museum was opened in 1802, for instance, the Danish National Museum in 1809, the National Museum in Prague in 1819, the Public Museum of Buenos Aires in 1822, and the British Museum in 1823, closely followed by the National Gallery in 1824 (the National Portrait Gallery, founded in 1857, is even more clearly patriotic in inspiration).

Museums not only express but also shape or even produce a particular sense of the past. The selection of objects to be displayed and their arrangement transmit messages to the viewers as clearly as the labels on the cabinets. In the case of

[12] The phrase comes from Albert Boime, *The Unveiling of the National Icons* (Cambridge, 1998).

archaeology, Christian Thomsen's famous chronology of the stone, bronze, and iron ages emerged from his work on the catalogue of the collection of the Danish Museum of Antiquities. In anthropology, the anti-evolutionist ideas of Franz Boas and his stress on cultural pluralism were formulated in the course of a controversy about the arrangement of Amerindian artefacts in museums such as the Smithsonian in Washington.

By contrast, the later nineteenth century was a great age of monument-building or 'statue-mania'. In Berlin, for instance, only eighteen public monuments could be seen in 1858, but by 1905 the number had risen to 232.[13] Public monuments were and are a powerful means for the construction or reconstruction of what is often described as the 'cultural memory', in other words a shared image of the past. Erecting such a monument is a powerful means of 'canonizing' people or events. The Vendôme column in Paris, for instance, erected in 1810, commemorates the French victory at Austerlitz.

Townscapes were increasingly punctuated by statues of national heroes, including bronze horsemen representing military leaders such as Garibaldi, Bolívar, Wellington, or San Martín or rulers such as Wilhelm I of Germany or Vittorio Emmanuele of Italy. Nearly 400 statues of Garibaldi were erected in Italy and over 300 of Wilhelm in Germany.[14] Politicians such as Bismarck, Cavour, and Gladstone were also placed on pedestals, despite the threat to classical decorum posed by their civilian clothes.

A few writers, intellectuals, and artists were also commemorated in this way, especially in some countries. In Paris in this period, for instance, monuments were erected in prominent places in honour of Diderot and Voltaire, Montaigne and Comte. In London, cultural heroes are more difficult to find, but in Edinburgh a monument to Robert Burns was erected in this period and a much grander one to Walter Scott, inaugurated in 1844. In Italy, statues of Dante remain prominent, in Germany statues of Goethe and Schiller. The Spaniards canonized Cervantes in this way, the Dutch Rembrandt and Vondel, the Poles Copernicus and Mickiewicz, and the Hungarians the poet Sándor Petöfi.

The naming and renaming of streets reinforced these messages. In Paris, for example, a number of street names were changed after the Revolution, more exactly from 1791 onwards. Place Louis XV became Place de la Révolution, Pont Notre Dame became Pont de la Raison, while a quay on the Seine was named Quai Voltaire, once again expressing or shaping changes in collective memories. In Italy after 1870, we find Via Garibaldi (in Genoa for instance), and Via Cavour (in Florence). In some places, such as Brazil, the names of cities were changed to honour local heroes, among them Tiradentes (1889) or Florianópolis (1894), renamed in the first years of the republic to commemorate an eighteenth-century

[13] Reinhard Alings, *Monument und Nation, 1871–1918* (Berlin, 1996), 76.

[14] Ibid., 78; and Lars Berggren and Lennart Sjöstedt, *L'ombra dei grandi: monumenti e politica monumentale a Roma, 1870–1895* (Rome, 1996), 4.

republican conspirator and a soldier, Marshal Floriano Peixoto, who became one of Brazil's first presidents.

A number of streets were named or renamed after important historical dates, reinforcing the message of annual festivals such as 14 July. In Madrid in 1840, for instance, Calle de San Pedro Nueva was renamed Calle del Dos de Mayo (the square of the same name dates from 1869). In Rome, we find Via XX Settembre named after the entry of Garibaldi's troops into the city in 1870. In São Paulo in 1865, Rua de Baixo became Rua 25 de Março, thus commemorating the imperial oath to the constitution on 25 March 1825. Following the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic on 15 November 1889, Rua da Imperatriz in São Paulo became Rua 15 de Novembro. Naming practices of this kind spread still further after the First World War (and in Russia after 1917). Britain, however, stood out and still stands out for its lack of streets named after dates in the nation's history, perhaps because the British prefer the myth of continuity to the myth of revolution.

The importance of generals in the world statue population is worth noting, like the prominence of battles in the names of streets, squares, bridges, and so on. In Paris, for instance, the rue d'Ulm, the Pont d'Iéna, and the Gare d'Austerlitz all celebrate victories of Napoleon, while London commemorates his defeats in the names of Trafalgar Square, Waterloo Bridge, and Maida Vale (named after the battle of Maida in southern Italy, where the British defeated the French in 1806).

THE USES OF THE PAST

Some historical subjects were surely selected for what we now call their 'human interest', in other words their pathos, their emotional appeal. Many paintings represented royal women whose careers were tragic, like Juana La Loca or Mary Queen of Scots. Mary, for example, inspired plays in German, French, Polish, and Norwegian, as well as an opera by Donizetti and many paintings.[15] She also appeared seventy-five times in paintings exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1776 and 1897, accounting for more than 10 per cent of the scenes from British history.[16]

All the same, many images of the past carried clear political messages. The idea of a 'usable past', a phrase coined by the American literary historian Van Wyck Brooks in 1915, is itself a useful one with which to analyse historical representations produced in the nineteenth century. Many works of history reinforced the religious, democratic, or republican values of many of their readers.

[15] Pearl J. Brandwein, *Mary Queen of Scots in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Drama* (New York, 1989); and Roy Strong, *And When Did You Last See Your Father? The Victorian Painter and British History* (London, 1978).

[16] Ibid., 162–3.

Thus John Lothrop Motley, a Protestant from New England, in his *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1855), presented the revolt of the Netherlands as a Protestant reaction against Spanish superstition and tyranny. In his *History of the Norman Conquest of England* (5 vols., 1870–9), the English historian Edward Augustus Freeman, who declared that he would like to have fought at the battle of Hastings, told a story of Anglo-Saxon democracy and freedom.[17] In France, Pierre Larousse, the compiler of the *Grand Dictionnaire*, made some of his historical entries vehicles for his republican views, offering hostile accounts of both Louis IX and Louis XIV.[18]

Late nineteenth-century France was the scene of what might be called 'history wars', with rival school textbooks attempting to inculcate very different values. The history of France by Ernest Lavisse, for instance, was written to support the secular ideology of the new Republic, while a rival textbook by the abbé Lucien Bailleux supported traditional Catholic values.[19]

However, the main theme in the presentation of the past in this period was the celebration of the nation, or, in the case of the British, the celebration of the empire. The national histories written by so many scholars in this period played their part in the construction of imagined national communities, whether they already took the form of independent nation-states or (as in the case of the Poles, or the Czechs) simply aspired to this condition. Some scholars became national heroes for writing their national histories, among them the Swede Erik Gustaf Geijer and the Czech František Palacký. A statue of Geijer was erected in Uppsala in 1885, and one of Palacký in Prague in 1912.

As we have seen, the majority of the images and interpretations of the past that reached ordinary people in Europe and the Americas in this period did not come from the writings of professional historians. Just as today, people, places, and dates are best remembered from their representations on the screen, in this period they were impressed on individual memories by novels, paintings, monuments, and commemorations. For example, the novels of Walter Scott and Mór Jókai evoked national sentiment via their evocations of the Scottish and Hungarian past. An ardent nationalist, Jókai fought for Hungarian independence in 1848.

Historical representations were often allegorical in the sense that viewers were expected to interpret images of events in the remote past as references to more recent ones. In France, François Gérard's *L'Éntrée d'Henri IV à Paris* [Entry of Henri IV into Paris] (1817) made an obvious reference to the Bourbon Restoration in 1815. Victor Hugo's play *Cromwell* (1828) offered a commentary on the career of Napoleon. Although the paintings were begun before the revolution of 1830, and

[17] John Burrow, *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past* (Cambridge, 1981), 155–92.

[18] Ory, 'Le "Grand Dictionnaire" de Pierre Larousse', 241.

[19] Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire générale…à l'usage des candidates au certificate d'études primaries* (Paris, 1884); and Lucien Bailleux, *L'histoire de France enseignée d'après les programmes officiels* (Paris, 1884–7).

may refer to Napoleon, Delaroche's *Les Enfants d'Édouard* [*Princes in the Tower*] (1830) and his *Cromwell and Charles I* (1831) were viewed at the time as comments on the 'usurpation' of Louis Philippe, who is said to have taken offence.[20]

Two contrasting examples from Italy reveal with particular clarity the political uses of history. Giuseppe Bezzuoli's *L'entrata di Carlo VIII in Firenze* [Charles VIII entering Florence] (1829) was commissioned by the Austrian Grand Duke of Florence, Leopoldo II, perhaps to show that a foreign ruler sometimes brings his subjects liberty. Stefano Ussi's *La cacciata del duca d'Atene* [Expulsion of the Duke of Athens from Florence] (1860) painted in the year that Italy became a united nation, was a pictorial answer to Bezzuoli, referring to the expulsion of Leopoldo in 1859 through that of his fourteenth-century predecessor. The ancient Gauls represented the modern Italians in Vincenzo Bellini's *Norma* (1831), just as the Huns represented the Habsburgs in Verdi's *Attila* (1846). The erection of a monument to Joan of Arc, who tried to drive the English invaders from France, in Paris in 1874 made a clear reference to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany in 1871.[21] If *Quo Vadis?* was read abroad as a novel about the early Christians, many readers in Poland, then part of the Russian Empire, viewed it as a denunciation of the tyranny of emperors.

Evocations of national glory were sometimes official, as in the French case, but they were often subversive in this period, as in the case of Italy before unification. Verdi was not a nationalist in any narrow sense of the term, but his operas were often interpreted by listeners as so many calls for a united Italy. His *battaglia di Legnano* [*Battle of Legnano*] had its premiere in Rome in 1849, at the time of the struggle for the unification and the independence of Italy. The opera's libretto (written by Salvatore Cammarano) is full of—anachronistic—references to *Italia* and *la patria*, which were naturally received with enthusiasm. In similar fashion, in Cremona in 1848, performances of Bellini's *Norma* were interrupted by the—foreign—government because the line 'Gaul will be freed from the foreigner' was followed by wild applause.[22]

In Britain, the empire was an even more important focus of attention in this period than the nation. Many images of the past expressed and disseminated imperialist values. John Seeley's *Expansion of England* (1883) justified as well as described the rise of the British Empire. One of the most popular historical paintings by John Everett Millais, *The Boyhood of Raleigh*, romanticizes the life of an adventurer who was often viewed in the nineteenth century as one of the founders of the British Empire. Shakespeare, Raleigh's contemporary, was also pressed

[20] Francis Haskell, 'The Manufacture of the Past in Nineteenth-Century History Painting', in id., *Past and Present in Art and Taste* (New Haven and London, 1987), 77; and Stephen Bann, *Paul Delaroche: History Painted* (London, 1997), 114–15.

[21] Albert Boime, *Hollow Icons: The Politics of Sculpture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Kent, OH, 1987).

[22] John Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Role of the Impresario* (Cambridge, 1984), 166.

into the service of the imperial ideal. In 1916, on the tercentenary of his death, an attempt was made to link the global spread of Shakespeare's influence to the achievements of the empire.[23]

Turning to statues, the dominance of metropolitan heroes over local heroes is one obvious sign of imperialism, as in the case of the many monuments to British rulers, soldiers, and administrators in India, from Governor-General Richard Wellesley (the elder brother of the Duke of Wellington) to Queen Victoria and Lord Curzon (Viceroy of India, 1898–1905). Local heroes were relatively rare, although a monument to the explorers Robert Burke and William Wills was erected in Melbourne (1865) and one to Daniel O'Connell in Dublin (1882).

A particularly striking sign of imperialism was the Memorial erected in Delhi in 1863 to commemorate what the British called the 'Indian Mutiny', while Indians have come to think of it as an unsuccessful war for independence (after India achieved independence in 1947, an inscription was added to the monument extending the commemoration to include the vanquished as well as the victors).

Similar points might be made about the Spanish Empire, symbolized in the many paintings and statues of this period, produced in Mexico as well as Spain, which represented Christopher Columbus and Hernán Cortés. It was only after independence, and sometimes long after, that statues of indigenous heroes such as the Aztec Cuauhtémoc were erected (in his case, in Mexico City in 1887).

THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE MASSES

If we speak of the 'uses' of the past, we need to ask, 'for whom'? Without an account of their reception, an investigation of representations of the past is no more than a skeleton, without flesh on the bones. Historians of this reception can draw on fragments of evidence from very different domains of everyday life, including the naming of children. Romanian boys born in this period were often given names such as Virgil, Ovidiu, or Traian, making them testimonies to the identification of Romania with Rome discussed by national historians such as Nicolae Iorga. In similar fashion Brazilian boys with names such as Washington, Jefferson, Newton, or Edison bore witness to popular interest in the history of democracy, republicanism, science, and technology.

As so many of the examples already cited suggest, the main use of non-academic representations of the past in this period was to assist what the late George Mosse described as the 'nationalization of the masses'.[24] More exactly, we might speak of the use of the past to encourage national sentiments and national loyalties among

[23] Coppélia Kahn, 'Remembering Shakespeare Imperially: The 1916 Tercentenary', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 52 (2001), 456–78.

[24] George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York, 1975).

as high a proportion of the population as possible, including the working classes as well as the middle classes, peasants as well as townspeople and women, children as well as adult males and the inhabitants of national peripheries, often speaking a language of their own such as Breton or Catalan, as well as inhabitants of the centre. The late Eugen Weber emphasized the role of history teaching in schools in late nineteenth-century France (when universal elementary education became obligatory) in replacing regional by national loyalties and so turning 'peasants into Frenchmen'.[25]

A number of the media discussed in this chapter had a much wider popular appeal in their own time than we might expect when we look back from the twenty-first century. The audiences of operas in Italy, for instance, often included artisans and shopkeepers and their families, especially 'as one went down the hierarchy of theatres, seasons, genres and seating areas'.[26] Again, Macaulay's reputation as an historian was not confined to the upper and middle classes. A 'people's edition' of his *History of England* was published, and a group of working men from near Manchester wrote to the author to thank him for writing the book, which had been read aloud to them on Wednesday evenings.[27]

In the case of public monuments, it is often possible to discover who commissioned them. The German Reichstag, for instance, financed the equestrian monument to Wilhelm I, erected in Berlin for the centenary of his birth in 1897. Other monuments were unofficial, and some represent the result of 'culture wars'. Thus the subscription campaign for a statue of Voltaire, begun in 1867, was led by the republican anticlerical editor Léonor Havin.[28] In similar fashion, anticlerical Italians, some of them Masons, campaigned with international support for the erection of a statue of Giordano Bruno in Rome, in the square (the Campo dei Fiori) where Bruno was burned for heresy, treating him as a symbol of freedom of thought and expressing a view of history as the struggle between science and religion, liberty and repression.[29]

Subscriptions often reveal a relatively wide participation in the construction of monuments, as a few examples from London may suggest. A statue of the upper-class radical Major Cartwright, opponent of slavery and supporter of the French Revolution, was, according to the words on the pedestal, 'erected by public

[25] Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, 1976).

[26] Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi*, 45.

[27] William Thomas, 'Macaulay, Thomas Babington', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17349 (accessed 7 December 2010).

[28] Stephen Bird, *Reinventing Voltaire: The Politics of Commemoration in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2000).

[29] Lars Berggren, *Giordano Bruno på Campo dei Fiori: Ett monument projekt i Rom, 1876–1889* (Lund, 1991); and a brief account in Martin Papenheim, 'Roma o morte: Culture Wars in Italy', in Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (eds.), *Culture Wars: Secular–Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, 2003), 202–26, at pp. 217–23.

subscription' in London in 1831. Inscriptions on a cluster of statues in Waterloo Place offer relatively precise information about the circumstances in which they came to be put up: one of J. F. Burgoyne 'erected by his brother officers of the Royal Engineers'; another of Sir John Franklin, Arctic explorer, 'erected by the unanimous vote of Parliament'; a third, of R. F. Scott (a naval officer more famous as 'Scott of the Antarctic'), 'erected by officers of the fleet'; a fourth, of John Lawrence of the Punjab, civil servant in India, 'erected by his fellow subjects, British and Indian', yet another expression of imperialism.

Hostile responses should not be forgotten, among them iconoclasm. Statues of Louis XIV in Paris were toppled in 1792, like statues of Lenin and Stalin in Eastern Europe after 1989. Eighteen days of rioting followed the laying of the foundation stone of the monument in Dublin to Daniel O'Connell in 1864. In 1871, during the Paris Commune, the painter Gustave Courbet successfully proposed the dismantling of the Vendôme column that Napoleon had erected to his own glory. Presenting an image of the past that supported slavery and the Ku Klux Klan, the film *Birth of a Nation* led to protests from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as well as from individuals. One might say that Griffith provoked a culture war, or at least a debate over the interpretation of American history.

Like the erection of statues, the organization of commemorations was the work of individuals and groups who often had their own agenda. For example, the anniversary of the defeat of the French at Sedan on 2 September 1870 became a national festival thanks to the initiative of an association of German Protestants. The initiative for the commemoration in 1878 of the centenaries of the death of Voltaire and Rousseau came from the left wing of the Paris municipal council and emphasized Voltaire's anticlerical side.[30]

Festivals were often de-activated or re-activated according to the political needs of the moment. 'Bastille Day' in France, 14 July, was a 'militant festival' in the early years of the Third Republic, especially between 1880 and 1889, but was abandoned by the Left between 1906 and 1914. In the case of 2 May in Spain, a recent historian speaks of 'the slow and difficult institutionalization of the patriotic myth as a national festival' between 1808 and 1840, because the popular associations of the event were too radical for the government. Again, in 1863, the government cancelled the festival, but it took place anyway in unofficial form.[31]

The celebrations of 12 July in Northern Ireland and 5 November in England both fluctuated between 1800 and 1914 according to the political temperature. In the early nineteenth century 5 November was re-politicized in response to Catholic Emancipation and the re-establishment of Catholic bishops in Britain. As for 12 July,

[30] Fritz Schellack, *Nationalfeiertage in Deutschland von 1871 bis 1945* (Frankfurt, 1990), 69, 132; and Jean-Marie Goulemot and Eric Walter, 'Les centenaires de Voltaire et Rousseau', in Nora (ed.), *Les Lieux de mémoire*, i. 381–420, at p. 388.

[31] Amalvi, 'Le 14-Juillet'; Demange, *El Dos de Mayo*, 135–6, 152, 169.

from the 1870s onwards, the customary parades in Northern Ireland expressed and mobilized unofficial Protestant opposition to the movement for 'Home Rule', in other words self-government for Ireland within the British Empire.[32]

For a spectacular case of the unintended consequences of a festival, we may turn to the work of an American anthropologist, William L. Warner.[33] Focusing on a place he called 'Yankee City' (Newburyport, Mass.), Warner presented an analysis of the public celebration in the 1930s of the city's tercentenary, a pageant that included a procession with forty-two historical tableaux. The book's message might be summed up in the paradox that commemorations of the past make statements about the present. In traditional functionalist fashion, Warner described the Tercentenary celebrations as the story of 'what the collectivity believed and wanted itself to be' (in similar fashion, a few years later, the anthropologist Clifford Geertz would describe the cockfight in Bali as a story that the Balinese 'tell themselves about themselves').

The problem with these formulations is obvious enough. Who are 'they'? Does everyone (rich and poor, male and female, old and young) tell the same story? The rituals may well be so many attempts to achieve consensus, attempting to annihilate or deny distance or disagreement. On the other hand, these collective performances of memory sometimes revealed cracks in the community.

Yankee City was not socially homogeneous. On the contrary, like so many American cities, it was an urban mosaic of ethnic groups which had mostly arrived in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the case of the tercentenary celebrations, each group sponsored a float. A problem arose when the leaders of the Jewish community were asked to sponsor a float representing Benedict Arnold, the revolutionary general who turned traitor and joined the British. In other words, whether consciously or unconsciously, the organizers seem to have identified Benedict Arnold with Judas and Judas with the Jews. Following an 'embarrassing public situation', the Jewish community were offered a different float.

Again, in the more famous case of the centenary of the independence of the United States in 1876, some attempts of African-Americans to join in the celebrations were rebuffed, while the American Indians did not even offer to take part and the feminist Susan Anthony presented an unofficial Women's Declaration of Independence. In similar fashion, the centenary of the French Revolution in 1889, organized by two rival associations, showed—like its bicentenary in 1989—that the revolution had different meanings for different groups, moderate and radical.[34] In all these cases, it was the very performance of national unity that revealed political and social divisions.

[32] Details in Peter Burke, 'Co-Memorations: Performing the Past', in Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter (eds.), *Performing the Past: Memory, History and Identity in Modern Europe* (Amsterdam, 2010).

[33] William L. Warner, *The Living and the Dead: A Study of the Symbolic Life of Americans* (New Haven, 1959).

[34] Ory, 'Le Centenaire de la Révolution Française', 546.

To conclude this chapter it may be illuminating to raise the question of the gap between professional and non-professional history at this time. Professionalization was widening this gap. The Cambridge professor John Seeley, for instance, who saw himself as a 'scientific' historian, dismissed both Macaulay and Carlyle as 'charlatans', too much concerned with 'thrilling the reader'.[35] His equivalent in France was the Paris professor Alphonse Aulard, who distanced himself from amateurs such as the Goncourt brothers. In Germany, the Lamprecht affair both revealed and widened the gap between amateurs and professionals.[36] Karl Lamprecht was a professional historian who was described as a charlatan by many colleagues (at least in his own country) while being read with enthusiasm by members the general public.

The contrast between professionals and amateurs overlapped with the contrast between male and female writers. In this period women were generally excluded from the study and teaching of history (as of other subjects) at university level. They were autodidacts and amateurs, authors of historical novels such as *Wilhelm Tell* (1891), by the Swiss Johanna Gredig. They also wrote history for children (like Maria Calcott) or monographs on 'the history of women, of social life, of high and low culture', such as Anaïs Bassanville's history of French salons, *Salons d'autrefois* [Salons of Former Times] (1862–6), or Julia Cartwright's study of the Renaissance princess *Isabella d'Este* (1903).[37] In this respect, like male authors such as Edmond de Goncourt, J. R. Green, and Gustav Freytag, these women were more innovative than the professional historians of their day.[38]

On the other hand, some professional historians such as Geijer and Palacký deliberately wrote for a wide public and achieved a considerable degree of success in this respect. Jules Michelet, a professional who lost his position for refusing to swear allegiance to Napoleon III, became the most famous French historian, author of a huge *Histoire de France* (17 vols., 1833–67) and a history of the French Revolution. School textbooks were sometimes written by leading academic historians. In France, Ernest Lavisse wrote a general history described on its title-page as 'for the use of candidates for the certificate of primary studies', which sold millions of copies, while the historian of the French Revolution, Alphonse Aulard, collaborated with an inspector-general of education on a textbook entitled *Notions d'histoire générale et Histoire de France* [Notions of General History and the History of France] (1895).[39]

[35] Deborah Wormell, *Sir John Seeley and the Uses of History* (Cambridge, 1980), 126–8; and cf. Ian Hesketh, 'Diagnosing Froude's Disease: Boundary Work and the Discipline of History in Late-Victorian Britain', *History and Theory*, 47:3 (2008), 373–95.

[36] See ch. 3 by Eckhardt Fuchs in this volume.

[37] Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 6.

[38] Jonathan Dewald, *Lost Worlds: The Emergence of French Social History, 1815–1970* (University Park, Penn., 2006).

[39] Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire générale… à l'usage des candidates au certificate d'études primaires* (Paris, 1884); and Pierre Nora, 'Lavisse, instituteur national', in id. (ed.) *Les Lieux de mémoire*,

Other historical writers are difficult to place on either side of the divide, among them the North Americans William Prescott and John Motley, who had studied history at university but were able to devote themselves to writing thanks to their private means. Equally hard to classify is Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, an autodidact who was given a chair at the University of Athens in 1851 and became the most famous Greek historian of his time, author of the *Istoria tou ellinikou ethnous* [History of the Greek Nation] (1850–74). Even in an age of professionalization, there remained a place for the amateur—or the semi-amateur.

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i. 247–90, at p. 247. We lack a study of the textbooks of the period comparable to Marc Ferro's *The Use and Abuse of History: or How the Past is Taught* (London, 1984); orig. pub. as *Comment on raconte l'histoire aux enfants* (Paris, 1981).

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Chapter 7

Censorship and History, 1914–45: Historiography in the Service of Dictatorships

Antoon De Baets

In dictatorial regimes, a small group illegitimately holds power over the state with backing from the military. Two types are commonly distinguished: authoritarian regimes that use force to impose their rule and repress dissent, and totalitarian regimes that *in addition* try to impose control on all aspects of life, including the private sphere. While both types of dictatorship are ideological to differing degrees, the latter try to inculcate a utopian doctrine that demands complete commitment in exchange for a golden future. They are more radical (either left or right), while the former are more traditional. The 1914–45 period knew many such regimes—at least sixteen in Europe alone. While most had a local appeal, a few had a significant influence beyond their borders (the USSR, Nazi Germany, Imperialist Japan, Fascist Italy, Franco's Spain, and Estado Novo Portugal).

When dictatorial regimes fall, the possibility of democracy opens. Emerging democracies struggled with the legacy of dictatorship—particularly with the risk of relapse—and retained dictatorial elements that hampered academic freedom. Paradoxically, even secure democracies sometimes adopted information policies based on excessive secrecy reminiscent of harsher regimes. In addition, they were able to act dictatorially in their colonies and annexed territories—preaching enlightened forms of colonialism while ruling with an iron hand.

LEADERS

Many pre-war leaders were keenly interested in history. The Prime Minister of Romania, Nicolae Iorga (1931–2), and the Vice-Premier of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Jovanović (1941), were professional historians; the Prime Minister of Bulgaria in 1940–5, Bogdan Filov, was a professional archaeologist. The first was assassinated by the Fascist Iron Guard in 1940; the second became an exile in 1941 and premier of the Royal Yugoslav government-in-exile; the third was executed by the Fatherland Front government in February 1945.

Among the leaders interested in history, many dictators and semi-dictators were convinced that they had a particular relationship with history. In Nazi Germany, for example, Adolf Hitler idolized antiquity. In Turkey, a country dealing with the trauma of a dissolved empire, the new leader, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, had to invent national grandeur. In a speech that lasted six days, he revised contemporary events from 1918 to 1927 in order to adjust retrospectively his personal merits. His ideology in the late 1920s and 1930s postulated that the Turks had been the first people to inhabit the earth (the 'Turkish history thesis'), that Turkish was the language originally spoken by humanity, and that all Semitic and Indo-European languages descended from it (the 'sun-language theory').[1]

Some leaders even wrote history themselves. For example, generations learned by rote the contents of the *Istoriia Vsesoiuznoi Kommunisticheskoi Partii (bol'shevikov): Kratkii kurs* [Short Course of the History of the All-Union Communist Party: Short Course] (1938), a distorted account of Russian and Soviet history attributed to Stalin himself and published as volume 15 of his *Collected Works* (but allegedly ghost-written by Pyotr Pospelov). This textbook, of which 50 million copies were printed, dominated history teaching in the USSR and its satellites for fifteen years.

PROPAGANDA IN DICTATORSHIPS

Given that so many leaders, including dictators, were interested in history, it seems natural that major dictatorial regimes enlisted history in the service of their ideology. Nazi Germany, as is well known, was meant to become a Third Reich: the first had been the Holy Roman Empire (962–1806) and the second the German Empire (1871–1918). The third, then, was meant to last far longer than the first but in fact was shorter than the second. The Nazi doctrine was an amalgam of racist, anti-liberal, and anti-Marxist ideas. Historians such as Walter Frank of the Reichsinstitut for the History of the New Germany and Heinrich von Srbik in Austria, and archaeologists such as Gustaf Kossinna at an early stage and Herbert Jankuhn and Hans Reinerth later—to name but the most important—lent theoretical ammunition to its aims. Many others supported explicitly or tacitly the policy of *Gleichschaltung* (homogenisation). Although the nets cast during twelve years of Nazi propaganda (1933–45) were not very tight and competition between rival propaganda factions was fierce, the majority of historians—already predominantly conservative-nationalist before the First World War

[1] Nusret Baycan, 'Atatürk as a Historian', *Revue internationale d'histoire militaire*, 50 (1981), 265–74; Kerim Key, 'Trends in Turkish Historiography', in The Middle East Institute (ed.), *Report on Current Research on the Middle East* (Spring 1957), 39–46; David Gordon, *Self-Determination and History in the Third World* (Princeton, 1971), 89–97; and Wendy Shaw, 'Whose Hittites and Why? Language, Archaeology and the Quest for the Original Turks', in Michael Galaty and Charles Watkinson (eds.), *Archaeology under Dictatorship* (New York, 2006), 131–53.

and increasingly resentful during the Weimar Republic—resorted to the *Schere im Kopf* (scissors in the head) and to *Selbst-Gleichschaltung* (adaptation).

The historical points of reference for Fascist Italy were Roman antiquity and the Risorgimento (the 1815–70 period of unification). A cult of *romanità*, focusing particularly on the Emperor Augustus, was developed by Pietro De Francisci and others. The leading Fascist intellectuals—Gioacchino Volpe for history, Giovanni Gentile for philosophy—allowed some latitude to selected nonconformist historians: it made Italy perhaps the least rigid but also the least predictable of all dictatorships. Franco's Spain emphasized the country's national and Catholic past. While the period of *reconquista* was exalted, regional, Muslim, and Jewish contributions were disregarded, and democratic and communist values found suspect. Between 1938 and 1941, the historian Juan Contreras y López de Ayala vetted history textbooks to ensure orthodoxy. Portugal's dictator António Salazar advocated an Estado Novo (New State), a concept borrowed by Getúlio Vargas when he installed his dictatorship in Brazil. However, Vargas was one of those dictators apparently not particularly interested in history. In Japan, the prevailing imperial view of the emperor's divine origins increasingly helped justify ultra-nationalist military expansionism.

In 1917 tsarist Russia had been toppled and replaced by the USSR. After a short period in which Marxist and non-Marxist historians coexisted, Soviet historiography was forcefully installed. It was guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the laws of historical materialism to explain the class struggle. Themes within the canon had to be handled according to orthodoxy; themes outside it were likely to be ostracized. Few of the old historical journals survived. Historical scholarship was redefined as 'the historical front' at which wars were lost or won; it was characterized by frequent retrospective rewriting. Mikhail Pokrovskii, whose 1920 *Russkaya istoriya v samom szhatom ocherke* (translated as *Brief History of Russia*, 1933) had been praised by Lenin, was the historian who led the Sovietization of history via the Society of Marxist Historians. Around 1932–4, however, a major shift took place: the Soviet conception of history became less class-based and more patriotic and Russocentric. Increasingly, commitment to the line of the Communist Party (*partiinost*) was placed above any aspiration to objectivity.

Like Hitler, the Greek dictator Ioannis Metaxas identified three landmarks of glory: the Athens of Pericles, Byzantium, and his own Third Hellenic Civilization. Smaller right-wing, semi-dictatorial regimes were similar. In Romania, many claimed historical continuity between the Dacians and modern Romanians until long after the Second World War. In Yugoslavia, King Aleksandar tried to incorporate a mythic version of the 1389 battle of Kosovo into a new 'Yugoslav' historical awareness. In fact, this was a form of Serbianization challenged by Croats and Slovenes who had other episodes to cherish. In 1937 an influential historian (and future minister), Vasa Čubrilović, launched an appeal for the ethnic cleansing of Albanians in Kosovo.

In many regimes outside Europe also, history was moulded to the needs of the moment. In the Dominican Republic, the court historian of dictator Rafael Trujillo, Manuel Arturo Peña Battle, defended the ideology of *Hispanidad* (the country's Hispanic and Catholic character).[2] The official Academia Dominicana de la Historia (Dominican Academy of History) could apply legal sanctions if its judgements were contested. In the same region, Mexico was a fragile state struggling with the legacy of a decade of divisive revolution. It was a one-party state rather than a dictatorship. In the early 1920s, under the impetus of Minister of Education (and historian) José Vasconcelos, a nationalistic *historia de bronce* (bronze history) was forged: the Mexican Revolution had been a national struggle against the injustice of dictator Porfirio Díaz and therefore Mexico had to be proud of its *mestizo* identity (its mixture of indigenous and European elements). Mural paintings commissioned by the government surveyed Mexican history and rediscovered the Aztec contribution to history and thus became an important vehicle for this *mexicanidad*. In South Africa, Gustav Preller was the historian who created many of the myths of Afrikaner nationalism that dominated the Union of South Africa after 1910 and in so doing he helped pave the way for the segregation that was eventually institutionalized as apartheid in 1948.[3]

China was a special case. Prolonged turmoil after the 1911 downfall of the emperor brought the era of warlords, conflict between nationalists and communists, and the gradual occupation of the country by Japan between 1931 and 1945, making life precarious for virtually all historians. The communists were perhaps more historically minded than the nationalists. In the years of their retreat, communist rebels would wage debates about the periodization of Chinese history. In 1939, Mao Zedong, who in 'On the Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party' had adopted a sinicized version of Marxism and focused on the peasantry as a revolutionary force,[4] decided that it was preferable to speak about a feudal rather than an Asiatic mode of production and that in China this feudal mode lasted from the eleventh century BC until the first Opium War (1839–42). During the rectification campaign of 1942–4, the history of the post-1919 era was rewritten to place him at its centre. In April 1945, Mao's views were transformed into the new orthodoxy in the 'Resolution on Some Questions in the History of our Party', written by his political secretary, Hu Qiaomu.[5] This would remain standard until 1981.

[2] Francisco Scarano, 'Slavery and Emancipation in Caribbean History', in B. W. Higman (ed.), *General History of the Caribbean*, vol. 6 (London and Oxford, 1999), 265 n. 78; and Roberto Cassá, 'Historiography of the Dominican Republic', ibid., 388–416.

[3] Floors van Jaarsveld, 'Gustav Preller (1875–1943): Sy historiese bewussyn en geskiedbeskouing', in id., *Afrikanergeskiedskrywing: Verlede, hede en toekoms* ([Pretoria], 1992), 18–40.

[4] Mao Zedong, 'On the Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China', in *Collected Works of Mao Zedong*, vol. 2 (Beijing, 1968), 305–34.

[5] 'Resolution on Some Questions of History', in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*, (New York, 1954–6), vol. 4, 171–85.

In all these very divergent dictatorial, semi-dictatorial, and one-party contexts, many historians toed the official propagandistic line of the day, while those who actively resisted it were always in a minority.

ARCHIVES UNDER CONTROL

The centrality of history in dictatorial ideologies had other effects. Many dictatorial regimes kept meticulous records on their citizens. Prime evidence of this is the Holocaust archive at Bad Arolsen, Germany, which contains 50 million pages of information (26 kilometres of shelves) on 17.5 million people (Jews, slave labourers, political prisoners, and homosexuals). The files were discovered by the Allies in dozens of concentration camps in the spring of 1945. Chief archivist Udo Jost called them the 'bureaucracy of the devil'.[6] When asked why the Nazis kept all these records, the American Holocaust scholar Paul Shapiro said that they probably wanted to show that they were getting the job done.[7] The Gestapo also painstakingly documented its deeds, although few relatively intact sets of Gestapo records have been preserved. In the USSR, the Chief Archival Administration was under direct control of the secret police NKVD/KGB from 1938 to 1960.

ATTACKS OF LEADERS ON HISTORIANS

Large groups of historians were victimized because they disagreed with the distorted views of the ruler. A first—and very restricted—category of persecuted historians were those who were publicly attacked by the supreme leaders themselves. In Italy, for example, Mussolini is said to have intervened personally to curb the academic careers of Arnaldo Momigliano, Mario Attila Levi, and Piero Treves. In the USSR, both Lenin and Stalin championed this strategy of personal attack. In 1922, Pitirim Sorokin, a sociologist and historian and Aleksandr Kerensky's former secretary in the 1917 Provisional Government, was attacked by Lenin for writing the article 'The Influence of War upon Population'.[8] Lenin also twice complained in *Izvestia* that Sorokin corrupted the youth and should be expelled from the USSR.[9] Sorokin's book *Golod kako factor* [*Hunger as a Factor in Human Affairs*], largely written during the famine of 1919–21, was censored in

[6] Daniel Schorn, 'Revisiting the Horrors of the Holocaust: Millions of Nazi Documents Are Being Made Available to the Public', *CBS News*, 17 December 2006, http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2006/12/14/60minutes/main2267927.shtml (accessed 13 April 2011).

[7] Ibid.

[8] Pitirim Sorokin, *Leaves from a Russian Diary—and Thirty Years After* (1950; repr., New York, 1970), 273.

[9] Elena Sorokin, 'My Life with Pitirim Sorokin', *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology*, 5:1 (January–April 1975), 22.

May 1922 and later destroyed. Sorokin departed into exile the next September. In June 1923, Stalin attacked Bashkurt Orientalist and historian Zeki Velidi Togan in a speech. Four months before, Velidi (called Validov by Stalin) had gone into exile in Turkey after he had led the Basmachi rebels against the incorporation of (Western) Turkestan into the USSR. Stalin's most notorious attack, however, was directed against historian A. G. Slutsky in October 1931. In a 1930 article for *Proletarskaya revolyutsiya*,[10] Slutsky had suggested that before 1914 Lenin had not sufficiently supported the radical wing of the German Social Democratic Party and that in fact he had not been a real Bolshevik. Stalin branded Slutsky as a 'semi-Trotskyist' and 'falsifier of the history of our Party', and spoke of axioms not in need of further analysis. He wrote: 'Who, except archive rats, does not understand that a party and its leaders must be tested primarily by their deeds and not merely by their declarations?'[11] Slutsky was expelled from the Communist Party and from the Society of Marxist Historians, but survived. The effect of the letter on Soviet historians has been described as 'cataclysmic'.[12] Later, in January 1936, Stalin branded the late Pokrovskii as anti-Marxist and anti-patriotic. Pokrovkii's works were purged and many of his closest followers fell; he was rehabilitated only in 1961. Pokrovkii's famous 1931 dictum that 'It is the essence of history . . . that it is the most political of all sciences' proved to be true in his own case.[13]

CENSORSHIP

Other historians in the USSR came under attack. A massive crackdown on Soviet historians, for example, had taken place between 1928 and 1933, when more than 100 'deviant' non-communist, 'bourgeois' historians and archaeologists were hunted down on trumped-up charges and exiled, imprisoned, or shot. Among them was Sergei Platonov, perhaps the most famous Russian historian at the time. In the countries occupied by the Nazis and their allies, numerous Jewish and left-wing historians were censored and persecuted. To mention just one example: most of *Quatre-Vingt-Neuf* [*The Coming of the French Revolution*], a 1939 book about the French Revolution written by Georges Lefebvre, professor at the Sorbonne, was destroyed by the Vichy regime. Lefebvre retired in 1941 but continued to lecture almost without compensation until 1945, apparently in an attempt to prevent a Vichy adherent from occupying the chair.

[10] Joseph Stalin, 'Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism: Letter to the Editorial Board of the Magazine "Proletarskaya Revolutsia"', in id., *Works*, vol. 13: *July 1930–January 1934* (Moscow, 1955), 86–104.

[11] Ibid., 99.

[12] John Barber, *Soviet Historians in Crisis, 1928–1932* (London, 1981), 126.

[13] Mikhail Pokrovsky, 'O zadachakh marksistskoi istoricheskoi nauki v rekonstruktivnyi period', *Istorik marksist*, 31 (1931), 5; translation in Fritz Stern (ed.), *The Varieties of History: From Voltaire to the Present* (Cleveland and New York, 1956), 335–41, as part of the section 'History under Modern Dictatorships: M. N. Pokrovskii, Walter Frank, and K. A. von Müller'.

The picture is similar in most other dictatorial regimes. In Brazil, for example, at the same time that French historians helped to fertilize historical writing at the University of the Federal District, Rio de Janeiro, in the 1930s, historians such as Gilberto Freyre, Octávio Tarquínio de Sousa, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, and Caio Prado, Jr., were all watched as politically suspect—and silenced, dismissed, or exiled. In some Latin American countries where historians were public intellectuals—often, because no history training existed, with an education in law—they would combine their craft with diplomatic or political careers, which doubled the risks under a dictatorial regime.

A clear indicator of censorship was the official policy towards historical journals. In Nazi Germany the definitive takeover of historical writing came in February 1935. The renowned *Historische Zeitschrift* (which had already made some concessions to the Nazis—under protest from the editor, Otto Hintze) was partially Nazified by its new editor, the historian and President of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Karl Alexander von Müller. Most editorial board members, including leading historians Friedrich Meinecke, Hermann Oncken, and Hans Rothfels, were forced to resign. Suspended in 1943 when two issues already printed were destroyed, the *Historische Zeitschrift* resumed in 1949, under a new editor, Ludwig Dehio. Von Müller was dismissed in 1945. Other historical journals led a precarious existence. The Jewish historian Henri Berr's *Revue de synthèse* was banned during the German occupation of France. And the name of another Jewish historian, Marc Bloch, disappeared from the cover of the *Annales* (of which he was a co-founder), although he continued to contribute under a pseudonym.

EXILE

A common sanction was the exile of 'enemy groups': in Nazi Germany, these were Jews, socialists, and communists; in Italy, the same categories plus liberals; in Spain, republicans; in China, nationalists, communists, and anti-communists (depending on place and time); in Japan, liberals; in the USSR, anti-communists or communists of the wrong school (particularly Trotskyists). Some were double exiles. For example, the Russian exiles who fled to Central Europe were forced to flee again after Hitler came to power, farther west, like Alexander Gerschenkron, or east again, like Simon Dubnov. Some Central European Jewish historians went to Italy, where they were driven out after the introduction of the race laws in 1938. Many Spanish historians took refuge in France in 1939, only to flee over the ocean when France was occupied one year later. Coups in Latin America caused some of them to move yet again. Indeed, historians fled succeeding dictatorships, like the Hungarian Oszkár Jászi, a historian, sociologist, and politician, who after his flight in 1919 never returned to his homeland before he died in 1957: he was officially charged with treason under the counter-revolutionary Horthy regime (1920–44) and regarded 'an enemy of the people' in communist Hungary

until 1956. In 1991 his remains returned to Hungary. Some refugee historians (though not the majority) were politically active abroad: Cuban, Czech, Dominican, Greek, Korean, Polish, Spanish, and Yugoslav refugee historians even became members of governments-in-exile and similar resistance initiatives.

Dictatorship, either new or old, was the most likely cause of exile. Other causes—civil wars; partition and annexation of countries; flight after the fall of a dictatorship—were less prominent. Furthermore, internal exile was a systematic practice in the USSR and Franco's Spain, but also known in many other countries.

COLONIAL COUNTRIES

Apart from some works written on the eve of independence, evidence that European metropolitan countries produced a critical historiography about their colonies before 1945 is weak. Most historical works about colonialism were apologetic and those critical of the enterprise were seldom well received. The first book of French historian Charles-André Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord: Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc* [*History of North Africa: From the Arab Conquest to 1830*] (1931), which supported demands of North African nationalists for colonial reform, for example, earned Julien the hostility of many French in the Maghreb. The Canadian Wilfred Cantwell Smith's 1943 book *Modern Islam in India: A Social Analysis*, describing the transformation of the traditional Muslim community into a modern society during the preceding seventy-five years, was banned in British India because of its alleged communist approach. In Britain itself, however, works critical of British imperial policy could appear.

Critical historical writing about the colonies by indigenous historians was even rarer. On the supply side, universities in the colonies were poorly developed before 1945 and the indigenous elite capable of writing such histories was small. On the side of demand, the level of schooling of potential readers was generally low. Colonial censorship did the rest.

Apart from Europeans, there were the Japanese and the American colonizers. The Japanese colonization of Korea (1910–45) provoked a struggle for independence. The exiled historian Pak Ŭn-sik became prime minister and later president of a provisional government-in-exile in Shanghai. Historian Ch'oe Nam-sŏn drafted Korea's declaration of independence during the 1 March 1919 movement, for which he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Later, however, he tended to support the Japanese rule of Korea. In 1949 he was even found guilty of betraying Korea because he had co-authored *Chosŏn yŏksa* [Korean History], a 1930 book designed to justify Japanese colonialism; he was released in 1950. In other countries under Japanese occupation, like the Dutch East Indies (the future Indonesia) in 1942–5, the teaching of the history of Western countries was forbidden, historical research on Indonesian history and culture stopped, and nationalist views were muted.

The Philippines were an American colony until 1946. As a student, the future critical historian Renato Constantino was arrested briefly in 1939 and interrogated by the American colonial authorities at Fort Santiago in Manila, because as chief editor of the student newspaper *Philippine Collegian* he had written an article exposing American crimes perpetrated against the Filipino population during the 'pacification campaign' of 1899–1902. Constantino was released after he declared that his source had been an American book published uncensored in New York in 1926.[14] This incident made Constantino determined to re-examine Philippine history.[15]

Obstacles to historical writing in the annexed territories of the USSR were similar to those in the colonies. Research into the nineteenth-century annexation of non-Russian nations by tsarist Russia, their twentieth-century forced Sovietization, and the ensuing resistance and uprisings led to the censorship of scores of non-Russian historians. Official Soviet views of tsarist annexations could change dramatically: historians were attacked, first for failing to demonstrate that tsarist annexations had been reactionary and colonial, and that resistance against them was progressive; later, and especially from 1934 when Russian nationalism had to fuel Soviet patriotism, for failing to demonstrate that the annexations were progressive and that the resistance against them was reactionary. Gradually, non-Russian pre-annexation history became described as 'feudal' and its peoples (the Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, etc.) as suppressed by pre-Russian (Tatar, Iranian, and Islamic) tyrannies. This history was vilified in order to prevent anti-Soviet sentiments or calls for independence. Evidence that non-Russian peoples had migrated from elsewhere to their present territories or had been part of other empires such as China was equally dangerous. A few years later, in 1940, the forced incorporation of the Baltic countries into the USSR would be presented as an act of free choice.

INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES

After the First World War most Middle Eastern countries that had been part of the Ottoman Empire became either mandate territories or independent countries. They, too, struggled with the boundaries of free expression, particularly when the role of Islam was at stake. One of the most notorious examples was the Taha Hussein affair in Egypt. In 1926 the blind literary historian Taha Hussein had written *Fi al-shi'r al-jahili* [On Pre-Islamic Poetry], a book in which he maintained that great portions of pre-Islamic poetry had been forged after the

[14] Rosalinda Pineda-Ofreneo, 'Renato Constantino: Approximating a Self-Portrait', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 30:3 (2000), 324; and Roland Simbulan, 'Renato Constantino: The Centennial Filipino Scholar, 1919–1999', ibid., 405.

[15] For example, Renato Constantino with Letizia Constantino, *A History of the Philippines: From the Spanish Colonization to the Second World War* (New York, 1975).

rise of Islam. He doubted the historical reliability of some Qur'an chapters. In addition, he hinted at the possibility that if the authenticity of orally transmitted pre-Islamic poetry could be questioned, so could the authenticity of oral traditions about the life and sayings of Muhammad. The book became the subject of a great controversy. A special al-Azhar committee labelled it blasphemous. The Egyptian University, where Hussein worked, confiscated all copies. Hussein's resignation was demanded and his life was threatened. Questions were asked in Parliament. Charges of heresy were brought against him, but in 1927 Hussein was found not guilty. Even so, he publicly apologized in a letter. In a revised version of the book (1927), Hussein removed the offending reference to Abraham and Ismail but expanded the remainder of his argument.

In Iran, a country that was never colonized, Ahmad Kasravi's case stands out.[16] A judge who was forced to resign in 1933, Kasravi briefly taught history and wrote about it widely. He criticized the imams' power of intervention and the emphasis of Shi'ism on past issues that, according to him, were irrelevant to current life. Kasravi and his group of supporters instituted an annual 'festival of book burning' to destroy harmful writings which they had owned before joining the group. They met with violent opposition: many of Kasravi's books, including several histories, were banned; his supporters, united in the Azadegan Society (founded 1941), were ostracized. At the instigation of the speaker of the parliament and the ministries of education and justice, Kasravi was charged with 'slandering Islam' and called 'the most notorious enemy of Islam'. In 1944, Ruhollah Khomeini wrote a tract, *Kashf al-Asrar* [Revelation of Secrets], in which he attacked Kasravi and issued a *fatwa* against him for ridiculing Islam. Kasravi became the target of an assassination attempt in April 1945. Prime Minister Mohammad Sadr brought formal charges against him for propagating 'heretical ideas'. In March 1946, during preliminary hearings on the charges, Kasravi was assassinated by the Fedaiyan-e Islam (Devotees of Islam) in Tehran. His body remained unburied for a number of days, because no religious authority would perform the funeral rites. A high military tribunal acquitted his two murderers. After the Islamic Republic was installed in 1979, Ayatollah Khomeini still attacked Kasravi posthumously.

The impact of the dictatorships on the efforts of historians to maintain a global community deserves attention. The historical profession had stumbled into a deep crisis after the First World War. According to many professional historians, nationalist pride drawn from distorted visions of history had been a major underlying cause of the Great War, and, as they bitterly confessed, many among them had encouraged these visions. The result was glaring mistrust between historians of different countries. On the positive side, it was proven *a contrario* that international cooperation and mutual understanding were needed to avoid further

[16] Ervand Abrahamian, 'Kasravi: The Integrative Nationalist of Iran', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 9:3 (October 1973), 290–1; Mohammad Ali Jazayery, 'Kasravi, Iconoclastic Thinker of Twentieth-Century Iran', in Ahmad Kasravi, *On Islam and Shi'ism* (Costa Mesa, 1990), 23, 32–3, 45, 50 n. 34, 53 n. 93.

disaster. '*La science n'a pas de patrie*' (scholarship has no fatherland), as the Belgian Henri Pirenne, a major player in the international *rapprochement* of historians, formulated it.[17] Within this context, the International Committee of Historical Sciences (ICHS) was founded in 1926.[18] Its early years were very difficult. The Germans remained excluded from it until 1928.[19] The committee itself, although nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1934–6, was gradually caught in the turmoil of the 1930s and barely survived the Second World War. A few episodes from these uncertain early years are recalled here.

In 1932 the German Robert Holtzmann resigned as chairman of an ICHS commission responsible for the compilation of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* because mention of an article about the history of German schools in South Tyrol was removed at the instigation of the Italians. In November 1934 the commission decided that the *International Bibliography* had to omit literature published after 1919 in order to avoid lists with pseudoscientific titles from dictatorial countries. In 1937, when the volume for the year 1935 was ready to go to press, the Soviet historian Nikolai Lukin demanded that 83 titles be withdrawn from 354 Soviet entries, to be replaced by 110 new ones, apparently because the 83 were related to Leon Trotsky.

When leading historians in a particular country became the target of persecution—Gaetano De Sanctis in Italy, Alfons Dopsch in Austria, Hans Rothfels in Germany, Stanisław Kot in Poland, Mikhail Hrushevsky in the USSR—the ICHS Bureau was slow and timid to react. In general, the interest in its own survival by avoiding a conflict with the official delegations of historians of new, abusive regimes was greater than the interest in defending colleagues who had fallen into disgrace. Despite efforts of Secretary-General Michel Lhéritier to continue ICHS's work during the Second World War even at the cost of collaboration with the Nazis, its activities were suspended. In 1945, Lhéritier, who had been appointed a lecturer at the Sorbonne without the consent of the staff during the war, was suspended until 1949.

Another international initiative also struggled for survival. After the 1938 Munich Agreement, the most valuable archives of the International Institute of Social History, founded in Amsterdam in 1935, were transferred to Oxford. In July 1940, the Germans closed the institute and dismissed its staff. In 1943–4 they shipped all remaining collections and catalogues to Germany and elsewhere. Most were gradually recovered between 1946 and 1957.

[17] Quoted in Karl Erdmann, Jürgen Kocka, and Wolfgang Mommsen, *Toward a Global Community of Historians: The International Historical Congresses and the International Committee of Historical Sciences, 1898–2000* (New York and Oxford, 2005), 85.

[18] ICHS is also commonly referred to as CISH or Comité international des sciences historiques.

[19] The Institut International d'Anthropologie, founded in 1921 (and renamed International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences in 1931), also excluded scholars from the nations defeated in the First World War.

THE IMPACT OF WAR

Historians in scores of countries felt it their duty to serve their country and join the war effort, either through teaching and journalism or work for government agencies. This topic deserves separate treatment. The impact of war, however, went beyond war service. According to Aeschylus, 'the first casualty of war is truth'. During the world wars, the balance between free expression and national security tilted heavily towards the latter. Military and press censorship was promptly imposed by all combatants. This war censorship often included historical literature that was seen as alluding to adverse war episodes. In addition, professional conditions for historians became extremely vulnerable. Scores of them landed in prison, stopped working, or went into hiding or exile. George Sarton, for instance, one of the founders of the history of science, fled to the United States when German soldiers occupied his home in Belgium in 1914. He was appointed to the Carnegie Institution, and never returned. Publication of *Isis*, a journal devoted to the history of science and founded in 1913, was interrupted by the war and could not resume until 1919. Many other historians were confined to concentration camps. Some did not survive. Georges Lapierre, the director of the National Union of Teachers in France and a firm believer in the central value of history textbooks, for example, was imprisoned by the Gestapo in 1943 and spent his last days in Dachau concentration camp in 1945 drafting a European history for primary schools. Maurice Halbwachs, the sociologist who wrote the earliest works on collective memory, and Henri Maspero, historian of ancient China and Vietnam, died at Buchenwald concentration camp in 1945. They were arrested and deported because of the resistance work of their sons. Much of their work was published posthumously. Both world wars and their many sideshows also had negative effects on the historical infrastructure: they were the single most important cause of archival cleansing and plunder, and of destruction of historical museums and archaeological sites. A few examples will illustrate this.

The Spanish Civil War (1936–9) resulted in the total or partial destruction of over 1,700 repositories. In addition, many private archives were destroyed. During the German occupation of Poland (1939–45), half of the historians active before 1939 died (by 1945 only fifty professors of history remained), the universities and institutions were closed, archives and libraries were pillaged and destroyed, and conducting research became impossible. In the summer of 1941, after the Germans had attacked the USSR, the Soviets deliberately destroyed scores of archives that could not be evacuated to the east or left them in a chaotic state to prevent their use by the invading Nazis. And when the German Army retreated from Central Europe in 1944–5, it destroyed documents stored in castles and abbeys after they had been stolen by the Gestapo from Western European countries under German occupation. In Japan, virtually no publication in the historical field appeared in 1943–5. The Marxist Rekishigaku kenkyūkai (Society for Historical Study) or

Rekken was suppressed. In 1945 the Japanese government and military authorities destroyed thousands of official documents relating to their wartime crimes. Until today (2011), this is a factor contributing to the denial by many Japanese of several of these crimes.

Not surprisingly, governments acquired a keen interest in war records. The publication of series of diplomatic documents and of official war histories in the aftermath of the world wars became a notorious area of censorship. In addition, arguments over the key facts of international history were waged with redoubled vigour in the realm of official histories. This aspect was observed by French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau. When asked at the 1919 Conference of Versailles what future historians would write about the First World War, he replied: 'They will not say that Belgium invaded Germany.'

HISTORIANS IN PRISON

The fist of dictatorship propelled some historians into resistance, either as scholars or political activists. Some taught or wrote history while in prison or in confinement. The Belgian historian Henri Pirenne was sent to German internment camps for his protest against the reopening of Ghent University by the German authorities as a Flemish university in 1916. He lectured on history several days a week to a camp audience of more than 200. Even the German soldiers who were supposed to monitor what he said became so interested that they joined the prisoners in asking questions after the lectures. President Woodrow Wilson (himself a historian) twice requested the Kaiser to release Pirenne and his colleague Paul Frédéricq. Later, isolated in a German village, Pirenne wrote a well-known history of medieval Europe (which was eventually published posthumously).[20]

When imprisoned in a German camp in 1942 during the occupation of the Netherlands, the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga gave a talk to the inmates on the liberation of Leiden from Spanish tyranny in 1574. Marc Bloch taught French history to one of the young inmates while incarcerated and tortured in the months before he was executed by the Gestapo near Lyons in June 1944. His successor, Fernand Braudel, is said to have written from memory large portions of his great work about the Mediterranean while interned in German camps in 1940–5.[21]

Interestingly, two of British India's indigenous leaders compiled histories while spending terms in British prisons: in these circumstances, the future Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru wrote *Glimpses of World History* (1934) and *The Discovery of India* (1946), and the future President Rajendra Prasad authored *India Divided* (1946). A revolutionary historian such as Phan Bội Châu in French

[20] Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de l'Europe des invasions au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1936).

[21] Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1949).

Vietnam lived largely in prison or under house arrest between 1925 and 1940.[22] Elsewhere, in Italy, the Marxist philosopher of history and culture Antonio Gramsci kept notebooks in prison.[23]

DOCUMENTING REPRESSION

Some historians are still remembered today because they tried to document tyranny. In the last years before his execution in 1944, the Polish Jew Emmanuel Ringelblum directed the secret *Oneg Shabbat* Archive that painstakingly documented life in the ghetto of Warsaw. Its materials were preserved in three metal containers and hidden. Two of them were discovered after the war. Another case was that of Simon Dubnov, a great Jewish historian and a double exile from the USSR and Nazi Germany. In the weeks before his death in 1941, while living in the ghetto of Riga, Latvia, his library was seized and he was obliged to hide his manuscripts. Cut off from his daily work, he began chronicling life in the ghetto. His notebooks were smuggled out to some friends in the city. During one of the roundups in the ghetto, a Gestapo officer (a former student of his, some asserted) killed him. Later, his daughter heard the rumour that Dubnov repeatedly exclaimed in the minutes before his death: 'People, do not forget. Speak of this, people; record it all.' These last words, an appeal to memory and responsibility, passed from mouth to mouth. In a surprising turn of events, Dubnov was able to take posthumous revenge: the Nazis were believed to have destroyed the entire run of the third volume of his *Kniga zhizni* [Autobiography]. One surviving copy, however, was rediscovered in 1956 and served as the basis for a new edition in 1957. Something similar happened to Gustav Mayer, a historian of the German and English labour movement, exiled in 1934, whose *Ferdinand Lassalle* (1921–5) was destroyed in Germany. One copy was saved by a Dutch publishing house, which published it in a two-volume edition.

Historians at liberty played their part. During the Second World War, the Polish historian Marceli Handelsman, forced to hide because of his Jewish background, organized an underground university. In doing so, he continued a tradition that went back to similar clandestine classes under tsarist occupation. Betrayed in July 1944, Handelsman was imprisoned and died in a German concentration camp. Elsewhere, internally displaced historians sometimes helped to set up refugee campuses in remote areas of their home countries, as several Chinese historians (Dong Zuobin, Qian Mu, Chen Yinque, Zhang Qiyun, Lei Haizong) did during the Sino-Japanese war, and as French historians did during the Second World War. At the same time, the Belgian historian Henri Grégoire,

[22] David Marr (ed.), *Reflections from Captivity: Phan Boi Chau's Prison Notes; Ho Chi Minh's Prison Diary* (Oberlin, Oh., 1978).

[23] Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, 4 vols. (Turin, 1975).

a Byzantinist of international fame, and the Russian-born French historian of science Alexandre Koyré, helped gather French and Belgian refugee scholars into the École Libre des Hautes Études (a branch of the New School for Social Research in New York) as vice president and secretary-general respectively.

THE REFUTATION OF MYTHS

Others became moral examples against their will because they recklessly disregarded the consequences of what they saw as a prime task of historical writing: the refutation of historical myths. In China, Gu Jiegang, a historian famous for his critical discussions of Chinese antiquity, lived through difficult times. In 1923 he had been the principal author of a high school history textbook, *Zhongxue yong benguo shi jiaoke shu* [Middle School Textbook for Chinese History], with a print run of 1.6 million copies. In 1928 it was denounced and banned by Guomindang officials because it treated the Golden Age (the era of China's earliest rulers) as a myth.[24] During the Pacific War, Gu came under frequent political crossfire, with reduced salary or none at all. His fate would worsen after 1949.

In Japan, also, historians who doubted the authenticity of ancient legends that supported the imperial power endured much hostility. Like several of his predecessors, Tsuda Sōkichi expressed doubts about the official version of history. In 1939–42 he was forced to resign and was tried and convicted for *lèse majesté* in four of his works (on sale for decades) in which he had shown that the divine origins of the imperial family and the myths about the first fourteen emperors were eighth-century inventions.[25] This was blasphemous at a time when the nation was at war and the 2,600th anniversary of the founding emperor Jimmu was celebrated. In 1942 the sentence was nullified. In Turkey, Zeki Velidi Togan (already mentioned) and Fuad Koprülü were among the historians who *de facto* quietly challenged Atatürk's fantasized historical hypotheses through their scholarly work.[26] After a disagreement on historiography in the First Turkish History Conference in 1932, Velidi resigned from Istanbul University—only to return after Atatürk's death.

Some defied censorship indirectly through the skilful use of Aesopian language and historical metaphors. In the years before his 1939 exile, Victor Ehrenberg, an

[24] Ursula Richter, *Zweifel am Altertum: Gu Jiegang und die Diskussion über Chinas alte Geschichte als Konsequenz der 'Neuen Kulturbewegung' ca. 1915–1923* (Stuttgart, 1992), 176–8.

[25] Naomi Kurita, 'Dr. Sōkichi Tsuda: His Life and Work', in Sōkichi Tsuda, *An Inquiry into the Japanese Mind as Mirrored in Literature: The Flowering Period of Common People Literature* (Tokyo, 1970), 11–13; and Yun-tai Tam, 'Rationalism versus Nationalism: Tsuda Sōkichi (1873–1961)', in John Brownlee (ed.), *History in the Service of the Japanese Nation* (Toronto, 1983), 165–88.

[26] Christine Woodhead, 'Tarikh', in P. J. Bearman *et al.* (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*, vol. 10 (Leiden, 2000) 294–95; H. B. Paksoy, 'Basmachi Movement from Within: Account of Zeki Velidi Togan', *Nationalities Papers*, 23:2 (1995), 373–99, also available at http://www.angelfire.com/on/paksoy/togan.html; and Ali Erdican, *Mehmet Fuat Köprülü: A Study of His Contribution to Cultural Reform in Modern Turkey* (Istanbul, 1974), 1–12.

historian at the German University of Prague, warned against the rise of the Nazis by lecturing about anti-Semitism, militarism, war, and dictatorship in ancient Greece. In Japan, Hani Gorō, a Marxist historian who was regularly imprisoned for his radical political views and had many of his books banned, wrote *Michelangelo* in 1939, in which he alluded to the repressive conditions in Japan through description of the free cities of Renaissance Italy.

DEFENDING INTELLECTUAL AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

In 1925 the leading Italian philosopher and historian Benedetto Croce wrote the 'Manifesto degli intellettuali antifascisti' (Manifesto of the Anti-Fascist Intellectuals) in response to the 'Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals' written by his former collaborator Giovanni Gentile. Croce was blacklisted, though tolerated (but also put on the Roman Catholic index); his co-signatory Gaetano Salvemini was exiled.[27] In November 1931 the historians Gaetano De Sanctis, Giorgio Levi Della Vida, Ernesto Buonaiuti, the art historian Lionello Venturi, and the historically oriented professor of literature Guiseppe Antonio Borgese were among the twelve university lecturers (out of a total of 1,225) who refused to take the Fascist Loyalty Oath. They were consequently dismissed. Some emigrated. A few historians denounced inappropriate uses of the prestige of the university. When Johan Huizinga was rector of Leiden University in 1933, he informed the visiting Nazi historian Johann von Leers that he was not welcome because he had written an anti-Semitic pamphlet.

Some historians who worked on the safer side of fate did not forget their colleagues. After the introduction of the Fascist race laws of November 1938, the Jewish-British Cecil Roth resigned from the Italian learned societies of which he was a member. The Italian historian Federico Chabod, a future ICHS president, actively supported colleagues who fell out of grace. Historians in Mexico and other Latin American countries helped their colleagues who had fled Spain during or after the civil war. Many of the refugee historians from Nazi Germany were given assistance in the United States, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere. To name just one of many examples, the archivist Ernst Posner was able to escape Nazi Germany in 1939 with the help of such American historians as Eugene Anderson, Waldo Leland, Merle Curti, and Solon Buck. He eventually became the dean of American archivists.

At the international level, there were signs of hope too. In reaction to the dismissal of De Sanctis, mentioned above, the ICHS unanimously adopted a *Charta*

[27] 'Manifesto degli intellettuali fascisti', *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 21 April 1925; and 'Manifesto degli intellettuali antifascisti', *Il Mondo*, 1 May 1925. See Philip Cannistraro (ed.), *Historical Dictionary of Fascist Italy* (Westport, Conn., 1982), 320–1, also 146, 245.

against totalitarianism and in favour of freedom of historical research in July 1932. Some battles were waged at the ICHS congresses as well. In an interview, the exiled Russian historian Mikhail Rostovtzeff criticized the Soviet delegation to the ICHS Congress in Oslo in 1928 (led by Pokrovskii). As a result he was formally expelled from the Leningrad Academy, of which he had remained a member after his exile. In 1938 the German historian Gerhard Ritter publicly protested against the Nazi-inspired misrepresentation of Luther at the ICHS Congress in Zürich: it led to a ban on his foreign travel. And in 1939 the principled Aage Friis resigned as chairman of the Danish national committee after it had agreed, against his will, to a proposal to hold the next ICHS Congress in Fascist Italy. That congress never took place. Not until 1955 did Rome become the venue of an ICHS Congress.

PEACE ACTIVISM

It is not the place here to discuss the impressive array of political activism displayed by historians. An exception, though, should be made for the Germans Veit Valentin and Ludwig Quidde. Valentin was a pacifist and active defender of the democratic constitutional state during the Weimar Republic. He was dismissed twice, in 1917 as a history professor at Freiburg University (under pan-German pressure), and in 1933 as an archivist at the Reichsarchiv in Potsdam. After exile, he returned to Germany after the war to help prepare the Nuremberg trials. Quidde belonged to an earlier generation. A respected editor of the *Deutsche Reichstagsakten* (1889–96), he had a strange career. In 1894–6, he was gradually excluded from the profession after publishing a very successful booklet about Caligula with satirical allusions to Kaiser Wilhelm II.[28] He even spent a spell in prison for *lèse majesté*. In the following decades, he became a leader of the national and international peace movement. In 1924 he served another prison term for his revelations about the illegal paramilitary Schwarze Reichswehr.[29] His peace work earned him the Nobel Peace Prize in 1927. In 1933, when Hitler came to power, he went into exile in Geneva.

When we look back at the first half of the twentieth century, the record of examples of commitment and integrity inspires hope and pride. Despite the vulnerability of the historical profession, a stubborn tradition of freedom among historians was maintained.

[28] Ludwig Quidde, *Caligula: Schriften über Militarismus und Pazifismus* (35th edn, Frankfurt, 1977).

[29] Reinhard Rürup, 'Ludwig Quidde', in Hans-Ulrich Wehler (ed.), *Deutsche Historiker*, vol. 3 (Göttingen, 1972), 144–5; and 'Biography' at http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1927/quidde-bio.html (accessed 6 December 2009).

POST-1945 BLACKLIST OF 1914–45 TOPICS

What was the legacy of inter-war dictatorships? A partial answer to this question is provided by the following blacklist. It offers a worldwide survey of important events and figures from the 1914–45 period which became the object of censorship attempts after 1945. These attempts, successful or not, endangered the freedom of information and expression of historians or led to adverse consequences for them. In interpreting the list, the following caveats are important. First, the list identifies events and figures that were the subject of censorship or attempted censorship. While it seeks to be comprehensive, the list is not complete since by its very nature, censorship is often invisible.

Second, some of the censorship attempts were accompanied by public controversy, while others were secret or went unnoticed for years or decades. Historical writing naturally tends to advance through criticism and argument. The controversies on the list, however, were characterized by non-scholarly intervention.

Third, those censoring were governments, non-governmental groups, or academics. The censored were 'historians' in the large sense: as the censors' aim is to control the past, they do not necessarily distinguish between professional historians and others dealing with the past. The adverse effects for the historians involved in such incidents included destruction of sources, public attacks, dismissal, harassment, exile, and assassination, but the details are not provided here.

Fourth, the evidence used to compile the list is not exhaustive so that the precise years given for the censorship attempts are often tentative and do not always accurately reflect the full duration of the controversies. Finally, unsuccessful attempts at censorship, where known, are also included in the list for three reasons: because moral and professional blameworthiness does not depend on success; because there must be *relatively* more unsuccessful attempts in democracies than in dictatorships since earlier detection of censorship is more likely in democracies; and, finally, because even unsuccessful attempts can chill the free exchange of historical views and lead to self-censorship by the historians targeted and by others.

The annotation is as follows: *Country*, year(s) of the post-1945 censorship attempt: the subject(s) of the censorship (years). Different attempts are separated by a semi-colon.[30]

Afghanistan, 1967–99: Anglo-Afghan war (1919), rule of King Amanullah Khan (1919–29).

Argentina, 1966–83: Spanish Civil War (1936–9), history of socialism and workers' movement; 1974–83: strike in Patagonia (1921), history of army since 1930s; 1976–92/3: Nazism (1933–45) and Argentina as a refuge for Nazis.

[30] For most of the pre-2000 subjects see Antoon De Baets, *Censorship of Historical Thought: A World Guide 1945–2000* (Westport, Conn., 2002); for many of the post-1995 subjects see the website of the Network of Concerned Historians, http://www.concernedhistorians.org.

Australia, 1959–62: mandatory power over New Guinea (1914/20–75); to 1997: forcible removal of Aboriginal children from their homes ('stolen generations') (1900–70).

Austria, 1945–[55], 1982, 1999–2001: Nazism, including collaboration; 1997–2003: crimes of German army (1941–4).

Bahrain, 1976–: British administration (1920–45).

Belarus, 1994–2011: independence (1918), Belarusian–Soviet relations, including anti-Soviet revolt in Sluzk (1920), Stalinist repression, Kurapaty massacres (1941), massacre in Slominsky district (Grodno region) (1943–4), liberation of Minsk by Red Army (1944).

Belgium, 1975: German occupation during the Second World War; 1977: anti-Jewish raids in Antwerp (1942); 1990–1: purge of Nazi collaborators (1942–52); 1997: anti-German resistance (1940–4).

Brazil, 1972: dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas (1930/37–45).

Bulgaria, 1945–89: Bulgarian–Soviet relations, positive views of interwar 'bourgeois' political parties (especially Agrarian Union); 1967–89: study of German, Italian, and Spanish Fascisms understood as criticism of Communism; 1968–98: Bulgaria's foreign policy (1938–41); 1976: Tsar Boris III (1918–43), nature of interwar monarchy; 1991: assassination of those opposing Bulgarian Communist Party (1944–8).

Canada, 1950: horrors of the First World War; 1992: Canada's participation in the Second World War; 2007: firebombing of Dresden (1945).

Chile, 1973–90: *dependencia* views of inter-war economic history; 1999–2001: history of High Court (1826–1998); 2000: constitution of 1925.

China, 1949–: May Fourth Movement (1919), Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen), Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), Sino-Japanese war (1931–45), history of Chinese Communist Party (including Mao Zedong, early dissident factions), Uighur history (including second East Turkestan Independence Movement in Xinjiang, 1944–9); 1997 (*Hong Kong*): cooperation between Sun Zhongshan and warlords (1916–25).

Congo, 1962–92: Marxist views of Belgian colonization (1908–60).

Croatia, 1992–: Ustashas (allies of Nazi Germany who established state in 1941–45), Jasenovac concentration camp.

Czechoslovakia, 1948–89: establishment of First Republic (1918) (including founders Tomáš Masaryk, Edvard Beneš, Milan Štefánik), labour movement in 1930s, Munich Agreement (1938), Czechoslovak army (1938–45), anti-Nazi resistance in Czech lands (1938–45), anti-Fascist resistance in Slovakia (1939–45), role of non-communist and communist resistance in Slovak National Uprising (1944), Prague Uprising (1945), history of Czechoslovak Communist Party and Czechoslovak–Soviet relations (including USSR history).

Dominican Republic, 1930–61: African past of Dominican Republic.

Egypt, 1952/54–70: Wafd political party, parliamentarism, monarchy (1919–52).

Equatorial Guinea, 1968–: Spanish colonization (1844–1968).

Estonia, 1991–: Soviet occupation (1940–1, 1944–91).

Ethiopia, 1957: colonial record of major powers.

France, 1956–: non-communist and communist resistance against Vichy regime, collaboration with Vichy regime (including attitude of senior civil servants; French concentration camps) (1940–4); 2005–6: positive view of French colonialism.

Germany, 1945–9: de-Nazification, anti-Nazi resistance movement of 20 July 1944. *Germany, Federal Republic of*, 1963–: economic collaboration during *Third Reich* (1933–45); 1964: Germany's aims in the First World War ('Fischer controversy'); 1990–4: extradition of German and Austrian anti-Fascists from USSR to Nazi Germany (1937–41). *German Democratic*

Republic, 1949–89: revolution of November 1918, history of German Communism, USSR history (including Stalinist repression), Molotov–Ribbentrop pact (1939), Katyń massacre (1940), Holocaust.

Greece, 1981–4: involvement of Greece in the Second World War, including role of leftist resistance organization National Liberation Front EAM; 2003: collaboration with Axis occupiers of Greece (1941–4), role of rightist resistance organization National Republican Greek League EDES; 1967–74: Communist history; 1979, 2006–7: massacre and expulsion of Greeks from Turkey, particularly Izmir (1922).

Hungary, 1945–56/7: Mihály Károlyi (prime minister in 1918–19, first president of Hungarian Republic in 1919), Trianon Treaty (1920), Hungarian minorities in neighbouring countries (especially in Transylvania, Romania); 1948–89: leader of Hungarian Soviet Republic Béla Kun in 1919 (including his role in Communist terror in Crimea in 1920), regency of Miklós Horthy (1920–44), Second World War victims.

India, 1975–77: freedom-related speeches by Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore; 1984: Indian National Army in the Second World War; 1999–2000: freedom movement (1938–47), including role of Hindu nationalists.

Indonesia, 1973: forced labour of Indonesians during Japanese occupation (1942–5); 1974, 1981, 1991: emergence of Muslim and nationalist movement in Dutch East Indies (1900–42), including Sarekat Islam (1912–) and proto-nationalist journalist Tirto Adhi Suriyo (1880–1918).

Ireland, [1945]–76: civil war following 1921 independence (1922–3).

Israel, 1976– (*West Bank*): origins of Arab-Palestinian nationalism (including 1934 revolt led by Izz ad-Din al-Qassam and 1936–9 revolt), history and geography of Palestine (including Jerusalem) during British mandate (1922–48), pre–1948 Palestinian workers' and communist movement, Zionist armed organizations; 1995 (*Israel*): Armenian genocide (1915–17).

Italy, 1945–: Fascism (including leader Benito Mussolini and Fascism in 1940–5).

Japan, 1945–2008: military imperialism in Asia, colonization of Korea (1910–45) (including Korean Independence Movement of 1919), Pacific War (1931–45), including occupation of China (1931–45), bacteriological experiments of Unit 731 at Harbin (1932–45), sexual slavery ('comfort women') system (1932–45), Nanjing Massacre (1937), Death March of Bataan, Philippines (1942), crimes in Malaysia, conscription of Koreans and Chinese into forced labour in Japan (1939–45), battle of Okinawa (1945), war guilt of Emperor Hirohito, Yasukuni shrine.

Korea, North, 1970s–: role of rival factions of Korean Communists (1926–45) in foundation of North Korea.

Korea, South, 1945–2008: Japanese occupation (1910–45), independence struggle (1919–45).

Libya, 1969–: Sanussi (Senussi) royal family (1837–1969).

Lithuania, 2004: Jewish community before the Second World War.

Macedonia, 1999: Todor Alexandrov, Bulgarian–Macedonian leader of Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization IMRO (1881–1924).

Malawi, 1964–94: birth and youth of President Hastings Banda (1896/1906–97), anti-British uprising of pastor John Chilembwe (1915), Russian Revolution (1917), emergence of nationalism in Africa.

Mexico, 1960–90: power struggle at end of General Álvaro Obregón's presidency (1920–24); 1988: rule of President Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–40).

Moldova, 2001–2: annexation of Bessarabia by Russia (1812–1917), Moldavia as part of Romania (1918–39), annexation of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina by USSR (1940–1, 1944–91).

Mongolia, 1921–90: Buddhist rule of Bogd Khaan (1911–21); 2005–6: mass killings during repression of 1930s.

Morocco, [1945]–81: anti-colonial resistance of Berber tribes of the Rif (1920s–1930s).

Netherlands, 1955–60: economic collaboration in the Second World War; 1972: political collaboration in the Second World War; 1985–6: socialists and Communists in the Second World War; 1990–2005: crimes of resistance fighters, collaborators, and Dutch and German military in the Second World War.

Nicaragua, [1945–79], 1990–: Augusto Sandino (1895–1934).

Pakistan, 1946: modernization of Muslim community (1870–1946); 1947–[88]: Ali Jinnah, first governor-general (1947–8); 1977–88: pre–1947 Pakistan Movement and anti-colonialism of Muslims in British India, including role of *ulama*.

Paraguay, 1954–89: Chaco war against Bolivia (1932–5).

Poland, 1945–80/9: USSR history, restoration of Polish independence (1918–19), history of predecessors of Polish United Workers' Party (1918–48), Polish–Soviet war (1919–21), history of Russian–and Soviet–Polish relations, Soviet–German relations after Rapallo Treaty (1922), inter-war history of the Catholic Church, Marshal Józef Piłsudski (ruled 1926–35), secret protocols of Molotov–Ribbentrop pact and subsequent annexation of Poland (1939), deportations from Polish territories seized by USSR (1939–41), Polish underground (1939–45), Katyń massacre (1940), Polish military effort on the Western Front, Polish government-in-exile, Soviet attitude towards Warsaw Uprising (1944), Polish boundaries, wartime Ukrainian–Polish relations, repatriation of Poles from USSR (1944–7), origins of People's Poland (1944–8).

Portugal, 1959–74: critical histories of Portuguese empire (1415–1974).

Romania, 1948–89: monarchy (1918–47), Romanian Fascism (including Iron Guard), Nicolae Iorga (prime minister in 1931–2), annexation of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina by USSR (1940–1, 1944–91); 1948–89, 1994, 2002: military dictator Marshal Ion Antonescu (ruled 1940–4); 1948–89, 2003–4: fate of Romanian Jews (1940–4); 1986: post-1918 history of Transylvania.

Russia, 1999–2008: repression in USSR (1920–50); 2003: role of USSR in the Second World War; 2007: Stalinism.

Rwanda, 1997–98: pre-independence monarchy (*c.*1438–1961).

Saudi Arabia, 1945–2008: Hashemites (1916–25), House of Saud (1932–), original agreements between Saudi Arabia and Aramco; 2002: demolition of historical monuments by *ikhwan* (Ibn Saud's pre-1932 army) in 1924.

Senegal, 1980: Amadou Bamba, founder of Muslim confraternity Mourides (1853–1927); 1987: French suppression of dissidence by Senegalese soldiers (1944).

Slovakia, 1992–2001: Fascist youth of Minister Dušan Slobodník (1945); 1997: persecution of Slovak Jews (1939–45).

Somalia, 2005: Italian colonialism (1889–1949).

South Africa, 1948–90: emergence of African nationalism in South Africa and rest of Africa, early history of African National Congress (1912–48), Marxist views of inter-war class and race problems, history of communism in Europe.

Spain, 1945–75: pre-1936 history of political parties (including Fascist political party Falange), Civil War (1936–9), early Franco period, including repression (1939–52).

Switzerland, 1952–: role of Switzerland in the Second World War, including official neutrality, secret Franco–Swiss military cooperation (1939–40), Swiss counterintelligence, refugee policy, economic collaboration between Nazi Germany and Switzerland, unclaimed Jewish assets in Swiss banks; 1959–60: Swiss diplomacy and neutrality (1917); 1979–85: right-wing activists and movements (1936–40).

Taiwan, [1945]–87: May Fourth Movement (1919).

Thailand, 1959–2011: Thai monarchy of last two centuries, including inter-war monarchs.

Turkey, 1945–2011: history of Armenians (including Armenian genocide in 1915–17), role of Ottoman army in the First World War, independence war (1919–23) (including Greek–Turkish war in 1919–22 and exodus of Greeks), first President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (ruled 1923–38), Republican People's Party (1923–), history of Kurds (including 1925 rebellion of Sheikh Said, fifteen riots in Dersim [renamed Tunceli] area in 1847–1938, and several other incidents in 1930s and early 1940s).

United Kingdom, 1953–6, 1992: British Middle East policy towards Arab nationalism (1914–21); 1953–57, 1987: Zionist collaboration with Nazis in Hungary (1944); 1961: origins of the Second World War; 1968–75: African nationalism in South Africa (1910–64); 1970s, 1988–94: pre–1921 British rule of Ireland, Irish civil war (1922–3), first prime minister of Irish Republic Eamon de Valera (ruled 1932–48), Irish Republican Army member and leader Seán McBride (1916–37), Northern Ireland during the Second World War; 1980–90: British intelligence in the Second World War; 1989–95: forced repatriation by the British of war prisoners and refugees in Austria to communist-controlled countries (1944–7).

United States of America, 1945–95: destruction of Hiroshima after A-bomb (1945–); 1949–60: inter-war history of American Marxism, communism and socialism, inter-war history of Soviet and Chinese communism; 1953–63: American–Chinese relations (1844–1949, especially 1942–9), particularly relations with Jiang Jieshi's nationalists; 1960–83 (*in some states*): League of Nations (1919–46), unfavourable effects of Great Depression (1929–33), favourable views of New Deal (1933–8); 1963–71: President Warren Harding's private life (ruled 1921–3); 1968–73: forced repatriation by several Allied countries of war prisoners and refugees to communist-controlled countries (1944–7).

Uruguay, 1973–85: *dependencia* views of post-1500 Latin American history.

USSR, 1945–1987/90: CPSU history (particularly congresses, inner-party struggles, leaders [including Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Leon Trotsky, Nikolai Bukharin, Sergei Kirov], secret police, repression and Gulag, relations with Western countries), Russia's economic backwardness before and in 1917, role and tactics of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks during 1917, character of February Revolution (1917), character of October Revolution (1917), murder of Tsar Nicholas II (1918), civil war of 1918–21 (including great famine in 1919–21), dictatorial nature of Soviet state under Lenin, incorporation of non-Russian nations into USSR (especially in 1917–21, 1940, and during national uprisings, including 1916 Kyrgyz uprising, history of Turkestan in 1917–34, Belorussian People's Republic in 1918–19, Georgian independence in 1918–21, Georgian revolt in 1924, Ukrainian nationalist and anarchist movements), New Economic Policy (1921–9), suppression of churches, forced collectivization of agriculture (1927–32), dekulakization (1929–33) and ensuing famine (1932–3), murder of Kirov (1934), repression and purge trials (including of army top) and mass executions of 1930s (including Great Terror in 1936–9), Russo–Finnish war (1939–40), Soviet military strategy before and during World War II, secret protocols of Molotov–Ribbentrop pact (1939), forced annexation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (1940–1, 1944–91), Katyń massacre (1940), invasion of USSR by German Army (22 June 1941), murder of Jews on German-occupied Soviet territory (1941–3) (including at Babi Yar in 1941), 1944 mass deportations of Soviet minorities (including Baltic peoples, Volga Germans, Crimean Tatars, Meskhetian Turks, Chechen, Ingush), annexation of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina (1940–1, 1944–91), statistics about Stalinist terror and Soviet losses in the Second World War.

Vatican, 1945–: role of Pope Pius XII during the Second World War.

Vietnam, 1975–2008: private life of revolutionary, later Prime Minister and President Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969).

Yugoslavia, 1944–90: history of inter-war nationalism, Ustashas, Jasenovac concentration camp, role of Chetnik (royalist) and communist-led partisan resistance in the Second World War, massacres perpetrated by different groups in the Second World War, statistics about losses in the Second World War, elimination of independent political groups after 1944; 1989–: land reform in Kosovo (1918–41).

Yemen, 1967–92: British colonialism (1832–1967).

CONCLUSIONS

All dictatorial regimes enlisted history in the service of their ideology.[31] Dangerous historical topics included the illegitimate origins of power (usually a coup or a revolution), its violent maintenance (particularly its crimes and periods of martial law, revolt, and civil war), or unwelcome historical parallels to both. In emerging democracies, controversial historical topics referred to the immediate dictatorial past; in consolidated ones, to wars of colonial expansion and their accompanying massacres and discrimination. In all of these regimes, the thorny issues were those that were perceived as sources of shame.

While history was an important source of legitimation for most dictatorships, the more central its ideological role, the more devastating its impact. In principle, totalitarian regimes were the more dangerous as they not only tried to silence but also convert their citizens. Since communist regimes, in contrast to other regimes, saw history as driven by *laws* to be interpreted with the ruler's logic, they perhaps more than other regimes attacked the scholarly foundations of the profession. In right-wing regimes, ideology tended to be more essentialist; hence their historical outlook was usually less systematic—although this also had an unpredictable, intimidating impact.

Once dictatorships fell, the personnel of most history departments showed remarkable continuity. With the exception of a relatively small group of leading

[31] Censorship in democratic societies was not absent, of course. Some examples will suffice. In the United States, Charles Beard resigned from Columbia University, New York, in October 1917, in protest against the dismissal of two faculty members who opposed US intervention in the First World War. On the history textbooks front, David Muzzey was accused of anti-Americanism and treason for his *An American History* (Boston, 1911) in the 1920s (it was banned in some places), while Harold Rugg's *Man and His Changing Society* (Boston, 1929–40) was condemned for its so-called communist lies in the late 1930s (it was burned in one place). In the United Kingdom, Arnold Toynbee resigned the Koraes Chair at King's College in London in 1924 after his writings about crimes in Greek-controlled areas in Anatolia in 1919–21 were deemed unacceptable to the wealthy Greeks who sponsored the chair. In cases remarkably similar to Taha Hussein's in Egypt, the Catholic Church excommunicated or condemned its priests Alfred Loisy (1908) and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1923) in France, and Ernesto Buonaiuti (1925) in Italy, *inter alia* for their historical interpretations, and banned their works. In New Zealand, John Beaglehole's temporary lectureship at Auckland University College was terminated in 1931 after he had defended academic freedom. He was passed over for academic posts in history until 1933.

historians who had openly collaborated with the ousted regime, in general few were purged. The will to forget usually dominated. More importantly, the demography of the historical profession did not allow large-scale purges: some historians had died during the war or under the dictatorship; the re-employment of survivors was not always feasible. In addition, none of the larger waves of refugee historians returned en masse. Most had built something resembling a new life in their host countries that was preferable to a return.

This demonstrates that the evaluation of exile should be qualified. Almost without exception, forced departure was a tragedy at the micro-level of the individual refugee and in many cases it damaged careers. At the macro-level of historiography, the loss to the country of origin was not equalled by gains for the country of destination. International cross-fertilization would have happened anyway (as cases of voluntary emigration suggest), if more slowly. Of course, some of these forced movements had significant effects. Rather than in their influence, however, the special contribution of refugee historians may be located in the courage with which they kept alive, in unenviable circumstances, the alternative versions—and often the critical principles of logic and evidence—of the historical writing of their countries of origin when it succumbed to tyranny, falsification, and lies.

Appreciation of the historiographical output under dictatorial regimes is difficult. Where the output took the form of historical propaganda, it serves less as a contribution to the history it pretended to treat than as a source for the circumstances in which it was created. But in the safer areas removed from the axioms of ideology, contributions to historical writing could still be meaningful, even lasting. The same goes for work published in exile or underground: some of it was polemical and rancorous, some written with innovative methodology or perspectives. Unpublished work carried out in secret and without some *samizdat*-style circulation was generally rare: once the dictatorial period was over, when manuscripts prepared secretly could finally emerge, the drawers more than once were shown to be empty. Some historians who lived under dictatorship, sometimes for decades, were able to create small margins of freedom in their unrelenting search for historical truth.

Moral judgements about the behaviour of historians under dictatorship are hazardous. It is difficult to ascribe unequivocally motives to the positions that historians took in times of repression, or for the shift in their positions at given moments. Retrospective moral judgement on their freedom to act and their collaboration, silence, or resistance should be prudent, especially because it remains to be seen how we would behave in similar circumstances. The details of each case are as important as any general principles. But there is certainly room for praise and blame in clear-cut cases. Few of those who collaborated with the Dictator and gave him the support of scholarship without being purged after his downfall ever explained their choices, made confessions, or offered apologies for their behaviour.

When societies emerged from dictatorship or conflict, and evolved towards democracy, the harm suffered by historical writing during the preceding period gradually came to light. The reputation of history had often been damaged when it had condoned lies and falsity. The lies weakened the credibility of the historical profession and lowered the quality of historical discourse. In short, when historiography was placed under the auspices of dictators, it was abused and harmed; when it was eventually set free, the scars remained visible for years.

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PART II

HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP AND NATIONAL TRADITIONS

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Chapter 8

German Historical Writing

Benedikt Stuchtey[1]

GERMAN HISTORICAL WRITING AND WESTERN EUROPE

For reasons that are closely connected to the Wars of Liberation against Napoleon and the basic idea of nationalism forming throughout Europe, German historians were soon engaged in building up their academic discipline. They not only fostered the merging of historism with nationalism, but also guaranteed that history-writing was produced within a code of standards that would serve the nation-state. Their practice differed sharply from that of the Göttingen historians such as Johann Christoph Gatterer and August Ludwig Schlözer, who from around 1760 had originated the writing of history as an academic science. While the Göttingen historians pursued the regional and economic aspects of history, their commitment to world or universal history was no longer convincing to the post-Napoleonic generation—and even less so to historians in the second half of the nineteenth century who assumed that 'modern' historiography served the nation. Both as a university subject and as part of school curriculum in the humanities, history was now required to work within a dominant narrative and also follow strong methodological and conceptual guidelines. If the nation was the leitmotiv, historical writing became one of its handmaidens. How could this happen in a country highly divided by social, economic, confessional, and political interests?

First, national histories have been written ever since historians have been concerned with the evolution of a community that could claim to be a nation-state. A similar logic applied to global and imperial histories, with typically assumed European exceptionalism. In such historical writing, a triumphalist perspective of the West prevailed, famously termed 'Orientalism' by Edward Said, but not confined to the East–West divide. Internal colonialism and the dominance of some parts of a country over others could also give rise to a civilizing mission that affirmed the cultural superiority of some over others. Second, national historians

[1] I am grateful to Georg G. Iggers for reading an earlier version of this chapter.



Map 2. Europe and the Middle East before and after the First World War


Archangel
Dvina
FINLAND
Perm
Helsinki
St Petersburg
(Petrograd)
Revel
ESTONIA
Volga
S O V I E T
Riga
LATVIA
Moscow
Samara
U N I O N
LITHUANIA
Kaunas
Smolensk
Saratov
EAST
PRUSSIA
WHITE
RUSSIA
Kursk
Volga
Brest
Litovsk
Warsaw
O L A N D
Tsaritsyn
Kiev
Dniepr
GALICIA
U K R A I N E
Don
Astrakhan
VAKIA
RUTHENIA
BUKO-
VINA
BESSARABIA
Rostov
TRANS-
SYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
Caspian Sea
R Y
ROMANIA
CRIMEA
WALLACHIA
DOBRUJA
Bucharest
Danube
B l a c k S e a
GEORGIA
AZERBAIJAN
Baku
SERBIA
Sofia
BULGARIA
ARMENIA
Istanbul
Angora
(Ankara)
Tabriz
T U R K E Y
GREECE
Smyrna
(Izmir)
Mosul
IRAN
(PERSIA)
Athens
Tigris
Dodecanese
(Ita)
Baghdad
SYRIA
(FR. MAND.)
I R A Q
(BRIT. MAND.)
Damascus
Crete
Cyprus
S e a
Euphrates
PALESTINE
(BRIT. MAND.)
TRANSJORDAN
(BRIT. MAND.)
Alexandria
A R A B I A
Suez
Canal
E G Y P T
Cairo
A

had little difficulty in explaining diversity when they justified the emergence of a powerful and unified state. The particular path of German history after the Napoleonic Wars called for narratives that were less concerned with the Enlightenment positioning of Europe in the history of the world than with the introspective repositioning of Germany over the national histories of its neighbours. The Hegelian presumption that a successful state ideally represented progress and modernity was not limited to German history.[2] Alexis de Tocqueville's and Auguste Comte's theories in France and social evolutionism in Britain formulated intellectual traditions that could be brought into a comparative perspective with German historical writing. After all, both the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution informed different 'Eurocentric' traditions with a strong state-oriented basis, consisting of a geopolitically and economically constituted hegemonic teleology in which the institution of the nation-state was immanent.

However, in Germany this institution had yet to be created, and it had to be explained and justified by historians. It is one of the peculiar aspects of nineteenth-century German historiography that the moment of explanation and justification of the nation-state came so much later than was the case in Britain with Thomas Babington Macaulay and in France with Jules Michelet.[3] German historians such as Heinrich von Sybel were keenly aware of this delay and tried to counterbalance what they understood as a twofold problem: the need to connect history-writing to the rise of the nation; and the need to come to terms with the tendency of colleagues in Europe and in Germany to conceptualize universal, multicultural histories as perceived, for example, by a contemporary French observer.[4] Karl Lamprecht, Henry Thomas Buckle, and Ernest Lavisse are a few prominent examples—while Max Weber was probably the most important—of scholars who took secular, cosmopolitan perspectives that challenged hegemonic Eurocentrism and found alternatives to the national and imperial frameworks. In his *Deutsche Geschichte* [German History], published in twelve volumes between 1891 and 1909, Lamprecht tried to include the totality of political, social, intellectual, legal, and economic factors of the past as cultural history, clearly influenced in this endeavour by English and French positivism. He described the relationship between spiritualism and materialism as the morphological method of the social sciences. Attractive as this was to a wide readership, Lamprecht and his European counterparts were still in a minority and stood accused of

[2] Michael Bentley, 'Introduction: Approaches to Modernity: Western Historiography since the Enlightenment', in id. (ed.), *Companion to Historiography* (London and New York, 1997), 395–506.

[3] Cf. Benedikt Stuchtey, 'Eminent Victorians und die britische Zivilisationsgeschichtsschreibung in der Epoche der Historisierung', in Ulrich Muhlack (ed.), *Historisierung und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2003), 175–91.

[4] Antoine Guilland, *L'Allemagne nouvelle et ses historiens: Niebuhr, Ranke, Mommsen, Sybel, Treitschke* (Paris, 1899).

promoting historical materialism.[5] The *basso continuo* of German historiography between 1800 and 1945 pointed to the emergence of the 'West', a triumphalist view that was maintained beyond the First World War and reflected the conviction that Germany played a pivotal role in the superiority of the Western nations. It remained a question as to whether Germany was part of the 'West', or whether it was formed as a reaction to it. Before and after the First World War, the Kaiserreich, the Weimar Republic, and Nazi Germany all embraced the Hegelian assumption that the nation-state was in a constant competition to define itself in contrast with other powers. The manifest superiority of the 'West' in economic, military, and geopolitical terms presumed an abstract, constructed superiority in history. Whether history took a universal or national perspective, whether it was colonial or regional in its historiographical orientation, the case for both empire and nation was the central concern at least until 1945.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

G. W. F Hegel's philosophy is an obvious point of departure because his metaphysical system formed one of the most influential historiographical legacies of the nineteenth century and provided the intellectual foundations for both Karl Marx and Leopold von Ranke. Along with Wilhelm Dilthey's philosophy of history fifty years later, Hegel's approach to the logic and hermeneutics of history were crucial in combining Immanuel Kant's critique of understanding with nineteenth-century historical thinking. Dilthey argued that man was *per se* historical. The appropriate way to study his social, cultural, economic, and political world was through understanding (*Verstehen*), a concept that Dilthey contrasted with *Erklären*, that is, reasoning and explaining through natural laws.[6] In Hegel's view the state based on law and reason was a manifestation of God's will if it followed a progressive trajectory and strove for freedom, thereby expressing what he called the essence of 'spirit'. In *Die Phänomenologie des Geistes* [*The Phenomenology of Spirit*] (1807) he developed his concept of the different stages through which humanity progresses before reaching perfection. By dividing universal history into four great epochs (from the Oriental to the German) he formulated the idea of cultural individuality and dissimilarity. Each epoch should be seen in the context of its own historical evolution and, as a result, national history both illustrated and acknowledged the peculiarities of each particular age. In terms of

[5] Roger Chickering, *Karl Lamprecht: A German Academic Life (1856–1915)* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1993).

[6] *Einführung in die Geisteswissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1883); and *Der Aufbau der geschichtlichen Welt in den Geisteswissenschaften* (1910; Stuttgart, 1958). See Guy van Kerckhoven, *Wilhelm Dilthey* (Freiburg, 2008).

Germany's historical development since the Reformation and the Enlightenment, it recognized the need to approach God's will by way of national struggle, and to cultivate rationality and reason as two pillars of the efficient state. Hegel's understanding of the citizen who needed to be enlightened and made fully aware of his duties towards the state furthered criticism of his philosophy as being too apologetic for a strong militarist and imperialist political system. On the other hand, it opened macrohistorical perspectives that became part of a wider world history.[7] Ranke, for example, greatly profited from this when he conceptualized his famous *Die römischen Päpste in den letzten vier Jahrhunderten* [*History of the Popes*] (1834–6), a work that was soon seen as contributing to the tradition of a secular and speculative philosophy of history. Gotthold Lessing also exerted influence on this tradition as he had defined the historical process as never complete and always in a state of flux. He considered that it developed its own rhythm on its own terms within the era as it adjusted to the opposing forces of the ideal and the real.

For Ranke history, including the history of the popes, was organized in a dualist manner, with opposing forces such as religion and politics, spirit and body, and the universal and the national, confronting each other. The papacy, especially in the Middle Ages, was one of the few institutions that embodied the vision that Europe could form an ideal universal state within regional and national frameworks. Although they were in most respects strikingly different, Ranke's view built on Hegel's work by outlining the sociology of institutions ideally observed by the philosopher: the system of great powers and the separation of church and state as two essential pillars for the historicization of the past. The other pillar was Ranke's plea for historical objectivity. Again, the impact of the French Revolution and of the Napoleonic age on historical thought was overwhelming. Often regarded as representing two opposite, even contradictory positions of political versus cultural history, Ranke and Jacob Burckhardt nonetheless had in common a conservative interpretation of the revolutionary movement and an awareness of individual power and responsibility as exercised by Napoleon. Historical writing could no longer be in the business of speculation, nor could it claim that it revealed 'the all-pervasive rule of reason'.[8]

For many reasons Ranke was not only praised as the founder of the school of modern critical historical scholarship, the 'doyen of the German historical profession',[9] but was also famously regarded, for example, as one of the historians who laid the foundations of what was later called *Historismus* (historism), a term also applicable to cultural studies, jurisprudence, theology, philosophy,

[7] Burleigh Taylor Wilkins, *Hegel's Philosophy of History* (Ithaca, NY, 1974).

[8] Felix Gilbert, *History: Politics or Culture? Reflections on Ranke and Burckhardt* (Princeton, 1990), 8.

[9] John Burrow, *A History of Histories: Epics, Chronicles, Romances and Inquiries from Herodotus and Thucydides to the Twentieth Century* (London, 2007), 457.

economics, and sociology.[10] Before Friedrich Meinecke and Ernst Troeltsch looked into the history and the problematical nature of the term,[11] it was the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche who had initiated a debate about the consequences of the historicization of our thinking for existing values as well as about the question of whether the historian was guided by objectivity or allowed to produce value judgements.[12] Eighty-four years later, Karl Popper argued that given that history formed a unit with the godly idea, the 'poverty' of the concept of historicism as distinct from historism was that it saw the past mainly through its historical development.[13] For him it was a theory that helped to make a prognosis of the future on the basis of laws or historical regularities.

In Ranke's terms, history revealed 'how it actually was'. Furthermore it was meaningful in so far as it fulfilled what Hegel had called the *Weltgeist*. Through historical science Ranke—who was himself generally a critic of Hegel apart from their mutual understanding of the state as the embodiment of political ethics—wanted to work out a general theory of politics because he believed that every state possessed metaphysical realities. To bring to light the importance of the political history of nation-states was the historian's major responsibility, but this did not automatically entail the nationalist conviction that so many Prussian historians stood for in the Kaiserreich. Rather, it emphasized the moral quality of a state which the historian was to scrutinize, aiming to show its moral superiority. He was to immerse himself in the period he was studying and interpret it in light of the experiences of his own time by subordinating his own personality. To show historical development in human history and to justify success, whether personal or at the level of the state, was to follow God's will. This resulted in the legitimation of the present as the outcome of past achievements. Ranke therefore worked on powerful European states in the early modern period, such as France and England, in order to demonstrate the emergence of strong national coherence and the eventual triumph of state-building. Foreign policy and the military were given priority because they secured the independence of the state, while the individual was subject to its authority. Individuality, after all, was one of the key-words of nineteenth-century historism. Nations were as individual as historical events.[14]

[10] Annette Wittkau, *Historismus: Zur Geschichte des Begriffs und des Problems* (Göttingen, 1992), 61–130; and Friedrich Jaeger and Jörn Rüsen, *Geschichte des Historismus: Eine Einführung* (Munich, 1992), 81–5. For the translation of *Historismus* as 'historism' rather than its more common rendering as 'historicism' see ch.1 by Stefan Berger in this volume, esp. n. 3.

[11] Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1936); and Ernst Troeltsch, *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (Tübingen, 1922).

[12] Friedrich Nietzsche, 'Vom Nutzen und Nachtheil der Historie für das Leben', in *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1874).

[13] Karl Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (London and New York, 1957).

[14] Leopold von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte, vornehmlich im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1852–5); id., *Englische Geschichte, vornehmlich im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, 7 vols. (Berlin, 1859–68); and cf. James M. Powell and Georg G. Iggers (eds.), *Leopold von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline* (Syracuse, NY, 1990).

Contemporaries such as Carl von Rotteck and Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann expressed similar ideas. A political historian, Dahlmann was convinced of the truth of the Aristotelian doctrine of the natural sociability of man who had always lived in some form of state order, and believed that a good constitution was the outcome of the combination of monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic elements. As a result, political and ethical actions could not be completely separated from each other. Hence the constitution must not contravene the laws of a morally informed world. Dahlmann was a typical representative of the north German Protestant middle class whose world was strongly marked by the experiences of revolution and war. Later becoming one of the Göttingen Seven (who protested against the violation of the constitution by the Hanoverian king Ernst August in 1837), Dahlmann's commitment to the Paulskirche drew strength from Edmund Burke, who, in company with many nineteenth-century German intellectuals, he admired for his idea of peaceful yet constant and reformist change in institutions as exemplified by British history since the Glorious Revolution. This is the starting point for his famous *Die Politik auf den Grund und das Maaß der gegebenen Zustände zurückgeführt* [Politics Explained by the Reason and Measure of the Conditions of Life] (1835) and the background to his successful *Geschichte der englischen Revolution* [History of the English Revolution] (1843), rightly seen by historians of the young Federal Republic as an example of giving priority to liberty instead of unity.[15]

From this point, the path leading to the Prussian historiography that emerged strongly before the Kaiserreich and later identified with it was not long. While Ranke's work equally encouraged universal and national historical perspectives, it did not provide an easy conceptual background for those interpretative models that set out to justify the allegedly homogeneous Prussian state developing within the framework of German history. Herder's understanding of the *Volk*, later instrumentalized by early nineteenth-century writers and misleadingly translated into the cultural and ethnic nationalism for which Johann Gottlieb Fichte stood, nonetheless informed Prussian historians when they were looking for a metaphor to describe the hegemonic identity of the state on the one hand, and ethnic and linguistic minorities within its borders on the other. It was not only the multivolume writings of Heinrich von Treitschke and Johann Gustav Droysen that strongly influenced academic and public discourses on the course of German history. From the mid-nineteenth century, and especially around the 1848 revolution, with its disappointing outcome, many other authors had embarked on the history-writing business that promised to be the best way to participate in the debate about the role of Prussia, the place of freedom in German history, and the nature of the constitution. Quite a number worked in medieval history and took over the co-editorship of prestigious projects such as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Harry Bresslau, a student of Droysen and courageous critic of

[15] Cf. Karl Dietrich Bracher, *Über das Verhältnis von Politik und Geschichte: Gedenkrede auf F. C. Dahlmann* (Bonn, 1961).

Treitschke's anti-Semitism, was such a prominent example. This project brought him as much fame as his influential *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* [Handbook of Charter and Diplomatic Studies for Germany and Italy] (1889).[16]

Another strong pillar was classical history. From Barthold Georg Niebuhr and Droysen, Ernst Curtius and Burckhardt, to Theodor Mommsen, Karl Julius Beloch, and Eduard Meyer, classical history in Germany constituted a central field for academic qualification and political engagement. Before he established his fame as historian of Rome,[17] Niebuhr occupied various positions in the Prussian government as a financial expert, and worked in the diplomatic service. His teaching at Bonn profited from his time as Prussian envoy to the Vatican between 1816 and 1823, and throughout his career he was convinced that practical experience in politics and administration was essential for the work of the historian. Appropriately, Wilhelm von Humboldt characterized him as a scholar among statesmen and a statesman among scholars. More importantly, however, Niebuhr was an early representative of historism *avant la lettre*, establishing the historical-critical method, modern source criticism, and the scientification of historical thinking. Fiercely criticized by Wilhelm von Schlegel and Mommsen for his complicated style and the mixture of personal reflection, historical and literary analogies, and highly detailed descriptions, Niebuhr was nonetheless admired for his method of projecting his contemporary political ideal of harmony between the estates back into the Roman past.

Friedrich Carl von Savigny and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe claimed that all history should be written using Niebuhr's philological method, partly because—along with the ideas of Jakob Burckhardt—it opened up the perspective of a universal history deriving from Niebuhr's belief that all histories led to Roman history. Here Niebuhr stressed the Roman state, its culture, and what he saw as the perfection of its constitution based on liberty, morality, and the gradual development of political and legal institutions. While George Grote investigated Athenian democracy in his *History of Greece* (1846–55) and Karl Julius Beloch paid particular attention to the socio-economic factors in the relationship between Athens and Sparta in his *Griechische Geschichte* [Greek History] (4 vols., 1893–1904), Niebuhr studied the Roman republic as an example of the early history of a nation that emerged through its institutions, not events, and through the social stratification of its classes, not the role of individuals.[18]

In this, Niebuhr's historical science was quite different from Droysen's. For example, Droysen believed in the greatness of individuals. His most extensive work was his fourteen-volume *Geschichte der preußischen Politik* [History of Prussian Politics] (1855–86); his best known and most important, the *Grundriß*

[16] Harry Bresslau, *Zur Judenfrage: Sendschreiben an Heinrich von Treitschke* (Berlin, 1880).
[17] *Römische Geschichte*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1811–32).
[18] Gerrit Walther, *Niebuhrs Forschung* (Stuttgart, 1993).

der Historik [*Outline of the Principles of History*] (1868), which, between Enlightenment historiography and Wilhelm Dilthey, makes a pioneering theoretical contribution to historical writing and its philosophy and methodology. A student of Boeckh and Hegel, Droysen based his historical thinking on the study of Hellenism and a conviction of the necessity of human liberty. The Wars of Liberation, the development of the national programme of reform under Prussian leadership, and the justification of German unity as a rational, moral, and universal process within the path of German history are still seen as Droysen's key topics. He supported Alexander the Great's demand for Greek history to be completed and the country to be unified.[19] Similarly, he was convinced that it was Prussia's duty to overcome German particularism as the condition for the liberty of individual citizens.

Thus history followed a religious purpose, namely to make the Protestant state comprehensible as a divine outcome following the Hegelian principle of a strong and dynamic state. History followed the path of moral perfection of the world. To learn from history meant to try to understand the past through religious belief. The progress that was inherent in the world-plan ruled out conflicts between ethics and power because the state itself constituted an ethical power, thus guaranteeing liberty and self-determination. Political commitment gained some form of theological legitimation, and history emerged from historical writing to historical science. Greek history and Christianity, Prussian history and German idealism—these were the dialectical forces that gained the status of universal categories when applied to the present. The politician could regard himself as a practical historian, while the historian was more than just a professional academic: he was a political adviser. Droysen believed that the continuum from past to future was thus bridged.[20]

Later overshadowed by the enormous success of Mommsen's masterly *Römische Geschichte* [*History of Rome*] (1854–6), for which he won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1902, and his *Römisches Staatsrecht* [Roman Constitutional Law] (1893), the reputation of Niebuhr and Droysen ultimately also rests on their ability to organize academic enterprises. Niebuhr founded the philological journal *Rheinisches Museum* in 1827. This type of work was undertaken by many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German historians. Mommsen called his academic work 'large-scale scholarship'. Among numerous other projects, he initiated the collection of ancient inscriptions and the study of the Roman 'Limes' in Western Germany, and was crucial in the promotion of German numismatics and epigraphy. Mommsen described himself an 'animal politicum wishing, however, to be a citizen'. He was a member of the Prussian chamber of deputies

[19] *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1836–43).

[20] Johann Gustav Droysen, *Historik*, vol. 2: *Texte im Umkreis der Historik*, ed. Horst Walter Blanke (Stuttgart, 2007); Wilfried Nippel, *Johann Gustav Droysen* (Munich, 2008); and Robert Sothard, *Droysen and the Prussian School of History* (Lexington, 1995).

(1863–6 and 1873–9) and of the German Reichstag (1881–4); he helped to found the left-liberal Progressive Party and was secretary of the Prussian Academy of Sciences; and although he successfully opposed Treitschke's virulent anti-Semitism and engaged in political debates as a public moralist, he believed he was more influential in the academic milieu.[21]

The disillusionment of a liberal nationalist in the political world was not unique at this time. To name but a few others, Droysen, Georg Gottfried Gervinus, and Heinrich von Sybel experienced it; Arnold Heeren and Carl von Noorden saw an alternative to the dominant national history in the history of the European system of states and in non-European history;[22] Hermann Grotefend and Theodor von Sickel were among the first to establish the historical auxiliary sciences. Others, such as Adolf von Harnack and Ernst Troeltsch, for example, regarded themselves less as historians than as Protestant philosophical theologians with a particular interest in church history, a topic Harnack addressed in *Das Wesen des Christentums* [What is Christianity?] (1900) and Troeltsch treated in his *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* [Historism and Its Problems] (1922), which investigated the problem of the historian's subjectivity with regard to historical presentation.[23] Finally, Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, Wilhelm Roscher and Max Weber put aspects of society and the economy at the centre of the narrative of the national and global pasts. In doing so, they did not overlook but relativized the historist viewpoint on the political world. In sum, however, they were the exceptions rather than the rule in German historiography, and attracted a wide readership because of their identification of national history with national politics. If there was a hierarchy of themes, this was certainly a leading one.

FROM 1871 TO 1918

The roots of the national tradition date back to the early nineteenth century. The hegemony of Prussia within Germany played a particular part, making the work of national historians even more prominent after unification in 1871. The body of literature that was then produced was vast, consisting mainly of general histories, collections of official documents, and biographies of famous statesmen and military personnel. There were also plenty of books that engaged with German colonialism, European overseas empires, and extra-European area studies.[24] While

[21] Stefan Rebenich, *Theodor Mommsen: Eine Biographie* (Munich, 2002), 165–93.

[22] Christoph Becker-Schaum, *Arnold Herrmann Ludwig Heeren: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Geschichtswissenschaft zwischen Aufklärung und Historismus* (Frankfurt, 1993).

[23] Christian Nottmeier, *Adolf von Harnack und die deutsche Politik 1890–1930* (Tübingen, 2004); and Gandolf Hübinger, 'Ernst Troeltsch—Die Bedeutung der Kulturgeschichte für die Politik der modernen Gesellschaft', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 30 (2004), 189–218.

[24] Benedikt Stuchtey, 'World Power and World History: Writing the British Empire, 1885–1945', in id. and Eckhardt Fuchs (eds.), *Writing World History 1800–2000* (Oxford and New York, 2003), 213–53.

national history from the Prussian viewpoint produced a triumphalist arrogance, it was not alone in Western Europe in claiming a complacent cultural, spiritual, moral, and even ethnic superiority and expressing a civilizing mission beyond its political borders. The highly fashionable field of military history—recognized after Wilhelm Rüstow's publications of the 1850s and 1860s as a serious area of research not limited to military staff[25]—found its most prolific and politically engaged author in Hans Delbrück. A disciple of Ranke and Treitschke's successor at Berlin, Delbrück was editor of the *Preußische Jahrbücher* (1890–1919), defender of a moderate foreign policy but critic of chauvinist tendencies in Wilhelmine Germany, advocate of the constitutional monarchy with its dual forces of parliament and bureaucracy, and, after 1918, a conservative *Vernunftrepublikaner* (a term denoting a monarchist at heart who accepted the republic by virtue of reason). Between 1900 and 1920 Delbrück published his major work in four volumes, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte* [*History of the Art of War within the Framework of Political History*], in which he differentiated between what he understood as Frederick the Great's wars of attrition and Napoleon's wars of destruction. This distanced him from established military views by putting politics back into military history, although it left out the social and cultural aspects of war. When he finally wrote a world history, Delbrück was the last German historian in the early twentieth century to do so, despite having aroused many controversies in his time.[26]

It is one of the features typical of German historiography in the late nineteenth century that methodological and political questions provoked heated academic debates. In 1861–2 Heinrich von Sybel and Johann Ficker famously debated the character of the medieval German Reich, its relevance for the development of German history, and the attitude of the medieval emperorship towards Italy. However, the real issue was the political conflict between Catholic pan-Germans and Protestants. The Protestants favoured a strong, liberal-conservative and constitutional nation-state with the Prussian king at its head. While Ficker defended the idea of a universal Catholic empire, Sybel, like Droysen, saw Germany's present and future destiny as lying in a strong relationship between politics, the Protestant religion, and the nation.[27] There was little room for compromise. History understood as an educational power legitimized the present by the continuing success of the forces that had shaped the nation's past. It was thus possible for history to be completely reconstructed.

[25] *Der deutsche Militärstaat vor und während der Revolution* (Zurich, 1850).

[26] Markus Pöhlmann, *Kriegsgeschichte und Geschichtspolitik: Der Erste Weltkrieg. Die amtliche deutsche Militärgeschichtsschreibung 1914–1956* (Paderborn, 2002); Hans Delbrück, *Modern Military History*, trans. and ed. Arden Bucholz (Lincoln, Nebr. and London, 1997); and Arden Bucholz, *Hans Delbrück and the German Military Establishment: War Images in Conflict* (Iowa City, 1985).

[27] Volker Dotterweich, *Heinrich von Sybel: Geschichtswissenschaft in politischer Absicht* (Göttingen, 1978).

Moreover, with Sybel, history more than ever before gained a political function and an ideological basis by providing guidelines for what was termed the Prussian school of historical writing. The Prussianization of Germany was welcomed by a large group of historians who supported Bismarck's policies wholeheartedly. Influenced by the 1848 revolution, Sybel wrote a history of the age of revolution between 1789 and 1800 in five volumes,[28] and translated his programme for bourgeois engagement in politics, administration, and economy into reality, illustrating it by his own example. Among many other institutional involvements, he was founder of the *Historische Zeitschrift* in 1859, co-founder of the Historical Commission in Munich, director of the Prussian State Archives, and was a driving force behind the foundation of the German Historical Institute in Rome (1888).

Although Sybel also saw his role as that of a public moralist with the task of influencing public opinion, unlike Treitschke he was mainly a scholar in the Rankean tradition. But Treitschke, himself called in 1874 to fill Ranke's chair at Berlin which Jacob Burckhardt had refused, cultivated what were to become the dominant threads in German historiography from the Kaiserreich to the Third Reich: a close association with nationalism; an emphasis on the role of individual personalities; and a concentration on the political narrative rather than social and cultural factors in history. Treitschke was typical of his generation, except that his anti-Semitism, anti-Socialism, and Anglophobe attitudes were extreme even for that time and, as such, influential in producing stereotypes which could be used as images of the enemy. He symbolized the aggressive imperialism of *Lebensraum* (living space) and *Weltpolitik* (world policy) which the Wilhelmines directed against British imperial and naval dominance of the world.

The author of a five-volume *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* [*History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century*] (1879–94), Treitschke was a member of the Reichstag (1871–84) and openly dedicated his historical writing to the aims of present-day politics. His account of the German past ended with the 1848 revolution and was clearly based on the ideas of constant historical voluntarism and the moral imperatives of the state going beyond the understanding of historical events. This was not analytical historiography but a narrative that attracted a wide readership, in part because Treitschke was a brilliant essayist. It legitimized Prussia's hegemony within the German Kaiserreich by idealizing the centralized authoritarian nation-state and by emphasizing a strong unifying nationalism. The historian's task was to make visible the historical laws that led to political success, to discover the characteristics of the peoples, and to leave no doubt that—in Treitschke's famous words—it was primarily men who made history.[29]

[28] *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit von 1789 bis 1800*, 5 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1853–79).

[29] Ulrich Langer, *Heinrich von Treitschke: Politische Biographie eines deutschen Nationalisten* (Düsseldorf, 1998).

After all, it was also primarily men who made historiography. Very few women were successful in placing historical books in a competitive market, and none would be awarded a doctoral degree before the First World War. The structural social conservatism of the Kaiserreich allowed history its uniformity. Western modernity as expressed in German historiography offered little space to those challenging the teleological and canonical view of history with its aim of restoring and reinventing tradition in order to provide a meta-narrative of the rise of the nation-state and, equally important, of having this carefully watched by patriotic gatekeepers. This guaranteed the particular exclusiveness of the German historiographical tradition with its clear institutionalized frameworks, privileged access to knowledge starting in the archives and leading to its intellectual audiences, and all its epistemological conventions. At the same time, it had the disadvantage of the constraints imposed by the narrow assumptions of national history. Nationalistic and Eurocentric views were the background even to universal histories of mankind well into the early twentieth century, such as those by Oswald Spengler and other European scholars whose aim was to help comprehend the 'decline of the West' in a global dimension.[30]

Since absolutist Prussia did not fulfil the criterion of a liberal constitutional polity it ideally served as the model of a centralized state. Liberal historians such as Friedrich Dahlmann and Georg Gottfried Gervinus, who were among the generation of 1848, had seen few problems in accepting this model so long as the principal aim of national unification was achieved. For this reason it is worth briefly looking back to their work and to the age before 1871. But both Dahlmann and Gervinus changed from moderates into left-wing liberals and advocated a republic at times of severe reaction under Bismarck. Best known for his five-volume *Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen* [History of the German National Poetic Literature] (1835–42), Gervinus worked in the borderland between history, philosophy, and literature. He founded modern literary history, adding the study of cultural and social dimensions to textual interpretation in the study of literature. Gervinus favoured national unification, yet Bismarck's military solution to the German question was unacceptable to the historian who in his eight-volume *Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts seit den Wiener Verträgen* [History of the Nineteenth Century since the Treaty of Vienna] (1855–66) described European revolutionary movements with great sympathy and was the first to study the influence of the French Revolution on South America. Since 1866 he had been one of Bismarck's fiercest critics, proposing a federal system instead of centralized power politics. For this reason, he was also one of the most isolated historians of his generation.[31]

[30] Oswald Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes: Umrisse einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1918–22); trans. Charles Francis as *The Decline of the West*, 2 vols. (1926–8).

[31] Gangolf Hübinger, *Georg Gottfried Gervinus, Historisches Urteil und politische Kritik* (Göttingen, 1984).

Another aim, that of Protestant dominance, gained equal importance and was soon treated as equivalent to the unified state. The 'small German' concept in the struggle against Catholic Habsburg influence (which advocated a 'Greater German' solution) emphasized a Prussian-led Germany which, after unification in the Wilhelmine era, gained enough confidence to find its position in Europe and the world. To this extent the unification from above that Bismarck imposed by force from 1866 not only recognized the monarchical principle but also strengthened a belief in historical destiny. Consequently, progress which contemporaries could identify with territorial expansion symbolized the goal that in their view had shaped German history since the Napoleonic Wars, namely that of unification. Ultimately, concepts such as *Weltpolitik* and *Lebensraum* essentially derived from a powerful unified state. They were the nationalist and the imperialist sides of the coin with which the Kaiserreich paid for the fulfilment of the 'Prussian mission'.

Many historians at that time were outsiders in respect of their intellectual aims, historiographical interests, and socio-political standing. If they were Catholic like Onno Klopp or Johannes Janssen, the anti-Prussia representatives of a Pan-German federalism, they played a particularly marginal role. Second, if they were Jewish, like Heinrich Graetz or the Russian Jew Simon Dubnov, they worked as biblical scholars, or historians of Jewish or universal history, and practiced the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (the academic study of Judaism) as an attempt to emancipate the study of the Jewish past from the exclusive knowledge of rabbinical scholarship. His eleven-volume *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* [*History of the Jews*] (1853–75) earned Graetz the lasting reputation of having developed a passionate, philological-critical approach to a national and unified Jewish history from its early beginnings for which religion and politics were the essential pillars.[32] Graetz did not engage with economic and social questions nor did he include Polish and Russian Jews in his narrative, and, as could be expected, he was criticized by the nationalist anti-Semites who claimed that his history displayed too much of a national character of Judaism to be incorporated into German history. By contrast, Dubnov, writing about fifty years after Graetz but being widely read in Germany, chose a universal perspective on the history of his people to demonstrate a secular nationalism that allowed the Jews to form minorities in any nation of the world without being politically committed to the state in which they lived. The formation of the Jewish state of Israel as one of the outcomes of Zionism was therefore unnecessary, even unwanted, as in Dubnov's eyes the Jews formed part of world society not despite, but because of, the loss of their homeland.[33]

[32] Arthur A. Cohen, *The Natural and the Supernatural Jew: An Historical and Theological Introduction* (London, 1972).

[33] Simon Dubnov, *Die Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 10 vols. (Berlin, 1925–30). See Ernst Schulin, *'The Most Historical of All Peoples': Nationalism and the New Construction of Jewish History in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (London, 1996), 5.

Third, if democratically oriented historians from the margins wrote social history like Gustav Mayer, Arthur Rosenberg, Veit Valentin, and Eckart Kehr, they were excluded by their colleagues as they were suspected of endangering established interpretations. Mayer devoted himself to working on the German and European socialist movements, to editing Ferdinand Lassalle's papers, and writing a biography of Friedrich Engels. Later, when he was forced to emigrate from Nazi Germany and taught at the London School of Economics, he worked on the history of the English labour movement and radical politics, producing a book that was published only in 1995.[34] Like Mayer, Franz Mehring dealt comprehensively with the political German labour movement and the history of scientific socialism.[35] The author of a biography of Karl Marx,[36] he was among the founders of the revolutionary Spartacus group in 1916 and believed that the bourgeois struggle for emancipation paralleled the academic struggle against Prussianism in the historical sciences. Kehr, like Mayer a student of Friedrich Meinecke, also remained a liberal outsider, although he possessed the intellectual potential to become a key figure in German historiography during the Weimar Republic. That this was not to be the case is owed to his early death while he was on a research trip in the United States. In any case, his politically non-conformist position, his controversial themes, and his methodologically unorthodox approach did not destine him for a straightforward career in German academia, despite his ability to keep in close contact with the German university system and influential scholars. Unlike most German historians of the early twentieth century who concentrated on the foreign policy of the Kaiserreich, Kehr worked on its internal social, political, and ideological frameworks, believing that military and imperial aims abroad were essentially driven by domestic economic interests and the forces of other interest groups.

Finally, if historians were anti-historist, like Karl Lamprecht and Otto Hintze, and emphasized the relevance of economic, cultural, and constitutional structures in history rather than conforming to either the Rankean concept of the great powers or the neo-Rankean hero-worship of allegedly great individuals (Max Lenz, Erich Marcks),[37] they were denied institutional backing. This was the fate of Lamprecht when he lost in the famous controversy which was ultimately a struggle between the political historist mainstream and attempts to cut sociological paths into established historiographical worldviews, represented, for example, by the medievalist Georg von Below.[38] A member of the Freikonservative

[34] *The Era of the Reform League: English Labour and Radical Politics 1857–1872. Documents Selected by Gustav Mayer*, ed. John Breuilly, Gottfried Niedhart, and Antony Taylor (Mannheim, 1995); and see Jens Prellwitz, *Jüdisches Erbe, sozialliberales Ethos, deutsche Nation: Gustav Mayer im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Mannheim, 1998).

[35] *Geschichte der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (Stuttgart, 1897).

[36] *Karl Marx: Geschichte seines Lebens* (Berlin, 1918).

[37] E.g. Erich Marcks, *Männer und Zeiten* (Leipzig, 1911).

[38] Hans Cymorek, *Georg von Below und die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft um 1900* (Stuttgart, 1998).

Partei, Below personified the conservative political intellectual. He was a public moralist who also enjoyed debates with Gustav Schmoller and Werner Sombart and looked for the Kaiserreich's intellectual origins in the Romantic era. However, this does not mean that Lamprecht and other outsiders were unblemished democrats. German historians in the Wilhelmine era who wholeheartedly approved of parliamentary democracy were quite rare.[39]

There were, of course, exceptions. One was the pacifist and critic of the Kaiser, Ludwig Quidde, who polemicized against the militarism of the Kaiserreich.[40] His satire of Wilhelm II went into thirty-four editions but cost him a promising academic career as he was one of the co-founders of the congress of German historians in 1893 and the association of German historians in 1895.[41] Once completely marginalized by his colleagues, Quidde participated in the international peace movement, received the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1927, and emigrated to Switzerland in 1933.[42] Another exception was the moderate liberal-conservative Otto Hintze, a student of Droysen and the foremost specialist in Prussian history of his generation.[43] He was particularly interested in the formation of modern states in Europe, the emergence of modern administration, and the constitutional, social, and economic development of absolutist Prussia. Prussia's bureaucratic system was focused on the monarchy which was one of the reasons for its stability, but also its statism. Later in life, Hintze was criticized for his statist understanding of social and political structures, although he looked in new directions after the First World War and the 1918–19 Revolution, when his views were fundamentally turned upside down. Hintze's *Die Hohenzollern und ihr Werk* [The Hohenzollerns and Their Work] (1915) has retained its analytical and descriptive value to the present day, but is outdated in the way it honours royal greatness. The answer to this was to attach more importance to changes in society and the economy, and along with Max Weber and Werner Sombart, to see greater relevance in historical typologies, syntheses, and comparative social histories including non-European nations such as Japan, for example. In so doing, Hintze exerted substantial influence on the generation after him, which included Dietrich Gerhard, Hajo Holborn, Gerhard Masur, Hans Baron, and the German-born US Renaissance historian Felix Gilbert.[44]

[39] Wolfgang Hardtwig, 'Von Preußens Aufgabe in Deutschland zu Deutschlands Aufgabe in der Welt: Liberalismus und borussisches Geschichtsbild zwischen Revolution und Imperialismus', in id., *Geschichtskultur und Wissenschaft* (Munich, 1990), 103–60.

[40] *Militarismus im heutigen Deutschen Reich* (Stuttgart, 1893).

[41] *Caligula: Eine Studie über römischen Cäsarenwahnsinn* (Berlin, 1894).

[42] Karl Holl, *Ludwig Quidde (1858–1941): Eine Biographie* (Düsseldorf, 2007).

[43] Michael Erbe, *Otto Hintze* (Hamburg, 1987).

[44] Wolfgang J. Mommsen, 'German Historiography during the Weimar Republic and the Emigré Historians', in Hartmut Lehmann and James J. Sheehan (eds.), *An Interrupted Past: German-Speaking Refugee Historians in the United States after 1933* (Cambridge and New York, 1991), 32–66.

THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Meanwhile, one could explain the success of an authoritarian and nationally apologetic German historiography after 1918 by reference to the Versailles Treaty and a generation that had been deeply socialized in the world of the Kaiserreich and therefore had little sympathy for the parliamentary democracy of the Weimar Republic. Revisionism and the 'Versailles complex' were rooted in the legacy of Prussian ideas such as the superiority of the state based on its military and administrative forces. Again, a few representatives of a younger generation, most of whom had been born around 1900, stood for different approaches. Politically they were Republicans like Hans Rosenberg and Hajo Holborn; academically they challenged the superiority of historism and nationalism. When the Nazis gained power all of them were forced into exile. While a social-Darwinist, racist, anti-Semitic, and *völkisch* historiography was established by Walter Frank and Hans Freyer and professionalized in the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany, the historians in exile continued to bring modern perspectives to bear on their historical writing, and profited from the free academic world that had offered them a new home.[45]

Among them were the lesser known female historians who are still waiting to be given greater prominence in histories of historiography. Hedwig Hintze from an upper-class Jewish family in Munich and wife of Otto Hintze was the first woman in Germany to write a dissertation, which was supervised by Friedrich Meinecke in 1924. She became a prominent historian of the French Revolution and a defender of the political system of the Weimar Republic. Her academic interests followed the Meinecke school of the history of ideas. Politically, she believed Weimar was rooted in the nineteenth-century democratic traditions of a humanist socialism, which enabled Germany to embark on pan-European collaborations. In 1928 Hintze published her major book, which soon established her as an expert in French constitutional history.[46] When Hintze was dismissed from Berlin University in 1933, she emigrated to Paris and from there to Utrecht. She was offered an Associate Professorship of History at the New School for Social Research in New York but she did not receive a visa and committed suicide in 1942 the day before she was to be deported by the police.[47] The fate of emigration also awaited Selma Stern, for example, who left Berlin in 1941 after she had worked at the 'Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums', an institution which gave her the opportunity to strengthen Jewish historiography. Once in New York she helped to found the Leo Baeck Institute.[48] One of the most

[45] Peter Alter (ed.), *Out of the Third Reich: Refugee Historians in Post-War Britain* (London, 1998).

[46] *Staatseinheit und Föderalismus im alten Frankreich und in der Revolution* (Stuttgart, 1828).

[47] Brigitta Oestreich, 'Hedwig und Otto Hintze. Eine biographische Skizze', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 11 (1985), 397–419.

[48] Marina Sassenberg, *Selma Stern (1890–1981)* (London, 2004).

prominent women in historical writing, however, was Ricarda Huch, a poet and academic with contacts in the women's movement and among the critics of the Nazi regime, which she analysed in her mostly popular writings.[49] Huch rediscovered the literary and cultural layers of the Romantic age and showed great interest in the religious dimension of history, something she shared with Hildegard Schaeder, a member of the Confessional Church during the Third Reich. Imprisoned in Ravensbrück concentration camp during the Nazi period, after the war she worked for the Protestant Church in Germany and as a history professor at the University of Frankfurt.[50]

Whether there was an intellectual divide after 1945 between those historians who had stayed in Germany during the Nazi regime and those who had fled it is not an easy question to answer. Many had been socialized during the Kaiserreich and the First World War, quite a few belonged to the front generation, and many worked closely together during the Weimar Republic. Some remained on the margins, like the liberal Catholic Franz Schnabel, who approved of Weimar but found academic success and a wider readership for his publications only after 1945.[51] His magisterial *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* [German History in the Nineteenth Century] (1929–37) was long unchallenged for its full descriptions and the variety of questions addressed both in terms of history in general and of German history in particular. A book that limited itself to the Vormärz period and concentrated on the climax of the Bürgertum, it was nonetheless not meant to describe a success story of political emancipation. Strongly believing in the values of humanism and idealism and their impact on the emergence of the bourgeoisie, Schnabel shared a cultural scepticism which, in his view, derived from the special path of German history in so far as the collective was more strongly developed than was the individual need for liberty. In contrast to the great nineteenth-century sceptic Jacob Burckhardt, however, he never really freed himself from the influence of historism and the particular German *Geistesgeschichte*, which he put into a European context. With Meinecke, he was thus a major representative of the cultural-historical approach rooted in the nineteenth century and leading well into the twentieth.[52]

GERMAN HISTORICAL WRITING AND THE WEST

By 1900 Friedrich Meinecke, member of an older generation, had already clearly exercised strong influence in methodological, thematic, and institutional matters.

[49] James M. Skidmore, *The Trauma of Defeat: Ricarda Huch's Historiography during the Weimar Republic* (New York, 2005).

[50] Cf. Heike Berger, *Deutsche Historikerinnen 1920–1970: Geschichte zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik* (Frankfurt, 2007).

[51] Thomas Hertfelder, *Franz Schnabel und die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft. Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Historismus und Kulturkritik (1910–1945)*, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1998).

[52] Patrick Bahners, 'Kritik und Erneuerung: Der Historismus bei Franz Schnabel', *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte*, 25 (1996), 117–53.

With the young Gerhard Ritter he belonged to a group of historians who intellectually bridged these decades and then crucially shaped the study of history in Germany after the Second World War. A large number of his students were forced to emigrate from Nazi Germany and went to the United States, while by 1935 their teacher had retired from his political and academic posts such as chairman of the Historical Commission of the Reich. The editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift* (1896–1935), Meinecke was the first vice chancellor of the newly founded Free University of West Berlin in 1948. An advocate of the history of ideas as a counter-model to political history, he became a liberal and regarded himself as a defender of the republic on the grounds that parliamentary government reflected the benefits of reason of state.[53]

Meinecke had established his position among the first representatives of an elitist history of ideas with his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* [Cosmopolitanism and the National State] (1907), a study that showed the intellectual tensions in German history between the cosmopolitan Romantic movement of the period of Prussian reforms and the centralized Bismarckian national state. After the war, when he wrote *Die deutsche Katastrophe* [*The German Catastrophe*] (1946), he again emphasized the idealism of the age of Goethe in contrast to nationalism. Meinecke established an equal reputation as an historian of historical thought with his two-volume *Entstehung des Historismus* [*Historism: The Rise of a New Historical Outlook*] (1936) in which he looked at the modes of framing ideas that were fundamental for the emergence of the philosophy of history. He comprehended historism as an intellectual revolution transforming the 'West' since the eighteenth century when Herder, Goethe, and their contemporaries had created criteria for laws according to which nations, states, and even individuals were to orientate themselves.[54]

This standpoint was unacceptable to social historians, including some of Meinecke's students. Hans Rosenberg, an intellectual and philosophical historian who moved on to social history under the impact of the political and economic problems of Weimar, concentrated on social structures instead of the intellectual biographies of individuals. The main fields of his research were the economic processes of nineteenth-century Germany, the mentalities of liberalism before 1830,[55] and the social relationships within Prussia's leading establishment. Of Jewish origin, Rosenberg left Germany for England in 1933 and went from there via Canada and Cuba to the United States in 1935 where he began a successful career as an author and teacher in New York before moving on to Berkeley. For West German historians of the 1960s he became an academic and political role model because of his impulse to integrate questions and methods of neighbouring

[53] *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte* (Munich, 1924).
[54] Gisela Bock, *Friedrich Meinecke in seiner Zeit: Studien zu Leben und Werk* (Stuttgart, 2006).
[55] *R. Haym und die Anfänge des klassischen Liberalismus* (Munich, 1933).

disciplines into historical study.[56] Above all, he was an example of an intellectual who had lived through the experiences of the 1930s and emigration, and who had found a historiographical answer to this by comparing Germany's historical development with that of other Western countries. Was there a special path that explained the German divergence from the 'West'?

This was an obvious question which a number of historians had already asked before the end of the Second World War. Gerhard Ritter, for example, originally found a national-conservative answer when he wrote his biography of Luther, published in 1925, a book that can be read as an attempt to come to terms with the German defeat of 1918.[57] Ritter defended Luther as a symbol of the metaphysical spirit of the Germans in contrast to what he perceived as the liberal and materialistic West. The meaning of the Reformation for the political culture of Prussia, German idealism, and the politics of German unification should not be underestimated, according to Ritter, as he was again to show in his biographies of Stein and Frederick the Great.[58] In Ritter's writings Prussia's politics emerged geographically speaking between the Roman West and the Slavic East. For this reason Germany was confronted with the alternatives of insular, moralist utopian humanism represented by Thomas More, and the continental, political realism of Machiavelli.[59] But for Ritter, Germany had no option but to take the path of a controlled *Machtpolitik*, however dangerous this could become both politically and ethically.[60]

The intellectual *Geistesgeschichte* of Meinecke is also traceable in the early work of Hans Rothfels, who picked up the idea of power politics and combined it with Bismarck's *Realpolitik*. He described the Reichskanzler as rooted in a Prussian-Lutheran sense of responsibility with, in principle, a mind open to the relationship with Britain but less tolerance for those he regarded as not fitting into his concept of a Prussian-led federal Reich in the centre of Europe. Rothfels found that it was not the Kaiser but Bismarck who exercised real and responsible statesmanship, and was the pragmatic personification of Germany's historical interests as embodied in the primacy of foreign policy, *raison d'état*, and the struggle against minorities in the Reich.[61] With the much older Meinecke, Ritter, as well as his students Werner Conze and Theodor Schieder, Rothfels was among the most influential historians in the early Federal Republic before a radical

[56] Arnd Bauerkämper, 'Americanisation as Globalisation? Emigrés to West Germany after 1945 and Conceptions of Democracy: The Cases of Hans Rothfels, Ernst Fraenkel and Hans Rosenberg', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, 49 (2004), 152–70.

[57] *Luther: Gestalt und Symbol* (Munich, 1925).

[58] *Weltwirkung der Reformation* (Leipzig, 1941); *Stein: eine politische Biographie* (Stuttgart, 1931); and *Friedrich der Grosse* (Leipzig, 1936).

[59] *Machtstaat und Utopie* (Munich, 1940).

[60] *Die Dämonie der Macht* (Stuttgart, 1947). See also Christoph Cornelißen, *Gerhard Ritter: Geschichtswissenschaft und Politik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Düsseldorf, 2001).

[61] *Bismarcks englische Bündnispolitik* (Stuttgart, 1924).

methodological break became possible with the generation of Reinhart Koselleck, Jürgen Kocka, and Hans-Ulrich Wehler. By contrast, Rothfels was certainly one of the very conservative historians in political matters and a historist in attitude which is why he met modern *Strukturgeschichte* and *Begriffsgeschichte* with less enthusiasm than the younger generation. Soon after the war he had returned to his home country which his Jewish background had forced him to leave. Few émigré historians took this step so early, but many renewed their contacts from which German historiography profited so strongly. After 150 years of German historical writing the country was not at *Stunde Null* in 1945.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1789–1815	Germany in the age of the French Revolution and under Napoleon
1815–30	Restoration and revolution
1830–47	*Vormärz*
1848/49	Revolution
1848–71	From revolution to the foundation of the Kaiserreich
1871–90	The Kaiserreich and Bismarck
1890–1918	The Kaiserreich in the age of High Imperialism
1914–18	The First World War
1918/19	Between the end of the war, revolution, and the new republic
1919–33	The Weimar Republic
1933–45	Hitler's seizure of power and the Nazi dictatorship
1939–45	The Second World War
1945–9	Towards the partition of Germany

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Chapter 9

Historical Writing in France, 1800–1914

Pim den Boer

THE SPECTRE OF THE REVOLUTION

In France after the traumatic experiences of the revolution the past would never be the same. The feeling of discontinuity between present and past was overwhelming. The chaotic experiences since 1789 had a great impact on the visions of past and future expectations. Feudal society had become irremediably a 'world we have lost'. Even the most fanatical supporter of restoration realized that things would never be as before 1789.

Historical visions and future perspectives in France were dominated by the Revolution of 1789. Not only the subsequent revolutions and counter-revolutions of the July Revolution of 1830 and the February Revolution of 1848 but even the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1 and the Paris Commune forcefully reactivated the ideals of revolution and reaction. All thinking about the past in French society remained dominated by the spectre of the revolution until the new cataclysm of the First World War. The Russian Revolution and the creation of the first communist regime subsequently diminished the historical obsession of 1789 and caused a reorientation of political thinking on both the Left and Right.

The past was often adapted and reconstructed in order to serve claims and ideals of the present and future. The Revolution of 1789 was a living past and pervaded political mentalities not only in national politics and local affairs but also in private life. The revolution could even be important for self-understanding and self-consciousness. History became an important terrain for contemporary political struggle and personal ambitions. For all kinds of reasons and motives the past was to remain 'under construction': a disputed past guiding an uncertain future.

CONTOURS OF FRENCH HISTORIOGRAPHY

The contours of history-writing are defined by the fabric of the society and institutional framework that generates historical publications, and the social structure sets limits on the number of authors of historical publications. In a predominantly

agrarian society lacking a modern mass media and modern working conditions and education, French historiography did not so much reflect society in general but rather the preoccupations of at most 2.5 per cent of the French population whose personal circumstances granted them intellectual predominance. Although the revolutions had considerably curtailed the political power of clergy and nobles, the old order remained visible in the intellectual production of the nineteenth century and diminished only slowly.

As late as 1870 the persistence of the old order was still evident. More than one-third (36 per cent) of the historians were members of the first and the second estates. Even by 1900, after decades of republican rule when the political power of the aristocracy and the church had come to an end, the proportion of priests, parsons, and noblemen among the historians' ranks remained high (27 per cent). Most strikingly, while the proportion of blue-blooded historians had shrunk markedly after thirty years of republican rule (from 20 per cent to 7 per cent), the number of clerical historians increased (from 16 per cent to 20 per cent). Around 1900 the role of the clergy was particularly noticeable in the fields of local history and archaeology. The clergy also contributed a substantial share of work on contemporary history. A better intellectually educated clergy, challenged by the fierce struggle with republican authorities over the present *laïcité*, produced a considerable amount of historical writing from an ecclesiastical perspective. The historiographical output of the nobility was of a more disparate character.

A new phenomenon was that nearly one-quarter of all historical writers were professional historians, that is, historians who earned their living from teaching history in secondary or higher education or from analysing historical material in archives, libraries, and museums. Writing history books was never a full-time way of earning a living. Professionalization in the sense of an increase in the number of professionals had less influence on the quantity of historical writing than it did on quality, on the spread of historical knowledge through schools and universities, and on the organization and classification of historical material in archives, libraries, and museums.

In 1897 the largest library in France, the Bibliothèque nationale, contained more than 2 million items (some items comprising large series made up of many volumes), whereas more than two centuries earlier, in 1684, the Bibliothèque du Roi could boast of no more than some 35,000 folios, quartos, and octavos.

Religion came to hold a much smaller place in French intellectual life. There was a marked decrease in such old and in part still pronouncedly humanistic disciplines as philosophy, French language, grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. Medical science also decreased in relative importance. Law, natural science, and arts and letters came to hold a larger place. The increase in the number of plays and novels was also considerable, but in the spectacular increase of intellectual activity and consumption the role of writing and reading history was pre-eminent.

History was exceptionally popular and remained so well into the twentieth century. This popularity was also apparent in literature and on stage. More fundamentally, it was during this period that historical modes of understanding were elaborated and the study of history acquired an unprecedented epistemological status. As a result, history developed enormous prestige and dared to vie for the crown of learning with the disciplines long held in the highest rank—philosophy, theology, and rhetoric. Philosophers were beginning to consider the history of philosophy to be of greater importance than the *philosophia perennis* and grammarians were beginning to place literary history and historical philology above the eternal rules of rhetoric and grammar. In biblical studies, audacious scholars even cast doubt on God's word and began to study Christianity as part of the general history of religion. In political philosophy organic theories gained much ground while traditional ahistorical politics fell into discredit and were considered hopelessly old-fashioned. What had been upheld as indisputable truths for centuries now seemed valid only inasmuch as they could be fitted into the general context of historical developments. Disorientation and a feeling of uncertainty played a crucial part in contributing to the need for historical analysis. The dominance of history after the great European catastrophe and epoch-making crisis propelled a historization of ideas, ideologies, and concepts. The epistemological enhancement of the study of the past was the necessary precondition for the institutionalization of history as a profession and the prominent position of historians. During this period some prominent historians even played a role as 'vates' (seers) of utopia and prophets of a future revolution. But the role of history in society was not only determined by the epistemological status of the discipline. Most relevant was the coincidental and overwhelming process of nation-building and the wish to study and to propagate national history.[1] In the end the institutionalization of history education at school and its professionalization in higher education were determined by the politics of national identity.

With the rise of positivism and scientism during the second half of the nineteenth century history began to lose its privileged position. The question of whether or not history was a science—which had been hardly raised in the first half of the nineteenth century—gave rise to many publications and scholarly discussion of historical methods, for the most part in Germany.[2] While in Germany a mono-disciplinary political historiography prevailed, in France the institutional framework offered better chances for multi-disciplinary research. Geography was closely tied to history and, in spite of ambitious claims, sociology was practised with more open and apparently less antagonist attitudes towards the study of history than in Germany. In this context the groundwork was laid before the First World War for the new Annales paradigm of history as a social science.

[1] See ch.1 by Stefan Berger in this volume.
[2] See ch.2 by Georg G. Iggers in this volume.

NATION-BUILDING, POLITICIZATION, AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION

After the period of revolutionary vandalism in churches and abbeys, the demolition of Christian images and the burning of bibles, François-René de Chateaubriand initiated the defence of the spirit and the beauty of Christianity. His seminal *Génie du Christianisme* [*The Genius of Christianity*] (1802) was published just after the re-establishment of the Catholic Church in France. This reappraisal of Christianity had a profound influence and transformed Chateaubriand into a *maître à penser*. But in 1794 Alexandre Lenoir, who courageously saved many treasures of church art from the iconoclastic fury of the revolution, had already organized an exhibition of these items in the Musée des monuments français. The young Jules Michelet and many of his contemporaries experienced a real historical thrill on that occasion.

The Musée des monuments français was closed during the Restoration (1815–30) as too flagrant a reminder of revolutionary confiscations. Church and noble property had to be given back. As for the conservation of monuments, the Restoration authorities continued the policy of Jean-Pierre Bachasson Montalivet and Alexandre de Laborde, who during the First Empire had conducted the first official enquiry meant to pave the way for a *statistique monumentale*. The restoration of the royal abbey church and mausoleum of the Kings of France at St Denis had started already under Napoleon. During the Restoration period the interest in building new churches was greater than the will to repair and restore old ones. The dynamics of the reaction were too strong to create a new regimen of care for heritage and renewal of historiography.

Historical arguments proved to be effective weapons against the Restoration regime. The origins of the royal prerogative, the sources of aristocratic privilege, the effects of the settlement of Franks in Gaul, the long history of 'national' assemblies—all these topics were of burning interest. History provided the opponents of the Restoration with an armoury of political weapons, the more so as the regime kept harping on every last detail of the monarchical tradition. The royal historiographers and the continuators of ancient chronicles had of course been criticized even earlier by philosopher-historians of all sorts, ranging from champions of the nobility such as Henri de Boulainvilliers and François Dominique de Reynaud de Montlosier to vague primitive communists *à la* Jean-Jacques Rousseau such as Gabriel Bonnot de Mably. Even so, no real alternative to Catholic-monarchist French history was put forward. It was not until after 1820 that works casting a new light on the French past for the benefit of a wider public first appeared.

Augustin Thierry was probably the most successful writer of such works. He launched a sensational attack on the 'false colour' and 'false method' of previous historians: 'rather pompous narratives in which a small number of privileged

persons monopolize the historical scene and in which the broad mass of the nation disappears under the mantles of the court'.[3] At that time Jean Charles Léonard de Sismondi's *Histoire des Français* [French History] (1821–44) had not yet been published, nor had Barante's *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne* [History of the Dukes of Burgundy] (1824–8) or François Guizot's *Essais sur l'Histoire de France* [Essays on the History of France] (1823). Thierry's opposition to the Restoration was made quite clear in his articles on the revolt in Laon and on the civil war in Reims. He shed fresh light on the medieval origins of the third estate. Next to Thierry, Guizot was the leading oppositional historiographer during the Restoration. His style was lucid and his approach was analytical as a socio-political scientist. Alexis de Tocqueville was among his attentive students at the Sorbonne. Guizot's choice of historical subjects, such as the origins of representative government in Europe, was highly topical.[4] In the contemporary political context the treatment of the French revolution by François Mignet and Adolphe Thiers also carried a clear oppositional political message.[5]

THE JULY MONARCHY: HISTORY AS NATIONAL INSTITUTION

Conditions were favourable for the creation of national institutions and the right man was in the right place. In a magisterial way, François Guizot made history a national institution. The leader of the opposition during the Restoration, he would become a central figure in the new constitutional monarchy. After the regime change of 1830 oppositional historiography became triumphantly conservative and adopted a depolarizing stance in defence of the existing order. It was believed that history should now have a calming political effect: 'A nation curious and informed about its history is almost bound to have more sane and more equitable opinions even about current affairs, conditions of progress, and future prospects.'[6] After so many turbulent events there was a need for a firm anchorage in the present, which would foster education in citizenship, then still in its infancy. Alongside the old Académie des inscriptions et des belles lettres, the keeper of the legacy of the nation's rulers, new national research institutions were needed to dwell on the past of the nation's citizens.

Historical interest was much broader than formerly but still remained selective, as might be expected in an age of limited franchise. What seemed to matter most was the past of those who constituted the basis of the regime. The state was pleased to provide a historical justification of the quintessential role of the bourgeoisie in the

[3] Augustin Thierry, *Lettres sur l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1820), 3.

[4] François Guizot, *Histoire des origines du régime représentatif*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1851).

[5] François Mignet, *Histoire de la révolution française, depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1814*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1824); and Adolphe Thiers, *Histoire de la révolution française*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1823–7).

[6] François Guizot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1860), 171.

formation of the nation. As present and future became dominated by the process of nation-building, the visions of the past were re-framed in national perspective.

In the early days of the new constitutional monarchy Guizot helped provide a solid foundation for history as a national institution. History education was formalized at school and in training colleges for teachers. Most important, independent institutions were created, such as the Comité des travaux historiques and the Service des monuments historiques. The École des chartes was reorganized and the Académie des sciences morales et politiques restored as a kind of think tank for the government. The historical section headed by Mignet practised perspicacious *histoire philosophique* and conducted enquiries on social questions and institutions.

In a famous circular Guizot defined the aim of the Comité des travaux historiques as the publication of 'any important but as yet unpublished material bearing on the history of our country'. This work was incumbent upon the state as 'guardian and repository of these precious bequests of centuries past'.[7] It represented a fundamental change in the view of the state's role in historical research. Manuscripts were tracked down throughout the kingdom and their publication was to go hand in hand with the opening to the public of the archives of different ministries. In particular, the papers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, then headed by Mignet, had always been kept confidential as a databank in which diplomacy and espionage were inseparably intertwined. There was a general feeling that a break with the past was long overdue.

The work of the Comité des travaux historiques was meant to be a lasting homage to and a durable institution in honour of the origins, the memory, and the glory of France. To that end its publications would focus on the nation rather than the dynasty. The scope was highly ambitious: in addition to politics and diplomacy, attention would also be paid to the history of art and architecture, of ideas, and of customs and habits at the regional and local level. In 1835 the first volume was published in the *Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*. By 1852, 103 volumes had appeared. Allowances for foreign travel to collect documents increased. The Service des missions also subsidized large series of historical publications.

Interest in archaeology and historical architecture was coordinated by the newly created Service des monuments historiques. All the problems of heritage care—inspections of monuments in isolated provinces, their protection and conservation, the choices for restoration—were posed for the first time in a proper institutional framework. Lists of monuments were published and special funds allocated. Without any expertise but with great historical enthusiasm, Ludovic Vitet and Prosper Mérimée played important roles in the birth of heritage studies in France.

[7] Reprinted in Xavier Charmes, *Le Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1887), 3–7.

SECOND REPUBLIC

But history can be ruthlessly ironical. In the 1840s the July Monarchy was challenged in its turn by an opposition relying on history. At that time Jules Michelet, Edgar Quinet, Alphonse Esquiros, Louis Blanc, and, the most successful of them all, Alphonse Lamartine, rewrote the history of the revolution in a republican vein with Jacobin or Girondist overtones.[8] These works were inspiring, effective, and politically sensitive vindications of republicanism and as such broke with the tradition of the constitutional monarchy upheld by Orléanist historians such as Mignet and Thiers.

Thierry was upbraided for having become the chronicler of picturesque anecdotes about ruling families. Michelet objected to history as entertainment. He could hear the mutterings of the victims of history, who appealed to him not to forsake his duty as an historian: 'History takes account of us. Your creditors summon you. We have accepted death for one line from you.'[9] More detached than Michelet and without any of his Romantic tendencies, Alexis de Tocqueville had in 1835 already published his masterwork, *De la démocratie en Amérique* [*Democracy in America*] (1835–40). Tocqueville was not from the working-class background of Michelet, nor from the bourgeois background of Guizot. He was, rather, from the highest nobility that was ruined by the French Revolution. He would become the most perspicuous institutional historian during the ineluctable rise of the age of democracy.

'In the afternoon of 24 February of 1848, precisely eight years less a day after Thierry finished a book in which he called the July Monarchy the logical conclusion of French history, I stepped behind the nation into the Tuileries, whence king Louis-Philippe had just fled.'[10] This sarcastic comment by Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville on the Orléanist 'whig' interpretation of the constitutional monarchy and on Thierry's view of the role of the third estate was fully justified. The Second Republic, incidentally, was to have an even shorter life than the July Monarchy.

The complacent historical justification of Orléanist rule had been confuted. Incense and myrrh were now offered up to the republic. The students at the École des chartes proclaimed that 'having in their studies followed the gradual development of French liberty over the centuries, have greeted its crowning achievement with joy'.[11] The abolition of the monarchy and the introduction of universal manhood suffrage had made a particularly strong appeal to the popular imagination.

[8] Jules Michelet, *Histoire de la Révolution française*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1847–53); Edgar Quinet, *La Révolution* (Paris, 1856); Alphonse Esquiros, *Histoire des Montagnards*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1847); Louis Blanc, *Histoire de la Révolution française*, 12 vols. (Paris, 1847–62); and Alphonse Lamartine, *Histoire des Girondins* (Paris, 1847).

[9] *Histoire de France*, vol. 1 (rev. edn, Paris, 1869), p. cxxxvi.

[10] Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Deux manières d'écrire l'histoire: Critiques de Bossuet, d'Augustin Thierry et Fustel de Coulanges* (Paris, 1898), 107.

[11] Ibid., p. iii.

The history of the French Revolution had been a powerful source of inspiration for the *quarante-huitards*. Now that the revolution had succeeded it was time to revive the old republican project. And because school education still left much to be desired, the historical parallel could be best brought home by festivals, by revolutionary banquets, and monuments. The French Revolution was still wrongly considered a time of chaos, of the guillotine, and of *assignats*. It was time for the true revolutionary gospel to be preached and the revolutionary catechism be learned by heart.

But already in 1850, on the instigation of Louis Bonaparte (elected by direct vote with an overwhelming majority as first president of the Republic in December 1848), much more money was spent to honour the memory of Napoleon with a porphyry sarcophagus which was modelled on that of the Roman emperors. On 2 December 1851, the anniversary of Napoleon's coronation, a Bonapartist *coup d'état* took place and precisely a year later after a plebiscite the president of the Republic was proclaimed Emperor Napoleon III.

THE SECOND EMPIRE

The regime change had considerable influence on future political expectations and also on the official vision of the past. Nationalism remained of course the dominant motif since history had become a national institution during the July Monarchy. Neither the Second Republic nor the Second Empire would change that. The Second Republic had been too short-lived for enduring changes, but the Second Empire had considerable influence on historical writing. Generally speaking, official historical interest was more closely controlled but less elitist than during the July Monarchy.

With the re-establishment of empire contemporary imperial interests were projected onto the past. The empire was now regarded as the apotheosis and historical logical outcome of the national French past after the long *intermezzo* of different royal dynasties and turmoil of republican revolutions. Napoleon III and scholars, attracted by the splendour and financial means of the imperial court oriented the official historical research interests—not only to the empire of Napoleon I, but also that of Charlemagne and especially the Roman conquest of Gaul by Caesar. Archaeology and the historical geography of Roman Gaul benefited from state patronage.

During the July Monarchy, the *Tiers État* and bourgeoisie had been considered the driving force in history, and during the short-lived Second Republic, the Revolution of 1789 was the great source of inspiration. Similarly, during the Second Empire, 'imperialism' became an official historico-political obsession. In the Revolution of 1789 and the First Empire the historical references were generally to classical antiquity. For the new *citoyens* the virtues of ancient Spartans served as an example and Napoleon I had dictated a *Précis des guerres de César* [Summary of the

Wars of Caesar] (published in 1836). But since history had become a national institution, the references to the national past had become prominent.

The imperial past of the French nation became the official point of historical reference. Napoleon III decided to write a book on Caesar himself based on the findings of recent research, including the topography of Roman Gaul with the precise routes taken by Caesar. In 1858 a committee was created for the study of the topography of Gaul and a new chair for Latin epigraphy was created at the Collège de France. An archaeological museum for national (Celtic and Gallo-Roman) antiquities was opened in 1867 in Saint-Germain-en-Laye. In spite of clerical opposition, even a special room for 'pre-historical' finds was created. Prehistory was considered by the church as a dangerous discipline, creating uncertainty and doubts about biblical wisdom.

Amidst the political turmoil, there was a great step forward in the care of documents and in the preparation of inventories during the Second Empire. The July Monarchy had introduced greater public accessibility; the plums had been picked from the enormous archival cake and many of them had been published. Serious concern was formulated about the administration, inspection, and the gigantic task of making inventories of all the archives. Circulars about inventories were issued earlier but it is no exaggeration to call the Second Empire the *haute époque* of inventories of the national and departmental archives. But the empire was less enthusiastic about public access. Documents from the First Empire in particular gave rise to touchy exchanges: there was, for example, a bitter quarrel about the ownership and proper publication of Napoleon I's correspondence. The national library gained a new building with a beautiful reading room designed by Henri Labrouste and a systematic catalogue of the history section was started.

New series of inventories and repositories were launched; the large numbers of coordinated surveys reflected an obvious need for a systematic approach to classification. Archaeological and topographical dictionaries, with special attention to the study of the topography of Gaul, were stimulated by Napoleon III himself. The compilation of inventories was greatly facilitated by the newly established organization of provincial archives. Most important was the fact that the École des chartes gradually turned into a training institute for archivists and began to deliver a small but regular stream of well-trained archivists.

The Second Empire was also a period of intensive building and urban planning. Old Paris lost its medieval character through Georges-Eugène Haussmann's transformation. Admiration for Gothic architecture was still uncommon, but a reappraisal was led by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc. Viollet published very influential historical encyclopedias of architecture and interior design, and saved many cathedrals from complete destruction. His principles for restoring a complete neo-Gothic state, which probably had never existed, were also often very damaging. In any event, a growing amount of money was allocated for restoration and conservation.

The study of medieval history was particularly enriched by several exemplary critical editions of historical sources. The political dimension in the choice of the historical source is evident but the critical method used was considered the paradigm of a scientific professionalism not corrupted by political preferences. Universally acclaimed was the erudite work of Benjamin Guérard, who shed new light on the social and economic history in the early Middle Ages by meticulous publication of sources about the agrarian exploitation of Benedictine abbeys.

An even more telling example of the wish to overcome political polemics by critical methodology and scientific professionalism was the work of Jules Quicherat. Quicherat was a genuine republican amidst the network of mostly Catholic *chartistes*. As a student of Michelet and inspired by his famous description of Jeanne d'Arc, Quicherat increased historical knowledge considerably by his monumental and impeccable edition of sources of the trial of Jeanne d'Arc. The enigmatic Quicherat was also one of the founders of a French medieval archaeology characterized by rigorous methods.[12]

Innumerable historical sources were published of witnesses of the revolutionary excesses, of the male and female victims of the guillotine, and of the persecution of clergymen and nobility. Of course Maximilien Robespierre figured in the majority of the historical publications as the devil incarnate, but the memory of the incorruptible Robespierre was also cultivated and reinforced by critical research of historical sources in underground international revolutionary networks of stubborn Jacobins.

In the same way the royal opposition to the Bonapartist empire was cultivated by the publication of historical documents as irrefutable and authentic proofs of the splendours of the *Ancien Régime*. The opposition to any royal restoration felt fortified by the publication by Adolphe Chéruel of the *Mémoires* (1876) of the perspicuous and irreverent duc de Saint Simon.

CATHOLIC *RECONQUISTA*

Especially after the repression of the 1848 Revolution, the political and cultural climate was favourable for a Catholic *reconquista*. The empire's Bonapartist ideology was full of ambivalences, at once dictatorial and democratic, an authoritarian rule *manu militari* mixed with revolutionary elements such as plebiscites by universal suffrage. Bonapartism had a strong anticlerical and rationalist tendency, but a strategic alliance with ecclesiastical authorities was necessary firmly to establish the new regime.

The new political constellation facilitated a considerable growth of Catholic historiography. The revolution had created a contemporary martyrdom.

[12] *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1841–9); and *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2 vols. (1885–6).

Ultramontanism had gained ground as the pope increasingly came under attack. During the Restoration the ultramontanist movement in France had already been initiated vigorously by Joseph de Maitre's work on the history of the papacy.[13]

The influence of Catholic historiography was considerable not only in the provinces but also in Paris. After the *echec* of the republican experiment of 1848, professors and students at the École des chartes became politically cautious. With the exception of some young combatants, most *chartistes* preferred to play down the ideological dimension in favour of scientific work on source criticism and archival inventories. The École des chartes had ambitions to become the major school for such apolitical erudition. But until the end of the nineteenth century the overwhelming majority of *chartistes* were more or less pious Catholics. Scholars of the École des chartes liked to place themselves in the great tradition of eighteenth-century Benedictine monks. Venerated paradigmatic works were Jean Mabillon's fundamental study on the principles of medieval (Latin) palaeography and diplomatics (ancient documents and writing) and Bernard de Montfaucon's comparable work on Greek palaeography, on texts of Greek church fathers, and his monumental work on antique and French archaeology.[14] In France as elsewhere in Europe, a post-revolutionary religious revival generated a different kind of combative and popular historico-political production. After the revolutionary turmoil of 1848 history-writing and teaching by Catholic clergy flourished as never before. The Catholic influence was conspicuous in local history-writing. Not only were new books and articles written by the clergy but older publications were often reprinted. Jacques Paul Migne played a prominent role in putting, for the first time, cheap editions of original texts in the hands of the priesthood. Previously these texts in expensive editions had been available only to an erudite elite. With remarkable energy, often hindered by the official church authorities afraid of re-inciting heresy and dogmatic disputes, Migne published 221 volumes (including indexes) of *Patrologia latina* (1844–64), 247 volumes of *Patrologia graeca* (1856–66), and much more. This gigantic enterprise of erudite vulgarization of centuries of Christian tradition was an important tool for *propaganda fide*. Very few new text editions appeared. Most volumes contained reprints of older seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions. Made available for the first time at moderate cost, the hundreds of volumes of *Patrologiae* provided an enormous intellectual foundation for the Catholic *reconquista* in the second half of the nineteenth century and procured, even unread, impressive symbolic power. The new technology of cheap printing was of course the necessary precondition for this formidable religious as well as ideological and

[13] *Du pape* (Paris, 1819).

[14] Bernard de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia graeca* (Paris, 1708); id., *Collectio nova patrum et scriptorum graecorum* (Paris, 1706); id., *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (Paris, 1719); and Jean Mabillon, *De re diplomatica* (Paris, 1681).

cultural ammunition. In 1866 the flamboyant polemic *Revue des questions historiques* was created to study the misconceptions, errors, and lies of the anti-Catholic freethinking historiography.

RATIONALISM AND SCIENTISM

After 1848, Romanticism was regarded as out of date. Michelet was nicknamed 'Monsieur Symbole' and his tenet '*la resurrection intégrale du passé*' considered antiquated. Realism and naturalism, as in painting and literature, were the new styles in history-writing. Of course the historians of the older generation continued to write history. With exemplary perseverance, in brilliant style and full of original insights, Michelet completed his *Histoire de France*. He published more than ten new volumes (1855–67) on the *Ancien Régime*. Tocqueville continued to work as well. Twenty years after *De la démocratie en Amérique*, he published a second masterwork of institutional historical analysis: *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution* [*The Ancient Regime and the Revolution*] (1856). After the revolutionary experiences of 1848, more detached than Guizot but with the same kind of philosophico-historical approach, Tocqueville offered a thoughtful analysis of the French Revolution in a long-term perspective.

Most important for the intellectual climate in Paris was the epistemological breakthrough of the experimental method. Research by experiments, as in medicine by Claude Bernard and in organic chemistry by Marcellin Berthelot, had a profound influence on the practice of other sciences. '*Science positive*' became the slogan and key concepts were now observation, facts, determination, classification, analysis, relations between facts, causal laws, theory, and so forth. The new *maîtres à penser* in the humanities, Hippolyte Taine and Ernest Renan, were both indebted to the new scientific vocabulary of the experimental scientists and closely tied by personal relations. Taine made his reputation as 'naturalist' by his sharp critique of idealistic philosophers of the older generation.[15] He used the same 'experimental' scientific method in his impressive *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* [History of English Literature] (1863) and his celebrated courses at the Académie des beaux-arts on the history of art, where he introduced a sociological approach. Taine's scientific approach and vocabulary, such as his defying comparison of historical developments to chemical processes, made him a leading intellectual force in the 1860s. Later on, traumatized by the Paris Commune (1871), Taine intensified revolutionary obsessions by his eloquent and resounding *Les Origines de la France contemporaine* [The Origins of Contemporary France] (1875–92), antagonizing in turn monarchists as well as Jacobins and Bonapartists by his destructive psychological analysis of venerated protagonists.

[15] *Les Philosophes français du XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1956).

Even more turmoil was caused by Ernest Renan. He was educated in Catholic seminaries and destined to be a priest but lost his faith and turned to (Semitic) philological studies. Renan's *Vie de Jésus* [*Life of Jesus*] (1863) had an enormous impact. A scientific approach to the Saviour was of course a sacrilege in itself for devout Catholics. But even liberals had never gone so far. For Guizot and other liberal historians the establishment of Christianity in Europe was still considered the beginning of modern civilization. Renan was suspended from teaching at the Collège de France and his bestseller was put on the *Index librorum prohibitorum*. But the new, anticlerical and antipapist, minister of education, Victor Duruy, offered Renan in compensation a position as librarian and nominated Taine to the Académie des beaux-arts, in spite of the fiercely Catholic opposition.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION

During the 1860s the empire became less authoritarian and less dominated by Catholic authorities. The nomination of Victor Duruy as minister of education marked a turning point and paved the way for new secular influence in higher education and science that, later on, would reach excesses during decades of fierce struggle between republican authorities and the Catholic Church. The ministry of Duruy (1863–9) was crucial for the institutionalization of history by creating a research institute, the École pratique des hautes études (EPHE), and by introducing the teaching of contemporary history in secondary education.

With the creation of an *école pratique* of higher learning, Duruy introduced the successful German seminar system for the training of scholars. At that time a proper scientific training was lacking as the French faculties were still only mandated to popularize science. The Comité des travaux historiques of Guizot offered no such training and focused on editing historical sources. Only the courses at the École des chartes were comparable, but oriented towards jobs in French archives. Another important difference was the prominent role of philology at the EPHE. The link was evident in the name of the fourth section: *sciences historiques et philologiques*. The philologization of historiography was considered a necessary cure to purge historical production and improve the scientific content.

The introduction of contemporary history was also due to *grand ministre* Duruy, himself an historian, a student of Michelet, and the author of many schoolbooks. Republican opponents accused Duruy of Bonapartist propaganda and his Catholic opponents blamed him for immorality and atheism. According to Duruy, existing history lessons better prepared pupils for life in ancient Rome than in modern Paris. While locomotives, steamships, and electric telegraphs were bridging space and time, secondary education was completely dominated by the classics and history at school ended long before the Revolution of 1789. The teaching of contemporary history (that is the period from 1789 to the present) should radiate confidence in science and progress.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC: GERMAN CHALLENGE

The empire ended unexpectedly with the inglorious disaster of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1. The German challenge and the reconquest of the lost eastern territories (Alsace and Lorraine) became a new element in national identity politics until the end of the First World War.

The revolt of the Paris Commune during the siege of Paris by the Prussian army caused a new trauma, perfectly fitting within existing thought about the past created since 1789. For conservatives and Catholics, the Communards were the reincarnation of insane and criminal *sans-culottes*. On the Left, the remembrance of the Communards was cherished and the suppression of the Commune was considered a kind of Easter for the international labour movement—and remained so until the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Paris Commune, in spite of its modern aspects, joined the chain of the former failed revolutions (1789, 1830, 1848) and reinforced existing perceptions in France. A major change occurred when the Bolshevik Revolution succeeded in establishing a long-lasting communist regime, which changed political expectations fundamentally and caused historians to reconsider historical perspectives accordingly.

For the moment, the German challenge was decisive for developments in education. After a chaotic period a republican regime was established. At first most energy and money were invested in primary education. Secondary education had a good reputation and received less official attention until the turn of the century. But higher education was considered especially weak, far behind the standard of German universities, and considered by some as the main reason for the French defeat. During the 1880s faculties were reformed and their budgets enlarged. History was one of the disciplines that profited.

Another consequence of the German challenge was that national identity—the omnipresent driving force behind the institutionalization of history education—became even more intensified. History books were obsessed by national borders, xenophobia, and anachronistic hereditary national enemies in the decades before the turn of the century. Only at the beginning of the twentieth century did a pacifist tendency among professional historians become discernible and triggered at the same time a vociferous nationalist revival in France outside the historical profession in the years just before the outbreak of the First World War.

When, in the process of nation-building and identity formation, authorities decided to entrust history education to specialist teachers, a solid job market for historians was created. The foundation for the professionalization of historians in France had been laid in 1818 with the appointment of the first specialist history teachers. That decision consolidated the institutional basis for the historical profession. During the nineteenth century more and more jobs were created for historians in secondary education. With the number of hours devoted to history

in the school curriculum extended, contemporary history was included, which contributed to a greater concern with the curriculum and pedagogy.

One aspect of the consolidation and spread of history education was the improvement of the content of school textbooks and didactic guidelines. The reform of 1890 marked the birth of truly professional methods of teaching. A politicization of history education followed the 1902 reforms, for after the Dreyfus Affair the republican authorities wanted to turn history teaching into a type of republican political education. This elicited an 'anti-utilitarian', that is idealistic, reaction from the teaching profession.

Secondary education was the motor of history in higher education. The faculties increasingly played two key roles: they trained history teachers and stimulated and evaluated historical research. Both roles were innovative, at least in France. Before 1880 the vegetative existence of the old-style faculties was in striking contrast to the flourishing of the comparable sector of Germany's faculties. The new-style French faculties were given a new legal status and attracted a growing number of history students, even from other countries. New chairs were introduced and a new category of academic staff was engaged. The results of 'La Nouvelle Sorbonne' were impressive and internationally recognized.

HISTORICAL METHOD

The institutionalization and professionalization of history provoked in France, as it had done earlier at German universities, an unprecedented attention to methodology. But the young French historical profession, less philosophically and more politically engaged, proposed practical methods, and the general attitude was openness towards other disciplines—particularly geography (for history students, geography was compulsory). The foundation of a scientific periodical in 1900 devoted to the problems of interdisciplinary research, the *Revue de synthèse historique*, is a telling example of multidisciplinary cooperation and opening of disciplinary boundaries. Discussions could be vehement, especially between historians and sociologists, but the relations were less embittered in France than in Germany.

The internalization of the historical method was a general phenomenon. Both the ethos and *habitus* of French professional historians changed. Gabriel Monod, Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, and Charles Seignobos offer characteristic and influential examples of the complications and limits of the application of the historical method.

Monod played a crucial role, not only by his teaching but also through the foundation in 1876 of the *Revue historique*, which, under Monod's direction, at the turn of the century became the world's leading historical journal. Extremely broad and well informed, critical and balanced not only about French history-writing but also about other countries, the *Revue historique* played a crucial role by inculcating historical methods and improving critical standards.

Monod's historical criticism was directly related to his intransigence on moral standards, political ideals, and social reform. Historical method—that is, unprejudiced and critical historical study—was the only way to rise above political bias and predisposition. For him, historical method was a moral duty and the only way to establish the truth. It was the only solution to reduce the sharp social fractures in French society and to avoid new revolutions.

The second key figure in the new historical profession was Fustel de Coulanges, appointed to a lectureship in 1870 at the École normale supérieure (ENS), the very centre of indisputable excellence. The ENS was largely dismantled and integrated into the reformed faculties of the Nouvelle Sorbonne in the 1880s in spite of Fustel's opposition. More elitist and conservative than Monod, the political role of Fustel was limited but he had a paradigmatic influence by his application of the historical method among the select group of *normaliens*.

By scrupulous criticism and concentrating exclusively on the historical sources, Fustel wanted to do away with all anachronism. His suspicion of the historical tradition was clearly inspired by Descartes's *Discours de la méthode* (1637). Fustel's 'positivist' conviction can be qualified as epistemologically naive but it was astonishingly creative in historical interpretation. He rose to fame with *La Cité antique* [*The Ancient City*] (1864), a highly original comparative study of Greek and Roman religion, law, and institutions. His *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France* [History of the Political Institutions of Ancient France] (1875–89) offered a socio-political paradigm of institutional history *à la* Guizot and Tocqueville but based on a scrupulous critique of historical sources. Fustel was certainly a *maître à penser* for Emile Durkheim in his foundation of sociology as a new science on 'positivist' foundations. Fustel looked for grand explanations over long periods of time, but, as the discipline of history grew more specialized in time and space, the writing of history turned away from his ambitious example.

Impressed by Fustel's historical work but not by his epistemology, Seignobos was one of the first historians in France to state the psychological foundation of all knowledge against the prevalent axioms of positivism and scientism. Seignobos, appointed in 1890 as lecturer of pedagogy of historical science and in 1907 as the chair of historical method at the Nouvelle Sorbonne, was never a document fetishist. Contrary to his reputation, Seignobos firmly believed that documents never speak by themselves and that the questions asked by the historian were formative.

On a more concrete level of historical causation, Seignobos put forward the crucial importance of unpredictable events in history that can change political institutions. By doing so, he pointed to a weakness of the Fustelien institutional paradigm. This emphasis on the accidental (branded *histoire événementielle*) put him in direct opposition to sociologists such as Durkheim and François Simiand. After the First World War Seignobos's reputation was demolished by the founder of the vigorous *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, Lucien Febvre, who was

attracted by large historical perspectives. Febvre (at the Collège de France) was hunting for enemies in the historical profession at the Sorbonne and made great sport of the shortcomings of Seignobos's historical conceptions. Seignobos's considerable works on the contemporary political history of France and Europe, such as his successful *Histoire politique de l'Europe contemporaine* [*A Political History of Europe since 1814*] (1897), were considered completely outdated. In the 1930s Febvre himself and his young *Annales* opened up new directions in geo-history, economic and social history, but did not offer any alternative for writing political history other than to minimize the importance of events and of politics.

In the same manner as he had criticized the institutional political history of Fustel, Seignobos proposed the historical method as a useful corrective to the abstraction and superficiality of comparative studies by the young science of sociology. Similarly, convinced of the psychological conception of history against Fustel's positivism, Seignobos had also fiercely opposed the reifying sociological approach in his *La Méthode historique appliquée aux sciences sociales* [The Historical Method as Applied to the Social Sciences] (1901). In the end, for Seignobos, the sole justification of political history was to make intelligible to coming generations the society in which they live.

The institutionalization and professionalization of the French historical profession and the proliferation of the historical method led to a growing specialization in history-writing. Characteristic examples are the huge cooperative historical series of general and French history that were proudly presented as the great achievement and best product of the new French historical profession. The powerful organizer and chief editor of these projects was Ernest Lavisse. His example is the more telling because Lavisse was a gifted generalist and did not have a specialist's temperament, but even he had to obey the compelling rules of the specialization process.

Before 1870, Lavisse's star had been rising as a collaborator of the education minister, Duruy, and tutor of the imperial prince. After the collapse of the empire his career was compromised. On Monod's advice he went to Germany to study and to learn more about Prussia, the startling victor of the Franco-Prussian War. Deeply convinced of the weakness of French higher education, Lavisse was one of the architects of the reformed faculties and the Nouvelle Sorbonne.

Lavisse supervised three monumental series of cooperative history-writing by the French historical profession. A general history was published, followed by collective volumes on French history.[16] These collective series written by different specialists were characteristic of contemporary historical professionalism. The division of labour operated according to small chronological divisions. Primacy

[16] *Histoire générale, du IVe siècle à nos jours*, 12 vols. (Paris, 1891–1901); *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution*, 18 vols. (Paris, 1901–11); and *Histoire de la France contemporaine depuis la Révolution jusqu'à la paix de 1919*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1920–2). The last series was largely written before 1914 but was not published until after the war.

was given to political institutions and events. The framework for each author was clear, compact, and proportional. The chronological components were relatively small and often determined by changes in royal dynasties. Because of the way the series was divided into relatively short periods according to dynastic shifts, economic and social history was not treated comprehensively. Yet while these limitations and deficiencies are evident, never before was the history of France treated on this scope and with such meticulous care. All volumes were written by specialists and were based on extensive and detailed research. Some volumes were better than others but the general standard was reliable, balanced, and clear. The first volume on the geography of France by Paul Vidal de la Blache was considered a masterwork.[17] The two volumes of Lavisse himself on Louis XIV were written in great style.[18] The three volumes by Charles Seignobos on the second half of the nineteenth century were perhaps the greatest tour de force.[19] In conscious opposition to the Romantic descriptions and lyrical tones of Michelet, these series sought to be the first scientific history of France, based on the application of the historical method, full of detailed and precise historical information, clear and sober in style.

Professional historians in France before 1914 were fascinated by the irresistible process of political state formation. Their historical perspective was shaped by the process of nation-building. The contemporary republican regime was seen by the French historical profession as the logical outcome of history. Conversely, opposition to the republic would not find any historical inspiration for present struggle and future expectations. In spite of its improved critical standards, its use of the historical method, and extension of historical knowledge by specialization, ethos and *habitus*, the French historical profession was compliant and complacent—just as the historians at the service of former regimes had been. All historians are contemporary historians.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1789	French Revolution
1792–1804	First Republic
1804–14	First Empire
1815–48	Restoration
1830–48	July Monarchy
1848–52	Second Republic
1852–70	Second Empire

[17] *Tableau de la géographie de la France* (Paris, 1903).
[18] *Louis XIV de 1643 à 1685*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1905–6).
[19] *La Révolution de 1848: Le Second Empire, 1848–1859* (Paris, 1921); *Le Déclin de l'Empire et l'établissement de la Troisième République (1859–1875)* (Paris, 1921); and *L'Evolution de la Troisième République, 1875–1914* (Paris, 1921).

1870–1	Franco-Prussian War; Paris Commune (1871)
1870–1940	Third Republic
1914	Outbreak of the First World War

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Chapter 10

Shape and Pattern in British Historical Writing, 1815–1945

Michael Bentley

One can say that British historical writing has no shape, that there exists no pattern beyond the randomness of spontaneous authorship and occasional moments of inadvertent intertextuality. Certainly British historiography baffles by its mass and density when inspected across a century and a half and any hope of retailing its content—as opposed to its direction or topicality or simple 'feel'—would fade in the first few years of the lifetime needed for the attempt. Even feeling the width becomes problematic in a culture that contained four recognizable countries before 1921 and five afterwards if attention is directed at Ireland as a whole. But despair seems premature, so long as we focus on what might be feasible rather than on those perspectives that no short chapter can provide. If we concentrate on British historians writing about British history for the most part—culpably ignoring a Liebermann, a Levison, or a Halévy[1]—it should be possible to think about some broad shifts over time and to try to frame an explanation for them. If detailed bibliography eludes sideways glances at Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, then that in itself, secondly, need not deter a few remarks about development within and contrast between these very different sites of historical writing. The writing happened at desks and tables but not in circumstances of the authors' choosing and in an environment frequently below their level of consciousness; so we may legitimately, and thirdly, seek a historical *Zeitgeist* without converting the enterprise into a determinism that makes all writing automatic. A principal tool in approaching the entire problem should therefore be a rejection of the historiographical exercise as simply descriptive bibliography and a corresponding move in the direction of an explanatory account of when, how, and why images of the British past underwent transformation at the hands of its historians. Making that move in this case doubtless means picking up the broadest brush in the bucket; but this really cannot be avoided.

[1] Élie Halévy, *History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*, 6 vols. (London, 1912–30); Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946); and Felix Liebermann (ed.), *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols. (Halle, 1903–6).

Thomas Babington Macaulay, William Stubbs, Edward A. Freeman, S. R. Gardiner, Frederic William Maitland, T. F. Tout, Lewis Namier: there, one can do the English tradition in a sentence. Notice what we leave out, however. It is not simply a matter of other names transmitting another version of the tradition. Far more damaging is the idea that historical writing can be understood as *any* form of multiple biography, with names added or subtracted as desired, unless and until some sense of social, intellectual, and professional structures comes into play. At the end of the Napoleonic wars, for example, England had two universities, Scotland five (two of them mysteriously in Aberdeen), Wales none, and Ireland one. The nineteenth century produced the greatest transformation of advanced education ever known, with the last quarter of the century witnessing a spectacular explosion of universities and colleges employing professional teachers of history. Ireland and Wales acquired their own federated National Universities; gentlemen-scholars, an Ideal Type familiar to the first half of the century, transmuted into a cadre of salaried teachers and writers by 1900; women, a crucial element in twentieth-century historiography, had only just begun to make an entrée as university faculty.[2] Concomitant with the expansion of historical producers there appeared, less confidently, more unevenly, an audience of consumers. In the earlier decades of the century they may have been mostly male, moneyed, and dilettante; but the opening of the University of London from 1836, the conversion of Mechanics Institutes into colleges such as Birkbeck, and in particular the opening of Owens College, the beginning of the future University of Manchester in 1851, effected a liaison between brains and numbers that made history no longer the province of a confined class. Before 1914 virtually every major city in Britain could boast its own university or university college and most of them taught history of some kind, albeit often in tandem with other Arts subjects.[3]

A second structural property concerned state-formation—a pivotal determinant of distinctiveness both within the countries that made up Britain and in comparison with other European states. England's sense of itself as a coherent state could be attested from the 1590s and as a completed imperium from at least 1800 and in most respects 1707. It did not need a history of the present dedicated to protesting its potential as a modern state. It had no spirit of 1813; it did not require a Baron vom Stein or a Wilhelm von Humboldt or a Georg Heinrich Pertz or a *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* to reclaim a past or proclaim a future.

[2] For an account of female emergence in the university system see Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000); and for a suggestive study of a British example see Maxine Berg, *A Woman in History: Eileen Power, 1889–1940* (Cambridge, 1996).

[3] I have discussed this structural perspective in 'The Organization and Dissemination of Historical Knowledge', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Organization of Knowledge in Victorian England* (Oxford, 2005), 173–98.

Not so Scotland, nor yet Ireland. Scottish historians of the post-1815 generation, Edinburgh's Enlightenment whigs in particular, may have retained what the inveterate Tory, Archibald Alison, liked to call their 'withering self-sufficiency',[4] but the Scottish past required more than assertion to sustain it. Sir Walter Scott became its Stein, Cosmo Innes its Pertz, Patrick Fraser Tytler its minor Ranke.[5] But the new scholarship did not inseminate the nationalistic historiography that one might have expected. Instead, as Colin Kidd showed us a few years ago, the Scottish past became an adjunct of English whig progressivism as though mildly embarrassed by its earlier associations with an unsavoury feudalism.[6] Ireland, meanwhile, flushed with the fevers of 1798, looked to a history that would seek those very associations, evolving a faith-and-fatherland rhetoric often grounded, when it was grounded at all, in R. R. Madden's resounding seven volumes of 1842–6, *The United Irishmen*.[7] Even its most anglophile elements, beyond their particular genius in W. E. H. Lecky, pitched their minds back beyond the plantations to locate their cultural origins, as Joep Leersen puts it, in an 'aboriginally Gaelic' frame of reference.[8] A major explanation for a diverging pattern of expectation within British historiography in the nineteenth century hangs on a contested understanding of what place history should play in framing its audiences' understanding of a nation and state.

That understanding developed over time and the periodicity of the development, together with others that made up an historical worldview, represents a third issue that should preoccupy anyone trying to make sense of these 150 years. Partly the shifts responded to external stimuli: empire played a major role in the late nineteenth century, two world wars in the twentieth. Internal argument within the discipline also made itself felt, however, in the respect accorded to science after 1850 and the willingness with which historians chose to incorporate its spirit of enquiry within their own work. Assumptions about epistemology and method, in other words, could impinge on historical writing quite as effectively as conscious projects in creating a plausible or desirable past. Putting these perspectives together we can discern three overlapping subperiods for the period as a whole. The first runs from the end of the continental war in 1815 to around the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1 and extends in some of its facets beyond the turn of century. A second disposition takes one through the age of new imperialism and to the outbreak of the First World War.

[4] Quoted in Michael Fry, 'The Whig Interpretation of Scottish History', in Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley (eds.), *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1992), 72–89.

[5] See R. G. Cant, *The Writing of Scottish History in the Time of Andrew Lang* (Edinburgh, 1878), 4–5.

[6] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-Scottish Identity, 1689–c.1830* (Cambridge, 1993), 205–10.

[7] See Roy Foster, 'Remembering 1798', in id., *The Irish Story: Telling Tales and Making it up in Ireland* (Oxford, 2006), 211–34, at pp. 215–17.

[8] Joep Leersen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the History and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Cork, 1996), 12.

The third is dominated by the experience of war and Britain's place in the international order in the age of totalitarianism and economic collapse. From the point of view of method, these sub-periods map with tolerable accuracy onto the transition from a whig conception of history, through a transitional period in which whig assumption became undermined by what I shall call a 'modernist' susceptibility, to a third moment when whig desiderata became excluded from the academy and a professionalized historical science dominated the ways in which university history was conducted. Throughout our entire period the place of 'sources', the role of 'evidence', and the integrity of narrative as an historical form rested beneath consciousness as joists and planks on which Victorian confidence came to sit uneasily. By 1945 it was a lucky lady in Clement Attlee's Britain who still owned a dressing room but, even if she did, the latest volume of history looked unlikely to reach her dressing table unless produced by one of the new off-campus whigs or purple patriots who wrote popular historical romance for money.

ROMANTICISM AND WHIGGERY: 1815–70

Napoleon's defeat proved the perfection of the British constitution: a non sequitur but a powerful one. The constitution had in fact become 'quite perfect' in 1689, according to William Cruise writing in the first flush of victory in 1815, but the afterglow of military success cast English indomitability in still warmer colours. Cruise's anonymous *Chronological Abridgement of English History* would have impressed patriots by its sympathies for the English past even when anonymity helped conceal the author's Irish birth and Catholic religion. It did not conceal his profession, for the book dwells constantly on laws and asks as its master-question whether any monarchs changed them. His work may stand for many in its organization. It is done by reign and each reign has two sections, 'remarkable events' and then constitution and laws. There follows in each case a genealogy of the relevant king or queen, plus their spouses and connections to 'contemporary princes'. The method is annalistic, interspersed with confident value judgements for the student to memorize. So: 'The Norman Conquest produced a total change in the property, government, and laws of England.'[9] After that there was no change, or in Cruise's more emphatic formulation, no change whatever, until bad King John ran into resistance from the spirit of true England, which produced 'the reformation of our constitution', which was a good thing destined to perish under the wheels of Henry VIII's 'despotic power' which destroyed all liberty.[10]

[9] [William Cruise], *A Chronological Abridgement of the History of England, its Constitution and laws from the Norman Conquest to the Revolution in 1688* (London, 1815), 9.

[10] Ibid., 68, 231, 237.

Only the coming of William from across the sea saved us all from Tudor and Stuart iniquity. Cruise's subject promises a structural account but what we get is a description of agency that turned on personal character, a trope that found its way into a hundred examination papers in the nineteenth century when candidates would be asked to produce a character-sketch of a prominent person. 'He was open, frank, generous, and brave. He was revengeful, domineering, ambitious, haughty and cruel'; thus our author on Richard I.[11]

Beginning with an unsung Irish eccentric rather than Henry Hallam or Thomas Babington Macaulay or Thomas Carlyle has its use in reminding us that historiography does not consist of the wave's crest but rather of the heavy water turning beneath. We do not spend enough time with second- or even third-rank writers who reached audiences that even Macaulay failed to reach because of their currency in the schools and colleges, which rigidified the mind of the young and shaped their passive vocabulary through catechism and rote-learning. James Birchall could not compete with James Anthony Froude on the Tudors, but he taught history at York Training College and his *England under the Tudors*—a manual expressly designed for the young—could penetrate the curriculum of the 1860s and 1870s with not a thought for revisionism as he turned from the sunshine of Henry VII—'[p]rovisions were plentiful, wages high, and a spirit of contentment generally prevailed'—to the darkness of Henry VIII about whom we can only feel 'just abhorrence and earnest longing for change'.[12] Birchall felt sufficiently encouraged at his reception to write a sequel, bringing the story up to 1820, concentrating, he says, on constitutional and political history, followed next by social history (what he calls 'general life and manners'), then the history of literature, and last, but plainly favourite, the history of war for whose operations the student is recommended to have a good military atlas at hand.[13] His enthusiasm can mislead. Lacking an intrusive war in the century after 1815, English historiography did not before 1900 reflect, outside William Napier's six volumes on the Peninsular War and Alexander Kinglake's eight volumes on the Crimea,[14] the concentration on military prowess that one might anticipate. Issues concerning constitutional progress and the special nature of British Christianity seem more prominent and interpenetrative.

Hallam and Macaulay, Kemble, Stubbs, and Freeman at once claim attention as the progenitors of what Herbert Butterfield termed *après la lettre* the whig interpretation of history. No other single theme in our period's historiography is so famous; and at one level rightly so because the sheer achievement of a Macaulay

[11] [Cruise], *A Chronological Abridgement*, 54. In fact Cruise was plagiarizing David Hume's *History of England*, 8 vols. (1754–62; London, 1826), ii. 31. I am grateful to Dr Ian Hesketh for drawing this enormity to my attention.

[12] *England under the Tudors* (1861; rev. edn, London, 1870), 21, 103.

[13] *England under the Revolution and the House of Hanover, 1688–1820* (London, 1876), iv.

[14] William Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and the South of France*, 6 vols. (London, 1832–40); and A. W. Kinglake, *The Invasion of the Crimea*, 8 vols. (London, 1863–87).

or Stubbs needs no argument. When Lord Acton once posed in conversation with Stubbs and Mandell Creighton the question who was Britain's greatest historian ever, they decided on Macaulay. When he did the same thing with Theodor Mommsen and Adolf Harnack—how that man got around—they decided on Macaulay.[15] Narrative rendered visual without the invented dialects of a Carlyle, a mind rich to the point of caricature but never clogged, a technical mastery of colligation—joining the dots of material in a freehand curve that pulls the eye forward in the direction he has plotted: all these things make Macaulay singular and inimitable. Perhaps a later generation would turn more readily to Stubbs as an icon of modern susceptibility, one who wrote often in the present tense, not, like Carlyle, to invoke the past's immediacy but in order to make historical construction itself a present-centred engagement with the original sources that he sees spread around him on the desk. Whatever their literary prowess, all these 'whig' authors saw as imperative the task of communicating their work to the widest of audiences and in doing so to mould its taste and sensitivity to a tradition of constitutional continuity stemming from Saxon liberties through Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights to the Hanoverian understanding of 'the most perfect combination ever framed': a mixed constitution of balance and counterbalance that accounted for Britain's, and especially England's, greatness. Lecky attempted an Irish version of it across his many volumes supposedly about England;[16] but his message faltered outside his adopted country in the face of a more evocative nationalism broadcast by, among others, A. M. Sullivan and Standish O'Grady.[17]

'Whig history' has paradigmatic force but it requires equally forceful containment. Butterfield's idea that whigs produced history that was Protestant, triumphalist, moralizing, and above all teleological, protests too much by describing too much. Take out Carlyle and the Edinburgh tantrums of Archibald Alison and it becomes hard to see, on Butterfield's account, who is *not* supposed to be whig in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century. This projection of whiggery onto everybody produces in turn an 'abridgement' of the kind Butterfield deemed a whig characteristic and one suspects that it turns on a *trompe l'oeil* effect arising from ignoring the underbelly of historical production in favour of a few superstars attached to prominent positions in the English state or the church. It is not implausible that a Tory interpretation of history could also be resuscitated, one proclaiming a narrower understanding of patriotism, a greater sense of land as a guarantor of liberties rather than liberty conceived as a slogan, a commitment to a particular view of the Reformation, and a reduction of the political to the

[15] Herbert Butterfield, 'Reflections on Macaulay', *The Listener*, 13 Dec. 1973, pp. 826–7.

[16] W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, 8 vols. (London, 1878–90).

[17] Leersen, *Remembrance and Imagination*, 152–4. Cf. A. M. Sullivan, *The Story of Ireland; or a Narrative of Irish History from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time, Written for the Young of Ireland* (Dublin, 1867); and Standish O'Grady, *The Story of Ireland* (London, 1894).

identification of enemies in the style recommended a century later by Carl Schmitt.[18] As he was the first to admit, Butterfield was himself a whig and he conceived the shape of the period he studied as a prolonged transition from bad whigs to good. What is undeniable and helpful in the typology is a dwelling on its vision of narrative as a story of the nation mimicking social memory. (Butterfield liked to say, problematically, that history should be seen as memory organizing itself.) The result of the process appeared in the many-volumed narratives of Victorian creation; and placing alongside them George Bancroft's history of America or Jules Michelet's of France or Ranke's comments on Western Europe as a whole confirms the presence of a historiographical moment. In Britain, moreover, it turned out to be an enduring moment that did not fade with the onset of analytical modernism but rather, as I tried to show at more length recently, ran in parallel with it for much of the century after 1870.[19]

Nor was Britain free from the confessionalism that troubled so much European historiography throughout the nineteenth century. It had its own Protestant flavour, however, because of the peculiar relation of the state to its churches, despite a significant Catholic voice in John Lingard. Henry VIII's imposition of a reformation for a *raison d'état* produced an Erastian structure with its own theological content developed by Thomas Cranmer and Richard Hooker—a tradition that still had great vitality in the generation of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and the young William Gladstone, whose *The State in its Relations with the Church* (1838) commented explicitly on it. When the spirit of Romanticism overcame the established church after 1833, what mattered for its history was not its origin but its apostolic continuity; and Anglican historiography went to great and increasing lengths through the century to reinforce the story of separation from Rome as an inevitable attempt to save western Christendom from materialism and corruption. This mood merged without friction into a *rapprochement* with Henry VIII initiated by Froude's huge Tudor history,[20] and by the time James Gairdner (a displaced Scot who could not abide Henry VIII but completed J. S. Brewer's calendar of his reign's letters and papers) contributed his volume to the Dean of Winchester's *History of the English Church* in 1902, he looked none the less to the Thirty-Nine Articles and Cranmer's Prayer Book as the summation of Protestant genius. '[I]t would be difficult to overestimate their value', he wrote. 'No formularies were ever drawn that give so much liberty to the human mind…They constitute a more real Catholicism than that of the Council of Trent.' The Church of England deserved to be regarded, therefore, as

[18] For Schmitt see Mark Lilla, *The Reckless Mind: Intellectuals in Politics* (New York, 2001), 47–76.

[19] Michael Bentley, *Modernizing England's Past: English Historiography in the Age of Modernism, 1870–1970* (Cambridge, 2005).

[20] James Anthony Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, 12 vols. (London, 1856–70).

'a national trust'.[21] Gairdner's Anglo-Catholicism and bitter conservatism stand as warning, indeed, that not all historians were whigs or Nonconformists. Of the latter there were many, none the less, for this was their century and they made previous centuries in their image. A patchwork of Dissenting communities—Congregationalists, Baptists, Unitarians, Methodists of varying hue, minority persuasions, and the Society of Friends, which is not a church—brought to the Reformation a simultaneous resistance to the tyranny that imposed it and a welcome to the rejection of Romish superstition which they saw as the precondition for a true history of humankind's relation to God. Church history and especially the history of the Reformation became their subject and if any such volume bleeds passion then the money should go on its having been written by a Dissenter or, what often turned out to be the same thing, by a Scot. Disrupted and enlivened, Scottish Protestants re-lived the Reformation, with authors stretching from Principal Tulloch of St Andrews to Professor Lindsay of the Glasgow College.[22]

From an English example, the 110 pages of 'Luther: A Poem' by the unhinged Robert Montgomery, MA (Oxon),[23] we see that the Scots were not alone. English traditions filled their sails with different breezes. For the Worcester Congregationalist Robert Vaughan the date to celebrate was not 1843 but 1831 as the British masses took to the streets to press the urgency of the parliamentary Reform Bill resisted by the House of Lords. Participation Vaughan saw as a Christian obligation in the two-volume history that he produced in that turbulent year. 'Christianity . . . requires of every discipline that a sincere regard to . . . civil institutions as are most expressive of good-will toward men should be numbered among his religious duties.'[24] His title, *Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty*, gave a fair warning of what was to come in revealing the dynasty to have been a dastardly one that deserved a civil war. '[I]t may be said, after a few exceptions, that on the one side was loyalty, a loyalty partaking of all the strength of hereditary feeling—of superstitious veneration. On the other was the love of liberty, and of liberty endeared the more by the wrongs it had sustained and the dangers which still encircled it.'[25] It is noticeable that for Vaughan the Stuart Archbishops appear as dynastic agents, the church inside the state. One wonders from such material, incidentally, whether Carlyle did not preach to the converted in his edition of Cromwell's letters and speeches in 1845 which may to that extent have been less 'decisive' than it appears in Blair Worden's excellent study of the

[21] James Gairdner, *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century from the Accession of Henry VIII to the Death of Mary* (London, 1902).

[22] John Tulloch, *Leaders of the Reformation: Luther, Calvin, Latimer, Knox* (Edinburgh, 1859); and Thomas Lindsay, *Luther and the German Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1900).

[23] 'Luther: or Rome and the Reformation', in *The Poetical Works of Robert Montgomery, M.A. Oxon, Collected and Revised by the Author* (London, 1854).

[24] Robert Vaughan, *Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty*, 2 vols. (London, 1831), i. 5.

[25] Ibid., ii. 123–4.

'Roundhead' phenomenon across time.[26] What is undoubtedly the case is that Cromwell's rehabilitation and his eventual plinth outside the House of Commons owed much to Nonconformist historical culture that substituted for the butcher of Wexford a visionary proto-liberal.

Constitution and church combined, too, in an evolving sense of empire as Britain's gift to the world. India had made the most obvious and longstanding contribution and James Mill's *The History of the British in India* (1817) marked its singularity, though other colonies also came into view during the ferment over colonies and the Durham Report in the 1830s. In the prolific hands of Montgomery Martin, another Irishman whose Protestantism eventually turned him against O'Connell, the five-volume *History of the British Colonies* (1834–5) (and what are five against a reported total of 267 printed works) announced a lifetime's eccentric engagement with pulling together centre and periphery in imperial affairs. Note, however, not the topicality of these early attempts at a focused imperial history but rather their scarcity. For just as state absorbed church and church coloured state, so empire became lost in the same mix. Victorian histories of the British Empire, that is to say, are often not about the empire at all, at least not *tout court*. They generate instead a history of the British people and government and then sweep colonies and expansion into that more spacious narrative. One senses the space in Sir Charles Dilke's widely read *Greater Britain* (1868) but he made no claim to offer a history of the empire. One who did in a 'new' history of the empire, indeed, was J. M. D. Meicklejohn at the height of imperial ambition and disaster in 1879. Meicklejohn wrote for the young and provided footnotes to explain all the longer words in his text but he did not direct his words at his subject except in so far as the growth of empire became coterminous with the coherence of British government and its responsibilities. His young reader encountered an annalistic history organized entirely by regnal years and, apart from two pages called 'wars in India', would not fall over any section dealing specifically with the empire until page 345 where (s)he learned, predictably, that '[t]he sun never sets on the British Empire; and the British uniform is to be seen in almost every climate and country on the face of the globe'.[27] Or consider G. E. Green's not only new but *Short History of the British Empire*, again aimed at schoolchildren—he had been a master at the Leys School in Cambridge—and a volume that caught a promising breeze in the middle of the Boer War. He at least offered a hypothesis about the *cause* of modern expansion—it was a push-mechanism generated by surplus population at home—but his twenty chapters on 'The Making of the British Empire' contained only five that actually dealt with the process and for the rest substituted a brisk sense of natural selection for any more structural

[26] Blair Worden, *Roundhead Reputations: The English Civil Wars and the Passions of Posterity* (London, 2001).

[27] J. M. D. Meiklejohn, *A New History of the British Empire* (1879), 345.

notion of imperial acumen. They, the British, are 'brave, energetic, persevering, tenacious, cautious, calm in the presence of danger and in times of emergency; above all they understand, as no other nation, the right method of dealing with native races'.[28] Individual agency, informed by racial typology, explains empire as surely as it explains the descent of liberty and the purity of the Church of England.

SCIENCE AND EMPIRE: 1870–1914

Away from these popular abridgements, at the higher levels of intellectual production, an important sea-change had already rolled historiography in a more analytical and sceptical direction and we have to envisage the two dispositions overlapping and intersecting in the years before the First World War. The discipline's flagship journal, the *English Historical Review*, emerged through informal discussion in London by 1886 with its first, unintelligible article on the German school by Lord Acton. Acton certainly identified a major *genre*. His and Stubbs's championing of Ranke widened the horizons of insular British historians and an increasing number followed the example of George Prothero and Adolphus Ward in bringing German expertise into British universities. At Cambridge as Regius Professor of Modern History from 1869 to 1895, John Robert Seeley tried unsuccessfully to inculcate a more structural sense of the historical enterprise and to make the subject better approximate a history of the present, scientifically investigated. 'We have given to history the conscientiousness of science', he wrote in 1885, 'but we have not yet given it the arrangement of science.' He sought a 'real rather than a temporal classification' of historical material.[29] If he fell short of that ambition, his recommendations proved sufficiently powerful to warn his younger contemporaries against what he took to be the Romantic narratives of a Macaulay or Freeman or Froude. Seeley embodies, as it happens, all three themes we have noticed in the previous generations for he wrote on the British state (tendentiously), religion (notoriously), and imperial expansion (significantly).[30] But his hopes for the discipline outran his colleagues' and became the hare chased by the generation of Maitland, Tout, C. H. Firth, and R. Lane Poole. Born within seven years of one another, each revolutionized a field of study. Maitland dominated and transformed the history of English law; Tout turned constitutional history into the study of administration; Firth picked up Gardiner's baton and brought a new level of research-endeavour in seventeenth-century studies to everywhere

[28] G. E. Green, *A Short History of the British Empire for the Use of Junior Forms* (London, 1900), 235.

[29] Quoted in Roland G. Usher, *A Critical Study of the Historical Method of Samuel Rawson Gardiner* (Washington, 1915), 147–8.

[30] *Ecce Homo* (London, 1865); *The Expansion of England* (London, 1883); and *The Growth of English Policy*, 2 vols. (London, 1895).

outside Oxford; Poole made the science of diplomatic his own and vastly enhanced what could be learned from archives.[31] Each achievement needs its own history but we can appreciate even *en passant* a move towards investigation and away from description, a sense of professional expertise, an implication that history was *hard*, intellectually and technically. More missable in running the eye across these figures is what they owed to William Stubbs, even when they held him up to criticism. Behind them all, the Master is visible, bestriding both the oracular histories of Victorian Britain that he symbolized—he died just three months after his Queen—and the methodological issues that would eventually come to cause contestation in the historical community.

They did not do so amid those bitter quarrels and confrontations that defaced continental scholarship in these years. It is a point of cardinal importance that Britain did not experience, outside the emerging field of economics, a variant of the German *Methodenstreit*. Explaining a negative is almost as difficult as proving one, but certain aspects of British historiography at the turn of the century seem relevant. First, it lacked a broad-based, radical, economic (let alone Marxist) historiography to challenge established norms, with only William Cunningham and later John Clapham flying a flag for the new subject.[32] Second, and relatedly, the cultural authority of professional historians did not come under challenge from rising aspirants, not least because the profession turned out almost impossible to enter unless one had private means—the plaint of much comment among tutors at this time. Third, social science had not made the inroads into human studies that it achieved in France and Germany: England produced no Emile Durkheim, no Karl Lamprecht, no Max Weber.[33] Fourth, one would have looked in vain for research support in Britain apart from a very few and impecunious scholarships and solace for the fortunate such as Prize Fellowships at All Souls College in Oxford. Tout was only one of many commentators who lamented the lack of what we might call a research infrastructure of the kind afforded (in both senses) in Paris and Berlin. Fifth, the very precocity of British historiography had fastened it to an image of historical writing as an individualist enterprise concerned with the actions of prominent agents. This legacy produced a particular mentalité—still very much with us—that tells historians that they do not need a

[31] Sir Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I* (Cambridge, 1895); Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1897); id., *Constitutional History of England* (Cambridge, 1908); T. F. Tout, *Chapters in Administrative History*, 4 vols. (Manchester, 1920–33); C. H. Firth, *The Last Years of the Protectorate*, 2 vols. (London, 1909); and R. Lane Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1912).

[32] William Cunningham, *An Essay on Western Civilisation in its Economic Aspects*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898); id., *Christianity and Social Questions* (London, 1910); and J. H. Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1926–38). On the lack of an effective Marxist critique see Ross McKibbin, 'Why was there no Marxism in Britain?' *English Historical Review*, 99 (1984), 297–331.

[33] See Reba N. Soffer, 'Why Do Disciplines Fail? The Strange Case of British Sociology', *English Historical Review*, 97 (1982), 767–802.

methodology and will fare better without conceptualization. That Acton told them to study problems and not periods commented merely on the time he had spent in Germany. When Firth told his Oxford audience at his inaugural lecture how to move into the future through research-training he was famously made to apologize to the Faculty for his presumption.[34] Collecting these elements together, one can say that British historical practice had discovered science by 1900 but lacked an apparatus beyond archive and pencil. There was no *Streit* because there was precious little *Methode*.

But one consideration unquestionably did preoccupy this generation of British scholars: the need to present evidence, rather than imaginative guesswork, and to assemble historical evidence in large-scale compilations that would make 'research' feasible. Both projects contained a serious confusion by frequently making sources and evidence identical, with the implication that historical material could somehow speak for itself; but they also enhanced the effectiveness of a professionalizing discipline. Some ventures depended on individual initiative. Others turned on editorial direction with an army of collaborators such as Lord Acton's *Cambridge Modern History*, whose volumes emerged through the reign of Edward VII and were completed in 1912. The most famous and significant for all scholars, however, was surely Leslie Stephen's *Dictionary of National Biography*, sixty-three volumes whose preparation occupied the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century and in which the early careers of many historians took root, most especially, perhaps, that of A. F. Pollard, who contributed some 500 entries and went on to a chair in the University of London. And there were far more historians both to drive these projects along and constitute their audience as the university sector expanded exponentially after 1880. Some figures put a shape on the development. In 1900 40 per cent of university staff across all subjects were still Oxbridge dons, a figure reducing to less than a quarter by 1945.[35] The Oxford History School turned out an average of 104 graduates a year between 1890 and 1904, making history the second largest school in the University behind Greats, while roughly 17 per cent of the graduates from both Oxford and the smaller Cambridge school went into education. At Benjamin Jowett's Balliol a much larger proportion went into public service, as one might expect. At Tout's Manchester, by contrast, the relationship between history and local education remained very strong, and of the eighty history graduates passing through Tout's department between 1905 and 1914, six went on to posts in higher education but fifty-two returned to the schools and a career in history-teaching.[36]

[34] C. H. Firth, *The Historical Teaching of History* (Oxford, 1904).

[35] A. H. Halsey, *Decline of Donnish Dominion: The British Academic Professions in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1992), 64.

[36] Figures compiled from Peter R. H. Slee, *Learning and a Liberal Education: The Study of Modern History in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester, 1800–1914* (Manchester, 1986), 125, 159–60; and Reba N. Soffer, *Discipline and Power: The University, History, and the Making of an English Elite, 1870–1930* (Stanford, 1994), 202.

What did the new generation of professionals write about? Their escape from the *Methodenstreit* kept them away from the contemporary emphasis in Europe and America on social and economic forces: industrialization, class, urbanization. Assuredly one finds examples of British historians taking that turn—the elder Arnold Toynbee and William Cunningham on industrialization, the Webbs and Hammonds with their discourse on relative deprivation, R. H. Tawney's early explorations of sixteenth-century poverty—but the university mainstream flowed rather in the direction of revising Victorian certainties about the Middle Ages, reversing prejudices about the despicable nature of the Tudors, if not the Stuarts, who remained incorrigible, and looking to make the eighteenth century historical in scholarly work that would find its ultimate resolution in Namier's redefinitions after the First World War.[37] Revision seemed the more urgent amid the emotional commemorations that marked the turn of the century and the loss of the Queen. The year 1899 should have seen two of them: the tricentenary of Oliver Cromwell's birth and the millenary celebration of the life of King Alfred the Great; but only Cromwell had his moment since a copyist's error in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle got Alfred's death wrong and brought his bronze statue to Winchester two years late.[38] Nonetheless, the two of them, combined with the Queen's diamond Jubilee in 1897 and her death amid national mourning in 1901, compounded an atmosphere of national pride further deepened in celebrations of Chatham and Pitt in 1906–8. Meanwhile, detailed work continued. For the early periods the work of Charles Plummer (1851–1927) became essential, especially his Ford Lectures on *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great* (1902) but also through a range of editorial activity. For the Tudors redemption came partially through Froude but more plausibly in the evocations of Pollard, who founded the London school of Tudor studies with its distinguished dynasty—Pollard supervised J. E. Neale, Neale supervised Geoffrey Elton—and also became the driving force in the foundation of London's Institute of Historical Research in 1921. More subtle shifts also deserve some notice. The blandness of Victorian constitutional history associated with Erskine May or A. V. Dicey evaporated at once under the light trained on it by the century's most forensic intelligence, that belonging to Maitland, whose *History of English Law* (1895), co-authored despite Maitland's strenuous efforts by Frederick Pollock—originated a new, highly *recherché* form of history. Just as the constitution became more historical in these years, so did the agencies of government and the politics that surrounded them. One could almost call the period 1910–40 the age of representation as the history of the English parliament became a major focus of attention, not for what it symbolized

[37] But also in supplying a form of intellectual history of the English *dix-huitième*: see B. W. Young, *The Victorian Eighteenth Century: An Intellectual History* (Oxford, 2007).

[38] For the Cromwell celebration and statuary see Blair Worden, *Roundhead Reputations*, 215–316; and for the Alfred centenary see Paul Readman, 'The Place of the Past in English Culture, *c*.1890–1914', *Past and Present*, 186 (2005), 147–99.

in the national mythology but for what it and its dependants actually did. The move proved an important stage in the development of a more mature and more sceptical political history that sought to transcend normative statements. We might also note that political liberalism among historians, always powerful in Britain, became almost as defining a characteristic in Edwardian England as it had always been in Scotland.

WAR AND MODERNISM: 1914–45

War against the Central Powers made a major difference to how the historical enterprise became conceived and how its practitioners behaved. Its subject matter swung towards the international and even global (Lord Bryce in the first Raleigh lecture at the conclusion of hostilities reminded his audience that the King of Tonga had thought it necessary to declare his country's neutrality[39]) and the disruption that accompanied it played no small role in stimulating the production of economic and social history between the two world wars. It radically affected the historians themselves, pulling many of them into service of the state for the first time in government departments, especially those dealing with wartime propaganda and military intelligence, before propelling a collection of historical minds to Versailles to locate parallels with the Congress of Vienna 100 years before. It raised the painful issue of origins—how could this catastrophe have come about?—and consumed the time not only of Harold Temperley and George Peabody Gooch but of historians across Europe in answering it.[40] And in the present it helped sunder the British Isles and make British history quite simply a different subject.

War had been expected, of course—not in Flanders but in Ireland. The birth and development of Sinn Fein after 1905 had already given some intimation of difficulty to come; but Dublin's 'terrible beauty' in Easter 1916, the complete victory of Sinn Fein at the 1918 general election, the division of Ireland in the ill-starred treaty of 1921, and the civil war that followed it turned the country upside down. It did the same to its historical past in licensing, indeed imposing, a form of strident nationalism on Irish history. That also was not in itself new. Alice Stopford Green, widow of John Richard Green of social history fame, had become a siren of nationalism before the war; she had many sympathizers in the years of the third Home Rule bill and Ulster's resistance to it. But what happened after 1921 had a quite different momentum: a historiography designed to reveal English oppression in a sort of green whiggery that showed the continuities of a distinctive Irish past. Inspiring for some, for others such as the unfilial

[39] Lord Bryce, 'World History', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 9 (1920), 188.
[40] Gooch and Temperley, *British Documents on the Origin of the War*, 11 vols. (London, 1926–34).

George Bernard Shaw it looked like a display of 'our huge national stock of junk and bilge'.[41] The Free State made it both history for the nation and compulsory policy for the schools. Only in the 1930s did the mood reverse in what became called 'revisionism', associated in particular with two heavyweight operators, Theodore William Moody of Trinity College, Dublin and, before he lost the world in whiskey, Robin Dudley Edwards of University College, Dublin.[42] Their attempt to champion a style of scientific, professional historical writing owed much to their experience in London where both had carried out their doctoral work. At home they faced the tragedy of the Irish Record Office, destroyed with its contents in the civil war; but in the formation of *Irish Historical Studies* (1938), on which they collaborated for twenty years, they took Irish history forwards.[43] Scotland, meanwhile, had no 'Easter 1916' but it felt some of the same national impetus away from the anglicized trajectory of the Victorian years. Again that had revived before the war—Colin Kidd singles out James McKinnon's study of *The Union of England and Scotland* (1896) as symbolic of it—and lurked behind the onset of a new professionalism on the back of the *Scottish Historical Review*, founded in 1903, and the new chairs in Scottish history at Edinburgh (1901) and Glasgow (1913).[44] But the post-war period allowed that professionalism to run into the headier mood of the literary and artistic revivals and perhaps to betray an enlarged self-confidence.

When Moody and Dudley Edwards founded *Irish Historical Studies*, they modelled it on London's *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*. The foundation of the Institute of Historical Research (IHR), under Pollard's leadership, in 1921 presents in retrospect an iconic moment in the advance of English professionalization. It is important to understand that this process conditioned not only the form but the content of historical writing in Britain by bringing in its wake an ideology about history as a cognate discipline to science rather than literature and a series of assumptions about the availability of unmediated historical knowledge through the indisputability of what professionals liked to call 'the' facts.[45] The movement that I choose to term 'modernism' refers to this process and not to the literary modernism that ran alongside it. At its hands all speculative or metaphysical understanding of the past suffered strangulation—the corpses included Hegel, Marx, and Croce as well as home-grown philosophers in R. G. Collingwood and Michael Oakeshott—as the presentation of

[41] Quoted in Roy Foster, 'History and the Irish Question', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 33 (1983), 169–92 at p. 190.

[42] For the joint importance of Moody and Dudley Edwards see Nicholas Canny, 'Writing Early Modern History: Ireland, Britain, and the Wider World', *Historical Journal*, 46 (2003), 723–47.

[43] See Theodore Moody, 'Irish Historiography 1936–70', in id. (ed.), *Irish Historiography, 1936–70* (Dublin, 1971), esp. 139–45.

[44] Colin Kidd, 'The "Strange Death of Scottish History" Revisited: Constructions of the Past in Scotland *c.*1790–1914', *Scottish Historical Review*, 76 (1997), 86–102 at p. 102.

[45] I develop this argument both in *Modernizing England's Past* and a forthcoming essay, 'The Turn Towards Science: Historians Delivering Untheorized Truth', in Sarah Foot and Nancy Partner (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Historical Theory* (London, forthcoming).

historical material took a more crystalline form resembling a scientific report and offered in dense monographs or research articles of the kind published in the *English Historical Review* or its new counterpart, the *Cambridge Historical Journal*. No single historian invented this development and no one completely represents it for it is an Ideal Type rather than a picture of one personality; but if an example of most of its features be sought then one could hardly do better than resort to the centrality of Lewis Namier and the status as avatar of his celebrated analysis of *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (1929). Namier's disavowal of narrative, his reduction of evidence to unprinted material from archives, his evisceration of ideas and ideologies from all participants and a pervasive certainty that his conclusions could be demonstrated rather than merely proposed, combined with his undoubted intellectual brilliance in generating a work of startling originality and force. Part of that force rested on a later elision from Namier to 'Namierism', an elision only possible because of the distinctive axiomata concealed in his text. Most of its assumptions and the resistance to it would be worked out after the Second World War but his major critic, Herbert Butterfield, whose *Whig Interpretation of History* (1931) could itself be read (wrongly) as a modernist attack on traditional historical writing, already harboured serious but unformed reservations about where the new professionalism might be going, 'knitting without a guillotine' in the plangent phrase of his future Cambridge colleague Maurice Cowling.[46]

Unlike America, where Peter Novick shows us a profession swinging away from the ethos of objectivity in these years under the imprint of James Harvey Robinson, Carl Becker, and Charles Beard,[47] the British historical profession tightened its headband and headed hopefully for the archives. Nor was there an English Strasbourg unless the London School of Economics with R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power deserves the name. Explanations for this refusal to abandon naive realism seem complex, multi-faceted; but we can see a few elements in it. Science provided both opportunity and threat. The explosion of relativity and new conceptions of how the universe worked from galaxies to micro-particles established inter-war laboratory science at a new height of status and those working in the human sciences felt the edge of contested authority. 'If you can't beat them, join them.' Totalitarian regimes in Bolshevik Russia, Italy, and later Germany reinforced the message that only objective science could save civilization from distortion, lies, and the air-brush of Central Committees expunging an awkward past. The *EHR* and the IHR seemed a necessary antidote to ideology and the *ex post facto*. The trenches for many numbered God among their dead: historians, even the sons and daughters of the vicarage which many still were, lost the constraint on materialist explanation of which their parents were often aware, lost too the force of biblical narrative as an exemplar for rendering prose poetic.

[46] Maurice Cowling, *Religion and Public Doctrine in Modern England*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1980), p. xxii.

[47] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), esp. 133–205.

They could slide, like the young Christopher Hill, sideways into a spiritualized Marxism; but they could also retreat into the certainty, the tangibility, of relic and charter and pipe-roll: scripture for the new state-financed professionals. If their parents were civil servants in any case, as with Llewellyn Woodward or Bruce McFarlane, the transition proved seamless. And thirty years of growing resistance to literary models with their taint of amateurism made easier the jettisoning of story in favour of footnotes, elegance in favour of an unreadability that had somehow become a commendation because only the cognoscenti could cope with it and academic history craved cognizance.

The new dispensation especially suited economic history, notable in Britain after 1927 with its own journal, the *Economic History Review*, and within more established reaches of the subject the use of diplomatic and paleography for analysis of primary documents and particularly those relating to the history of parliament or constitutional development. Remaining within the walls of academic institutions has its dangers for perspective all the same. Not least one loses the sense in which whig history did not die but rather became shunted into non-academic environments with its outlet in the bookshops rather than conference papers and research articles. Academics wanted often to forget the narratives of Philip Guedalla or Arthur Bryant or the unemployed Winston Churchill because they despised their lack of historical science;[48] but so far as influence went there is no doubt which side retained the greater pull within the population as a whole. The Historical Association of 1906 sent out tentacles into the school-teaching community over the next half-century and made sympathetic academics learn to communicate in a different language. Even among those who didn't, moreover, some continued to believe that the whig theory of how to write history had more right in it than wrong and lamented the degeneration, for so they conceived it, into scientific *rapportage*. They found an important champion in Butterfield, scourge of the whigs but himself one of them, in his insistence on the primacy of narrative as an historical instrument and the study of change over time as the historian's most pressing objective. These inter-war years saw, then, the beginning of a rift all too familiar to modernity between academic output intended for a closed club of experts and styles of delivery intended for the widest audience at the expense of a certain sophistication.

A second cohort of historical authors and teachers stood uncomfortably with one leg on each side of that rift, a group informed by the teaching of the Left and wishing to bring the elements of Marxist reading of history to the mass audience whom their theory credited with ultimate power. Throughout the 1930s their message gained significant credence but *why* Marxism acquired such a grip on the most conservative historical culture in Europe invites interesting and perhaps unplumbable issues. Displaced religion seems relevant to some of the British

[48] On Churchill see in particular David Reynolds, *In Command of History: Churchill Fighting and Writing the Second World War* (London, 2005).

cohort, but not others.[49] A certain middle-class guilt in the face of social deprivation marks a related trend. The power of the economic downturn in the early 1930s provided one obvious and significant context. The presence of a new economic history with radical questions to ask about social dynamics might be counted another. The inheritance of the very whig tradition about which Marxism complained may itself have added to a style of thought that turned on inbuilt process, teleological explanation, rises and falls. And the high-octane literary movements surrounding what Samuel Hynes called the Auden generation supplied a vocabulary *pour épater les bourgeois*.[50] For the moment their language lacked the force and acceptance that it would win during and after the Second World War—Christopher Hill once said that there was little formal Marxist history in Britain before 1938—but a highly charged constituent of British historical writing had come into being, one that threatened to destabilize the professional scientism of the learned article and university press monograph.

Of the Victorian mainstream only a few tributaries now remained. Constitutional history persisted through the inter-war period and beyond but it owed less to lawyers and more to political historians seeking sharper answers than Erskine May or Dicey had provided. Ecclesiastical history likewise had become too important to leave to deans, bishops, and Dissenting ministers and whether one turns to a caustic Protestant view of the world as in G. G. Coulton's polemic against what he castigated as Catholic lies or Dom David Knowles's elegiac refutation in his history of the monastic orders,[51] it seemed clear that the history of the churches had ceased to be contained in and explained by the history of the state; it had rather become a field of study like any other. The empire fared likewise, except that it now boasted a scholarly infrastructure in Oxford, Cambridge, and London and attracted a growing number of historians concerned to bring to imperial studies scholarship of the kind reflected in the eight-volume collaborative *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (1929–36).

Paradoxically, the minute criticism and search for objectivity in the new generation of scholars in all fields may have militated against their comprehending the sheer irrationalism and histrionics of totalitarian regimes now dominating their present. Certainly one struggles to think of an inter-war Seeley or Froude with a finger on the current pulse unless one turns to the liberal internationalism of Temperley or Gooch, itself shrouded in illusion. As the clouds covered Western Europe in September 1939, illusions painfully dissipated and experience from the last war helped return historians to the state as they rallied to the cause and sought to do their bit. Betty Behrens of

[49] For a portrait of the group see Harvey J. Kaye, *The British Marxist Historians: An Introductory Analysis* (Basingstoke, 1995).

[50] Samuel Hynes, *The Auden Generation: Literature and Politics in England in the 1930s* (Princeton, 1976).

[51] G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1923–47); and David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1940).

Newnham College echoes many of them in her pleas to be allowed to leave Cambridge and do something towards the war effort, a conviction that would lead young scholars towards the Official Histories run by the historical section of the Cabinet Office and involve them, not infrequently bury them, in some of the most solid scholarship of the war years.[52] Perhaps the greatest gem from those years, not an official history, was Frank Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England* (1943), which gave the fight against the Hun a historical subtext as apparent, if more subtle, than Laurence Olivier's *Henry V* (1944). In its close-focus, its use of archaeology and numismatics, its sense that historical writing demanded ancillary skills and expanding expertise, Stenton's work—the product of a mature student who had scaled academic ladders through his unaided efforts and made his home in a provincial university—said much about the direction of a century's transformation. If it remained unclear where that transformation in British historical writing might tend when Hitler had ceased to distort it, sufficient subterranean sliding in the profession's infrastructure, sociology, and ambition had ensured at least that its gears would not go into reverse.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1815	End of Napoleonic wars
1832	First Reform Act
1851	Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace
1854–6	Crimean War
1860–4	American Civil War
1867	Beginning of 'New Imperialism'
1868	First of William Gladstone's four administrations
1885–6	Crisis over Home Rule for Ireland
1889–1902	Boer War in South Africa
1906	Great Liberal Administration (to 1915)
1911	Parliamentary crisis over status of the House of Lords
1914–18	First World War
1920	Beginning of post-war economic depression
1922–3	Irish Civil War
1926	General Strike
1929	American economy crashes
1931	National Government in Britain
1933	Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany
1938	Munich Crisis
1939–45	Second World War

[52] This huge series of volumes eventually brought together some of the major historical names of their day under the editorship of Sir Keith Hancock and J. R. M. Butler. The contributions commented on social and economic issues of the war as well as diplomatic and military ones.

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Chapter 11

The Polycentric Structure of Italian Historical Writing

Ilaria Porciani and Mauro Moretti[1]

FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERS

'Italians, I urge you on to history.'[2] Ugo Foscolo—the poet and writer who fought in the Napoleonic army and published an ode to Bonaparte 'the liberator', as well as a crucial novel for the awakening of the Italian national consciousness—made this exhortation from the Chair of Eloquence at the University of Pavia in March 1808. History had suddenly become crucial. Its new, overtly national scope was not without ideological bias. This strong national and political turn was a key element of the entire historical revival in the nineteenth century: in this respect Italy was no exception. In an age dominated by the struggle for independence and a constitutional government in the many states into which the peninsula was divided, and later by the process of unification, the literati engaged in the construction of a *Kulturnation* turned to history. Their lives were eventful and often dramatic, marked as they were by participation in uprisings in 1821 and 1830–1 and in the 1848 revolution, and often by prison or exile. The role of historiography has often been emphasized. But history did not stand alone: historical novels had a much stronger impact, given their much broader public appeal.

Almost ninety years after its publication, Benedetto Croce's history of nineteenth-century Italian historiography is still essential reading on the subject, offering the only comprehensive overview with the exception of a recent anthology, which is complemented by short biographies of the most important authors.[3] Croce, who was interested in historiography both as an historian and as an idealist and historicist philosopher, wrote this book in order to fill an evident void: Eduard Fueter, in his *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* [History of Modern Historiography] (1911), had in fact not even mentioned Italian historical writing.

[1] Sections 1 and 2 were written by Ilaria Porciani while 3 and 4 were written by Mauro Moretti.

[2] Ugo Foscolo, *Dell'origine e dell'ufficio della letteratura: Orazione* (Milan, 1809), ch. 15.

[3] Benedetto Croce, *Storia della storiografia italiana del secolo decimonono*, 2 vols. (Bari, 1921); and Furio Diaz and Mauro Moretti (eds.), *Storici dell'Ottocento* (Rome, 2003).

We will not follow Croce's scheme, strongly oriented by his interest in the history of ideas and his philosophical bias, and dominated by the concept of 'development and progress'. Instead, we will first of all try to highlight the salient character of the Italian historiography: the strong weight of specific traditions deeply rooted in centuries of political fragmentation and embedded in the experience of regional or city states. We will focus on the institutional setting and the forms of aggregation of intellectuals, both decisive in shaping their approaches to history-writing, even when their attitude was eminently national. It would be going too far to speak of regional schools while playing down the weight of major political divides that were reflected in history-writing: the democratic school or the moderate Catholic liberal one (emphasizing the positive role of the church in Italian history) were for decades clearly opposed to one another. However, the distinctive character of Neapolitan or Piedmontese, Tuscan or Milanese groups of historians would long be unmistakable.

When comparing Italy to countries such as Germany or France, one should note a somewhat belated professionalization.[4] Italy was certainly in good company and a broader comparison would reveal that this feature was common to other European countries. However, no École des chartes or research university based on the Humboldtian model was present before unification. And as far as the establishment of an historical method is concerned, Cesare Balbo—a member of the Turin aristocracy close to the court and son of the Minister of the Interior—made it clear that the method to follow was a 'common sense' one: the Italian method of Carolus Sigonius and the great Ludovico Antonio Muratori.[5]

Muratori deserves special attention since he was the principal model for nearly all nineteenth-century Italian historians. Some of them were acquainted with the new standards of historical scholarship; others less so. But all were extremely conscious of the old tradition of Italian historiography and bent on highlighting its importance. Niccolò Machiavelli was one of their most important readings. Some wrote to continue and update the Italian history written by Francesco Guicciardini, while Giambattista Vico was often recalled as the vindicator of an Italian national perspective. But most of all it was the formidable *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* that they read as an encouragement to go back to sources. In short, this Italocentricity was one of the salient characteristics.

The Italian landscape was characterized by the persistence of old academies, some of them re-founded in the Napoleonic years. History was often practised there, not always in the form of old-fashioned erudition. Since the 1820s new journals devoted to many different disciplines, such as the Florentine *Antologia*,

[4] See Mauro Moretti and Ilaria Porciani, 'Italy', in Porciani and Lutz Raphael (eds.), *Atlas of European Historiography: The Making of a Profession, 1800–2005* (Basingstoke, 2011), 115–22.

[5] Cesare Balbo, *Meditazioni storiche* (3rd edn, Florence, 1855), 447. The editor of Balbo's collected works draws attention in her introduction to this in Cesare Balbo, *Storia d' Italia e altri scritti editi e inediti*, ed. Maria Fubini Lezzi (Turin, 1984).

the Neapolitan *Il Progresso*, or the Milanese *Il Politecnico* had been reviewing important historical works written 'on the other side of the Alps', in the phrase of the day, and contributing in original ways to the European debate. Moreover, historians were, for most of the nineteenth century, men of letters who had no regular academic training: aristocrats such as Cesare Balbo or Alessandro Manzoni, clerics such as Carlo Giovanni Maria Denina, medical doctors such as Carlo Botta, or engineers such as Ercole Ricotti, who was the first to teach history in a modern sense in Turin. His chair was created in 1846. Even Croce—who was to play a prominent role in the creation of a post-university one-year research school, the Istituto italiano per gli studi storici in the early 1950s—was a wealthy gentleman with no university degree.

The experience of the French Revolution and of its Italian sequel proved to be crucial for the Italian historians of the 'century of history'. The arrival of the masses onto the political scene and the burgeoning class struggle oriented much research on the Middle Ages, where the formation of the different strata of society appeared to originate. Nonetheless, one should not forget the importance of writings on contemporary events. Denina—the author of the *Storia delle rivoluzioni d'Italia* published in 1769 and completed in 1792 with a chapter on recent events translated into English under the title *A Historical and Political Dissertation on the Ancient Republics of Italy*, and republished several times in the 1820s and 1830s—analysed the consequences of the French Revolution. So did Luigi Blanch. Carlo Botta, however, put forward the model of Enlightenment reforms in his twenty-seven volumes on the history of Italy. He also wrote a book on the American Revolution, making extensive use of American, French, and English memoirs and diaries, as well as maps.[6] In spite of Croce's severe criticism in his *Storia della Italia occidentale* [History of Western Italy] (1808), he was not just an old-fashioned historian, since he also made good use of the lessons of Enlightenment historiography.

By far the most important work on the so-called Jacobin republics in Italy was Vincenzo Cuoco's history of the Neapolitan revolution of 1799: a profoundly innovative essay and a long way from the work of authors who set out to praise Murat or Napoleon.[7] Cuoco understood the anachronism of state structures like the Republic of Venice. However, he is known especially for his original approach: he pointed out the problems and the inevitable failure of an imported revolution with no roots in the tradition of the country. More than one century later the great intellectual and communist leader Antonio Gramsci would discuss extensively and develop this important thesis.[8]

[6] *Storia della guerra dell'Independenza d'America*; and *Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1817* (Paris, 1824). On the numerous early editions of this work see Carlo Salotto, *Le opere di Carlo Botta e la loro varia fortuna* (Rome, 1922).

[7] *Saggio storico sulla rivoluzione napoletana del 1799* (Milan, 1801).

[8] Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, vol. 1: *Quaderni 1–5, 1929–32*, ed. Valentino Gerratana (Turin, 1975).

Contemporary events—with a few exceptions such as the *Storia d'Italia dal 1815 al 1850* [History of Italy, 1815–50] (1851–2) by the Sicilian democrat and later supporter of Piedmontese unification, Giuseppe La Farina—received little attention in the following decades, which concentrated on a more remote past. Cesare Balbo argued that discussing the present was no longer history: history was the science of the past only and should therefore refrain from dealing with recent events.[9] This way of thinking epitomized the historical activity of the rest of the century. The country was divided into many states, some of them ruled by non-Italian monarchs, where censorship and police control were the rule. This might also explain on the one hand the late birth of historical associations—at least in comparison with the German states or France—and on the other the necessity to discuss present Italian conditions and recent history through the lens of a distant past. Hence historical debates and analysis tended to be focused on the terrain of the Middle Ages and not on more contemporary topics.

From the beginning of the century, on the wave of the Romantic movement, which was common to most of Europe, the Middle Ages became the central and almost sole historical era of investigation. Roman and especially imperial history was by and large uninteresting until the 1880s. Contemporary history still fell outside the boundaries of an emergent profession that was still defining its borders, instruments, scholarship, and methods. Paradoxically, in the aftermath of the construction of the nation-state, historians removed discussion of recent topics from the agenda of the true professional, who was to busy himself with source critiques and ancient, medieval, and early modern Latin texts. This would have the paradoxical consequence of making room for a small number of women in history-writing. As friends and relatives of the Risorgimento heroes, they collected their papers, and after unification would work with sources, such as private letters and memoirs, and in some interesting cases would write the history of the nation as and through the history of families. But in the first part of the century women were excluded from the relatively small group of *eruditi* who tackled the gigantic task of publishing a new corpus of Italian sources: they were part of the public, as recent work on the correspondence of major historians shows, but none of them took part in history-writing as professional historians until the 1920s.

MEDIEVALISM WITHOUT ROMANTICISM: TOWNS, CIVIC BELONGING, AND INSTITUTIONS

Jean Charles Léonard Sismondi was a key figure of Italian medievalism. His *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge* [History of the Italian Republics

[9] Cesare Balbo, 'Sommario della storia d' Italia' (1847), in *Storia d'Italia e altri scritti editi e inediti di Cesare Balbo*, ed. Maria Fubini Leuzzi (Turin, 1984), 341.

in the Middle Ages], published in 1807–18 and then republished many times including a short two-volume compendium, was the *livre de chevet* for all Italian historians of the century, as well as a powerful source of inspiration for painters, poets, and musicians. Sismondi's approach was eminently Protestant, and he sought to demonstrate the restrictive role of the Catholic Church in Italian history, most of all in retarding unification of the country and independence. Many—especially those belonging to the Catholic-liberal school—did not agree with him on this issue. However, he was widely read and discussed, and often praised, especially in his narration of the golden times of Italian liberty during the Middle Ages, when the small republics guaranteed freedom and a high degree of civilization and were even able to defeat the Emperor Barbarossa. Balbo too considered this age of the communes and republics as a clearly defined one: the distinctive golden age of Italian history.[10]

In Italy, as in other European countries, history provided intellectuals engaged in inventing the nation with an armoury of weapons. While in France the origins of the royal prerogative, the sources of aristocratic privilege, and the effects of the settlement of Franks in Gaul were of burning interest, in Italy the key issues were the unity of Italian history and the obstacles to constructing an Italian nation-state. Unsurprisingly, the so-called Lombard question occupied if not all, then certainly the most important historians of the generation active from the 1820s. However, it was in the post-French Revolution and nationalist age that it became really important, along with the diffusion of Augustin Thierry's works. In Italy it ignited a burning debate and framed the discussion around the ideas of the juridical and social condition of the defeated Romans and Italics, dominated by the Lombards; it questioned the role of the Pope in calling in the Franks, and most of all raised the issue of continuity or discontinuity from the Roman juridical tradition and social organization.

The first stone was thrown by a writer who was later to have a central role in the question of the Italian national language: Alessandro Manzoni's *Adelchi* (1822) played a decisive role in shaping the terms of the Lombard question and in questioning older venerated authorities such as Muratori, and even Edward Gibbon.[11] For Manzoni, the establishment of the Lombards in various Italian regions after the invasion of Alboin in 568–9 was never followed by the formation of one single people, neither victors nor vanquished but mixed in the same political mass. The silence that fell on the Romans was proof that they had been completely defeated and dominated. Catholic as he was, Manzoni aimed to demonstrate the catastrophic consequences of this defeat and show that the papacy

[10] Cesare Balbo, 'Cenni sulla divisione e suddivisione della storia d'Italia' (1841), ibid., 321–32, esp. 328; Balbo, *Sommario della Storia d'Italia* (Turin, 1847).

[11] See Dario Mantovani, 'Le vocazioni del discorso sopra alcuni punti della storia longobarda in Italia di Manzoni: Longobardi e romani fra diritto e poesia', *Rivista Storica italiana*, 116 (2004), 671–714.

was the natural centre of Italian history. In spite of his very different approach, even Sismondi, in the third chapter of the *Histoire des républiques* supported the idea that the Lombards did not merge with the Italians as the Goths—their predecessors—had previously done. Did the Romans become slaves of the Lombards or were they to some extent free men? And were they able to maintain their institutions? The discussion was carried on by different scholars such as the Neapolitan Carlo Troya and the legal historian Pietro Capei.[12] The Piedmontese Balbo also took part in the discussion, injecting his historical legal approach with an emphasis on the role of Catholicism.[13] This would be a distinctive trait of the Turin historians who gathered first around the Academy of Sciences and later around the Deputation for the History of the Fatherland—a state-centred enterprise created with the aim of promoting the publication of a corpus of sources for the history of the Kingdom of Sardinia and especially of Piedmont. The discussion was animated by Friedrich Karl von Savigny's *Geschichte des römischen Rechts des Mittelalters* [*The History of the Roman Law during the Middle Ages*] (1815–31). It largely took the form of letters, some of them private, others public. The most important were probably those addressed to Capei by the Florentine Marquis Gino Capponi and published in the first Italian historical journal, the *Archivio storico italiano*.[14]

Founded in Florence, where political control was somehow weaker than in other Italian states, the enterprise of the *Archivio* was masterminded by Gino Capponi—a member of the Florentine aristocracy—and published by Giovan Pietro Vieusseux—a merchant of Swiss origins who had settled in the Tuscan capital city and set up first an international reading cabinet and later various periodicals. The correspondence of *Archivio*'s board shows its explicit aim of building a truly national workshop among Italian historians in order to publish the sources for the entire nation: the difference from the action of the Turin Deputation was obvious. In fact the journal soon became the centre of an expanding circle of *eruditi*, clerics, aristocrats, and librarians often working in private libraries, owners of large collections of books, and linked to a large number of correspondents in every Italian region. However, the *Archivio* was not always successful in its attempt to create cooperation among different regional groups: the correspondence shows just how formidable obstacles such as municipal pride and jealousy could be. This was especially true on the part of the Piedmontese group working around the Deputation for the History of the Fatherland, and also the Romans, who tried to set up their own local historical association.

[12] See Ilaria Porciani, *L' 'Archivio storico italiano': Organizzazione della ricerca ed egemonia moderata nel Risorgimento* (Florence, 1979), 131–4.

[13] See Enrico Artifoni, 'Ideologia e memoria locale nella storiografia italiana sui Longobardi', in Carlo Bertelli and Gian Pietro Brogiolo (eds.), *Il futuro dei Longobardi: L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno* (Milan, 2000), 219–27.

[14] Porciani, *L''Archivio storico italiano'*.

Beginning as a collection of sources in order to pass the scrutiny of the censor, the *Archivio* developed after 1855 into a true history journal with reviews and original articles and supported the hegemony of the liberal moderates within the historiographical field.

Strongly opposed to any centralizing organization of the historical studies, just as the Tuscan elite tried to contest the 'Piedmontization' of politics and administration, the *Archivio* opened its pages to democratic writers such as the philosopher of history Giuseppe Ferrari, who spent most of his life in Paris exile, and to the Lombard historian Gabriele Rosa, one of Carlo Cattaneo's most important followers. Both of them were in favour of greater decentralization, which was also welcomed—in different ways—by the Tuscans. Cattaneo, a bourgeois and not an aristocrat, was a highly original intellectual, open to European debate and interested not only in history but also in economics, agriculture, chemistry, railways, literary criticism, and linguistics. Editor of the *Politecnico* and author of most of its articles, he was interested in the process of '*incivilimento*', that is the civilizing process in Europe. His aversion to clericalism, along with his positivist and rationalist mindset, accounts for his antipathy towards Christianized Romanticism.[15] His democratic political orientation (he was one of the leaders of the 1848 revolution in Milan) went along with an appreciation of the long tradition of Italian civic culture. Cities were for him the original character of Italian history. He praised Giuseppe Micali's work on Italy before the domination of the Romans,[16] which emphasized the survival of crucial aspects of previous civilizations. His interest in understanding and enhancing the pre-Roman traditions of the different cities was coupled with the federalist idea in contemporary politics. Cattaneo read and introduced to Italy Augustin Thierry and discussed the idea of the conquest in detail, minimizing its 'national' sense. What interested him more was the creation of the various elites that had ruled in different parts of the peninsula. Obviously, he was one of the most attentive readers of Sismondi, from a federalist perspective.

The *Archivio storico* aimed to organize publication of sources, unifying the efforts of all Italian historians in a federal fashion, and the Tuscan group which started it opposed centralization, especially on cultural matters. However, after unification, the Tuscan model was out of date: historians were organized in a series of Deputations—state institutions—similar to the Turin one. Many local groups, fearing centralization and the loss of their autonomy, started their own private associations and carried on the publication of separate regional sources in their own reviews, usually also called 'historical archives'.

[15] See *Civilization and Democracy: The Salvemini Anthology of Cattaneo's Work*, ed. Carlo G. Lacaita and Filippo Sabetti (Toronto, 2006).

[16] Giuseppe Micali, *L'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani* (Florence, 1810).

UNIFIED ITALY (1861–1914)

Prior to the unification of Italy in 1861, history had been written for strong political purposes, but also in order to align the discipline methodologically with European models. The monarchical solution to the national problem cleared the field of the diverse political trends (municipal, federalist, republican) which had been seeking legitimacy in history. Yet professional Italian historians produced no great synthesis of national history at that time. The new political dimension was slow to be ratified in historical accounts.

For several decades scholars and movements connected with local pre-unification elites went on thriving within the historical associations of the towns and regions. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century the universities took an increasing role in orienting both the content and methodology of historical research. For quite some time the university system was not structured in a hierarchical and monolithic way. Various important centres of historical scholarship continued to hold: Turin, Padua, Bologna, Florence, Pisa, Rome, and Naples. Persisting ancient traditions and a multi-centred university system meant that a number of modes of study took root at a local level, and those schools of history would still be quite visible in the twentieth century. But such pluralistic trends and interests did not prevent, at least on a formal plane, the rapid spread of methodological rules and a philological method for the 'historical school'. These were taken as valid, though they might not always be scrupulously applied. Italian historians concentrated on editing still unpublished sources. To be sure, their work, philological as it might be, aimed to enrich the quantity of documents rather than making the best use of the most sophisticated tools for a critical approach. University science thus forged tools of its own to replace the practice of amateurs, aristocrats, and clergymen with their own tendencies to naive cumulative erudition steeped in oratory and rhetoric. A field of knowledge that we might call pre-disciplinary or pre-specialist developed, in which biographical, political, and institutional historiography was intertwined with philology and literature, culture and art history. In the new kingdom hundreds of libraries, archives, art galleries, and archaeological sites needed to be catalogued, described, and organized after centuries of sedimentation. This was the task for the intellectuals of the new nation. Carlo Cipolla, professor of modern history in Turin, worried about the interest that foreign scholars took in Italian sources, wrote in 1882:

> The documents and monuments enfolding the memory of the past can vanish . . . Let us cast light on these riches for ourselves and not let them all be stolen by the many worthy foreigners who each year roam the peninsula . . . Let us write our history for ourselves; let us be the ones to publish our chronicles and archives.[17]

[17] See Mauro Moretti, 'Carlo Cipolla, Pasquale Villari e l'Istituto di Studi superiori di Firenze', in Gian Maria Varanini (ed.), *Carlo Cipolla e la storiografia italiana fra Otto e Novecento* (Verona, 1994), 33–81, at p. 53.

The ethical and political implications of post-union historiography were certainly less intense than during the Risorgimento. But there was a bid to set up a 'national science' vying with the most important European nations, an ambition to recover a place and role worthy of the ancient intellectual and civil traditions of the nation. This movement possessed its own political agenda, clearly visible in important historical works dealing with the Pontifical states and relations between church and state, one of those major issues that long remained an open chapter in post-unification Italian history. The critical method of history was used more systematically to challenge the largely apologetic tradition of Catholic historiography. But local research centres and associations were also active. In 1922 Pietro Egidi, who later became the editor of the 1884-founded *Rivista storica italiana*, listed thirty-four history societies as well as eighteen institutes and academies boasting history sections, with thirty-seven local editorial ventures publishing sources and doing research, and 127 reviews.[18]

The growing importance of university training provided a necessary stepping-stone to teaching and research. History teaching in Italian universities was split. Chairs of general history—ancient history and modern history, covering the whole period subsequent to the fall of the Western Roman Empire—were housed in the Faculty of Letters; the history of law, of vital importance especially for the Middle Ages, came under the Faculty of Law, as did chairs of political economy; the first teaching of economic and commercial history was assigned to the Higher Schools of Commerce and then transferred in the 1930s to the newly founded Faculty of Economics. Since the faculties were rigidly divided, with little chance of interaction, such an institutional framework inhibited fruitful interaction between sister disciplines. At the Faculty of Letters—which spawned most professional Italian historians from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century—history teaching formed part of a mainly literary and philological curriculum. This clearly affected the intellectual profile of many history scholars. Only in certain and peculiar academic contexts did activity take a partly different shape. A regular seminar supplied some extra practical experience, readings, and discussions at Pisa's Scuola Normale Superiore and at Turin, Padua, and Rome. With these examples in mind, one of the outstanding young historians of his generation, Gioacchino Volpe, called in 1907–8 for a reform of the higher teaching of history to allow closer contact with law and economics.[19]

However, no organic fusion between ancient history and philology took place on the lines of Germany's *Altertumswissenschaft*. The shift from antiquarianism to philology and archaeology allowed slow innovation. The crucial chair of ancient history in Rome

[18] See Mauro Moretti, 'Appunti sulla storia della medievistica italiana fra Otto e Novecento: alcune questioni istituzionali', *Jerónimo Zurita: Revista de historia*, 82 (2007), 155–74, at pp. 158–60.

[19] See Mauro Moretti, 'Note su storia e storici in Italia nel primo venticinquennio postunitario', in Pierangelo Schiera and Friedrich Tenbruck (eds.), *Gustav Schmoller e il suo tempo: la nascita delle scienze sociali in Germania e in Italia* (Bologna, 1989), 55–94.

was offered to Julius Beloch: if the German model could not be applied via the academic institutions, it was always possible to import some German professors.

In spite of the long-lasting interest in the Middle Ages, the first chairs of medieval history in Italian universities were set up only after the First World War. Carving out a specific space for this period coincided with a partial rescaling of its traditional role. From the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century young historians explored mainly the Middle Ages. In 1883 the Istituto Storico Italiano (Italian History Institute) was founded with the aim of coordinating the local projects in producing an edition of sources. This came in fact as a response to Pope Leo XIII's *Saepenumero considerantes* (1883) on historical studies, which heralded the opening of the Vatican archives. The explicit task of the new history institute was to bring to light sources of national interest from medieval history. Implicitly the national character of the new institution coincided with the Italian Middle Ages. Chronologically, this was a somewhat elastic Middle Ages lasting until the crisis in Italy's political system and the beginning of foreign domination, namely the late fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century. Significantly, some of the most important works published in the second half of the nineteenth century referred to this period, such as Giuseppe De Leva's work on Charles V and Italy (based on the Simancas archives), or the biographies of Savonarola and Machiavelli by Pasquale Villari.[20] One of the most important topics was the history of towns and communes, which lent itself to treatment on a local scale; but there was still life in some old chestnuts, such as the barbarian invasions, relations between 'Latinity' and 'German-ness', or the Lombard question. Analytical comparison of legal and social organization slowly took over the ethnic issues, fuelled by late nineteenth-century strands of cultural positivism and Italy's recent colonialism. Invasions of another kind formed the subject of Michele Amari's *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* [History of the Muslims in Sicily] (1854–72). This atypical and yet extremely important work lay right outside the mainstream of historiography. Amari was a self-taught historian with no academic training—like many others of the period, including Villari. His previous book on the Sicilian Vespers,[21] the revolt against the French in 1282, was a protest against the Neapolitan government in Sicily in the 1840s and earned him great renown and exile in Paris, where he mingled in circles of French and European orientalism and met personalities such as Ernest Renan. On the basis of Arabic sources, Amari wrote a survey of the social, cultural, and ethnic components of Islamic expansion in the Mediterranean and highlighted the Muslim legacy in Sicilian history, as well as the political, institutional, and cultural features of the Norman and Swabian Kingdoms.[22]

[20] Giuseppe De Leva, *Storia documentata di Carlo V in relazione all'Italia*, 5 vols. (Venice, 1863–94); Pasquale Villari, *Storia di Girolamo Savonarola e de' suoi tempi*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1859–61); and id., *Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1877–82).

[21] *La guerra del Vespro siciliano* (Palmero, 1841).

[22] See Mauro Moretti, 'Amari storico, dal "Vespro" ai "Musulmani"', in id. (ed.), *Michele Amari* (Rome, 2003), 3–47.

By the end of the nineteenth century the focus of medievalism was no longer on the Italian communes as the cradle of modern liberty, while the philological method also declined. The intellectual and spiritual climate had changed. The Italian towns of the Middle Ages were now seen as the origin of the modern economy and bourgeois society along Sombart's lines. They became the crucible of social conflicts that could now be compared openly to contemporary ones.

The so-called crisis of positivism spelt a series of complex transitions and a reappraisal of topics and methods in Italian history-writing. This has often been oversimplified. Socialist thinking dominated the stage, though derived less from Marx and Engels than from a medley of positivism and determinism, as in the case of the sociologist Achille Loria. Another line, which would not necessarily clash with Marxist leanings, was the affirmation of thinking or philosophy in opposition to philology. Thus began Croce's extraordinary intellectual odyssey. For over fifty years this unique outsider shaped the critique against professional patterns of historiography, and conditioned the historical, literary, and philosophical matrix of Italian culture.

The transition took place amid academic tension, though the old brigade did not openly thwart the new historical approach. Villari's school produced Gaetano Salvemini, with his socialist leanings, one of the leading lights of twentieth-century Italian intellectual life and exiled for his antifascism as early as 1925. In the footsteps of Amedeo Crivellucci came Gioacchino Volpe, himself a front-ranking scholar and historian who would figure prominently in the history establishment during fascism. In 1899 Salvemini brought out *Magnati e popolani in Firenze dal 1280 al 1295* [Magnates and Commoners in Florence] (1896), characterized by the use of sociological and economic patterns of interpretation. Within the new medievalism two trends emerged: one markedly economic and sociological, looking to Salvemini; the other aiming to show the organic flow of historical processes, looking to Volpe.[23]

A growing scientific and academic interest also developed in contemporary history, sometimes involving the same leading figures, such as Salvemini. The origins of historiography on recent Italian history had been commemorative or polemical, characterized by one-sided reconstructions by the winners and losers of the Risorgimento, the liberal moderates on the one hand and the democrats on the other. This remained true also when the techniques of documentation grew more solid and a less partisan view of the national emancipation process emerged. Anniversaries could be turning points: the centennial celebrations of the birth of Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour (1905, 1907, 1910) and the fiftieth anniversary of the Kingdom of Italy (1911). New interest in international politics following the Bosnia-Herzegovina Crisis in 1908, and Italy's new colonial venture in Libya (1911), also turned the spotlight on contemporary history. The socialist enthusiasms

[23] See Enrico Artifoni, *Salvemini e il Medioevo: Storici italiani fra Otto e Novecento* (Naples, 1990).

previously widespread among intellectual elites were replaced, politically, by nationalist leanings and, intellectually, by increasing idealism. Moreover, a new interest in the history of Christianity took place which was sustained by different works and anniversaries, such as the publication of Ludwig von Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* [*History of the Popes*] (1886–1933), the fourth centenary celebrations of Savonarola's death (1898), French and Italian research on Francis of Assisi, Arnaldo da Brescia, the analysis of the heretical tradition from a doctrinal standpoint (Felice Tocco) and a socio-economic approach (Volpe). New intellectual and spiritual movements that the Pope was quick to brand as modernism (1907) also played an important role.[24] In short, the 1910s were years of profound transformation, a process well under way before the First World War.

AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND UNDER FASCISM

In some autobiographical pages, written between 1922 and 1925, Volpe summed up the steps by which he moved away from medieval history and sociological perspectives. It was 'the effect of the war and the new spiritual climate preceding the war' that brought about 'greater appreciation of certain values when examining historical facts (for example, *nation* instead of *class*)', reappraising the history of politics and individuals.[25] Volpe long had it in mind to attempt an overall historical reconstruction of the Italian people and nation from the eleventh century on. The experience of war acted as a powerful accelerator and catalyst of intellectual dynamics that were already afoot. Various historians took part more or less directly in the fighting, Volpe being engaged in the army propaganda service. This experience clearly affected how some historians perceived their intellectual role and widened the gap separating them from the old philological school. The heightening of national sentiment by war propaganda formed the basis of a recasting of national historical narrative during the fascist period. Croce had good reason to view Italy's participation in the war with alarm; he took issue with the excesses of nationalist propaganda and argued for his own vision of national history. The history of Italy as a nation-state, he wrote in 1916, could not be traced to the Roman age, or the communes, or the Renaissance, but stemmed from eighteenth-century reforms and the impact of revolutionary and Napoleonic France. This was not an age-old story, but a recent one; not extraordinary, but slight.[26] When the liberal state collapsed and fascism came to power, the divide

[24] See Fulvio De Giorgi, *Il Medioevo dei modernisti: Modelli di comportamento e pedagogia della libertà* (Brescia, 2009).

[25] Gioacchino Volpe, *Momenti di storia italiana* (Florence, 1925), 6–7. See also Giovanni Belardelli, *Il mito della 'nuova Italia': Gioacchino Volpe tra guerra e fascismo* (Rome, 1988); and Eugenio Di Rienzo, *La storia e l'azione: Vita politica di Gioacchino Volpe* (Florence, 2008).

[26] Benedetto Croce, 'Sulla storia d'Italia: Epopea e storia' (1916), in id., *L'Italia dal 1914 al 1918: Pagine sulla guerra* (Bari, 1950), 135–8.

over the nature and development of contemporary Italian history would form the core of a deep-rooted historical and political dispute.

The national war effort had a direct effect on history-writing. In Italy as elsewhere, the war and the new European order led to a concentration on international relations and the history of foreign policy, though Italian historians would continue their concern with issues of Italy's own history.

The history of fascist historiography, or the history of historiography during fascism? The question defies a clear-cut answer. The intellectual biographies of scholars intersect with fascism in different modes and different moments; fascism itself had various faces and policies. What can be said is that the fascist regime changed the institutional basis of history in two successive phases: the first, approximately halfway through the 1920s; then, ten years later, the more important second phase. At the end of 1923, Giovanni Gentile, the Minister of Education, set up a national school of history at the Italian History Institute to strengthen the institute's research and publishing activities. The school selected high school teachers, archivists, and other qualified public employees and offered them post-university training. A leading Italian historian and later minister, Pietro Fedele, was the first Director of the National School of History. In 1925 he founded a school of modern and contemporary history linked to the National Committee for Risorgimento History, which dated from 1906. This institution had the task of editing sources pertaining to Italian history from the sixteenth century onwards. The year 1925 also saw the first competition for university chairs of Risorgimento history—another sign of contemporary history gathering institutional strength.[27]

The creation of a National Committee of Historical Sciences in 1928 stemmed from Italy's representation within the Comité international des sciences historiques. The real watershed would come in 1934–5, following relevant key changes in fascist policy like the Concordat with the Catholic Church in 1929 and the introduction of the binding oath to the regime imposed on professors in 1931. The leading light of what he called the fascist 'cleaning' of culture was Education Minister Cesare Maria De Vecchi. The study of history was affected by a series of acts enforced between December 1934 and June 1935, by which the Italian History Institute was transformed into an Italian History Institute for the Middle Ages and the National History School into an Italian History Institute for Medieval Studies. An Italian History Institute for the Modern and Contemporary Age was founded and the School of Modern and Contemporary History was placed under its control. An Italian Institute for Ancient History was set up and the National School for Risorgimento History became an Institute. The four institutes came under a central Board for History Studies; it was also responsible for coordinating the local history societies. The scheme aimed at radically centralized control and promotion of historical study. The staff of the institutes was appointed by the

[27] See Massimo Baioni, *Risorgimento in camicia nera: Studi, istituzioni, musei nell'Italia fascista* (Rome, 2006).

minister and so were the boards who were responsible for new appointments of university professors through competition. This was not the only way the regime interfered with historians. For instance, Salvemini went into exile on political grounds. Gaetano De Sanctis, professor of ancient history, was one of the very few university teachers who refused to swear the oath to the regime in 1931. Many other historians were forced to leave their chairs as well, following the 1938 anti-Jewish legislation, including Gino Luzzatto, Italy's interlocutor with Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre's Annales School, Giorgio Falco, who in 1933 produced one of the period's outstanding works of history of historiography;[28] as well as Roberto Sabatino Lopez, and Arnaldo Momigliano, one of the twentieth century's foremost ancient historians. By contrast, various historians enjoyed a certain prestige under the fascist regime to add to their cultural eminence: the aforementioned clerical fascist Pietro Fedele, Minister of Education, is a good example; Volpe also played a notable role in politics in spite of some brushes with Mussolini, as did the historians of legal and political thought, Francesco Ercole and Arrigo Solmi.

Reorganization of the history institutes strengthened the hand of Rome over Italian culture and academe: the pupils of the Roman history school (including some of the main Italian historians through fascism and on into the Republic, Raffaello Morghen, Federico Chabod, Carlo Morandi, Walter Maturi, Delio Cantimori) were co-opted into one of the regime's main publishing ventures, the *Enciclopedia italiana*, again based in Rome. Some other cultural and publishing institutions were located elsewhere: one such was the Institute for Studies on International Politics (ISPI), founded in Milan.

Without a doubt, the issue of history loomed large in fascism's public process of identity-building and myth-making. Political patronage clearly conditioned the supply of historical works: one need only think of the myth of empire bound up with celebrating Augustus, or Italy's claim to have been a Mediterranean presence from ancient until modern times, thereby implying historical grounds for certain territorial claims, as over Corsica.

Fascism's rise to power raised basic problems as to the connection with prior Italian history. Was it a clean break, with the emphasis on fascism as a novel political experience; or was it the fulfilment of a longer historical process? Even Mussolini's position on this issue was ambiguous. The extreme fascist wing opted for the 'revolutionary' version, which explains their repeated hostility towards intellectuals like Volpe or Gentile, who seemed opposed to such a line. The fact is that a tradition did need to be identified and built on: some representation of national history needed to be put together and handed down—at school, for example. It was the Risorgimento above all that divided the interpretations. One line was dynastic nationalism. This stressed the central role of Piedmont and the House of Savoy in Italian unification. Figures such as King Carlo Alberto took on

[28] *La polemica sul medio evo* (Turin, 1933).

great prominence; but the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and the liberal democratic movements of the early nineteenth century were by and large partitioned off from a picture of the Risorgimento as an indigenous phenomenon. A more open interpretation came from Volpe. He placed the Italian case in a broader context of European politics (the pupils of the School of Modern and Contemporary History concentrated on editing the history sources pertaining to international relations by Italian states and the history of Italian foreign policy). On this view recent Italian history was where a rising Italian society converged with aspirations by the Savoy monarchy; but only with fascism would a non-cosmopolitan, truly national ruling class come to power, the concluding stage in the Italian nation's long march to its completion. While various scholars close to the regime thus saw fascism as a kind of fulfilment of the Risorgimento process, some in the anti-fascist camp argued just the opposite. One such was the young essayist Piero Gobetti, to whom the victory of fascism was due to the shortcomings and failings of the previous liberal order.[29] The main defenders of the Italian liberal tradition in politics were Adolfo Omodeo, well known for his 1940 study on the political action of Count Cavour,[30] and Benedetto Croce.

From the war years to the early 1930s Croce toiled on historiography, distilled into five main works.[31] Beginning with a rich formulation of methodology,[32] Croce broke with the main history trends in the early years of the century and argued for an 'ethico-political history' as the tool for explaining the key chapters and general development of a people's history. By 'ethico-political' he meant a history of the ruling classes in a broad sense: those strata of society that could inject social life with ideals, plans, and a conception of reality. This led Croce to a very different interpretation of the rulers of liberal Italy and contemporary Italian history from Volpe's view as formulated in his nonetheless important and innovatory *L'Italia in cammino* [Italy on the Move] (1927).

In general one may say that for more than twenty years in Italy, studies of economic and social history were marginalized, despite works by scholars of merit: foremost of them Gino Luzzatto, and others connected to the *Nuova Rivista Storica*, founded in 1917. As for the democratic wing of the historiography on the Risorgimento and for the origins of the workers movement, Nello Rosselli is worth remembering for his 1927 volume on Mazzini and Bakunin.[33] Rosselli was murdered by the fascists in France ten years later, together with his brother Carlo. The mainstream research areas were political history in a broad sense (besides the central topic of the Risorgimento, one notes a shift of interest towards

[29] Piero Gobetti, *Risorgimento senza eroi* (Turin, 1926).

[30] *L'opera politica del conte di Cavour* (Florence, 1940).

[31] *Storia della storiografia italiana nel secolo decimonono*, 2 vols. (Bari, 1921); *Storia del regno di Napoli* (Bari, 1925); *Storia d'Italia dal 1871 al 1915* (Bari, 1928); *Storia dell'età barocca in Italia* (Bari, 1929); and *Storia d'Europa nel secolo decimonono* (Bari, 1932).

[32] *Teoria e storia della storiografia* (Bari, 1917).

[33] *Mazzini e Bakunin* (Turin, 1927).

modern history and affairs in the Italian states), as well as the history of ideas and political thought. The public discourse on fascism was not without consequences in orienting research. This was the case of some important essays published in the mid-1920s such as Federico Chabod's and Giovan Battista Picotti's works on the transition from communes to *Signorie* at the close of the Middle Ages.[34] These discussed the crisis of urban democracy, the legitimacy of the take-over by powerful lords, and the widespread need for peace and social order. Likewise, ten years later, the debate between Piero Treves and Arnaldo Momigliano on the crisis of Greek liberty and the role of Philip of Macedon was fraught with obvious political overtones.[35] But we cannot underestimate the quality of work done by the main currents of Italian historiography under fascism. This involved political and institutional history, as in *Lo Stato di Milano nell'impero di Carlo V* [The State of Milan under the Empire of Charles V] (1934) by Chabod, the leading Italian historian of his generation. It also extended to cultural and religious history, bearing the imprint of Giovanni Gentile's various volumes and Delio Cantimori's research on Italian heretics of the sixteenth century.[36] Italian historians were far from absent from the European circuit of ideas and texts. Meinecke and Bloch took stock of studies by Falco and Volpe, while in any conceptual historical debate, such as that surrounding the notion of Renaissance, Italian historians were well to the fore.

The last years of fascism and the war left their mark on the intellectual development of scholars who had spent long years of their career within the regime's cultural institutions. The *nom de bataille* chosen by Chabod as a combatant partisan—Lazarus—is an eloquent biblical reference.[37]

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1815	Rebuilding of Italian States system under Habsburg hegemony
1846–9	The 'long 1848' of the Italians; election of the new pope; First Italian War of Independence and republican revolutions in Italy; after the defeat of Italian national movement Piedmont does not abolish its constitution
1859–61	Second Italian War of Independence; Expedition of the Thousand and conquest of Southern Italy; proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy

[34] See Mauro Moretti, 'La nozione di "Stato moderno" nell' opera storiografica di Federico Chabod: note e osservazioni', *Società e storia*, 6:22 (1983), 869–908.

[35] Roberto Pertici, 'Piero Treves storico di tradizione', in id., *Storici italiani del Novecento* (Pisa, 2000), 199–264.

[36] Delio Cantimori, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento: Ricerche storiche* (Florence, 1939); and see, for instance, Giovanni Gentile, *Le origini della filosofia contemporanea in Italia*, 3 vols. (Messina, 1917–23).

[37] See Sergio Soave, *Federico Chabod politico* (Bologna, 1989).

1870	Conquest of Rome and end of the Papal State
1882	Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary
1915	Italy declares war against the Central Powers
1922	Fascism in power
1929	Lateran Treaty with the Holy See and conclusion of the long-standing Roman Question
1934–6	Centralization of the national institutions for historical research
1938	Racial Laws
1940	Italy enters Second World War
1943	Mussolini's removal; armistice with the Allies

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Chapter 12

Historical Writing in Spain and Portugal, 1720–1930

Xosé-Manoel Núñez

Spain and Portugal followed parallel historical paths, whose similarities were as strong as were their dissimilarities. Portugal achieved political and territorial unity earlier, in 1279, while the peninsular territories that were part of the Spanish crown had to wait until 1512 to achieve some kind of dynastic unity. In Portugal, the monarchy acted—following the recovery of independent statehood after the period of 'Spanish dominance' (1580–1640)—as a unifying factor which strengthened a proto-national consciousness. From the late eighteenth century history was seen as a powerful means to reinforce Portuguese national identity and it was linked closely to the history of the monarchy. In Spain, late political unity and the persistence of a composite monarchy until the coming of the liberal revolutions following the anti-Napoleonic war (1808–13) also meant that a more fragmented landscape of historiographical traditions endured and was able to survive throughout the late modern and contemporary periods. In addition to their proximity, the two countries shared quite similar historiographical influences from the mid-seventeenth century until the late twentieth. Even so Spanish and Portuguese intellectuals, including historians, turned their backs on one another.

In both countries, history—as a form of writing produced by intellectual and ecclesiastical elites—existed before the liberal revolutions. As a discipline, it was conceived not as the history of the nation, nor as the description of the uses and mores of a people, but as a chronological narrative that traced back the origins of kingdoms, kings, and prominent members of the aristocracy. It was strongly impregnated with a providentialist view. In both Iberian monarchies the first steps towards a proto-institutionalization of history in the service of power were already made in the eighteenth century. But historical practice as such was not professionalized until the second half of the following century.

In 1720, the Academia Real da História (Royal Academy of History) was founded in Lisbon. The members were for the most part clergymen, but there were some aristocrats as well. Its essential task was to write a *Lusitania Sacra*, that is, a 'Sacred History of Portugal', as well as publish a collection of documents

referring to the evolution of the kingdom and particularly its overseas expansion. The Lisbon academy did not last beyond 1736, and edited only some collections of ecclesiastical documents. However, some of its members later published some genealogical histories of the kings of Portugal. The rise of the reformist-oriented Marquis of Pombal, prime minister of King José I (1750–77), and the deep impact of his university reforms as well as his open-minded attitude towards the introduction of Enlightenment ideals, paved the way for the reduction of the Catholic view of history and the emergence of a generation of minor historians who steadily adopted a more rationalistic and methodologically oriented perspective. They paid attention to the history of the state and political elites, and from the beginning of the nineteenth century some of them also considered history as the best instrument to mould the citizen's mind.[1]

There was also a long tradition of ecclesiastical and providentialist history-writing in Spain, which was intended too to serve as a chronological description of the events of the kingdoms, kings, and lords of the Spanish aristocracy. In addition, there were some important precedents of a common history of Spain, written from a providentialist perspective by the Jesuit priest Juan de Mariana, whose *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae libri XX* [*History of Spanish Deeds*] (1592) achieved wide circulation after being translated into Castilian. But it was the reformist monarchy, in this case the Bourbon dynasty, that first institutionalized the historical profession with the foundation of the Real Academia de la Historia (Royal Academy of History) in 1738. This part of the efforts to foster cultural homogeneity in the territory governed by the monarchy preceded the increasing secularization of history, which advanced in Spain hand in hand with the reception of the ideas of the Enlightenment.[2]

Apart from the fact that new archives and libraries were opened, and that some civil institutions included 'chairs of history', from the middle of the eighteenth century there was a proliferation of history books that were not merely ecclesiastical histories (such as *España Sagrada* [Holy Spain] published in 1747 by the monk Enrique Flórez) but particularly histories of Spain and its diverse territories, some of them published outside the country. The most influential example was Juan Francisco Masdeu and his *Historia crítica de España y de la cultura española* [Critical History of Spain and Spanish Culture] (first published in Italian in 1781), which concentrated on emphasizing the 'continuity' of a people or a *race* in the Hispanic territory from ancient times. Such works also discussed critically the myths and legends that had been given credibility by earlier religious historians, and laid the basis for the later methodological renovation of history-writing.[3]

[1] See Luís Reis Torgal, 'Antes de Herculano', in id., José Amado Mendes, and Fernando Catroga (eds.), *História da História em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1996), 19–37.

[2] Eva Velasco Moreno, *La Real Academia de la Historia en el siglo XVIII: Una institución de sociabilidad* (Madrid, 2000).

[3] José Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa: La idea de España en el siglo XIX* (Madrid, 2001), 195–202.

HISTORICAL WRITING AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE LIBERAL NATION-STATE

Spain and Portugal followed a common path during the nineteenth century: they ceased to be world powers, and both had to cope with the fact that their times of transatlantic imperial splendour were over. Spain lost most of its overseas territories between 1810 and 1826. Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippine islands were all that remained of the former empire until 1898, when they too were lost. Portugal lost its major overseas colony, Brazil, in 1822. It would find a new empire in Africa during the second half of the century, which would last until 1975. After 1898 the prevailing concern of Spanish intellectuals and historians was to rewrite the history of the *nation*, as well as to search for a new concept that would restore Spain's influence in the world. This was later found in the concept of civilization and particularly in the emphasis on Hispanity (*Hispanidad*) as a cultural bond between Spain and its former colonies.

There was a tradition of historical erudition in Spain and Portugal, but no autochthonous school of historical thought. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, and even then in a very limited manner, no Iberian historians played a significant role in the renovation of European historiography. On the contrary, from the second decade of the nineteenth century, both countries were increasingly open to external historiographical influences. Despite the relatively late professionalization of the historical profession, Portuguese and Spanish historians absorbed especially French but also English and German historical works.

The development of historical thought was linked to the political dispute between liberals and traditionalists, that is between the upholders of a providential view of historical development and the defenders of a secular and enlightened interpretation of human evolution, free from divine direction. History was also linked to the creation of modern nation-state. Historians, archivists, and scholarly elites put their knowledge to the service of the nation-building process, giving rise to different narratives of the origins of their own nation.[4] This led to the emergence of a liberal and a conservative-Catholic version of the national past.

Liberal historiography emerged in both countries during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, partly as a consequence of the exile of Iberian liberal intellectuals in England and France, such as the Portuguese Joâo Bernardo da

[4] For the relationship between history and nationalism in nineteenth-century Spain see among other authors Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*; Paloma Cirujano Marín, Teresa Elorriaga Planes, and Juan Sisinio Pérez Garzón, *Historiografía y nacionalismo español, 1834–1868* (Madrid, 1985); Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875–1975* (Princeton, 1997); Carlos Dardé, *La idea de España en la historiografía del siglo XIX* (Santander, 1999); Fernando Wulff, *Las esencias patrias: Historiografía e Historia Antigua en la construcción de la identidad española (siglos XVI–XX)* (Barcelona, 2003); and Ricardo García Cárcel (ed.), *La construcción de las Historias de España* (Madrid, 2004).

Rocha Loureiro or the Spaniards Antonio Alcalá Galiano and Francisco Martínez de la Rosa. They knew the historical works of historians such as François Guizot, Adolphe Thiers, Augustine Thierry, and Jules Michelet, and were strongly influenced by the Romantic tradition. Most of them were active in politics and subordinated their writing of history to the immediate tasks of the liberal revolution. Hence their works were often written to uncover the 'revolutionary spirit' of the new century and paid particular attention to recent events.

A combination of German historicist and French Romantic influences, extending from Leopold von Ranke to Friedrich Karl von Savigny, can be observed in the main Portuguese historian of the nineteenth century, Alexandre Herculano, the founder of modern Portuguese historiography. Herculano combined a liberal engagement with the new methodological standards for the writing of history, and established the main lines of Portuguese national history.[5] His legacy was continued by Luís A. Rebelo da Silva and by Manuel J. Pinheiro Chagas.[6] Such history was diffused among the middle-class subscribers to the journal *O Panorama*, founded in 1837.[7]

The main representative of this trend in Spain was Modesto Lafuente, the author of a twenty-nine-volume national history of Spain that achieved remarkable success among cultivated and middle-class Spanish elites.[8] Lafuente was the first national historian of modern Spain and the real founder of modern Spanish historiography. His work was continued over the following decades by other liberal historians such as the writer and diplomat Juan Valera, as well as the federalist republican Fernando Patxot y Ferrer;[9] but also by conservative historians such as Víctor Gebhardt.[10]

The generation of liberal historians that followed Lafuente was concerned, as he had been, with the creation of a 'national memory', but they were also influenced by positivism. Emphasis was thus put on the precise reconstruction of past events through the recovery of documents and access to archives. This was facilitated by the increasing professionalization of history as the result of state intervention.

[5] *História de Portugal*, 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1846–53).

[6] Luis A. Rebello da Silva, *História de Portugal nos Séculos XVII e XVIII*, 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1860–71); and Manuel J. Pinheiro Chagas, *História de Portugal desde os tempos mais remotos até à actualidade*, 8 vols. (Lisbon, 1867–9).

[7] See Sérgio Campos Matos, 'Historiographie et nationalisme au Portugal du XIXe siècle', *Storia della Storiografia*, 32 (1997), 61–9; id., *Historiografia e memória nacional no Portugal do século XIX (1846–1898)* (Lisbon, 1998); Harry Bernstein, *Alexandre Herculano (1810–1877): Portugal's Prime Historian and Political Novelist* (Paris, 1983); and Maria Isabel Joâo, 'Historiografia e Identificaçâo de Portugal', in Joana Miranda and Joâo (eds.), *Identidades Nacionais em Debate* (Oeiras, 2006), 163–87.

[8] *Historia General de España*, 29 vols. (Madrid, 1850–67).

[9] Fernando Patxot y Ferrer, *Las glorias nacionales*, 6 vols. (Barcelona, 1852–4); and *Anales de España*, 10 vols. (Barcelona, 1857–9).

[10] Víctor Gebhardt, *Historia General de España y de sus Indias*, 7 vols. (Barcelona and Madrid, 1863–4).

THE PROFESSIONALIZATION AND THE DIFFUSION OF HISTORY-WRITING

The Spanish liberal state, definitively established in 1833 though subject to persistent political instability, set up a framework of public institutions that reshaped the existing ones dating from the previous century. The creation and consolidation of institutions such as the Escuela Superior de Diplomática (Higher School of Documentary Studies), founded in 1856 for the education of antiquarians, archivists, and library personnel, as well as the professionalization of the archives and Public Library, were an important part of this process. From 1858 their staff were civil servants and dependent on the state. Spain's National Historical Archive was also created in 1866. In spite of its limitations, the Escuela Superior de Diplomática helped to establish history as a profession, and contributed to the emergence of a group of trained specialists in historical writing. History was introduced into the educational curriculum in 1845. From the middle of the century, professional historians were sustained by the state, and after 1870 they were institutionalized as university professors.

The most important factor was the state's endorsement of the role of the Royal Academy of History, which was re-established in 1847 and thereafter acted as a 'guardian of history' through the activity of its members and corresponding members in the provinces; it replaced universities as the main centre for the production of historical knowledge. The academy undertook the publication of collections of documents, mainly from the Castilian Middle Ages, and of monographic studies; it also issued a first regular historical journal, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, from 1877 to 1882. Most historians who were members of the academy shared a similar biographical profile. They belonged to the right wing of the liberal political elite, and included Catholic conservatives. However, there was also a number of progressive liberals and former ministers. The academy was an elite institution, since most of its members were drawn from the military and the professional middle classes. The weight of Catholicism in the academy influenced the way it interpreted Spain's history and particularly Spanish identity. The majority associated any challenge to Catholicism with socialism and anarchy, and resorted mainly to a providentialist account of national history.

The academy's moderate liberal historians devised a new reading of the Iberian Middle Ages, the period that attracted their greatest attention. They believed it provided an almost perfect model of social and political equilibrium through the political representation accorded to religious and social elites. Methodologically, they aimed at writing the history of a *civilization*, that is, of cultural and material developments of the Spanish people. However, they provided no treatment of society and ended up by producing a genealogy of kings and political elites. The majority of authors who contributed to the *Boletín* of

the academy came from Castile and Andalusia, while the non-Castilian periphery was clearly underrepresented.[11]

The institutionalization of history-writing was less advanced in Portugal. Professional historians were increasingly flanked by antiquarian scholars, archivists, and local archaeologists, but they were not organizationally structured. There was no specific state agency charged with the promotion of history. However, two institutions played a significant role in ensuring the continuity of Portuguese historiography after Herculano. The first was the increasing support of historical research provided by the Lisbon-based Academia Real das Ciências (Royal Academy of Science), which had been set up in 1779. The second was the creation in 1859 of the Instituto de Coimbra (Coimbra Institute), which served principally to promote literature and the arts, but after 1873 had an archaeology section. The main role of the institute was to provide a meeting-place for the exchange of ideas among students, erudite scholars, and university professors, as well as, from 1853, to expand the knowledge of history through its journal *O Instituto*. Similarly, the Sociedade de Geografia (Geographic Society) of Lisbon, founded in 1875, fostered the interest of scholars and historians in the overseas territories colonized by Portugal, an interest which contrasted with the limited attention paid by Spanish historians to the former and present colonies of their empire.[12]

By the end of the nineteenth century, conservative and liberal views of history in both Spain and Portugal were dominated by an ethnic perspective. The 'race', which was seen as the combination of history, culture, soil, and material culture, was perceived as the main actor in national history, since it was identified with the nation. This is apparent in the work of Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, who was a very influential conservative liberal in Spanish politics. Cánovas del Castillo's unfinished book *Historia de España* [History of Spain] traced back the origins of Spain to the interaction of the Catholic faith, the unifying role of the monarchy, and the role of medieval parliaments, but he also stressed ethnic factors in defining what the Spanish people had been in the past.

There was an alternative school of liberal history, politically close to republicanism and particularly influenced by the enthusiastic reception in Spain of the work of the German philosopher Karl Krause, who had established that authentic history was the history of ideas. Many of these Spanish historians belonged to the reform-oriented Institución Libre de Enseñanza, a private school founded in 1876 by a group of university professors, most of them having a democratic and

[11] Ignacio Peiró Martín and Gonzalo Pasamar, *La Escuela Superior de Diplomática (Los archiveros en la historiografía española contemporánea)* (Madrid, 1996); Ignacio Peiró Martín, *Los guardianes de la Historia: La historiografía académica de la Restauración* (Zaragoza, 1995); and Benoît Pellistrandi, *Un discours national? La Real Academia de la Historia entre science et politique (1847–1897)* (Madrid, 2004). See also Manuel Moreno Alonso, *Historiografía romántica española: Introducción al estudio de la Historia en el siglo XIX* (Seville, 1979).

[12] José Amado Mendes, 'Desenvolvimento e estruturaçâo da historiografia portuguesa', in Reis Torgal, Amado Mendes, and Catroga (eds.), *História da História*, 161–217.

republican background during the revolutionary period of 1868–74. Spanish liberal historians of the late nineteenth century, such as Francisco Giner de los Ríos and Gumersindo de Azcárate, placed a particular emphasis on the analysis of the 'inner history' of the nations, which they understood to be shaped by the ideas and 'spirit' generated by their society.[13]

The nineteenth-century liberal states of Spain and Portugal were limited in their nation-building activity, including the teaching of history through the public education system. In the Spanish case, this was not only due to the lack of efficiency and the incomplete coverage of public schooling established by the first legislation (the Moyano law of 1857), but also to the influence retained by the Catholic Church in the field of education. Clerical interests interpreted broadly the prerogatives assigned to the Catholic Church in the Moyano law, and the later Constitution of 1876, and argued that the official status of the Catholic faith necessarily implied the interdiction of contrary beliefs. This limited the academic freedom that the Spanish state provided in its own school system.

Most history textbooks in Spain were of poor quality. There was no uniform pattern: while most of them were inspired by Lafuente's history of Spain, in 1894 the fifty-eight high schools offering secondary education used twenty-three different schoolbooks. Most of them reproduced a providentialist view of Spanish history, dominated by an insistence on Catholic unity and an emphasis on the Middle Ages, particularly the re-conquest of the kingdom from the Muslims. Substantial attention was also devoted to ancient history.[14]

In Portugal, despite of the weakness of the state, the influence of the Catholic Church in primary and secondary education was much weaker. After the reform of the secondary education programmes by Jaime Moniz in 1895, history became a substantial part of the curriculum in a deliberate effort to reinforce the patriotic education of the citizens. Nevertheless, the social impact of secondary education in Portugal remained quite limited.[15]

LIBERAL HISTORIOGRAPHY AND NATIONAL HISTORY

The liberal view of national history held that the main actor in Iberian history had been the Portuguese and Spanish nations. Its interpretation of the past differed from that of the Catholics. The Golden Age had been the Middle Ages, where an autochthonous tradition of a kind of 'Iberian pre-liberalism', which was

[13] See Juan López-Morillas, *El Krausismo español: Perfil de una aventura intelectual* (Mexico, 1956); trans. Frances M. López-Morillas as *The Krausist Movement and Ideological Change in Spain, 1854–1874* (New York, 1981).

[14] Boyd, *Historia Patria*, 99–121.

[15] Sérgio Campos Matos, *História, mitologia, imaginário nacional: A História no Curso dos Liceus (1895–1939)* (Lisbon, 1990).

based on the extension of municipal charters and the functioning of municipal governments and *Cortes* (assembles of the three Estates). These institutions were seen as limits on the absolute power of the monarchy, and as counterweights to the influence of the nobility.[16] Portuguese republican historians also maintained that democracy was not a foreign idea imported from France and then transplanted on Portuguese soil. On the contrary, democracy was seen as a natural outcome of the values and distinctive peculiarities of Portuguese history since the Middle Ages, where a specific form of 'Lusitanian pre-democracy' was to be found. Human progress and the advancement of democracy were identified with the growth and fulfilment of Portuguese nationalism.[17]

According to the liberal view of history, the medieval Iberian kingdoms were also characterized by a peaceful coexistence of diverse religious groupings, mainly Muslims, Christians, and Jews, and the ethnic diversity of the Iberian lands was respected. This lasted until the coming of a foreign dynasty, the Habsburgs in the Spanish case at the beginning of the fifteenth century following the defeat of the *Comuneros* or first Castilian rebels who represented the tradition of municipal democracy, and in the Portuguese case with the advent of King Joâo III (1521–57), before the absorption of the Portuguese kingdom to the Habsburg dynasty in 1580.

Overseas expansion was seen more ambivalently by liberal historians. Though the extension of the main Iberian languages meant that they became world languages, the necessity of consolidating the empires meant the reinforcement of absolutist and authoritarian rule and the exploitation of the Iberian resources at home to maintain the Catholic faith in distant lands. This destroyed any possibility of commercial and industrial progress, buttressed the repressive power of the Catholic Church, and suppressed authentic Iberian traditions, which were anti-centralist and sympathetic towards local home rule as a means of limiting despotism. However, liberal and later republican historians also saw the conquest and colonization of America as a civilizing mission, which incorporated new regions of the globe on the path of human progress. The Bourbons in the eighteenth century, as well as the reforms promoted by the Marquis of Pombal in Portugal, helped modernize the Iberian states. Portuguese liberal and republican historians were far more critical of the dynasties that had ruled the country than their Spanish colleagues. Nevertheless, it was the anti-Napoleonic war and the ensuing liberal revolutions that gave rise to the emergence of a new and decisive actor, the nation represented by the *people*, which opposed absolutism and took up the best of the national tradition.[18]

The lack of success of liberals in consolidating a fully democratic nation-state throughout the nineteenth century led some republican historians and intellectuals

[16] For the Spanish case see José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Medievo constitucional: Historia y mito político en los orígenes de la España contemporánea (ca. 1750–1814)* (Madrid, 2007).

[17] See Fernando Catroga, *Antero de Quental: História, socialismo, política* (Lisbon, 2001).

[18] See Sérgio Campos Matos and David Mota Álvarez, 'Portuguese and Spanish Historiographies: Distance and Proximity', in Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (eds.), *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (Basingstoke, 2008), 339–66.

to conclude that decadence was a permanent element of Iberian history.[19] In a lecture given in 1871, the Portuguese socialist writer Antero de Quental traced back the beginning of Portugal's loss of national prestige in the world to the end of the Manueline period in the early sixteenth century, seeing the voyages of discovery as the culmination of the flowering of Portugal during the Middle Ages. The causes of decay were both internal and external. The country was exhausted by its creation of a maritime empire, but the most decisive factor had been the imposition of a centralizing monarchy, a repressive Catholic Church, the occupation of Portugal by the Spanish king Philip II in 1580, and the ensuing age of oppressive foreign rule. However, the restoration of national independence in 1640 failed to restore the country's former glory.[20]

There was also a minority of republican historians who attempted to develop a distinct view of history inspired by Jacobinism. This was the case in Spain with the republican writer and revolutionary agitator Fernando Garrido, who is considered to be the forerunner of Iberian labour history.[21] Similarly, republican historians and essayists such as Teófilo Braga, who later became the first president of the Portuguese Republic in 1910, embraced with enthusiasm the introduction of French positivism and applied it to the study of the past.[22] This was combined with the aim of achieving a 'popular history', where the introduction of ethnographic elements would reveal the real spirit of the nation through the centuries, leading to an ethnohistorical approach.[23]

CATHOLIC HISTORIOGRAPHY AND NATIONAL HISTORY

The importance of Catholic historiography was a common feature of both countries, although until the end of the nineteenth century its intellectual impact was less than that of the Romantic liberal historians. Catholic historians in Spain included Manuel Merry y Colom, and in Portugal Joaquim L. Carreira de Melo. The main representative was undoubtedly the Spanish intellectual Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, a very influential writer and essayist who established guidelines of Spanish traditionalist history that lasted until the mid-twentieth century and even beyond.[24]

[19] For the Spanish case see Sören Brinkmann, *Aufstieg und Niedergang Spaniens: Das Dekadenzproblem in der spanischen Geschichtsschreibung von der Aufklärung bis 1892* (Saarbrücken, 1999).

[20] Antero de Quental, 'Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares nos Últimos Três Séculos', in id., *Prosas Sócio-Políticas*, ed. Joel Serrão (Lisbon, 1982), 255–96.

[21] See his *Historia de las clases trabajadoras* (Madrid, 1870); and *La Humanidad y sus progresos* (Barcelona, 1867).

[22] See his *História das Ideias Republicanas em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1880).

[23] See Fernando Catroga, 'Positivistas e republicanos', in Reis Torgal, Amado Mendes, and Catroga (eds.), *História da História*, 87–115.

[24] Marcelino Santoveña Setién, *Marcelino Menéndez-Pelayo: Revisión crítico-biográfica de un pensador católico* (Santander, 1994).

The Catholic narrative stressed the innately religious character of the Spanish and the Portuguese peoples. Both were seen as peoples chosen by God, whose mission had been in the past to uphold and to extend Christian values around the globe. Providentialism was crucial in the explanation of the national birth, stressing the role of religious myths such as the apostle St James in Spain. The Golden Age of the peninsular nations was seen as the result of the achievement of political and religious unity within their borders, with the expulsion of Muslims and Jews, as well as with the preservation of Catholicism thanks to the Inquisition and the religious zeal of the monarchs. The pinnacle was continental and overseas empire, first through the drive for discovery by the Spanish and the Portuguese kings, and later through the defence of the Catholic faith against Lutheranism by the Habsburg dynasty. The empire was interpreted in both cases as the culmination of the process of peninsular unity, as an opportunity to expand the Catholic faith, and as a successful enterprise leading to the peaceful assimilation of natives.[25]

Thanks to its profoundly Catholic and 'tolerant' character, Iberian colonization policies in America, Africa, and Asia were considered remarkably benign and favourable to the indigenous peoples, who were converted to Catholicism. Decline was identified in Portugal with the loss of independence between 1580 and 1640. By contrast, Spanish Catholic historians dated the beginning of Spain's decadence in the world from the seizure of power by a dynasty of French origin, the Bourbons. The Bourbon support for a mild form of enlightened absolutism since the mid-eighteenth century, as well as the reduction of territorial privileges, the introduction of ideas associated with the French *Encyclopédie* and other liberal ideas of a 'foreign' character, and the expulsion of Jesuits, were seen, along with the loss of continental power of the Spanish monarchy, as the main steps of Spanish decline. This decline led to the Napoleonic invasion and the loss of most of the overseas empire. The anti-Napoleonic war (1808–13) was interpreted as a fight between the Spanish Catholic tradition, upheld by the common people, the clergy, and the upper classes, and the French invaders, supported by a minority of traitors infected by 'foreign' liberalism. The nation was identified with religion and national tradition, whereas radical liberalism—and afterwards republicanism and socialism—were rejected as anti-national ideologies. A similar view of history was advanced by Catholic Portuguese historians.

The Iberian Catholic version of peninsular history considered the liberal revolutions of the nineteenth century as factors of permanent unrest, as well as responsible for the loss of the greatest portions of the overseas empires, and thus responsible for prolonging the decadence of the peninsular nations. Only Catholic restoration and tradition could put an end to Iberian decay and reconstruct the

[25] This perspective was obviously not shared by 'patriot' historians in the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. For a joint overview see Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh, 2006).

Iberian presence in the world as champions of the Catholic faith. If nationhood was associated with the triad of God, homeland (*patria*), and the king, the last two elements were clearly subordinated to the first. However, this narrative was more widespread and influential in Spain, where conservative historians had the support of the Royal Academy of History, than in Portugal.

REGIONAL(IST) AND LOCAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES

While local and regional historiography hardly played a role in the development and renovation of the Portuguese historical profession, it did in Spain. From the mid-nineteenth century there was an effort to produce regional histories. This task was carried out mainly by traditional historians, who attempted to revive and idealize ancient forms of rural life, such as constructing social harmony under the guidance of priests and nobility, and even defending forms of pre-liberal rural 'organic democracy'. In the province of Santander, for example, this meant stressing the uniqueness of the most rural part of the region as a reaction against the modernization and liberalism found in the cities. This was the case for historians such as the priest Mateo Escagedo Salmón and even of Menéndez y Pelayo, who inaugurated a regional history school that was consolidated in the twentieth century.[26]

A first step had been the constitution by the Spanish government of the Comisiones de Monumentos Históricos (Historical Monuments Commissions) in 1844. There was a Commission in each province, and in some cases they played an active role in encouraging the study and recovery of regional history, and therefore of local and regional identities. There was also a revival of cultural traditions, undertaken especially by ethnologists and local historians. In many cases they were linked to the same intellectual and political circles that supported the promotion of regional history and literature. The best example is a group of Andalusian anthropologists between 1868 and 1890. Yet their principal purpose was to illustrate the personality of an *organic* part of the Spanish nation. Related to this, we find literary contests (*Juegos florales*) in some regions. Their origin lies in the 1859 Catalan literary contests in vernacular language, imitated in Galicia in 1860 and in Castile in 1878. History played an important role in these contests: an analysis of the thematic content of the history texts submitted to the literary contests held in Castile between 1878 and 1923 shows that subjects of regional history topics increased in frequency, while local, provincial, and national ones decreased. The former emphasized Castile's contribution to Spain's grandeur in the early modern period. The thematic evolution of the Catalan literary contests displayed a substantial difference: before 1898, Catalan and Spanish historical

[26] See Manuel Suárez-Cortina, 'Región, regionalismo e historia: La invención de la tradición en la Cantabria contemporánea', *Historia Contemporánea*, 11 (1994), 215–40.

topics coexisted in harmony, with the former often being presented as part of 'Spanish glories'. After that date, most topics referred almost solely to historical myths that idealized Catalonia's lost independence.[27]

In some non-Castilian areas of Spain regional historiography emerged after the 1860s in parallel to the cultural revival of the Catalan and Galician languages, which also interacted with the political disputes between centralism and federalism. Local history became a weapon to be used by political regionalists, and from the end of the nineteenth century it could be transformed into an alternative 'national history' which contested the Spanish historical narrative.

The first regional histories were almost contemporary with Modesto Lafuente's Spanish one: the Catalan federalist Víctor Balaguer's *Historia General de Cataluña y la Corona de Aragón* [General History of Catalonia and the Crown of Aragón] (1860) and the Galician liberal Manuel Murguía's *Historia de Galicia* [History of Galicia], whose first volume was published in 1865. Their main aim was to emphasize the past 'deeds' of Catalonia and Galicia, as well as their contribution to the shaping of modern Spain, but they introduced some elements in tension with the Castilian-centred nationalist view of Spain's history. While Catalan historians such as Balaguer, Josep Coroleu, and Josep Pella i Forgas paid special attention to the history of the Catalan Middle Ages and stressed the 'protoliberal' tradition present in the state assemblies of the Crown of Aragón as exemplary of political pluralism and territorial freedom, Galician historians such as Manuel Murguía, Benito Vicetto, and José Verea y Aguiar appealed to the existence of a distinct 'Celtic' race in Galicia in pre-Roman times, as well as to the Middle Ages. Making use of a positivist methodology, both groups of historians proposed a different reading of Spain's history, emphasizing the weight of the non-Castilian elements and also underlining that Catalonia and Galicia had been 'nationalities in the past', which now wanted a certain degree of political and cultural rights within the unity of the Spanish nation. When Catalan regionalism transformed itself into a nationalist movement following the *fin-de-siècle* crisis of 1898, regional historians also wrote a different, *national* history of Catalonia. Something similar happened in Galicia from 1916 on. In both cases, the transition between a regional and a national historiography of a substate nation was a gradual process.[28]

There were similarities in Basque historiography, which was directly linked to the interests of regional elites in maintaining the *Fueros* (territorial privileges

[27] For a comparative overview see Xosé-Manoel Núñez, 'The Region as *Essence* of the Fatherland: Regionalist Variants of Spanish Nationalism (1840–1936)', *European History Quarterly*, 31:4 (2001), 483–518.

[28] See Ramón Villares, 'Nacionalismo e Historia en la España del siglo XIX', in Fernando García de Cortázar (ed.), *Nacionalismos e Historia* (Valladolid, 2005), 89–110; Justo G. Beramendi, 'A visión de Galicia na historiografía galeguista', *Colóquio-Letras*, 137–8 (1995), 201–5; Pere Anguera, 'Nacionalismo e historiografía en Cataluña: Tres propuestas en debate', in Carlos Forcadell (ed.), *Nacionalismo e Historia* (Zaragoza, 1998), 74–88; and Giovanni Cattini, *Historiografia i catalanisme: Josep Coroleu i Inglada (1839–1895)* (Catarroja and Barcelona, 2007).

enjoyed by the Basque regions), under threat from the liberal state as it sought to impose a common legal and tax system over all the Spanish provinces. Consequently, a *fuerista* historiography emerged, the main aim of which was to claim legitimacy for the Basques' privileges by presenting them as a people with roots in prehistory, as direct heirs from Noah's grandson Tubal, and hence as the 'most Spanish' inhabitants of Spain since they had not been assimilated by the Romans, as the survival of the Basque language demonstrated. This view was providentialist and based on a repertory of myths that could not survive confrontation with the new methods of positivist historical writing. For this reason, Basque regional history after the mid-nineteenth century oscillated between literature and popular history-writing. The main arguments of those myths were taken up by Basque nationalism, which sustained the view that the Basque Country was *racially* as well as historically and culturally a different nation.[29]

IBERIANIST AND 'POST-IMPERIAL' HISTORY

The emergence of a 'post-imperial' history in Portugal and Spain was regarded by contemporaries as compensation for their loss of status as colonial powers. Civilization appeared then as a grail-like term that could escape the narrow limits imposed by the master narratives of national history, and it was also used as a historiographical tool to re-emphasize Eurocentrism and reconcile national independence within the Iberian context with a post-imperial dimension at the world level. However, while the Iberian historians experienced a remarkable success in modernizing and 'updating' the way in which national history was done, their attempt to recast the dominant interpretation of the past in Portugal and Spain failed.

The most influential historian on the Portuguese side to make use of the concept of Iberian civilization was Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins. Oliveira Martins was characterized by a firm republican creed as well as by a methodological preference for positivism combined with the maintenance of some idealist principles in his interpretation of national history, and sought to amend the prevailing interpretation of Portugal's past with a new emphasis on liberal values such as freedom, progress, and individual liberties. This approach was evident in several books by Oliveira Martins on the history of Portugal.[30] From the 1870s, Oliveira Martins increasingly detached himself from positivism and developed an idealist view of history, influenced by his readings of Johann Gottfried Herder, Jules Michelet, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, and the main French representatives of social

[29] See Jon Juaristi, *El linaje de Aitor: La invención de la tradición vasca* (1987; 2nd edn, Madrid, 1998).

[30] See, for instance, his *História de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1879); and *Portugal contemporâneo* (Lisbon, 1881).

organicist thought. This idealism often conflicted with his positivist method.[31] Oliveira Martins's most original contribution, however, was his history of the whole of the Iberian peninsula, or *História da Civilizaçâo Ibérica* (1879).[32] He insisted on a closer relationship between the neighbouring Iberian nation-states.

A similar process took place in Spain after the 1898 *fin-de-siècle* intellectual crisis. The loss of the empire was seen as the culmination of a process of decline that had its roots in the mid-seventeenth century. In this context, some Spanish historians attempted to write a new kind of national history, inspired by the recent historiographical currents of Europe. They were particularly influenced by French historical positivism, and in particular by historians such as Guizot, Ernest Lavisse, Charles Seignobos, Charles V. Langlois, and Ernest Renan, as well as by Henry Thomas Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England* (1857–61). They also drew on German developments, particularly Ranke's pupils who stressed 'internal' history of the nations as something which went beyond the sphere of politics.

This was particularly the case with Rafael Altamira Crevea, a republican-oriented historian who also played an important role in Spanish foreign policy. Altamira's contribution to Spanish historiography at this point was twofold. On the one hand, he turned his eyes to a 'patriotic' vision of history which was aimed methodologically at superseding traditional political history. On the other, he undertook the elaboration of a *global* historical concept of Iberia that enhanced the former overseas colonies of Spain and Portugal. This strategy would be taken up by the writers of the so-called Generation of 1898 in Spain.[33] The new national history proclaimed the Spanish contribution to world history in positive terms. It was seen in a set of humanitarian and liberal values such as the advancement of peace, individual freedom, and scientific progress.[34] The writing of such history was meant to confer a new legitimacy for the present that would permit Spain to come to terms with the reality of political decline. Twentieth-century Spain could be able to find a new path of *grandeur* by developing its supposedly innate intellectual and artistic potential. In fact, Altamira was very much concerned with transmitting an updated version of the historical past of the nation to an educated audience, in order to inject patriotism into the decadent social body of Spain.[35]

[31] See Pedro Calafate (ed.), *Oliveira Martins* (Lisbon, 1991); as well as the analysis by Fernando Catroga, 'História e Ciências Sociais em Oliveira Martins', in Rei Torgal, Amado Mendes, and Catroga (eds.), *História da História*, 117–59; and Carlos Maurício, *A invençâo de Oliveira Martins: Política, historiografia e identidade nacional no Portugal contemporâneo (1867–1960)* (Lisbon, 2005).

[32] An English edition appeared for the first time in 1930 as *A History of Iberian Civilization* (London, 1930).

[33] For an English-language introduction to Rafael Altamira's historical work see John E. Fagg, 'Rafael Altamira (1866–1951)', in S. William Halperin (ed.), *Essays in Modern European Historiography* (Chicago, 1970), 3–21.

[34] Rafael Altamira, *Filosofía de la Historia y Teoría de la Civilización* (Madrid, 1915).

[35] See Boyd, *Historia Patria*, 142–3; as well as Inman Fox, *La invención de España: Nacionalismo liberal e identidad nacional* (Madrid, 1997), 50–5.

For Altamira, the concept of a 'Spanish civilization' meant those elements in culture, collective psychology, and worldview that were considered to be common to the Iberian and the Latin American countries. This was compatible with their current status as different nation-states, and raised the flag of Spanish civilization in a symbolic fight against the rival Anglophone civilization. Although the opponent's capacity to generate material progress and scientific advance was not denied, it was argued by Spanish (and Portuguese) historians that the emphasis on material values could not lay the basis for an enduring civilization. On the contrary, the Iberian 'spirit', which was characterized by the prevalence of spiritual virtues over material values, was taken as the basis of an authentic and enduring civilization in the future, inspired by ideals rather than by economic interest. In Altamira's work *Historia de España y la Civilización española* [*A History of Spain and Spanish Civilization*] (1913–29), civilization functioned as a kind of peaceful substitute for imperial history, replacing military and political hegemony with cultural hegemony. This was also seen as a victory of the Spanish spirit over the contingencies of time and place. Altamira's emphasis on comparative history led him to propose that the Iberian nations made a distinctive contribution to the progress of humanity and advance of democracy. This was the fact that a legal code for native Americans (*Leyes de Indias*) had been developed under the Spanish monarchy in the sixteenth century, a code that to a certain extent recognized the status and rights of the indigenous peoples, unlike the colonial policies of the Anglophones.[36]

THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL REVISION OF THE FIRST DECADES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The attempt to write a shared Iberian history that would transcend the narratives of nation-states failed. The commemoration of the third centenary of the national poet Luis de Camões in 1880 and of the first centenary of the death of the Marquis of Pombal in 1881, as well as the nationalist reaction among Portuguese liberal elites in the aftermath of the diplomatic Ultimatum Crisis of 1890 that ended Portugal's ambitious plans to colonize the whole of South Africa, contributed to reinforce a nationalist interpretation of the Lusitanian past. This emphasized Portugal's overseas destiny, the imperial dimension of Portuguese history, and colonialism as the real achievement of the nation's grandeur. This view was maintained throughout the republican period (1910–26) and afterwards through the military dictatorship and the ensuing Salazar regime (1926–74). Not even the alternative views and discourses on national history which were put forward later

[36] See Rafael Altamira's later compilation, *Manual de investigación de la historia del derecho indiano* (Buenos Aires, 1950).

on by left-wing oriented and democratic historians questioned the imperial dimension of the Portuguese past and present.

Throughout the Portuguese republican period, historiography was characterized by a nationalist bias, flanked by the defence of the colonialist dimension of national history (something that became evident in the interpretation of Brazilian history, in the 1921–4 three-volume collection *História da Colonizaçâo Portuguesa no Brasil* [History of Portuguese Colonization in Brazil]) and the influence of a theory of knowledge based on intuition—following Henri Bergson's influence—and even on the idea of national *Volksgeist* rather than on rationalist and positivist thought. This belief impregnated even the work of socialist-oriented historians, such as Jaime Cortesâo, and inspired the foundation in 1914 of the first Sociedade Nacional de História (National Historical Association), promoted by the historian and writer Fidelino de Figueiredo. This tendency was to continue during the first decade of the military dictatorship by the group of conservative historians based at the University of Coimbra since the foundation of the Faculty of Arts in 1911, shortly after the proclamation of the Portuguese Republic.[37]

There were also some enduring traces of Rafael Altamira's contribution in Spain. This was particularly the case with the Centro de Estudios Históricos (Centre for Historical Studies), which was founded in 1910 in Madrid, as an initiative of the regenerationist Junta de Ampliación de Estudios. The historiographical foundations of this new school of historical studies relied on nineteenth-century positivism, but it also added an increasing interest in scientific revision, particularly through the incorporation of a erudite tradition of publication of sources to Spanish historiography through the study of historical texts, as well as through rigorous study and detailed edition of primary sources, something that Spanish historical writing was still lacking. Moreover, the Centro, directly inspired by Altamira's concept of civilization, as well as by the historian of law and politician Eduardo de Hinojosa, aimed at covering a wide range of related disciplines which would contribute to a better understanding of Spanish history.

The objective of the new institution was also to provide a firmer historical foundation for the Spanish national identity. Spanish historiographical nationalism was pursued through the new insights offered by research in historical philology, inspired by the historian of the Spanish language Ramón Menéndez Pidal, as well as contributions from legal history, the history of art, and institutional history. The result can be seen in the new journals published by the Centro, such as the *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, founded in 1924 and directed by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz. Most of its contributors were open to new historiographical influences from beyond the Pyrenees, in particular from German

[37] Luís Rei Torgal, 'Sob o signo da "reconstruçâo nacional" ', in id., Amado Mendes, and Catroga (eds.), *História da História*, 219–39; and Élio Serpa, 'Portugal no Brasil: A Escrita dos irmâos desavindos', *Revista Brasileira de História*, 20:39 (2000), 81–114.

Kulturgeschichte and authors such as Jacob Burckhardt and Karl Lamprecht. Although the new institution followed the French model, inspired by research centres such as the École des chartes, most Spanish historians formed at the Centro de Estudios Históricos received a training that was particularly influenced by German culture and historiography, and was most evident in the historians of law and juridical institutions. But the beginnings of the Annales School were also followed with attention by some young Spanish historians.[38]

The Centro's engagement with writing a new national history of Spain was particularly relevant in a period when Spanish national identity was seriously challenged by the rise of substate nationalisms, a factor which was to become decisive in the successive institutional crises of 1917–19 and 1923, when the authoritarian dictatorship was proclaimed by General Primo de Rivera. In addition, there were attempts to consolidate parallel traditions of nationalist and positivist history-writing in the periphery. This was the case particularly with Catalonia, with the task of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (Institute of Catalan Studies, 1907), but also afterwards with the Basque Country, where the Sociedad de Estudios Vascos (Association for Basque Studies) emerged in 1918, and Galicia, where the Seminario de Estudos Galegos (Seminar of Galician Studies) was set up in 1923. All three institutions enhanced 'historical sections' devoted to regional research and aimed at establishing the pillars of an autonomous historical narrative of their territories, and contributed to create a kind of proto-school of regional historical writing, which would re-emerge after the Spanish Civil War.[39]

The Centro de Estudios Históricos also freed a new generation of Spanish historians from the influence of the most traditional institutions, above all the Royal Academy of History. They were concerned to establish a new scientific network connected to European historiography, as well as committed to make a new national history. The history of Spain was conceived as a frame of intricate meanings that needed to be explained by means of a modern historiography, inspired in the contemporary European currents. Thus a kind of scientifically based historiographical nationalism was promoted, which was supposed to overcome the Romantic national history of the nineteenth century, and which became particularly evident in the historical works of historians such as Sánchez-Albornoz and Américo Castro.

The historiographical tenets of this new generation of historians were expanded through their appointments as history professors throughout several universities and high schools all over Spain. They achieved powerful positions in the Spanish academic system during the reformist period of the Second Spanish Republic (1931–6), characterized by its decisive support to the modernization of the

[38] Exhaustively on this see José María López Sánchez, *Heterodoxos españoles: El Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1910–1936* (Madrid, 2006).

[39] See Albert Balcells and Enric Pujol, *Història de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (Barcelona, 2002); and Alfonso Mato Domínguez, *O Seminario de Estudos Galegos* (Sada, 2001).

education system. Although most of them were politically moderate republicans and liberals, the Centro de Estudios Históricos and its legacy were completely eliminated by the winners of the Spanish Civil War (1936–9).

The victory of Franco's side meant the return of the hegemony of old-fashioned Catholic historians, and the restoration of their methodological principles. Some of the historians formed at the Centro went into exile, such as Sánchez-Albornoz, who continued his work at the University of Buenos Aires, and Américo Castro, who found refuge at Princeton University. The same happened to older liberal historians such as Rafael Altamira. The renovation of Spanish history-writing was interrupted and would not re-emerge until the mid-1950s with a new generation of historians.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1808 Beginning of the anti-Napoleonic war
1812 First liberal constitution in Spain
1820 First Portuguese liberal revolution
1822 Portugal's loss of Brazil
1833 Advent of the liberal state in Spain
1834 End of the Portuguese civil war and advent of the liberal state
1868 Beginning of the 'revolutionary six-year period' in Spain
1874 Restoration of the Monarchy in Spain
1890 'Ultimatum Crisis' in Portugal; frustration of Portuguese imperial dreams in Southern Africa
1898 Spanish-American War; loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines
1910 Proclamation of the Portuguese Republic
1923 Advent of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in Spain
1926 Military *coup d'état* in Portugal; beginning of the dictatorship
1931 Advent of the Second Spanish Republic
1936 Outbreak of the Spanish Civil War

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Chapter 13

Scandinavian Historical Writing

Rolf Torstendahl

THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Scandinavian historiography had several characteristics that set it apart from the historiography of the preceding century. The writing of history was mainly a professorial affair and persons outside the university could only rarely compete. Latin was still used for some learned publications, but the vernacular became the leading language for historical works. The institutional framework changed gradually. Universities slowly expanded in numbers of students and professors, and new universities came into existence.

In Denmark the University of Copenhagen was for long the only university and had from 1833 three professors of history. These were the senior history posts in the Danish university system until 1928, when the University of Aarhus was established. Other changes in the teaching staff of history did not appear before the First World War.

Norway got its first university in 1811 (earlier students went to Copenhagen) and history was one of the first subjects to gain a professorship. After a few years a second professorship of history was added but it was not until 1872 that a third, so-called extra professor was appointed. The three professors and one *dosent* (reader) remained the complement of historians at the university up to 1940, and in the entire country only one new professorial post in history was established, in Trondheim in 1935.

In Sweden there was one professor of history in each of the two old universities that remained Swedish after 1809, Uppsala and Lund. Two 'extraordinary' professors, one in Uppsala and one in Lund, became full professors in 1909. When the privately funded Stockholms högskola (college) was created in 1878, there was no place for a professor of history, unlike the equally private Göteborgs högskola, which included a professor of history and political science at its inception in 1891. Stockholm obtained its first professor of history in 1919. Up to the Second World War no more changes occurred in the number of history professors in Sweden. There were also other teaching posts at the Swedish universities (for a period adjunct, lasting *docent*) but these were regarded as inferior in the strictly hierarchical structure.

Other institutions of importance were the national archives (one in each of the Scandinavian countries), where well-renowned historians often held posts as directors or national archivists. Professors were occasionally appointed to these posts. Under them there were a few leading archivists with high reputations. Archaeologists were originally recruited from the ranks of historians. Most renowned for their international role were the Dane Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, the organizer of the Old Nordic Museum, which was opened in Copenhagen in 1819, and the Swedes Bror Emil Hildebrand, his son Hans Hildebrand, and Oscar Montelius. All of them were in turn national antiquarians, a high-ranking post.

Specialists in economic and social history had to compete for the chairs in history and were sometimes successful, especially in the first decades of the twentieth century. In Norway there were specialized chairs in agricultural history and economic history at specialized university-level institutes (or colleges). The Swede Eli Heckscher, internationally known for his investigation of mercantilism,[1] received a chair in economic history in 1929 at the Stockholm School of Economics, where he had been a professor of economics since 1909.

Subordinate teachers at the university gained improved positions and research opportunities. Dissertations grew and, towards the end of the nineteenth century, became based on primary research. Historical journals arose, among them the very early Danish *Historisk tidsskrift* (still published today) from 1840. Its pioneering character is accentuated by the fact that it was published through an association of people interested in history. The corresponding Norwegian journal (also called *Historisk tidsskrift*) began in 1871 and the Swedish one (called *Historisk tidskrift*—with one 's') in 1881. These new national journals were very important. Earlier historical media were tied to specific interests or private publishers, but specialist societies led by professional historians took responsibility as publishers of the new historical journals. With increasing tension within the community of historians, new journals were established. Among these only a few had a lasting influence, such as *Scandia,* established by Lauritz Weibull in 1928, and *Heimen*, which was established as an organ for local history in Norway in 1920.

NATIONAL ROMANTICISM IN SCANDINAVIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY, 1800–50

In the early nineteenth century the three Scandinavian countries experienced wars (against external enemies and each other) and defeat. Sweden lost Finland to Russia in 1809, and in 1814 Denmark, after siding with Napoleon, lost

[1] Eli F. Heckscher, *Merkantilisment: Ett led I den ekenomiska politikens historia* (Stockholm, 1931); trans. Mendel Shapiro as *Mercantilism*, 2 vols. (London, 1935).

Norway, which was forced into a union with Sweden. All of them losers, their historiography in the nineteenth century was marked by the trauma of loss. For these reasons historians in all three countries started the period after the changes in 1809–14 by looking backwards to a more heroic age, the age of the sagas and the early medieval history. The Dane Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig, the Swede Erik Gustaf Geijer, and the Norwegians Rudolf Keyser and Peter Andreas Munch (and many others) showed a new awe for the deeds of their countrymen in these distant times, and they were influential in their societies.

Romantic German philosophy, especially that of Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Friedrich von Schelling but also Johann Gottfried Herder's conception of continuity, played a great part in inspiring Grundtvig and Geijer. When in 1815 Grundtvig presented the first specimens of his efforts to translate Saxo's *Chronicle*, Snorre's *Sagas*, and the Beowulf tale into Danish, he wrote in an accompanying text: 'Intensely and secretly our lives are tied to those of our ancestors, from which our lives in every sense originated; it is as if their occurrences happened to ourselves in a peculiarly dim but dearly loved childhood.'[2] He made important contributions to the early Beowulf research, not least by inspiring others, but his mind was occupied with the greatness of the past. Himself inspired by Herder, he identified language and people and let his interest be guided by what he regarded as essential, the nation. Even though he wrote little on Danish history, he inspired a wide cultural movement, a people's culture, in contrast to the learned and elitist one.

Apart from Grundtvig there were few historians in Denmark before 1850 who could attract the attention of a wider public. The university teachers were rather dry and occupied with minor problems in their published works. One person distinguished himself: the librarian Christian Molbech. Deeply influenced by Romantic philosophy, he too was convinced that language and nation are closely connected. Molbech took up archaeological arguments, and was the founder of *Historisk Tidsskrift*. However, he was not read widely in the way that Grudtvig was.

Grundtvig had much in common with his Swedish contemporary Geijer. Both were inspired by Romanticism in philosophy and literature and both were active in many fields. Geijer was a professor of history, unlike Grundtvig, and Geijer's historical ambitions were confined to the history of his own country. He did, however, share with his Danish contemporary Grundtvig the joy of rediscovering the early medieval past of the North. In *Svea rikes hävder* [The History of the Swedish Realm] (1825), which was never brought beyond the period of the sagas and incorporated no archaeology, he was trying to establish a Nordic and Swedish past from the tales about gods and giants of the Icelandic Edda and old saga literature.

[2] Quote after Ellen Jörgensen, *Historiens Studium I Danmark I det 19. Århundrede* (Copenhagen, 1943), 36. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

When Geijer began to doubt that his conservative convictions were valid, his whole historical outlook was shaken. His second important historical work (which also formed part of the German publishing firm Perthes's comprehensive histories of European states) was *Svenska folkets historia* [History of the Swedish People] (1832–6). Less Romantic and more directed towards facts and events, it became the most influential of all historical works in Sweden in the nineteenth century. Its chief influence was in academic circles and its reputation was not really hurt by the intense criticism that was brought forward by the outsider Anders Fryxell. Fryxell's forty-six-volume *Berättelser ur svenska historien* [Narratives from Swedish History] (1823–78) was far more popular than Geijer's work and a bestseller. His criticism of Geijer had many facets, but a main theme was that Geijer was biased in favour of kings and against aristocracy.

Norway's most important historians in the first half of the nineteenth century were Rudolf Keyser and Peter Andreas Munch, professors of history from 1837 and 1841 respectively. Keyser's *Den norske Kirkes Historie under Katholicismen* [History of the Norwegian Church in Catholic Times] (1856–8) and Munch's *Det norske Folks Historie* [History of the Norwegian People] (1851–63) were important works that adopted new approaches to old problems. Both were based on research, which they had already made public through articles during the preceding decades. Both had also been much influenced by their older compatriot Jens Christian Berg, whose historical views were very influential in the years preceding the foundation of Norway's first university. Keyser and Munch shared many historical views and research themes. One fundamental opinion they had in common was the belief that the Norwegian population stemmed from a separate part of the Germanic Migrations. This people had come to Norway from the East and had entered Scandinavia from north of the Baltic Bay or via the Aland Islands into middle Sweden and farther into Norway. They had also advanced southwards to Denmark, where they had met the earlier migration of Gothic tribes. Therefore, according to Munch, the Danish soul was split between German and Nordic ancestry.[3] It is important that both Keyser and Munch used archaeological arguments, with findings classified in the three-period system, for their interpretations.

Keyser and Munch also held that the Norwegian people had been dominant in early medieval Scandinavia, that is before the Kalmar Union in 1397, and thus possessed a grand history. This set Norway and the Norwegians off against the Swedish and Danish peoples. The Kalmar Union was an object of hatred. The whole history of the union showed 'an infinite row of perfidious attacks from the Danish nobility on the holiest rights of the sister nation, and these ended with the separation of Sweden and the complete oppression of Norway', Munch

[3] John Sannes, *Patrioter, intelligens og skandinaver: Norske reaksjoner på skandinavismen før 1848* (Oslo, 1959), 90.

wrote.[4] According to both Keyser and Munch, the old Icelandic literature was not a common Scandinavian heritage but a Norwegian and Icelandic cultural property.

Keyser and Munch dominated the historical outlook of their generation. Ludvig Kristensen Daa was an early competitor of Munch for posts at the university but lost and gained a living through journalism and political activity. His historical outlook had a leaning towards Scandinavianism, which he was able to promote in academia from 1862 when he became Keyser's successor. From the 1840s he tried to refute the immigration theory of Keyser and Munch.

All the historians of this period had intentions of creating a synthesis of the national history of their country. Their paradigm was the history of the people—Geijer and Munch called their main historical works history of the Swedish people and Norwegian people respectively—and they were insistently patriotic. Yet for all their patriotism, none of these historians wanted to return to the war-making of the past. Possessed of a grand past, contemporaries might more easily accept a humble present.

PROFESSIONALISM, PATRIOTISM, AND SCANDINAVIANISM, 1840–1900

Around the middle of the nineteenth century another way arose of coping with the kind of national trauma that had affected Scandinavians since the early part of the century. Scandinavianism (in the Scandinavian languages the term is normally used in the definite form *skandinavismen*) was a cultural-political movement among intellectuals that became enormously popular among students and professors in the 1840s. It was revived with a more directly political agenda at the time of the Crimean War, when the great powers of Europe were otherwise occupied, and again in the 1860s, both times with possible conflict with Germany in view. Germany declared war on Denmark both in 1848 and 1864. Scandinavianism did not wholly disappear from intellectual discussion until the First World War.

There was plenty of historical material for the feeling of communality between the Scandinavian peoples. The agreement however, was limited and often illusory. It was easy to stress intra-Scandinavian rivalry and conflict in the past, and disputes in contemporary politics made for arguments as easily as cooperation made for unity. The co-operative activity of the Vikings and, centuries later, the Kalmar Union from 1397, gave historians material for both kinds of interpretations. The documents of the union established in Kalmar gave rise to different interpretations from the 1840s and for decades the discussion of the character of the union was an issue of historical debate.

[4] Peter Andreas Munch, *Norges, Sveriges og Danmarks Historie til Skolebrug* (Christiania, 1838); quoted in Sannes, *Patrioter, intelligens og skandinaver*, 79.

Scandinavianism was a sensitive subject in politics and in its intellectual implications. As an ideology it had a natural historical dimension, but historians were never the leaders of the movement. In fact, it was not until the 1860s that historians in all Scandinavian countries took up Scandinavianism in a serious manner. One of them was the Dane Carl Ferdinand Allen, whose late work, *De tre Nordiske Rigers Historie* [History of the Three Nordic States] (1864–70), expressed great sympathy for a Scandinavian union, even though the author had earlier been much more of a Danish 'patriot'.

Another was Johannes Steenstrup, whose most famous work was *Normannerne* [The Normans] (1876–82). There he gave a wide and disputable overview of the heritage of the Vikings but also a detailed analysis of the Danelaw (Danelagen), which comprises the fourth and concluding volume of the work. Its analysis of the institutional and social legacy of the Nordic inhabitants in north-eastern England was path-breaking, though it was ignored by British historians because it was not translated into English. One may discern a certain degree of Scandinavianism in the theme but above all a pride in the ancient Danes.

In Sweden some historians took part in Scandinavianism in its late phase. One of them was Clas Theodor Odhner. When Odhner took up the subject of the Kalmar Union, he discarded Geijer's characterization of it in his history of the Swedish people as 'an event that looks like a thought', because he thought that formulation gave an accidental character to the union. In the 1860s and early 1870s Odhner contributed to a 'Nordic' journal, and expressed the conviction that no cognitive differences existed between Swedish and Danish interpretations of the medieval union.[5] Other historians disagreed. However, some 'liberal' historians of the generation inspired by Geijer (e.g. Fredrik Ferdinand Carlson, Carl Gustaf Styffe, and Carl Gustaf Malmström) sometimes showed sympathy for Scandinavianism. All of them were moderate in their Scandinavianism and 'patriotic' in their evaluations, glorifying the victories of Swedish kings such as Gustav II Adolf, Karl X Gustav, and (with less conviction) Karl XII over the Danes. This did not prevent them—especially Odhner—from idealizing the Kalmar Union and Queen Margareta's foresight in her political planning. The union was thus a constantly recurring issue.

A revaluation of the national past took place in Norway from the 1860s. Several young historians took issue with the view of Keyser and Munch that only the early medieval period and the recent past were really central to Norway's history. The new generation questioned the evaluation of the intervening period when Norway was part of the Danish state. Michael Birkeland, Ludvig Daae, Ernst Sars, and the legal historian Torkel Halvorsen Aschehoug were protagonists of this change. A central notion was that Norway was a poor country in the high

[5] Clas Theodor Odhner, 'Om Kalmar-unionens betydelse i Nordens historia', *Nordisk tidskrift* (1869); id., 'Ännu några ord om kalmarunionens betydelse i Nordens historia: Genmäle', *Svensk tidskrift* (1872). The cited phrase is from the latter article.

Middle Ages and therefore could not provide a basis for an aristocracy; this was the reason why it became a prey of its neighbours, especially Denmark. The merger with Denmark was a necessity, as Sars said, and as a necessity it could not be condemned. The Kalmar Union had some advantageous consequences for Norway, and when it was succeeded in 1537 by a more direct dependence under Denmark, this was the lesser of two evils, since Denmark was less likely than Sweden to intervene in Norway. The country still existed as a unit with its own traditions, urban growth, expanding commerce, and specific forms of local self-government. Sars argued it was by no means a period without historical significance for Norway, as had been contended earlier.[6]

The medieval union was a fortuitous blessing according to these historians and the unitary state of Denmark with Norway that was formed later was quite acceptable in view of the alternatives. The new union from 1814 with Sweden also had some advantages. Thus there were historical arguments for a certain Scandinavianism. The intellectual temptation of a union, or at least a feeling of close connection between the three countries, gained impetus from the German demands on Danish territory. In Norway, Birkeland and Aschehoug embraced Scandinavianism.[7]

New challenges came, however, when the Norwegians further developed a national viewpoint, as Sars did, and gradually demanded full equality and independence in their relations with Sweden. Such tensions led to the break-up of the union in 1905. In spite of the disputes, a Scandinavian affinity was still felt by many intellectuals. In Sweden this feeling had to compete with the sympathy of many Swedes with the population in Finland (part of which was Swedish-speaking), which formed part of Sweden and was represented in the Swedish parliament (riksdag) up to 1809, when Finland became a Grand Duchy in the Russian Empire.

The first researcher to analyse the problems that lurked under the surface of the two documents from the treaty of Kalmar in 1397, although he was not the first who realized that these documents were complicated, was the Dane Caspar Paludan-Müller. His dissertation from 1840, written in Latin and publicly defended, was called 'Critical Observations about the Treaty between Denmark, Sweden, and Norway that was made under the Auspices of Queen Margareta'. Even if he was not inspired by any Scandinavianism, the treaty was problematic for the idea of a common Scandinavian past. Paludan-Müller contended that the fundamental document on the union was not a real treaty but only a testimonial that was to be confirmed later. No confirmation took place, and Paludan-Müller guessed that Margareta did not accept the conditions that were negotiated in Kalmar. He concluded that the actual union that lasted for more than a century

[6] 'Norge under Foreningen med Danmark', *Nordisk Universitetstidsskrift* (1858–65).
[7] Ottar Dahl, *Norsk historieforskning i det 19. og 20. århundre* (4th edn, Oslo, 1990), 108.

after 1397 was not based on a negotiated treaty but on Danish domination. The legitimacy of Swedish anti-unionism that finally caused the break of Sweden from the union in 1521 can be inferred from Paludan-Müller's work.

Even though it was debated and never fully accepted, Paludan-Müller's investigation remained the last word in research for four decades. In his book *Dronning Margarethe og Kalmarunionens Grundlæggelse* [Queen Margaretha and the Foundation of the Kalmar Union] (1882) Kristian Erslev, the rising star of Danish historiography, took up Paludan-Müller's idea that the union was never really concluded because Margareta was not content with the result of the negotiations at Kalmar. Erslev's authority was already great and his conscientious scrutiny of materials respected. Therefore it seemed that the notion of a planned union that was carried through in the Middle Ages had been destroyed. This was a setback for Scandinavianism.

When Lauritz Weibull, a Swedish professor renowned for his methodological rigour and careful use of evidence, revised the arguments about the documents from the meeting at Kalmar in an article called 'Unionsmötet i Kalmar 1397' (The Meeting to Form a Union in Kalmar 1397), in *Scandia* (1930), his conclusion was that the union had indeed been formed. He based his conclusion on a renewed analysis and close reading of the documents. This Scandinavianist standpoint (Weibull was from Skåne and had an inter-Scandinavian loyalty based on the history of the south-Swedish provinces as parts of the Danish state up to 1658) gave rise to a new debate.

Weibull's nationalist colleague in Lund, Gottfrid Carlsson, was one opponent. Another adversary, Nils Ahnlund, was based in the Hjärne-inspired school of historical study that stressed empathy and continuity in the evaluation of past events and persons. Ahnlund was a leading historian of this school, a conservative patriot but not a nationalist. From the 1930s he was the leading conservative historian. He was then known mostly as an historian of Swedish urban development and specific cities, and he acquired a personal chair at the Stockholms Högskola (later University of Stockholm). However, he devoted most of his time during the 1930s and the war years to the reign of Gustav II Adolf and a voluminous political biography of Axel Oxenstierna.[8] In his interpretation the beginning of a Swedish national history was dependent on the break-up of the Kalmar Union. The Weibull school, to which we shall return, was successful, however. Erik Lönnroth, who had his schooling from Lauritz Weibull's brother Curt, wrote an impressive and influential thesis in 1934, where he further elaborated Weibull's arguments from the perspective of legal history, and followed the union from its inception to its break-up.[9] This argument was anti-nationalist and it led to an intensive debate between Lönnroth and Ahnlund on the interpretation of certain

[8] Nils Ahnlund, *Axel Oxenstierna intill Gustav Adolfs död* (Stockholm, 1940).
[9] Erik Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen* (Göteborg, 1934).

sources. Lönnroth was one of the historians who most actively opposed the nationalist ideas that flourished in Sweden in the shadow of Hitler's Germany. The notion that a poem by Bishop Thomas about freedom could demonstrate evidence of nationalism in the fifteenth century, as Gottfrid Carlsson argued,[10] was one of his targets. It is thus not Scandinavianism but anti-nationalism that was the issue in Lönnroth's analysis of the Kalmar Union.

PATRIOTISM AND NATIONAL HISTORY

The Norwegian Ernst Sars, who started his professional career as a protagonist of Scandinavianism, made a virtual turnabout when he argued in 1867 that 'this struggle to mend the past rupture, to annihilate what was foreign and to restore the national unity and the continuity from the past is the core of our history from the Reformation until today'.[11] Aristocracy vanished early in Norway and the people (the free farmers) constituted the core of the nation before the Kalmar Union and again after 1814. Sars's anti-monarchical nationalism was expressed in his *Udsigt over den norske historie* [A View over Norwegian History] (1873–91). Sars was also a liberal and played an ideological role for the liberal party, Venstre. He had been influenced by Auguste Comte in his early years and read Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer. He believed that all change occurred in a progressive direction. According to Sars, the Norwegian nation was essentially democratic in its social organization thanks to the heritage of the free farmers and the lack of any aristocracy.

In Denmark several historians made history a tool for a national agenda from the beginning of the 1840s. Christian Molbech and Johan N. Madvig shared a national conception, which lay beneath the formation of the Historical Association and its *Historisk tidsskrift*. The Danish people and the Danish language constituted the foundations of this nationalism. Danish and not Latin was deemed essential for the national history.[12] This idea reappeared in different shapes in the work of Carl Ferdinand Allen, Johannes Steenstrup, and Kristian Erslev, each of whom wrote one of the seven-volume, widely spread *Danmarks Riges Historie* [History of the Danish Realm] (1895–1906). The idea of the people and its language had its roots not only in the nineteenth-century wars against Germany but in the historical processes of Germanization of the court and against the idea of a Danish kingdom unifying parts with different languages: Denmark, Norway, and the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.[13]

[10] E.g. in 'Biskop Thomas' sång om Sveriges frihet', in *Humanistiska vetenskapssamfundets i Lund årsbok* (1941).

[11] *To Foredrag om Skandinavisme og Norskhed* (Christiania, 1867); quoted in Dahl, *Norsk historieforskning*, 110.

[12] Claus Møller Jørgensen, *Humanistisk videnskab og dannelse i Danmark i det 19. århundrede: Reform, nationalisering, professionalisering*, 2 vols. (Århus, 2000), i. 190–1, 216–20, 225–31.

[13] Ibid., ii. 560–90.

The Swedish version of national ideas was more academic. Geijer's notion of a fundamental unity between king and people was developed and refined by Carlson and others, and Geijer's idea of the free farmer/peasant was taken up by Harald Hjärne. The conservative imprint of the context made these ideas popular among the upper strata but they never achieved the popularity of Sars's nationalism.

RISING PROFESSIONALISM

Two factors were of decisive importance in forming a professional culture among historians in the nineteenth century. One was the schooling of future historians into a set of values and fundamental theoretical assumptions (such as *Staatsräson*, the role of the interest of the state, and historicism [*Historismus*], the development of different types of social units or entities in interplay), which could form a common basis for the assessment of historical events. Another was the development of a methodological apparatus, loosely connected to the theoretical foundations.

For the satisfaction of the first condition, Leopold von Ranke's activity was decisive. He gathered around himself a group of disciples for discussions and actively promoted the creation of a historical academic community in which certain notions and standpoints were shared. When Fredrik Ferdinand Carlson was still a young man and a promising disciple of Geijer's, he made a two-year trip in Europe and stopped for five months in Berlin in 1835–6. There he listened to Ranke (and several others) and participated in Ranke's practical exercises and seminars. In his role as professor in Uppsala, Carlson transferred the system to the Swedish environment. In 1861 he created an historical association at the University of Uppsala with some of his favourite students as core members. This association had the same function as Ranke's informal seminar. The students put forward their thoughts about a particular subject and the professor discussed with them as a group how the past should be interpreted.[14] Keyser and Munch in Norway and Geijer in Sweden had their followers and have been seen as founders of 'schools', but Carlson was the first to try the Rankean model of transmitting historical professionalism in Scandinavia.

Historical journals were an important means to establish a professional community. When the Danish *Historisk tidsskrift* was launched in 1840, it drew on people interested in history and national awakening. When a regular meeting was held in early 1839, a couple of professors took over the leadership, one as president of the society and another as secretary. The latter was responsible for the task of

[14] Rolf Torstendahl, 'From All-Round to Professional Education: How Young Historians Became Members of an Academic Community in the Nineteenth Century', *Leidschrift*, 25 (2010), 17–31.

bringing out a journal. Scholarship was an important function of the society. The Danish Historical Society was therefore the first in Europe to create the model of a national society and journal, which became an important vehicle for professionalism. The first issue of the journal was published in 1840 and included documents. The first article, written by the secretary Christian Molbech, stressed the national and professional importance of a historical society.[15]

The other Scandinavian countries followed suit some decades later. In Norway a historical society was founded in 1870, and its statutes stated that the society would publish 'a journal for historical scholarship'; in fact the wording is somewhat sharper in Norwegian as it uses the word *Videnskabelighed*. Five of the top academic historians were elected as the presidium of the society and the national archivist, Birkeland, became president. When the Swedish historical society was founded in 1880, the procedure was more or less a repetition of the Norwegian process. A society was formed, proclaiming that a journals was a primary objective, and publication began in 1881. The name of the Norwegian journal was *Historisk tidsskrift* and the Swedish one *Historisk tidskrift*. (A national adjective is usually added to the names of the journals to distinguish them from each other.) The society was headed by Carlson, who had been minister for education. The secretary and editor of the journal was Emil Hildebrand, subsequently a national archivist but at this time a teacher at a *gymnasium*.

The founders had no illusions that scholarly investigations would appeal to the wide public, but rather they saw the diffusion of new knowledge as a two-step process, whereby the new journal should be the source of information for teachers in schools. Thus professionalism might lead to popular influence.

CONTROVERSIES OVER METHODS AND EPISTEMOLOGY, 1880–1945

Controversies arose in the community of academic historians in each of the Scandinavian countries but since the histories of the three countries were so intimately intertwined, they tended to have inter-Scandinavian repercussions. At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there was keen debate over methods and what is now regarded as professionalism. Johann Droysen's *Grundriss der Historik* [*Outline of the Principles of History*] (1867), Ernst Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode* [Textbook of Historical Method] (1889), and Charles V. Langlois and Charles Seignobos's *Introduction aux etudes historique*s [*Introduction to the Study of History*] (1898) set new standards for reflection on methodology

[15] Christian Molbech, 'Om Historiens nationale Betydning og Behandling', [Danish] *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 1 (1840), 1–44.

and its epistemological foundations.[16] The congresses of the Comité international des sciences historiques (CISH) provided a forum for discussion of methods and promoted the new professionalism.[17] Some Scandinavians took an active part in these international undertakings. Halvdan Koht was president of CISH from 1926 to 1933, and the 1928 congress was held in Oslo. Professional issues ranked highly in the Scandinavian debate from the end of the nineteenth century, and Koht as president of CISH was closely involved in arguments for the freedom of research.[18]

Several of the historians who began their careers around 1880 worked to foster historical professionalism. First among these must be mentioned Kristian Erslev, who in 1876 at the age of twenty-four, took the initiative for a systematic and rigorous editing of old Danish documents. An association with this purpose was formed, in which Erslev was the driving force. He was impressed with the methodology developed by the editorial staff of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, the more so since he had stayed in Berlin in 1878, heard Droysen and Karl Wilhelm Nitzsch, and participated in practical training with Nitzsch and Georg Waitz. He brought these impressions home to Copenhagen. His seminar and the practical training he gave students became famous. He published a renowned textbook on historical methodology,[19] but started with a humbler booklet on methods in 1892.[20] 'Source criticism' became a slogan for him and his group, and he had help in establishing such ideals from his older countryman, Julius Albert Fridericia. Erslev's participation in discussions of the vital themes of Scandinavian medieval history has already been mentioned. He tried, however, to combine the intensive methods with historical narrative and what was called 'synthesis'. His idea was narrativistic, but his method has been called 'source positivism'.[21]

With Erslev the boundary between the transfer of ideas and the training of methods had become blurred. The same holds true for the Swede Harald Hjärne, whose practical exercises with medieval texts were a complement to the continued discussions in the historical association of Uppsala that Carlson had started. This training meant reading and understanding medieval texts in the light of their origins, as had been taught by the circle around *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Hjärne, however, was not a methodologist by inclination. He was a

[16] Rolf Torstendahl, 'Fact, Truth, and Text: The Quest for a Firm Basis for Historical Knowledge around 1900', *History and Theory*, 42 (2003), 305–31; and id., 'Historical Professionalism: A Changing Product of Communities within the Discipline', *Storia della Storiografia*, 56 (2009), 3–26.

[17] CISH is also commonly referred to as ICHS or the International Committee of Historical Sciences.

[18] Karl Dietrich Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community of Historians: The International Historical Congresses and the International Committee of Historical Sciences, 1898–2000* (New York and Oxford, 2005), 122–61.

[19] Kristian Erslev, *Historisk teknik* (Copenhagen, 1911).

[20] *Grundsætningeer for historisk Kildekritik* (Copenhagen, 1892).

[21] Jens Christian Manniche, *Den radikale historikertradition: Studier i dansk historievidenskabs forudsætninger or normer* (Århus, 1981), 205.

celebrated lecturer and dominated groups of students who gathered after the seminars to listen to the master. His ideas were Rankean and he dealt with state systems, the character of the state, the difference between East and West, and other preoccupations of the period. Hjärne gradually became an outspoken conservative and his ideas assumed a nationalistic tenor; hence he celebrated the 'barrier to the East' that had been maintained by Sweden during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

In this way methodology became a pivot of historical professionalism, and came to mean more than the ability to apply particular methods to the study of history. It was possible also to combine those methods with different political ideologies—Hjärne was a conservative, Erslev a liberal—and this became more and more evident from the beginning of the twentieth century.

In Norway, Yngvar Nielsen and Gustav Storm took a conscious turn towards professional ideals. Storm had been in Berlin in 1875 and met Droysen, Nitzsch, and Theodor Mommsen, among others. He brought home a methodological rigour that found expression in a booklet for a summer course, but he was more a critical practitioner than a methodological theorist.[22] Both he and Nielsen formulated a number of problems in Norway's medieval history and tried to solve them with a close analysis of the sources. Their attitudes to history were quite different from those of Sars, whom they often had reason to criticize. It was difficult to discern their political views from their historical writing, whereas Sars used history-writing as a means to develop political arguments.

SOME THEMES OF DEBATE AND THE ROLE OF METHODS

The Kalmar Union was not the only topic that Paludan-Müller made the subject of continuing discussion. Another example is his investigation of a manuscript from the early thirteenth century, *Om Kong Valdemars Jordebog* [About King Valdemar's Cadastre], from 1871. The manuscript dealt with land taxes in the Danish kingdom. Paludan-Müller dismissed this 'venerated remnant from the past' as a series of calligraphic practices from a scribe's workshop. This was the first, but by no means the last, intense analysis of this manuscript, and Paludan-Müller here challenged the national historical tradition.

The first historian to take up the challenge of Valdemar's Cadastre was Johannes Steenstrup. He wrote a work on this subject as an overview of Danish administration and social organization in the thirteenth century,[23] but the technical analysis of the manuscript's form and content was not very deep. Kristian Erslev had a more technical approach. His book *Valdemarernas Storhedstid* [The Great Age of

[22] Gustav Storm, *Indledning i Historie* (Oslo, 1895); and see Dahl, *Norsk historieforskning*, 201.
[23] *Studier over Kong Valdemars Jordebog* (Copenhagen, 1874).

the Valdemars] (1898), gave a full description of the rulers and their times but again also took up the question how Valdemar's Cadastre ought to be interpreted. Here he sided closely with Steenstrup, even though his documentary analysis was more thorough. Erslev's standpoint was challenged by Lauritz Weibull in his book *Liber census Daniae* (1916) with a subtitle in Swedish, 'King Valdemar's Cadastre'. Weibull tried to analyse the register as a series of accounts from different parts of the Danish kingdom showing the taxes levied and paid. In an ingenious way Weibull's successor and former student Sture Bolin tried mathematical models on the part of the register that dealt with the province of Halland in a 1929 article.[24] His refined discussion revealed mistakes made by all previous analysts. In one way the discussion on King Valdemar's Cadastre was typical of academic developments, for it showed a gradual refinement of methods and arguments. Its final use of a mathematical model was, however, atypical.

In his strictly critical *Undersøgelser til nordisk Oldhistorie* [Investigations of Nordic Old History] (1862) the Dane Edvin Jessen tried to lay down principles for the treatment of the saga material. He refused to use traditions related in the sagas and urged historians to rely only on contemporary materials. The Norwegian Gustav Storm took a more moderate position and did not want to discard traditional elements without evidence that they were unreliable. In principle he followed closely the methods presented in Droysen's *Historik*, and was careful to distinguish primary from secondary, and contemporary from later sources. For the following generation this was not enough.

Lauritz Weibull, in his *Kritiska undersökningar i Nordens historia omkring år 1000* [Critical Investigations in Nordic History around the Year 1000] (1911), demanded that the sagas should be analysed as literary documents rather than as historical sources. He found well-known literary devices reproduced in the descriptions of several events, and he wanted a strict analysis of the elements from which the sagas were constructed. Within some sagas old poems were inserted, and these might be contemporary with events and worthy of a separate analysis. He followed up this critical programme in several other essays and in close cooperation with his brother Curt Weibull, whose dissertation on Saxo from 1915 had a similar aim. The brothers wanted to do away with conceptions of old Swedish and Danish history, which they thought unfounded. Thus they also challenged the national feeling in both countries.

Strict methodology was not enough. The Weibull brothers, who soon founded a school of admiring disciples, also used a different epistemology from the German historiographical orthodoxy. They did not accept the recommendation of Droysen and Bernheim that the historian should scrutinize possibilities and ultimately adopt the most probable. In fact, they would not accept probabilities. They had obviously learnt much from Langlois and Seignobos and quoted with

[24] 'Hallandslistan i Kung Valdemars jordebok', *Scandia*, 2 (1929), 161–228.

relish their statement that criticism eliminating what seems supernatural might lead to the acceptance of a fairy-tale, leaving the Marquis of Carabas as a historical person.[25] There was thus no core of truth in all old narratives.

In Norway and Denmark the generational conflicts in the beginning of the twentieth century were not as concentrated on historical methodology and epistemology as in Sweden but included issues of political ideology. Edvard Bull and Halvdan Koht became path-breakers in Norway, not only for rigorous methods in the vein of Nielsen and Storm but for historical materialism as well. Through them class struggle became a central theme in the writing of Norwegian history. For instance, Koht characterized the national gathering in medieval Norway as a coalition of great landowners who seized the power—'they established a national kingdom as a tool for their own class power'.[26] Both Koht and Bull had a deep influence on the community of historians directly through their teaching and indirectly by means of their standing and reputation in the academic community. Koht believed that the historical profession needed greater cohesion and as president of the Norwegian historical society from 1912 arranged meetings to discuss central subjects. This innovation did not last, but was an effort to tie the professional community more firmly together. In this manner professionalism in methodology went hand in hand with professional organization and cohesion.

Koht and Bull were rigorous in their source criticism. Weibull's standpoint, that only single events and coarse lines of development could be established in the history of the eleventh century, 'when we have brushed away tales and fiction' as he said in the preface to his *Kritiska undersökningar* from 1911, had close counterparts in the writings of Bull and Koht. Yet their fundamental attitude was different. According to historiographical analyses, it seems that they regarded source criticism as a tool to sustain the scholarly value of historical materialism, which was the central feature of their histories.[27] They used criticism of old narrative sources as a means to transform the object of historical writing from battles and men of power to economic, social, and institutional conditions.

In Denmark, Kristian Erslev's 1911 manual *Historisk teknik* became a standard for the work of historical professionals. It was used in all Scandinavian countries and remained on the curricula after the Second World War. Yet its views were challenged, not least in Denmark. An early challenger was Erik Arup. He became editor of the Danish *Historisk tidsskrift* for seven years from 1917, but felt that a

[25] On Langlois and Seignobos see Rolf Torstendahl, 'Fact, Truth and Text', 325–6.

[26] The quoted sentence is found in a 1919 article quoted in Dahl, *Norsk historieforskning*, 247, and similar ideas are frequent in Koht's authorship from this period. On Koht's and Bull's materialism see Dahl, *Historisk materialisme: Historieoppfatningen hos Edvard Bull og Halvdan Koht* (Oslo, 1952).

[27] Dahl, *Norsk historieforskning*, 235–43; and Sverre Bagge, 'The Middle Ages', in William J. Hubbard *et al.* (eds.), *Making a Historical Culture: Historiography in Norway* (Oslo, 1995), 117–21.

number of Erslev's disciples on the board wanted to keep the journal close to their master's methodological teachings. Arup's two-volume *Danmarks Historie* [History of Denmark] (1925–32) was based on profound research but took a radically different approach by including economic history in the perspective. When attacked for his interpretation, Arup made a distinction between German and French traditions of methodology, and saw Erslev's standpoint as following the former and his own following the latter tradition. Arup somewhat rashly called his own procedures a way to make 'fiction about facts' (the Danish word for fiction has in this connection mainly an aesthetic dimension) but he wanted to distance himself from the practice of making sources the centre of history.[28]

One of the most intense debates on methods and the use of sources took place during the German occupation of Denmark. The reason was the publication in 1941 of Aksel E. Christensen's dissertation *Dutch Trade to the Baltic about 1600: Studies in the Sound Toll Register and the Dutch Shipping Records*. As is evident from the subtitle, Christensen used two sets of sources and tried to evaluate both their value as sources of information and the amount of trade from Holland to the Baltic region. In a sharp review Astrid Friis, who had written an earlier examination of the Sound toll registers, tried to show that Christensen, too, accepted too readily the amounts and types of cargo that were noted in them.[29] Christensen replied that there were indications of the volume of trade in other sources. In a later round, Friis conceded that the number of ships could be established but not the cargo, while Christensen persisted with his previous views.[30] This heated debate dealt primarily with the analysis of the sources and legitimate inferences from them.

Astrid Friis, notable for being the first female Danish professor, was an internationally well-known historian. As a woman she did not originally aspire to a professorship and when she first applied for such a post in Århus in 1939, a less accomplished male competitor known for a 'fanciful empathy' in the personalities of his main characters, C. O. Bøggild Andersen, was appointed.[31] Friis's revenge was to become a professor at the University of Copenhagen six years later. Her international reputation was based on works in early modern economic history,

[28] Erik Arup, review of *Religionsskiftet I Norden* by V. Grønbech, [Danish] *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 8:5 (1913), 108. There is a vast literature on Arup and the conflicts between him and 'the Erslev School', e.g. Hans Kryger, *Larsen Erik Arup: en historiografisk undersøgelse af Arups videnskabs- og historiesyn 1903–1916* (Odense, 1976); Erling Ladewig Petersen, 'Omkring Erik Arup: struktur og grænser i moderne dansk historieforskning', in [Danish] *Historisk Tidskrift*, 78 (1978), 138–82; and Thyge Svenstrup, *Arup: En biograf i om den radikale historiker Erik Arup, hans tid og hans miljø* (Copenhagen, 2006).

[29] Review of *Dutch Trade to the Baltic about 1600* (1941) by A. E. Christensen, in [Danish] *Historisk tidsskrift*, 11:6 (1944), 702–13.

[30] Interventions on Christensen's book by Friis and himself in [Danish] *Historisk tidsskrift*, 11:1 (1946), 216–27 and 227–38; 528–39 and 539–49.

[31] Obituary by Povl Bagge in [Danish] *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 12:3 (1995), 174–7.

primarily *Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade: The Commercial Policy of England in its Main Aspects* (1927), which made her well known in British historical circles and was very positively reviewed in the *Economic History Review* by R. H. Tawney.[32]

CONCLUSION

The period between 1800 and 1945 witnessed a gradual refinement of historical professionalism in Scandinavia. First, professionals used national ideas and Scandinavianism as political vehicles for the consolidation of an historical community. The early Danish *Historisk tidsskrift* was first used as an instrument for such purposes. International influences and domestic journals and seminars helped later to forge methods and theories into instruments for the formation of such communities. Within them methods sharpened and epistemological presuppositions created heated debates. Different professional ideals stood against each other, but those of the early twentieth century were radically different from those accepted in the early nineteenth century. An historical community had been formed in each country, but within it old ideas were confronted by new ones. The contest was not completely resolved. Bull and Koht brought the new ideals to victory in Norway, Arup was embittered and felt alone in Denmark, and Lauritz and Curt Weibull's disciples were still struggling for their positions in the academic community in Sweden.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

Denmark

1807	A British assault on the Danish fleet leads Denmark into alliance with Napoleon
1814	In the anti-Napoleon coalition Sweden attacks Denmark, which has to cede Norway in the Kiel peace treaty
1848–9	The 'March Revolution' peacefully makes way for a new constitution
1864	War with Germany about Slesvig (Schleswig), which Denmark loses
1901	First government based on a parliamentary majority
1918	Iceland is declared an independent kingdom under the Danish king
1940	German forces occupy Denmark

[32] The book 'by Miss Astrid Friis, is one of the most important books which have appeared in English on the economic history of the seventeenth century'. R. H. Tawney, Review of *Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade* (1927) by Astrid Friis, *The Economic History Review*, 2:1 (1929), 155.

Norway

1814	Norway refuses to accept the Kiel peace treaty and enforces a new constitution as a condition for the union with Sweden
1829	Final failure of the policy of the king (Karl XIV Johan, the first Bernadotte), to meld Norway together with Sweden.
1891	The institution of Viceroy of Norway is abolished and a struggle for Norwegian consulates starts
1905	The union with Sweden is peacefully dissolved
1914–18	Norway is neutral during the First World War
1920	Spitzbergen is recognized internationally as part of Norway
1940	German troops invade Norway

Sweden

1809	Finland, earlier part of Sweden, is lost to Russia
1810	Marshal Bernadotte is elected successor to the Swedish throne
1814	Norway, earlier united with Denmark in one state, is forced into union with Sweden
1865	The estate representation in the Swedish parliament is abolished
1914	In the 'Courtyard Crisis' the king tries to regain lost influence over politics
1914–18	Sweden is neutral during the First World War
1939	The Swedish government declares Swedish neutrality in the Second World War

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Chapter 14

Historical Writing in the Low Countries

Jo Tollebeek

Following Napoleon's defeat in 1815, the Low Countries were reunited in a 'United Kingdom of the Netherlands'. The former Republic, which had gained its independence in the sixteenth century and constituted the northern part of this new state, had become a monarchy in 1813. To it was now added the 'Southern Netherlands'. King William I, a descendant of the northern Orange dynasty, was faced with a difficult task: How could he integrate the two areas, which had grown apart since the sixteenth century and acquired their own separate characters, into a single, medium-sized state that could serve as a buffer against imperialist France, but also assume a high level of internal cohesion? How could North and South be forged into an amalgam?

Historiography had its role to play in this policy of amalgamation: when North and South acquired a common past, their contemporary unity would be reinforced. In an open competition organized in 1826, William I therefore invited the nation's historians and men of letters to draw up a detailed plan for a general history of the Netherlands.[1] The one who presented the best outline would have the right to use the title 'State History-Writer'. At the same time, it was pointed out that a large proportion of the source material for the history of the Netherlands had as yet scarcely been examined or processed. The prospect was therefore raised of providing funds with which to track down, catalogue, and publish these sources.

Various entrants in the competition of 1826 stressed to the king the need to prioritize this latter aspect: after all, what was the sense in appointing a 'state history-writer' if the source material still needed to be collected? A call was made for the establishment of a central committee, or possibly two committees—one for the North in The Hague and one for the South in Brussels—which would catalogue the archives and prepare for the official publication of the most important documents. In 1827 a committee of this kind, with seven members, was in fact set up in Brussels; however, a similar body was not established in the North.

[1] See e.g. P. A. M. Geurts, 'Nederlandse overheid en geschiedbeoefening 1825–1830', *Theoretische Geschiedenis*, 9 (1982), 304–28.

POST-REVOLUTIONARY HISTORIOGRAPHY

For the time being at least, the whole venture made little sense: in 1830 a revolution with liberal and national overtones in the South marked the end of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. The Low Countries were split into two once again. In the South, a new state took shape, the Kingdom of Belgium, headed by a prince from the House of Saxe-Coburg. In the North the Netherlands continued alone, remaining a kingdom with a member of the House of Orange at its head. In this post-revolutionary context, historiography remained an important instrument for state and nation-building.

In the South, history-writing was used to legitimize the state which had been born of the revolution. Belgium, it was argued, might be a young state, but it was an old nation with a respectable pedigree too. In other words, the state of 1830 was anchored in the past in order to demonstrate that it was not the artificial product of the diplomatic whims of the great powers which had rapidly granted it recognition, but the manifestation of a natural national consciousness. As in so many other European countries, this patriotism—for nobody doubted Belgium's right to exist—went hand in hand with fervent Romanticism.

In this mood of patriotic and Romantic euphoria, the past was nationalized.[2] History-writing became first and foremost national history-writing, although numerous societies, such as the Society for the Study of the History and Antiquities of West Flanders, which was formed in Bruges in 1838, continued to encourage local, regional, or provincial historical activity.[3] The national epic, attempts at which had been made even back in the late eighteenth century (when the 'Southern Netherlands' belonged to the Austrian Empire[4]), became the historiographical genre of choice. In the two decades after 1830 there was a veritable plethora of 'Histoires de (la) Belgique'. Théodore Juste, who published a highly successful *Histoire de Belgique* [History of Belgium] in 1841, devoted no fewer than 40,000 pages to the subject.

For all this, writing about the nation's history was no easy matter. For example, how did one create continuity in a history which incontrovertibly consisted of a succession of regime changes—from the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs via the French revolutionaries and Napoleon through to the Dutch, who had only recently been driven out? And how did one impart unity to a national history which inevitably resembled a composite assemblage of the different histories of

[2] See the detailed treatments in Jo Tollebeek, 'Historical Representation and the Nation-State in Romantic Belgium (1830–1850)', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 59 (1998), 329–53; and Evert Peeters, *Het labyrint van het verleden: Natie, vrijheid en geweld in de Belgische geschiedschrijving 1787–1850* (Leuven, 2003).

[3] Sven Vrielinck and Romain van Eenoo, *IJveren voor geschiedenis: 150 jaar Genootschap voor Geschiedenis 'Société d'Emulation' te Brugge* (Bruges, 1989).

[4] See Tom Verschaffel, *De hoed en de hond: Geschiedschrijving in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden 1715–1794* (Hilversum, 1998).

the independent principalities (such as Flanders, Brabant, or Liège) from which Belgium had ultimately developed? Among other means, the historians sought to solve the problems this mutability and diversity in the history of the nation posed for national history-writing by referring to the recurring themes in Belgian history. For example, had it not consisted of a concatenation of foreign dominations?[5] The most comprehensive conception consisted of seeing the nation's past as a succession of periods of struggling for freedom (with the 1830 Revolution as the final stage) and periods in which prosperity and flourishing cultural activity were underpinned by virtuous princely rule (with the regime of the new king, Leopold I, as the final illustration). This conception also made it possible to determine who could be included in the pantheon of national heroes.[6] The remembrance of those who had bequeathed such a legacy would, Juste and his colleagues realized, permanently reinforce national unity.

The great patriotic and Romantic historical narratives fitted into a broader historical culture: the nation's past was also evoked and consecrated in monuments, historical parades, historical paintings, historical novels, and plays.[7] Thus Belgium's history was made manifest in an all-round spectacle, in which word and image reinforced each other; the abundant use of illustrations in the 'Histoires de (la) Belgique' served the same purpose.[8] The visual presentation and fictionalization of the nation's past also made it possible to reach a broad public, and the government therefore stimulated this historical culture. It conducted an active cultural policy—among other means by commissioning work from artists—so that ever greater numbers of Belgians would become steeped in the nation's greatness.

The government also took initiatives to set up an infrastructure for the writing of history itself, for national historiography needed to be vigorous but also stable, impassioned but also learned. This led to the organization of an archival system shortly after independence: under the leadership of the dynamic Louis-Prosper Gachard, a General National Archive was developed in Brussels, materials were catalogued (and the catalogues were published), and prospecting missions were sent abroad in order to track down material of interest for Belgian history. At the same time—in 1834—the government established a commission to publish the sources of national history.[9] This Royal Historical Commission, whose

[5] Jean Stengers, 'Le mythe des dominations étrangères dans l'historiographie belge', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis/Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 59 (1981), 382–401.

[6] Jo Tollebeek and Tom Verschaffel, 'Group Portraits with National Heroes: The Pantheon as an Historical Genre in Nineteenth-Century Belgium', *National Identities*, 6 (2004), 91–106.

[7] See e.g. Tom Verschaffel, 'Het verleden tot weinig herleid: De historische optocht als vorm van de romantische verbeelding', in Jo Tollebeek, Frank Ankersmit, and Wessel Krul (eds.), *Romantiek en historische cultuur* (Groningen, 1996), 297–320.

[8] Tom Verschaffel, *Beeld en geschiedenis: Het Belgische en Vlaamse verleden in de romantische boekillustraties* (Turnhout, 1987).

[9] *La Commission Royale d'Histoire 1834–1934: Livre jubilaire composé à l'occasion du centième anniversaire de sa fondation* (Brussels, 1934).

principal concern was initially the medieval chronicles, could not compete in scholarship with, for example, its German counterpart,[10] but it emerged as the centre for the new historical activity. The formation of the Commission for National Biography in 1845 and the institution of a quinquennial prize for national history by the Belgian Royal Academy for Science, Literature, and the Fine Arts in the same year represented further steps in this process.

In the Netherlands, the goal served by post-revolutionary history-writing was different: the task there was not to legitimize a new state, but to help process a loss. As a result of the 1830 Belgian Revolution, the country lost its status as a medium-sized state. In this context, history-writing became a compensatory process: the subject matter of the nation's historians was not a state which, though young, was regarded as the manifestation of an old nation (as in Belgium), but a state which, though small, could, so it was claimed, take pride in a glorious past.

What had formed the core of that glorious past? In the *Geschiedenis des vaderlands* [History of the Nation] by Willem Bilderdijk, published posthumously from 1833, this point was left in no doubt. Bilderdijk, who set store by firm viewpoints, was convinced that the Netherlands owed its glory to the Oranges: in the past—in the time of the Republic—they had only been stadtholders, but they had always been in harmony with the people. Bilderdijk was 'firmly monarchist': he yearned for absolute, divinely ordained rulers.[11]

But this was a minority viewpoint. After the loss of Belgium, most historians turned back to the Republic of the seventeenth century, which was now presented as the 'Golden Age' of national history.[12] This Republic was associated not so much with the Oranges as with the regents, the economic and cultural elite who, it was emphasized, had given the Netherlands an exceptional position in Europe. For the liberals who coalesced around the journal *De Gids* [The Guide], such as Reinier Cornelis Bakhuizen van den Brink, the seventeenth century was not a bygone age, but a period that was still very close. Above all—and in contrast to Guillaume Groen van Prinsteren, who held that the Republic had emerged from the creed of the Calvinist church—they admired the literature of the 'Golden Age'. But painting was also remembered. While in Belgium Rubens was commemorated, Rembrandt started his career as a national genius in the Netherlands. A statue of him was erected in Amsterdam in 1852. It was not the only instance of the monumentalization of the seventeenth century.

[10] Walter Prevenier, 'De mislukte lente van de eruditie in België na 1830', in Jo Tollebeek, Georgi Verbeeck, and Tom Verschaffel (eds.), *De lectuur van het verleden: Opstellen over de geschiedenis van de geschiedschrijving aangeboden aan Reginald de Schryver* (Leuven, 1998), 263–72.

[11] See Joris van Eijnatten, *Hogere sferen: De ideeënwereld van Willem Bilderdijk (1756–1831)* (Hilversum, 1998).

[12] P. B. M. Blaas, 'De Gouden Eeuw: overleefd en herleefd: Kanttekeningen bij het beeldvormingsproces in de negentiende eeuw', in id., *Geschiedenis en nostalgie: De historiografie van een kleine natie met een groot verleden. Verspreide historiografische opstellen* (Hilversum, 2000), 42–60.

As in Belgium, national history-writing formed just one element in a broader historical culture. Historical paintings, drama, novels, and so on all put the spotlight on the national heroes of the past.[13] The aim was clear: the nation's self-consciousness needed to be reinforced. The seventeenth century, with its maritime heroes, was therefore an important reference point in this historical culture. Yet it was not the only setting for national greatness: figures and scenes from Antiquity and the Middle Ages were also presented on canvas and on stage. The struggle of the courageous Batavians against the Romans, for example, an age-old legendary theme involving the supposed ancestors of the Dutch, was repeatedly recounted in national historical drama. Not all figures from the seventeenth century were revived, however: controversial heroes whose memory might bring division rather than unity to the nation were handled carefully.[14]

Unlike in Belgium, the government took few initiatives in this project. As in many other fields, it took a reserved approach. Nor did it stimulate the development of a central infrastructure for the historical discipline. Developments in this area were the work of private societies, whose attention tended to be on regional or provincial history rather than national history. A Dutch Royal Historical Commission was not created, for the time being at any rate. Bakhuizen van den Brink, who had become familiar with the modern archiving system in Belgium (while he was there as a fugitive from his creditors) and who actually became the Dutch state archivist in 1854, was thus less successful than Gachard.[15]

This reserve and relative slowness did not imply that the orientation towards the national past was not a powerful force in the Netherlands. Just as in Belgium, history was regarded in the mid-nineteenth century as an instrument for establishing the new position of the state.

DIVISION AND UNITY

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, both states experienced growing internal division. This was related to ideological differences, which increasingly set the tone for conflict between political parties. In the Netherlands, tension had long existed between liberals and Protestants. The conflict was now joined by the Catholics, a long disadvantaged group, who were playing an increasingly public role. In Belgium, fierce opposition developed between Catholics and liberal

[13] See e.g. Eelke Muller, '"Liever een gordijn geschoven voor het akeligst schouwtooneel…": De moord op de gebroeders De Witt in de schilderkunst in de negentiende eeuw', *De Negentiende Eeuw*, 22 (1998), 113–46.

[14] Lotte Jensen, 'Helden en anti-helden: Vaderlandse geschiedenis op het Nederlandse toneel, 1800–1848', *Nederlandse Letterkunde*, 11 (2006), 101–35.

[15] Pieter Huistra, 'R. C. Bakhuizen van den Brink en de moderne geschiedwetenschap: Filologie, geschiedenis, archief', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 122 (2009), 334–47.

free-thinkers. In both countries, the ideological tension reached a climax in the struggle over education in the 1870s and 1880s.

History-writing reflected this ideological tension. All parties used the national past as an arsenal from which they could draw in order to prove the correctness of their own position in the debates of the day. The result was an engaged, often polemical historiography. In the Netherlands, Catholic historians 'claimed the heritage of their fathers': they supported the contemporary struggle for emancipation with history-writing that emphasized that the behaviour of the Catholics in the past gave them just as much right to call themselves 'Dutch' as the liberals and the Protestants. Between 1865 and 1870, the Catholic doctor and opinion leader W. J. F. Nuyens published a history of the sixteenth-century revolt in which he explained the standpoint of his faith community with regard to the national struggle for liberty.[16]

In Belgium, the emergence of a militant and partisan historiography illustrated the disappearance of the patriotic unity of 1830. Catholic and free-thinking historians exacerbated the divisions.[17] Their version of the past originated on the barricades. The extent to which their conclusions differed was shown, for example, by their views of the sixteenth-century revolt in the Netherlands. For a Catholic historian (and politician) such as Joseph Kervyn de Lettenhove, the rebels had been a gang of lawless 'beggars' who had wanted to overturn legal authority and oppressed the church. For a liberal such as Paul Fredericq, these same rebels were freedom fighters and champions of religious tolerance who had rightly risen up against despotism and intolerance. Fredericq devoted his whole historical career to the history of the Inquisition—believing that in doing so he was holding up a mirror to present-day Catholic leaders.[18]

But this was not the only problem in Belgium. Apart from the ideological opposition, the inter-community struggle also revealed divisions. Belgium was populated by two distinct linguistic groups: in the North the predominantly Dutch-speaking Flemings, and in the South the French-speaking Walloons. As early as the 1830s, a Flemish Movement had originated in the new state, in which French had been made the official language. The movement called for the recognition of the country's bilingualism, while remaining loyal to Belgium. Over time, it became more militant. From the 1860s onwards, more and more Flemish loyalists were motivated by an emerging Flemish consciousness, which was distinct from mainstream Belgian-national consciousness. Tellingly, the term 'Flanders' was no longer used purely to designate the old medieval county or the

[16] *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche beroerten in de XVIe eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1865). See Albert van der Zeijden, *Katholieke identiteit en historisch bewustzijn: W. J. F. Nuyens (1823–1894) en zijn 'nationale' geschiedschrijving* (Hilversum, 2002).

[17] See Fernand Vercauteren, *Cent ans d'histoire nationale en Belgique*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1959), 165–85.

[18] Jo Tollebeek, *Writing the Inquisition in Europe and America: The Correspondence between Henry Charles Lea and Paul Fredericq* (Brussels, 2004).

two provinces of that name in the north of the country, but also to confer a unity on the entire northern, Dutch-speaking half of Belgium.[19] This 'modern' Flanders gradually created its own past. A still small Walloon Movement opposed the inroads into French-speaking dominance.

In both Belgium and the Netherlands, the growing political division was countered by new historical narratives that emphasized the unity of the nation. In Belgium, this was primarily the work of Henri Pirenne, who was professor of medieval and economic history at the University of Ghent. Pirenne published a monumental *Histoire de Belgique*, whose first volume appeared in 1899, at a time when national self-confidence was at a high level due to a flourishing economy and a new cultural brilliance, and despite increased tensions. In this atmosphere of optimism, Pirenne opened his synthesis of national history with a brief account of the specific characteristics of Belgian history. Its individual character was primarily rooted, he argued, in its exceptional position: it had emerged from the Middle Frankish kingdom and developed into a 'hyphen' (*trait d'union)* between Germany and France. A second factor that distinguished Belgian history from that of other countries lay in the fact that national unity had arisen before political unity had come about. Pirenne identified as a third and final differentiating principle the peaceful coexistence of the different ethnic groups: Flemings and Walloons had—in contrast to what had happened in Bohemia or Prussia, for example—never fought one another. This *pax belgica* constituted the cornerstone of the national state of 1830: such was Pirenne's warning to those engaged in communitarian bickering.

The *Histoire de Belgique* was thus intended as an antidote to the internal tensions. At the same time, Belgian history also acquired a European dimension. Belgium was presented as the forum in which the intellectual culture of the Latin world had been able to encounter that of the Germanic world, and as the economic entrepôt of North and South. As a result, Pirenne argued, the country had become 'a microcosm of Western Europe', 'the crossroads of Europe'. This gave it prestige, including on an international plane, and it underlined the resurgent nationalism—something, incidentally, that was also reflected in the sphere of museums. Around 1900 a number of new museums emerged that were intended to make the general public aware of the vitality of the nation, such as the Museum of the Congo established in Tervuren near Brussels in 1897, where the wealth of the royal and later national colony was showcased.

In the Netherlands, an attempt was made to reinforce the unity and self-consciousness of the nation by using a past from which, it was hoped, all parties would be able to draw the same lessons. History-writing needed to be national and conciliatory. Again, the Oranges were assigned an important place since they

[19] Reginald de Schryver, 'Het vroege gebruik van "Vlaanderen" in zijn moderne betekenis', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 41 (1987), 45–54.

had always represented the trend towards unity and centralization in Dutch history, unlike the regents, who were now accused of always having put their own interests first and therefore of having also prevented the Republic from becoming more than a decentralized federation. By contrast with the days of Bakhuizen van den Brink, the Republic was no longer seen as the unquestionable climax of national history.

The most important spokesman for this branch of historiography which emphasized national conciliation and the role of the Oranges was Robert Fruin, who from 1860 held the first chair in national history, instituted at the University of Leiden.[20] In his inaugural professorial lecture Fruin called for impartial history-writing. Precisely what such impartiality involved was made clear by a comparison with Shakespeare: the historian, just like 'the man of a thousand minds', needed to be someone who was able to understand and articulate a wide range of viewpoints.[21] This was a theoretical justification for the approach to history that Fruin practised over the next few decades, which was oriented towards ideological consensus and political pacification between the different ideological groups (and which therefore also argued in favour of listening to the voice of the Catholics). This striving for national unity was expressly embodied in the centralized state that the Netherlands had become under the Orange monarchy since 1813; in 1865 the Republic was written off as 'an interim period that had gone forever'. Fruin seemed to have become the 'nation's schoolmaster', but he was not a complete success in this role: the erudition and preoccupation with detail that Fruin displayed weakened the impact of his work.[22]

It was P. J. Blok, Fruin's pupil and successor in Leiden, who in 1894 was also appointed as private tutor in national history to the fourteen-year-old Queen Wilhelmina, who took on the role of guardian of the nation (but who also came to be seen by the end of his life as conservative and arrogant as a result). More audacious than his ever-cautious teacher, from 1892 onwards Blok published a synthesis of national history. The character of this *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche volk* [History of the Dutch People] was also marked by national conciliation and an enthusiasm for the House of Orange. The concept of 'the people' was crucial, suggesting as it did a unity and identity that had remained unaltered over time. Thus there could be no talk of national divisions in this book—leaving plenty of opportunity for national pathos. A critic later referred to 'the Victorian-style moralism and the sentimental fashion with which Blok now

[20] See Willem Otterspeer, 'De Leidsche School: De leerstoel vaderlandse geschiedenis, 1860–1925', id. (ed.), *Een universiteit herleeft: Wetenschapsbeoefening aan de Leidse universiteit vanaf de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw* (Leiden, 1984), 38–54.

[21] Jo Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin: Denken over geschiedenis in Nederland sinds 1860* (Amsterdam, 1990), 13–67.

[22] N. C. F. van Sas, 'De mythe Nederland', in id., *De metamorfose van Nederland: Van oude orde naar moderniteit, 1750–1900* (Amsterdam, 2004), 528.

and then presented his undoubtedly comprehensive knowledge to the reader'.[23] The *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche volk* was a success, like Pirenne's *Histoire de Belgique*: at the end of his life, Blok oversaw a third revised edition, following the earlier publication of English and German translations. The two great overviews of the nation's past, published within a short time, made it clear that after a time of individualism, a need for a sense of community had emerged during the *fin de siècle* period.

THE FORMATION OF A DISCIPLINE

During the decades around the turn of the century, at the time when a new form of national history-writing aimed at dispelling the earlier divisions, a process of academization was also occurring. This became apparent in both Belgium and the Netherlands in the institutionalization and professionalization of the scientific discipline that history had now become. It became detached from literature, philosophy, and theology, took shape in autonomous institutes with an infrastructure of their own, and became a profession with its own codes and values. Developments that had started earlier in Germany served as the model, though there was also an indigenous legacy. In Belgium especially, the initiatives that had been taken by the government in the years after 1830 (such as the establishment of the Royal Historical Commission) smoothed the way. This enabled the changes to take place rapidly from the 1870s onwards.

The universities played a crucial role. The academization of history was apparent among other things in the rapid increase in the number of history professors during the final quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1875 there were twelve history professors teaching at the four Belgian universities (Liège, Ghent, Leuven, and Brussels). By 1900 this number had more than doubled. The new generation of professors, who included Pirenne, formed a homogeneous group, partly due to the fact that many of them had spent some time at German (or French) universities and had been able to absorb the latest developments in their field there. Among other innovations, they introduced the seminars—*cours pratiques*—in Belgian universities: these were begun by the medievalist Godefroid Kurth in Liège in 1874.[24]

In parallel with this academic process, the Belgian historians shaped their discipline within a broad infrastructure.[25] There were the specialist journals: in 1897 Kurth set up the *Archives belges*, a bibliographical bulletin which kept historians

[23] P. B. M. Blaas, 'De prikkelbaarheid van een kleine natie met een groot verleden: Fruins en Bloks nationale geschiedschrijving', in id., *Geschiedenis en nostalgie*, 34.

[24] See the overview in *A Godefroid Kurth, professeur à l'Université de Liège à l'occasion du XXVe anniversaire de la fondation de son cours pratique d'histoire* (n.p., 1898).

[25] See Jo Tollebeek, 'De machinerie van de geschiedenis: De uitbouw van een historische infrastructuur in Nederland en België', in id., *De ijkmeesters: Opstellen over de geschiedschrijving in Nederland en België* (Amsterdam, 1994), 17–35.

informed about work that had been done. There were tools created in the field of the auxiliary disciplines, such as the *Album belge de paléographie* (1908), bringing an end to the old shortcomings in scholarship. The archival system was further developed: as well as the General National Archive in Brussels, a state archive was also created in each provincial capital, so that by 1896 a centralized network was completed. In order to explore the Vatican Archives, which were so important for the country's ecclesiastical history, the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome was opened in 1902 on the initiative of the Leuven professor Alfred Cauchie.[26]

The Dutch historians did not begin from such a strong position as their Belgian colleagues, but they began efforts to make up lost ground from around 1900. They were not completely without any legacy from the past: an infrastructure for the practice of history had also developed in the Netherlands in the course of the nineteenth century. As early as 1836, a journal had been established, the *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde* [Contributions to the Nation's History and its Antiquities], although initially it only appeared at irregular intervals.[27] A decade later, in 1845, an Historical Society had been established in Utrecht, a private association which initially focused exclusively on the history of Utrecht, but gradually assumed a national perspective and played a leading role in the publication of source material.[28]

Around 1900 a whole series of new developments institutionalized and professionalized the discipline, which had already been academized by Fruin. Blok introduced seminars (known in Dutch as *privaatcolleges*) to the universities in 1885 when he was still professor at Groningen; as a result, Dutch students were able to discover a more research-oriented form of teaching.[29] From 1886 Blok also arranged systematic searches of foreign archives in order to track down source material that was preserved outside the Netherlands. This time the government provided financial support. In the meantime, the Historical Society was working to higher quality standards in its editions, at the instigation of the Utrecht archivist Samuel Muller Fz. Its task was taken over a short time later by the Commission for National Historical Publications; this body, set up by the government in 1902, was able to take a more ambitious and systematic approach to the source work.[30]

[26] On this see M. Dumoulin, D. Vanysacker, and V. Viaene (eds.), *Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome/Institut Historique Belge de Rome/Istituto Storia Belga di Roma 1902–2002* (Brussels and Rome, 2004).

[27] Ronald Fagel, 'Historische tijdschriften in Nederland (1835–1848): Arnhem, Utrecht, Leiden', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 99 (1986), 341–66.

[28] L. J. Dorsman and E. Jonker, *Anderhalve eeuw geschiedenis: (Nederlands) Historisch Genootschap 1845–1995* (The Hague, 1995).

[29] Jo Tollebeek, 'Tien jaren: P. J. Blok als Gronings mediëvist', in id., *De ekster en de kooi: Nieuwe opstellen over de geschiedschrijving* (Amsterdam, 1996), 203–7.

[30] K. Kooijmans and J. P. de Valk, '"Eene dienende onderneming": De Rijkscommissie voor Vaderlandse Geschiedenis en haar Bureau 1902–1968', in K. Kooijmans, Th. S. Bos, A. E. Kersten, C. E. Kleij, and J. G. Smit (eds.), *Bron en publikatie: Voordrachten en opstellen over de ontsluiting van geschiedkundige bronnen, uitgegeven bij het 75-jarig bestaan van het Bureau der Rijkscommissie voor Vaderlandse Geschiedenis* (The Hague, 1985), 203–83.

Another two years later, in 1904, the Netherlands also acquired its permanent historical outpost in Rome.[31] In the meantime, the discipline was also becoming more specialized. When the Cologne archivist Otto Oppermann was appointed lecturer in medieval studies and the historical auxiliary disciplines in 1904 in Utrecht, it marked the start of a powerful separate institute.[32]

Thus a wide-ranging infrastructure developed in both Belgium and the Netherlands in support of an historical discipline, which was regarded as a specialist craft. Pirenne used to begin his seminars, after surveying the new students with a penetrating gaze, with the words: 'Here, gentlemen, I shall teach you your *métier* as an historian, and you will learn it with me.'[33] This meant that the aspiring historians needed to learn certain standards and values (such as objectivity and impartiality) but also a method and a number of skills. They needed to learn how to understand what the sources had to tell them, how to use the various tools at their disposal, what the routine practices of the modern historian were and how to master them. Standardization was an increasingly prominent concept. This led to the genesis of a stable community of historians, a discipline-centred community with a universally shared professional ethic, a codified method, and a number of easily recognizable routine practices.[34]

Even so, the discipline that emerged in Belgium and the Netherlands around 1900 should not be depicted in too modern a light. History was also characterized by traditional elements. One of these was the relationship between master and pupil, which resembled that of a traditional craft. The fact that the community-building process was not just a question of an academic creed and a rational method, but also involved a whole range of tacit skills and emotions, such as loyalty to the master and steadiness of character, was another. A third was that although the new historical discipline was run by professors at universities, which meant that it was a public enterprise, it also remained a home-based discipline. For example, Fredericq received the students for his seminar at home, in the intimacy of his own study.

In addition, academization also implied gender segregation. Due to the widening separation between historiography and literature, and the former's association with male, university-educated professionals and the latter's with women who wrote historical novels, participation in the new historical discipline was barred to women. They were thrown back upon the domain of the imagination, where

[31] Hans Cools and Hans de Valk, *Institutum neerlandicum MCMIV–MMIV: Honderd jaar Nederlands Instituut te Rome* (Hilversum, 2004).

[32] See e.g. Christoph Strupp, 'Die Institutionalisierung der Geschichtswissenschaft in den Niederlanden: Otto Oppermann und das Institut für mittelalterliche Geschichte in Utrecht', *Rheinische Vierteljahrblätter*, 62 (1998), 320–52.

[33] Quoted in Aurèle Looman, *Herinneringen van oudstudenten geschiedenis aan de Rijksuniversiteit Gent (1919–1933)* (Ghent, 1980), 56.

[34] On this and the following point see Jo Tollebeek, *Fredericq en Zonen: Een antropologie van de moderne geschiedwetenschap* (Amsterdam, 2008).

difficult archival work and the application of rigorous academic standards were not required. They wrote history in spite of this. The Dutch writer Johanna Naber, a contemporary of Blok, published works on subjects such as religious women in the run-up to the Reformation and the history of women's culture. She was a promoter both of history-writing and the preservation of the feminist heritage.[35]

BROADENING THE THEMATIC SCOPE

The interest in women's history and heritage was, of course, a product of the feminist struggle that was being conducted in the decades around 1900. It was slow in reaching the professoriate: the first female professor in Belgium, Suzanne Tassier, was not appointed until 1948, at the University of Brussels. Another struggle for emancipation bore fruit more quickly, however. The emergence of socialism and the rise of the social-democratic parties around 1900 led to a more inclusive form of history-writing. This democratization process fuelled the broadening of thematic scope in the historical discipline between 1890 and 1940.

Naturally, Marxist historiography did not meet universal assent. In the Netherlands Blok had argued as early as the 1880s that the historian should become 'a sociologist', focusing on 'the development of social conditions' in the broadest sense of the term. But he made it clear that he was not an historical materialist. He feared that Marxist historiography would—like Catholic historiography a few decades earlier—sow division where national unity was needed. A younger generation of historians was less hostile, however, and saw it as regrettable that historiography had become so strongly bound by consensus. As a result of this, the critics argued, it had become dull and bloodless. The younger historians called for polemics and combativeness. Open confrontation with the Marxists was consistent with this vitalistic yearning for dynamism.[36]

One of the most outspoken champions of this generation was G. W. Kernkamp, who was a professor in Amsterdam and later in Utrecht. He devoted his 1901 Amsterdam inaugural lecture to historical materialism. He did not reject it: on the contrary, he urged his colleagues to familiarize themselves with socialist literature. But he opposed the dogmatic self-confidence of many Marxists, and called for practical work to be done. It was fast in coming. Kernkamp's first doctoral student, Willem van Ravesteyn, who was deeply involved in the social-democratic movement, completed a dissertation in 1906 on the economic and social development of Amsterdam in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in which

[35] Maria Grever, *Strijd tegen de stilte: Johanna Naber (1859–1941) en de vrouwenstem in geschiedenis* (Hilversum, 1994).

[36] See Jo Tollebeek, 'Een hoger streven: Geschiedbeoefening en fin de siècle in Nederland', in id., *De ijkmeesters*, 118–40.

archival research and detailed knowledge were combined with Marxist convictions and theory. It was the beginning of a modest tradition of Marxist historiography, its best-known representative being Jan Romein, for whom the Russian Revolution of 1917 was a true *Bildungserlebnis*. Romein, who in turn became professor at Amsterdam, numbered among his publications a new, Marxist-influenced synthesis of national history which appeared in 1934.[37]

The Marxists directed attention to economic and social developments in Dutch history, although they were not necessarily practitioners of economic history. Conversely, the practitioners of economic history were not necessarily Marxists. From around 1910, economic and social history rapidly gained acceptance in the Netherlands, in parallel with contemporary history. This broader perspective was apparent, for instance, in studies of the Dutch East India Company, the patricians of Amsterdam in the Republic, or the great expansion of the railway network of 1903. From the First World War onwards, it was institutionalized in a series of extra-university institutions. The Dutch Archive of Economic History was established as early as 1914. This was followed in 1935 by the International Institute of Social History and the International Archives for the Women's Movement, where space was provided for the feminist legacy. A decisive role in the formation of all these institutes was played by N. W. Posthumus. He embodied a new type of historian: 'the man', wrote Romein, 'who experiences his deepest joys not at his desk, but among his "staff" in his institute's office, and who as such is a sign of the times'.[38] But this managerial style by no means excluded political engagement, as the creations of 1935 made quite clear.

Such was also the case in Belgium, where in 1937 a National Institute of Social History was established from a socialist viewpoint (it continued until 1940, and was then closed, after which its collections were largely stolen, until they were rediscovered in Moscow in 1991–2).[39] But here too the broadening of thematic scope which occurred in historiography from 1890 was not purely a matter of political engagement, let alone of Marxism. It was also related to the impetus which—again—came from Pirenne. He owed his reputation before the First World War primarily to his *Histoire de Belgique*. After the war he was still mainly celebrated as a national historian: his deportation to Germany in 1916 had turned him into a national hero, as well as giving him a lifelong aversion to Germany and his German colleagues. But Pirenne was more than a national historian. He had received a broad training. As a student in Berlin, for example, he had become familiar with economic history. He had therefore initially presented himself as an

[37] *De Lage Landen bij de Zee* (Utrecht, 1934).

[38] Jan Romein, 'De geschiedschrijving in Nederland tijdens het Interbellum', in P. A. M. Geurts and A. E. M. Janssen (eds.), *Geschiedschrijving in Nederland: Studies over de historiografie van de Nieuwe Tijd*, vol. 2 (The Hague, 1981), 191.

[39] Wouter Steenhaut and Geert van Goethem, 'Amsab, een instituut', in Gita Deneckere and Bruno de Wever (eds.), *Geschiedenis maken: Liber amicorum Herman Balthazar* (Ghent, 2003), 61–74.

urban historian, particularly for the medieval period, taking an economic and social approach rather than a strictly juridical one.[40]

After the war, in addition to his reputation as a national historian Pirenne also retained his leading role as an economic and social historian of the Middle Ages. While he was working on his *Mahomet et Charlemagne* [Mohammed and Charlemagne], published posthumously in 1937, his pupils were following his example as medieval and urban historians. But his influence went further: precisely on the grounds of this broad-based work in medieval studies, in which a balance was also attempted between empirical and scholarly research on the one hand and theorizing on the other, Pirenne served as a model for the entire Belgian guild. At the same time, he owed his reputation outside Belgium to this economic and social historical work on the Middle Ages. In 1921 Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, both of whom were professors in Strasbourg, asked him to assume a leading role in a new journal of economic and social history. The initiators of what would later be known as the *Annales d'Histoire économique et sociale* consistently addressed the Ghent professor as *maître*. Pirenne was not unsympathetic towards the venture, perhaps in part because he regarded the new journal, which was to be run without any collaborators from Germany, as an Allied counteroffensive against the resurrected *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*.[41]

In addition to Pirenne, there was a second historian from the Low Countries who attracted attention abroad: Johan Huizinga, who started out as a professor in Groningen, and then occupied a chair at Leiden from 1914. Huizinga too had received a broad training and had developed varied interests as a student. He had opted to study Dutch literature and history, but had also spent a semester studying comparative philology, including Sanskrit and Old Irish, in Leipzig. After writing a dissertation on the comic figure of the *vidusaka* in Indian drama, he was admitted to the University of Amsterdam in 1903 as a private tutor in Indian antiquity and literature.[42] His interests remained wide-ranging when he became a professor of history: he lectured and published on the Italian Renaissance, the origins of the English Parliament, Islam, and Romanticism. Yet there was a unity to his work, as a later commentator noted: 'If one looks carefully, one can see how the philologist emerges from the linguist, the historian from the philologist, and the cultural critic from the historian, by a natural process.'[43]

[40] See e.g. Raymond van Uytven, 'Les origines des villes dans les anciens Pays-Bas (jusque vers 1300)', *Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België/Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique*, 28 (1986), 13–26; and Walter Prevenier, 'Henri Pirenne et les villes des anciens Pays-Bas au bas moyen âge (XIVe–XVe siècles)', ibid., 27–50.

[41] See *The Birth of Annales History: The Letters of Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch to Henri Pirenne (1921–1935)*, ed. Bryce and Mary Lyon (Brussels, 1991).

[42] D. H. A. Kolff, 'Huizinga als privaatdocent boeddhisme in Amsterdam', *De Gids*, 168 (2005), 132–40.

[43] Willem Otterspeer, *Orde en trouw: Over Johan Huizinga* (Amsterdam, 2006), 38.

This natural unity was not easy to imitate, and Huizinga, unlike Pirenne, was a 'model without a school'.[44] Nor was historiography for him a science with fixed rules and formulas. In the *Methodenstreit*, which was contested around 1900, he had sided with the German neo-idealists. History, he had argued in his inauguration as professor in Groningen in 1905, was the quintessential inexact science, in which knowledge arises not so much from the logical combination of critically observed facts as through more or less random associations. From this perspective, it is not surprising that Huizinga sought to broaden the thematic scope of his discipline not in economic or social history, but in cultural history. He wanted to observe 'the forms of cultural life in the past', and showed no reluctance to involve related disciplines such as anthropology in the process.

This led, after a long preparatory period, to *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* [*The Waning of the Middle Ages*] in 1919. Initially conceived as a study of the historical background to the culture of the seventeenth-century Republic, the book grew into a study in its own right of 'forms of life and thought' in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in France and the Netherlands. That culture, Huizinga demonstrated, had not been a northern renaissance, comparable to the revelation that Jacob Burckhardt had described in 1860 in *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* [*The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*]. On the contrary, it had been a culture of decline and decay. Huizinga demonstrated this in chapter after chapter—on the knightly ideal, on love, on death, on aesthetic experiences—with an abundance of detail drawn from the late medieval chronicles. It was a difficult, but unusual and fascinating book.

But *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* was not his only work. One year earlier, in 1918, Huizinga had published a book on modern American culture, at Pirenne's urging.[45] The parallel with *Herfsttij* is surprising: just as Burgundian culture had declined because of its excessive complexity, especially in the area of religious life, so American civilization was in danger of losing its creative power because its organizational capacity had been transformed into mechanization.[46] The book demonstrated the range of the new cultural history, and the extent to which historiography's thematic scope had broadened during the inter-war period.[47]

NEW NATIONAL HISTORIES

Although Huizinga wrote about America, national history continued to occupy a central position in history-writing in the Low Countries in the period between

[44] Anton van der Lem, 'Johan Huizinga (1872–1945): Voorbeeld zonder school', in Maria Smits (ed.), *Illustere historici: Werk en invloed van toonaangevende geschiedschrijvers* (Nijmegen, 1988), 104–30.

[45] *Mensch en menigte in Amerika* (Haarlem, 1918).

[46] See e.g. Wessel E. Krul, 'Moderne beschavingsgeschiedenis: Huizinga over Amerika', in id., *Historicus tegen de tijd: Opstellen over leven en werk van J. Huizinga* (Groningen, 1990), 177–207.

[47] On the broader thematic scope since 1945 see W. W. Mijnhardt (ed.), *Kantelend geschiedbeeld: Nederlandse historiografie sinds 1945* (Utrecht/Antwerp, 1983).

the two world wars. This was connected with the turbulence of the global political situation, which caused nations to turn back to their own past. In Belgium, it was only with difficulty that Pirenne's national synthesis at first held ground. Even before the First World War, it was contested by a Flemish Movement which no longer wanted to write the history of Belgium and was more interested in that of ('modern') Flanders. The first histories of Flanders had accordingly been published at that time.

The intensification of the inter-community struggle after the war fuelled the debate on how national history should be approached in Belgium. There arose a split in historical consciousness along community lines. In the Walloon Movement, the History Society for the Defence and Glorification of Wallonia, formed in 1938, prepared for separate histories of Wallonia. Only in this way, it was believed, would the Walloons acquire a truly national history.[48] The Flemish loyalists, one contingent of whom had conceived the desire since the war to dissolve Belgium and establish a separate Flemish state, continued their pre-war counter-discourse against the 'official' Belgian national conception of history. In 1936, one year after Pirenne's death, the first volume of a *Geschiedenis van Vlaanderen* [History of Flanders] was published which in the course of the following years was to develop into a monumental synthesis of Flemish history.

Walloon and Flemish national historiography were not the only challenge to Belgian national historiography. From around 1920, a 'Greater Netherlands' conception of history had also been propagated, mainly by the Dutch historian Pieter Geyl.[49] Geyl believed that the 'Belgicist' and 'Little Netherlands' historians had anachronistically projected the existing states of Belgium and the Netherlands back into the past and had therefore failed to see that a 'natural' unity had long existed that was based on a shared language: the Flemish and the Dutch had once formed a '*Diets*' race. The chance occurrences of history had scattered this unit across two states, a disaster that needed to be reversed by means of 'Greater Netherlands' policies and history-writing. This led to a series of articles in which the 'truly unconscionable number of errors, misconceptions and distortions' in Pirenne's *Histoire de Belgique* was aggressively pointed out,[50] and to the presentation of Geyl's own synthesis, a *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse stam* [History of the Dutch Race], the first volume of which appeared in 1930. But the book remained unfinished, as Geyl's linguistic-nationalistic perspective proved to be a straitjacket into which history could not readily be fitted.[51]

[48] Hervé Hasquin, *Historiographie et politique en Belgique* (1981; 3rd edn, Brussels, 1996), 109–39.

[49] On Geyl and 'Greater Netherlands' historiography see e.g. Lode Wils, 'De Grootnederlandse geschiedschrijving', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis/Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 61 (1983), 322–66.

[50] See Pieter Geyl, *Ik die zo weinig in mijn verleden leef: Autobiografie 1887–1940*, ed. Wim Berkelaar, Leen Dorsman, and Pieter van Hees (Amsterdam, 2009), 97.

[51] Cf. the assessment in Wim Berkelaar and Jos Palm, *'Ik wil wekken en waarschuwen': Gesprekken over Nederlandse historici en hun eeuw* (Amsterdam, 2008), 53.

However, the limited success of the 'Greater Netherlands' historiography was also related to the fact that the old Belgian national conception of history gained its second wind in the late 1930s. The growing threat of war, the electoral successes of extremist parties and inter-community tensions led historians to turn back to a conception that also continued to inspire confidence in the schools. There was a resurgence of enthusiasm for the Belgian nation-state, albeit superficially.[52]

In the Netherlands during this period of crisis, the ideal image of the seventeenth-century Republic returned to the foreground, including in Huizinga, who gained a strong international reputation in the 1930s. Like so many of his compatriots, he was convinced that the Netherlands was free from the nationalism of other countries: in 1938 he wrote that 'our country, thanks to the healthy yet not exaggerated international sentiment that prevails in it, is relatively immune to the disease of hyper-nationalism from which we see other countries suffering'.[53] Because of this, he had long cherished the notion that the Netherlands was better able than other countries to understand the cultures of its neighbours—Germany, England, France—and that it could therefore also play a mediating role between them. It was reminiscent of the European dimension that Pirenne had attributed to his country in 1900.[54]

However, the growing political and social unrest did not pass Huizinga by. He himself was affected by it. In 1933, as rector of the University of Leiden, he had to expel the leader of the German delegation at an international students' conference after learning that he was the author of an anti-Semitic pamphlet.[55] When he was castigated for this by the editorial committee of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, this prompted Bloch and Febvre, who greatly admired *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, to ask Huizinga to contribute to the *Annales*.[56] In the meantime, Huizinga tried to form a diagnosis of a culture he regarded as diseased. In 1935 he published his first great work of cultural criticism, *In de schaduwen van morgen* [*In the Shadow of Tomorrow*]. Central to it was the argument that cultural decline was the consequence of unfaithfulness to the ethical, aesthetic, and intellectual standards which should be fundamental for a healthy culture.[57]

In this chaotic world, Huizinga abandoned the idea that the Netherlands could and should play an active role in international politics because of its 'central

[52] Marnix Beyen, *Oorlog en verleden: Nationale geschiedenis in België en Nederland, 1938–1947* (Amsterdam, 2002).

[53] Quoted in Anton van der Lem, *Het Eeuwige verbeeld in een afgehaald bed: Huizinga en de Nederlandse beschaving* (Amsterdam, 1997), 226.

[54] Jo Tollebeek, 'At the Crossroads of Nationalism: Huizinga, Pirenne and the Low Countries in Europe', *European Review of History*, 17 (2010), 187–215.

[55] Willem Otterspeer, *Huizinga voor de afgrond: Het incident—Von Leers aan de Leidse universiteit in 1933* (Utrecht, 1984).

[56] Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, *Correspondance*, vol. 1: *La naissance des Annales 1928–1933*, ed. B. Müller (Paris, 1994), 442.

[57] See e.g. Léon Hanssen, *Huizinga en de troost van de geschiedenis: Verbeelding en rede* (Amsterdam, 1996), 317–51.

position' in Europe. Instead, he fell back on the conception of the Netherlands that offered him peace and security: the seventeenth-century Republic, which was now presented as a state, or rather a civilization that had clearly distinguished itself from the rest of Europe and had cherished its separate, exceptional status. To Huizinga, this unique creation had been an inimitable miracle. The war was already in progress when, in 1941, he nonetheless attempted to classify this miracle in *Nederland's beschaving in de zeventiende eeuw* [*Dutch Civilization in the Seventeenth Century*]. It was clear that he was seeking comfort in the seclusion of the familiar.

Huizinga's Republic was like an unattainable dream. His fellow-historians in both the Netherlands and Belgium were less susceptible to the lure of such a mystery. They were also now seeking cooperation. From 1939, they met at Belgian–Dutch historical conferences, which were organized annually.[58] At these conferences, a perception grew of the connectedness and the shared history of the northern and southern parts of the Low Countries. After the Second World War, this resulted in a further form of national history: the *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* [General History of the Low Countries], a collective project whose first volume was published in 1949, took as its starting-point the old Netherlands that William I had been unable to revive in his United Kingdom.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1794	French annexation of the 'Southern Netherlands'
1810	Incorporation of the Netherlands into the French Empire
1813	Restoration of the Dutch independence
1815–30	United Kingdom of the Netherlands
1830	Revolution and separation; independence of the Kingdom of Belgium
1830s	Origin of the Flemish Movement in Belgium
1831	Liberal Belgian constitution
1848	Constitutional revision in the Netherlands; Catholic struggle for emancipation
1870s–80s	Ideological opposition over education in both Belgium and the Netherlands
1914–18	The Great War: German invasion and occupation of Belgium; conservation of the Dutch neutrality
1930	Centenary celebration of Belgian independence; intensification of inter-community struggle (Flemish and Walloon Movements)
1940–4	Second World War: German invasion and occupation of both Belgium and the Netherlands

[58] F. W. N. Hugenholtz, 'De Nederlands-Belgische Historische Congressen sinds 1939', *Theoretische Geschiedenis*, 19 (1992), 186–201.

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Chapter 15

The Golden Age of Russian Historical Writing: The Nineteenth Century

Gyula Szvák

The turn of the nineteenth century brought significant changes in Russia as elsewhere. Classicism, an offshoot of rationalism, gave way to sentimentalism, and later to Romanticism; the age of national reawakening was ushered in, as it was throughout Europe.[1] Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin, a child of both centuries chronologically as well as spiritually, was a hallmark figure of the transition.

A scion of the rural aristocracy, Karamzin began his career as a writer of literature, but later came to be known as 'the father of Russian historiography'. By the end of Catherine II's rule he was known as the country's most prominent man of letters (perhaps alongside Gavrila Derzhavin). As a person of broad, European horizons he introduced sentimentalism to Russia, remaining undeterred from his Westernizing stance even after the events of 1789–90 in France. In his *Pis'ma russkogo puteshestvennika* [*Letters of a Russian Traveller*], the first volume of which was published in Paris in 1797, he notes that

> The Germans, French and English were ahead of the Russians by at least six centuries: Peter moved us with his mighty head, and in several years we have almost overtaken them. All the pitiful jeremiads about the betrayal of the Russian character, about the loss of the Russian moral physiognomy, are either nothing more than a joke or have their basis in ill-conceived and imperfect views.

In the following line, he puts things even more unequivocally: 'Anything *national* is insignificant before what is *human*. The most important thing is to be people, not Slavs.'[2]

These are twentieth-century thoughts. But in early nineteenth-century Russia they were on the verge of obsolescence. By that time the slogan 'Country *and* Progress' appeared in Russia, to be gradually overtaken by the dilemma of 'Country *or* Progress'. The Russians henceforth defined themselves as a nation, and for an

[1] On Romantic nationalism see ch. 1 by Stefan Berger in this volume.
[2] Nikolai Karamzin, *Letters of a Russian Traveller*, trans. Andrew Kahn (Oxford, 2003), 294.

increasing number of people this recognition took form in the cultivation of vernacular literature. Simultaneously, with the radicalization of the French Revolution, authoritarian regimes assumed a more repressive counter-revolutionary stance. Thus the abstract slogans of progress disappeared from public discourse. Yet all this did not happen without upheaval. A whole generation lost its ideals, becoming disoriented in its ideology and worldview. An intellectual gap appeared in public life, which prepared the ground for the hitherto suppressed 'nation' to manifest itself as a central subject of concern.

Historians refer to the Napoleonic campaign of 1812 as a milestone in the process of whipping up pan-Russian patriotism. It is no coincidence that less than two decades after the publication of his *Pis'ma russkogo puteshestvennika*, Karamzin writes, in *Zapiska o drevnei I novoi Rossii* [Notes on Old and New Russia] (1811), a treatise addressed to the tsar's sister: 'We became citizens of the world but ceased in certain respects to be citizens of Russia. The fault is Peter's.'[3]

Since it was not a public document, Karamzin's *O drevnei I novoi Rossii* took some time to influence historical thinking. This book was important for the history of ideas because it outlined the basic tenets that the Slavophiles would embrace later on. At the same time Karamzin's major synthesis, *Istoriia gosudarstva rossiiskogo* [History of the Russian State], the first eight volumes of which were published simultaneously in 1818 in an unusually large edition of 3,000 copies that were sold out in just a few weeks, defined the historical consciousness of generations. By that time Karamzin was a full-time 'court' historian who received a significant annual allowance from the tsar. In this capacity he was privy to the secret archives; therefore his monumental work written in the course of almost fifteen years, was well documented. But Karamzin had no intention of belying his novelist past. His credo as an historian was the Romantic approach: history written metaphorically in the style of literature, thereby influencing the reader's sentiments and imagination. As a patriot he meant to create a lifelike, exciting, and attractive history out of the seemingly 'lifeless', boring material of Russian history, one that was filled with subjects of flesh and blood both blessed and cursed with great sins and virtues. In doing so he followed in the footsteps of eighteenth-century post-annalist historians by focusing on larger-than-life personalities, while organizing his material chronologically on the basis of monarchical reigns. This kind of historical writing was especially suited to his riveting style and psychologizing inclination.

Several years later the publication of the ninth volume of *Istoriia gosudarstva rossiiskogo* (1821) received an enthusiastic welcome. Karamzin dedicated this volume to the second part of Ivan IV's rule, the *oprichnina*. Mincing no words, he depicted the feared tsar in such vehement brushstrokes that the tyrant came to life for the nineteenth-century Russian reader in all his terrible reality. When writing, Karamzin, as an honest historian, listened to his conscience with no

[3] *Karamzin's Memoir on Ancient and Modern Russia*, trans. Richard Pipes (New York, 1966), 124.

intention of sending a message to the holders of power. In general he had a positive view of tsarist autocracy; indeed, he thought of it as the foundation of Russian history. He resolved the 'Ivan dilemma' accordingly: Russia had to suffer through the yoke of the Mongols and also the torturing rigors of autocracy but had managed to withstand these tribulations through its love for autocracy and the consoling belief that along with pestilence and earthquakes God sent tyrants. Hence the monarchist historian remained true to his political ideals—though he was careful not to idealize Ivan IV's personality or achievements.

Karamzin did not live long enough to conclude his great work. He got as far as volume 12 and to the discussion of the 'Time of Troubles', but failed to finish it. Even during his lifetime, he was subjected to severe criticism, primarily from the emerging historical profession. Karamzin was incapable of organizing his archival material—which appears in his work in a physically separate form—into an organic unit. He told an attractive and exciting story of Russian history in sweeping chapters but had relegated documentation to sprawling notes. Karamzin remained a writer as well as an historian, yet his attractive narrative of Russian history stands before us in its full colours, offering a riveting read up to our days.

THE 'SCEPTICAL SCHOOL' AND THE AGE OF GREAT ARCHEOGRAPHIC EXPEDITIONS

The educated public responded immediately to Karamzin, but professional criticism labelled him a dilettante and rejected him just as rapidly. While his work on Ivan IV was extremely popular in anti-tsarist Decabrist circles, it elicited a strong reaction from one of the better known historians of the day, Nikolai Sergeievich Artsybashev, of whom we would know next to nothing had he not criticized Karamzin. We do remember the name of a truly amateur historian, Nikolai Alekseevich Polevoi, who attempted a novel synthesis—its title, *Istoriia Russkogo Naroda* [History of the Russian People] (1829–33), reveals the new emphasis on the history of the people—but his work went unnoticed and he died forgotten and alone. The irony of this situation characterized the whole 'sceptical school', which in the first part of the nineteenth century claimed to be the only representative of professional historiography, yet this school did not reach the reader, for it failed to produce a work of any significance. Still, it represented a step in the emergence of an historical profession.

Mikhail Trofimovich Kachenovskii is often considered the founder and leading representative of the so-called sceptical school, and rightly so, since he was the first Russian historian to establish a school in which his disciples worked with a common methodology. The problem for Kachenovskii and his followers was not so much Karamzin's storytelling as such, but the 'story' that had been hitherto identified with the early period of Russian history. Following the footsteps of August-Ludwig Schlözer, Kachenovskii asserted Schlözer's methodology of source

criticism even more radically than Schlözer himself. While his predecessor searched for philological answers to problems raised by the Russian Primary Chronicle, Kachenovskii sought to subject the whole of early Eastern Slavic history to a 'realistic' critique. Following Niebuhr, he went to an extreme in arguing that the unreliability of its 'maundering' sources made the early history of Kievan Rus in effect non-existent.[4] While Niebuhr's professional source criticism led him to produce a major work, Kachenovskii's inadequate training kept him from a similar feat. But the fact that he did not follow his sources blindly and used the method of comparative history in analysing them was a step forward towards conquering the legacy of the eighteenth century and establishing a nineteenth-century historiographical tradition.

The influence of Western historiography would not have become widespread and its new methodology would not have taken root on virgin soil had Russian historiography in the first part of the century not been able to follow up on the work of its predecessors (primarily G. F. Miller, M. M. Shcherbatov, and N. I. Novikov) and to surpass them substantially in the collection and publication of sources. Contemporaries found Karamzin's work both outdated and premature precisely because it had not been preceded by the systematic collection and use of sources and specialist literature.

This pioneering effort was the work of a few enthusiastic amateur patrons and many more equally dedicated professionals. A man of Catherine's day who received the portfolio of interior minister from Tsar Alexander I in 1809, Count N. P. Rumiantsev, started the work of organization in the spirit of Catherine's age. As part of his official responsibilities he oversaw the archive containing the documents relating to foreign affairs, and as an ambitious and dedicated man he launched the monumental publication of state manuscripts and treaties. Unsparing of even his own financial resources, he recruited the most able historians and archivists of the time, including Pavel Mikhailovich Stroiev, who would give direction to archival work in Russia for decades.

In 1817 Stroiev set out on a two-year expedition to map monastic archives in the vicinity of Moscow so as to uncover the unknown written sources of the Russian past. He was aided in his monumental task by another outstanding archivist of the period, Constantine Fyodorovich Kalaidovich, and the two of them copied and registered a huge body of documents. In the process they unearthed a large number of unknown documents such as Ivan III's Law Book. Later Stroiev continued his work as a member of the Moscow Society for Russian History and Antiquity, which gained a new impetus with the launch of a six-year project whose examination of the materials in the largest monasteries again enriched Russian historiography with an enormous number of recently unearthed documents. The collection of *Historical and Legal Documents*, for example, added

[4] See Mikhail Trofimovich Kachenovskii, *O basnoslovnom vremeni v Rossiiskoi istorii in: Uchenye zapiski Moskovskogo universiteta*, vols. 1–5 (Moscow, 1849).

3,000 more entries as a result of what would seem to us today an unfathomable amount of manual work. These labours led to the transformation of the original organizational structure: in 1834 the Archaeological Committee was established under the Ministry of Education. With this, they initiated the publication of the *Complete Collection of Russian Annals*, which continues to this day.

'OFFICIAL NATIONALITY' AND THE SLAVOPHILES

In the wake of eighteenth-century historical scholarship, which focused on monarchs and followed the literary traditions of medieval monks, a huge step was taken towards professionalism by the sceptics. But they lacked a method of conceptualization and therefore failed to come up with a viable interpretation of the Russian past.

The interpretive framework of Russian history originated outside the scholarly world. Even though the Napoleonic Wars forced the Russians to discover the nation, which simultaneously became a source of pride along with Russia's growing international standing, the closer acquaintance with Europe awoke ever stronger doubts about the West from the 'Gendarme of Europe'. Russian distrust only increased in periods of European instability, such as the revolution in Paris in 1830. The circular that became the ideological summary of Russian national identity in the time of Tsar Nicholas, and would preserve its hegemony in official ideology right until the fall of the tsarist system, dates to 1833. The first such statement attributed to the then minister of public education, Sergei Uvarov, is known as the 'Uvarov Holy Trinity'. This formula of 'Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality' would provide the intellectual pillars distinguishing Russians from the Western world: an emphasis on exceptionalism would provide the ideological ammunition necessary to transcend their inferiority complex at the same time.

This simple yet potent formula had a powerful impact on historical writing as well. Indeed, an entire school traditionally called 'Official Nationality' was organized around it. Mikhail Petrovich Pogodin, the movement's leading figure, was no mere court historian. Although he actively sought opportunities for political promotion, as an historian he tried to explain the peculiarity and universality of Russian history.[5] For all his ambition, he failed to win favour, and his books are not regarded as fundamental works of Russian historiography. Even so, his ideas were influential in the intellectual ferment of his time.

Karamzin and Schlözer served as Pogodin's role models, while Kachenovskii was his great opponent—alignments that reveal the duality that continued throughout his career, as did the social and intellectual tension between his

[5] See Mikhail Petrovich Pogodin, *Istoriko-kriticheskie otryvki*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1846), 57–82.

professional status and his background as a serf. His historical outlook was determined by the following dichotomies: one was the militant Norse theory versus nationalism, while the other was the different paths of Russian and Western development versus the deification of Peter I. These could not be resolved even by his famed 'mathematical method', based on the proposition that the 'truth lies in the middle'.[6] This was mainly because throughout his career he worked within the framework of Uvarov's tripartite doctrine.

Finally, according to his own admission, Pogodin drew close to the great ideological school of the period, Slavophilism. The first generation of Slavophiles formed as the noble and intellectual opponents of the political system. Their future rapprochement with the tsar came about because of a shift in the position of those in power rather than a shift of their own. There can be no doubt, however, that the Slavophiles were nationalists par excellence, the children of a Russian national reawakening for whom orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationalism were distinctive features and fundamental values of Russian history. They were the ones who welded it into a coherent historical and philosophical system, yet they were the intellectual disciples of Johann Gottfried Herder and Friedrich von Schelling rather than of Uvarov. The only real historian among them was Dmitrii Alexandrovich Valuev, but even he failed to leave behind an historical work of lasting influence. Their significance lies in their special place in the history of Russian ideas and the direct influence they exerted on the writing of history. The school was launched by the historically minded youth who attended the salons of St Petersburg and Moscow, and took shape around 1839, dedicated to the future by way of looking into the Russian past. Posterity put various labels on the participants—some of which were defamatory. Most often they were simply called conservatives, albeit not in the European sense of the word. Retrospective criticism stemmed largely from those who phrased their antipathy within the Western paradigm. There is no doubt that for the Slavophiles, the Western model was no alternative to the autocratic, bureaucratic system based on serfdom that they wanted to replace. The Western system, thought to be based on violence, unrest, rationalism, and heresy, was to be avoided at all cost by means of ancient Russian principles and virtues, and especially through perfection of Orthodox belief. This is why Peter I was their foremost public enemy, since he had diverted the Russians from the path of their own organic development. In their eyes, Russia before Peter was uncorrupted and promised a brighter future with its harmonic relationship between the people and the state, as well as the religious purity of its Orthodoxy.

This idealized past provided Slavophiles with their model for the present. Their conception of history was therefore a-historical in its disregard for facts: they were led by their preconceptions in unsystematically selecting historical

[6] Pogodin, *Istoriko-kriticheskie otryvki*.

events fitting their particular understanding. Thus their interpretation of the 'invitation' to the Varyags to settle and bring order was designed to show a primordial, voluntary alliance between the people and power. This argument was underpinned by a description of the 'Times of Trouble' after 1612, which told the story of how this alliance was reaffirmed. Although the Slavophiles were far from demonizing Peter I, they gave no recognition of his efforts to transform Russia.

They were not, therefore, interested in the facts of the past but instead in 'basic principles' of the past that they considered to be valid for the present such as the 'state', 'land', and the aforementioned ancient alliance between the people and power. Their contribution to Russian historiography was of little value, but their theory of the uniqueness of Russian historical development successfully served the formation of national self-identity and provided an intellectual model whose influence persists to this day. For this reason their influence needs to be taken far more seriously than the influence of those who work with the 'Western'-dominated concept of history.

THE WESTERNIZERS AND THE STATE SCHOOL

Contemporary thinkers who gathered in salons and intellectual societies were exposed to much broader ideas than Uvarov's doctrine. Piotr Yakovlevich Chaadaev was a retired staff officer, a celebrated socialite of the early 1830s, and a prototype of the 'redundant man' who, while doing nothing, was the first to contemplate Russia's past and place in the world on the level of ethical thought. His aura of decadent pessimism won a following and forced the Russian noble elite to respond. First in salon discussions and later in written form, he asserted that Russia was a country without a past.

> It would seem that in our case the general law of humanity has been revoked. Alone in the world, we have given nothing to the world, bestowed not even a single idea upon the fund of human ideas, contributed nothing to the progress of human spirit, and we have distorted all progressivity which has come to us. Nothing from the first moment of our social existence has emanated from us for man's common good; not one single useful idea has germinated from the sterile soil of our fatherland; our circle has given rise to not one single truth.[7]

In 1836 he published his first *Filozoficheskoe pis'mo* [Philosophical Letter]. Originally a private letter, it circulated in manuscript for several years and triggered furious public debate, even though hardly anybody agreed with it. Those who would tie Russia's fate to the West rejected it mainly because of Chaadaev's strong Catholicism, while Slav nationalists rejected it because of his love of the

[7] 'The Philosophical Letters Addressed to a Lady: Letter 1', in *The Major Works of Piotr Chaadaev*, trans. Raymond T. McNally (Notre Dame, Ind., 1969), 37–8.

West. Still, his credo 'rang out like a gunshot in the Russian night'.[8] The Slavophile and Westernizing approaches to the Russian past took shape in these debates.

It was the Slavophiles who in the wake of Nikolai Gogol coined the term 'Westernizer' for their opponents, who frequented the same clubs and argued for Russia's transformation according to the European model. This orientation stemmed largely from their historical consciousness of the intellectual foundations of German philosophy, which saw and represented world history as a chain of universal laws, as a continuously developing unified organism. The leader of their salon was the Hegelian Timofei Nikolaevich Granovskii, a Western-educated professor from Moscow University who taught the history of the Western world. Granovskii had a decisive intellectual impact on the first generation of Westernizers. The greatest and still influential school of Russian historiography—the State School—took its ideas from the ideology of the Westernizers, which split into several conflicting camps.

The historical value of the term 'State School' has been disputed. It is sometimes referred to as simply 'statist', sometimes 'juridical', and at other times 'historical juridical'; even the very existence of the 'State School' is sometimes rejected on the grounds that, for all the similarity of their ideas, its exponents represented a great variety of views. All historians agree, however, that Constantine Dmitrievich Kavelin, Sergei Mikhailovich Solov'ev, and Boris Nikolaevich Chicherin were founders of the movement, and that Kavelin's *Vzgliad na iuridicheskii byt drevnei Rossii* [A Survey of the Juridical Life of Early Russia] provided its first theoretical underpinning. The work's starting point is the rift distinguishing Russia and Europe: 'On one and the same continent, separated by a few peoples, Europe and Russia have lived side by side for centuries, alienated from one another, as if intentionally avoiding any close contact. Europe knew nothing about us, nor did it wish to; and we wanted to know nothing about Europe.'[9] Kavelin does not deny the structural differences between the Russian and European past, but describes them as a simple deviation of a few centuries that ended with Peter I's rule. Influenced by Hegel's philosophy and French historiography (primarily by Augustin Thierry and François Guizot), the philosopher Kavelin believed that 'laws' controlled history, including Russian history, and described history as the story of the rise of the state. He cast his lot with the community of Europe and Russia. His division of Russian history into a triad was rather speculative and mechanical, while the presumed triumph of the individual principle made it teleological. His concepts were related to the clan theory developed by the Baltic German scholar Gustav Ewers, who published in German and is regarded as the father of the State School.[10] Chicherin, who was ten years younger than Kavelin,

[8] Alexandr Herzen, *Byloe i dumy*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1982), 111.

[9] Konstantin Kavelin, *Vzgliad na iuridicheskii byt drevnei Rossii* (Moscow, 1846), 306.

[10] See Gustav Ewers, *Drevneishee russkoe pravo v istoricheskom ego raskrytii* (St Petersburg, 1835), 91–5.

did much to fill in Kavelin's theoretical framework, particularly in the field of institutional and legal history. In his fundamental work, a master's thesis entitled *Oblastnye uchrezhdeniia Rossii v XVII veke* [Provincial Institutions of Russia in the Seventeenth Century] completed in 1853, he focuses on the rise of government institutions, developing the thesis that in Russia the state developed from above, rather than as a result of the free will of its citizens. Paradoxically these two representatives of the State School were not so much historians as legal historians. The unquestioned authority of their views derived from the assiduous work done by the historian Solov'ev.

SERGEI MIKHAILOVICH SOLOV'EV

Sergei Mikhailovich Solov'ev is often considered the greatest Russian historian of all time, and as time passes his reputation has only increased. This is not to say that his significance was not recognized by contemporaries. He took over from Pogodin the Department of Russian History at Moscow University, then was appointed the Dean of the newly established Faculty of History, and later he went on to serve as the Rector of the University. He soon came into conflict with Pogodin, which led to angry criticism of Solov'ev's early works. His later work came under attack by the Slavophiles and radical Westernizers. Some attacked him for his support of autocracy and his pro-Western concept of history. Many disliked his 'dry' writing style and 'dull' lectures.

Less than a generation after Karamzin's synthesis, the thirty-one-year-old Solov'ev published the first volume of his monumental *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen* [*History of Russia from the Earliest Times*] (1851), which was followed by subsequent volumes every year—altogether twenty-nine of them—until his death in 1879. Although by this time Karamzin was considered outdated, his literary style still aroused nostalgia. If Karamzin represented the poetic style, Solov'ev stood for professionalism. His work embodied the results of Russian source publication and criticism, echoed the new schools of Western historiography, and expressed the ethos of the scholar-professor. The Prussian discipline and pedantry that he displayed in his classes and as a university bureaucrat was manifested most prominently in his work as an historian. Solov'ev was the first representative of the new type of historian in Russia, one whose synthesis integrated all the known sources and secondary literature, free from any aspirations to literary or philosophical success.

Like every decent young nobleman and intellectual of his day, he travelled to Europe, read Schelling and G. W. F. Hegel, and heard Leopold von Ranke, Jules Michelet, Thiers, Guizot, and others. But the greatest influence on his work came from his Westernizing professors, Granovskii and Kavelin, who in turn were all influenced by Ewers. From the appearance of his first volume, Solov'ev was often criticized for the absence of a philosophical system in his work. This criticism

stemmed from the lack of comprehension that history was by this time a separate profession and no longer a branch of literature or philosophy. The introduction to *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen* offered little if any conceptual discussion to aid the reader and did not so much attempt a periodization. This reveals that the author formulated his most general theses as he wrote—on the fly, so to speak—and also that, as for methodology, he believed in the primacy of enumerating facts in their most complete form.

Solov'ev subscribed to the theory of organic development and he asserted this principle when writing the thousand-year history of Russia. He was profoundly convinced that the history of his country had developed according to the same laws as European history, with the gradual transformation of tribal into territorial ties, the slow rise and later domination and triumph of the state. From this it followed that he attributed a far greater significance to local development than to the Norse and Mongol questions compared to earlier Russian historiography. He depicted the road from the formation of a unified Russian state to Peter's absolutism as a constantly growing success story in which the people scarcely played a role, in contrast to such centralizing autocrats as Andrei Bogoliubskii, Ivan III, Ivan IV, and Peter I. His appraisal of the 'Europeanizing' tsar was somewhat more complicated and changed with the passage of time. After the objective appraisal provided in *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*, he turned a Slavophile thesis upside down in his anniversary work *Publichnye chteniia o Petre Velikom* [Public Lectures on Peter the Great] (1872). 'Finally the glorious people exchanged accounts with its glorious leader. For this burning love and the deep, unyielding faith in them, this people repaid him with unprecedented endurance, gratefulness, and a success that surpassed all expectations.'[11] His image of Ivan IV was similarly complex, and for all his sympathy as an historian he concluded with Karamzin's moralizing: 'Upon observing this horrific figure, and perceiving behind the dark features of the torturer the dark features of the victim, the historian cannot speak words of justification to such a man, but only words of pity.'[12]

Although Solov'ev's *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen* could not meet the scholarly standards of modern historiography, it is still highly regarded by historians because it is so richly documented: in this way it can be used as a collection of sources. Its virtues are most apparent in its description of political and economic events, since Solov'ev focused on matters of the state. The Slavophiles in particular reprimanded him for his one-sidedness and his omission of the history of the people. There is much to be said for this criticism and the work would be better called a 'history of the Russian state'. However, his focus was much broader than a narrow political history. It is Solov'ev who embedded the significance of geographical conditions and colonization in Russian historiography. (Some of his

[11] *Publichnye chteniia o Petre Velikom* (Moscow, 1984), 51.
[12] *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremion*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1960), 713.

statements have almost become aphorisms—for instance 'nature is the mother of the more fortunate Western nations while it is the stepmother of Russians'.) It was on such grounds that he explained the different paths of Russian and European history.

VASILII OSIPOVICH KLIUCHEVSKII

The other giant of nineteenth-century Russian historiography, Vasilii Osipovich Kliuchevskii, followed in Solov'ev's footsteps, while correcting his one-sidedness and broadening the perspective. Just as Russian literature achieved its peak in the nineteenth century, so Russian historiography also produced its best intellectual products in the same period. Pushkin's age produced Karamzin, while Tolstoy's had Solov'ev. The second part of the century ushered in an unprecedented flowering of Russian culture and science. It was then that Dmitrii Mendeleev, Ivan Sechenov, Ivan Pavlov, P. I. Tchaikovskii, Modest Musorgskii, Nicolai Rimskii-Korsakov, Ilya Repin, Vasilii Surikov, Vasilii Vereshchagin, and many others reached the zenith of their creativity. If the description of a 'Golden Age', generally applied to Russian culture of this period, can be applied to historiography as well, this is due in large part to the work of Vasilii Osipovich Kliuchevskii.

Like Lomonosov, Kliuchevskii rose from humble social origins to become Solov'ev's student and then the heir to his department. Kliuchevskii coupled the resolve of a humble background with brilliant talent. His undergraduate thesis, *Skazaniia inostrantsev o Moskovskom gosudarstve* [Foreigners' Accounts of the Muscovite State] (1865), was published immediately to public acclaim and was reprinted several times. Kliuchevskii later dismissed it as the work of a beginner and did not consent to its republication, yet even this early work demonstrated his ability to unearth and analyse new sources and to formulate concepts, with a mastery of breadth seen only in the greatest historians. What is more, he did so with such grace and virtuosity that the contemporary acclaim does not seem to have been exaggerated.

Kliuchevskii went on to write a master's dissertation, the successful accomplishment of which was complicated by the formulation of a new concept of history whereby he sought to write a complete history of Russian society and way of life on the basis of a hitherto uncharted source: Russian hagiography. It turned out that this Sisyphean task—he examined some 5,000 hagiographical manuscripts—was ill-suited to a reconstruction of the complexities of Russian life. But his efforts yielded a fundamental work of source criticism, *Drevnerusskie zhitiia sviatykh kak istoricheskii istochnik* [Old Russian Saints' Lives as Historical Sources] (1871), and several extensive studies dealing with the social and economic life of monastic society that are partly still relevant. Kliuchevskii did not make the same mistake in selecting the topic for his doctorate, *Boiarskaia duma drevnei Rusi* [The Boyar Duma of Early Russia] (1882). In line with the tradition of the State School, he

examined the role of the most important organ of the Russian institutional system, the Boyar Duma from the perspective of social life. With one stroke he went beyond the work done by his predecessors by presenting an ostensibly state-related topic as a matter of social history. His institutional history, which set out from Kievan Rus' to the age of Peter I, became the history of the Russian elite and provided the theoretical foundation for his synthesis of the whole Russian past, *Kurs russkoi istorii* [The Course of Russian History] (1904–21).

Kurs russkoi istorii has been translated into all major languages and, like *War and Peace*, its title is known to every Russian. As a summary of Russian history it remains unsurpassed to this day. Its authority and popularity stemmed from its ability to represent Russian history in its unity, its coherent conceptual framework, and capacity to discern the essentials. Kliuchevskii's wit and aphorisms are sustained from the first page to the last.

In the second lecture of his *Kurs* Kliuchevskii develops the approach of his mentor, Solov'ev, into a comprehensive interpretation of Russian history. Declaring that colonization was an essential component of Russian history, he argues that changes in the forms of colonization determined the principal stages of the country's past. He identifies 'Dnieper urban-merchant Russia' between the eighth and thirteenth centuries as the first phase, followed by the period between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, which he terms 'Upper-Volga boyar and free landholding' Russia. The third period, from the fifteenth to the second decade of the seventeenth century, was 'Great, Muscovite tsarist/boyar, military and landowning Russia', while the last, which he terms the 'Pan-Russian tsarist/boyar serf-based agricultural and factory- and workshop-based economy', lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Even though his periodization has been disputed, it is clear that the author broke with traditional Russian historiography. Instead of tying the great changes of Russian history to specific events or even to the evolution of the state, he associated them with the great turning points of economic and social development. His interpretation of Kievan Rus' as an urban merchant formation is no longer tenable, but it is still useful in highlighting the change that took place in the mode of production of the Eastern Slavic peoples when they moved from southern areas suited to agricultural production to north-eastern areas that could barely sustain it. In the third phase he refers to the transformation of the centralized state, but again from the point of view of social history. His representation of the last period, which is basically a depiction of the empire of St Petersburg, reverts to the tradition of the State School. Kliuchevskii put Peter's reforms into a broad framework, emphasizing continuity in his argument that the new epoch began with the end of the 'Time of Troubles'.

Kliuchevskii completed his *Kurs russkoi istorii* in the 1870s, but continued revising it until the end of his life. He remained loyal to the State School in his acceptance of the importance of geography, the significance of colonization, and the history of institutions, but rejected the one-sided interpretation of

conventional political history in his determination to write a complex, problem-centred Russian history. Having studied the works of the leading Western historians of his time (Hippolyte Taine and Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges), Kliuchevskii had mastered the perspectives of social and economic history. His new synthesis became the standard for the best scholarship of his times; despite the relatively cursory manner in which he treats events approaching his day, he overcame the failure he had so often criticized in other Russian historians: that their results could not be tested by the international conventions of historical scholarship.

Vasilii Kliuchevskii revered his profession. He thought that history helped the world to see the present and indeed even to predict the future. But he did not think much about the prospects for his own age. Hence the pessimistic entry in his diary reads 'I am a nineteenth-century man who quite by chance finds himself in your twentieth century'.[13] Kliuchevskii did not embrace the new century, with its lurking cataclysms that he predicted but did not live to see. It has been 100 years since his death. The twentieth century did not obscure his epochal importance; and his works continue to teach us in the twenty-first.

THE EMERGENCE OF PROFESSIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

The years between the 1860s and 1880s are generally treated by Russian historiography as a period unto themselves. There are convincing reasons for this. The transition to the *fin de siècle* was organic and almost imperceptible, so that a rigid periodization fails to define this age properly as a historiography in fertile flux. On the other hand, after Solov'ev Russian historiography entered a new era. Its great, epochal representative, Kliuchevskii, was just one outstanding figure in an armada of great historians.

Not independently of European historiography, which was encouraged and inspired by the rapid growth of the natural sciences, Russian historiography's own dynamic emphasized professionalism, institutionalization, and the monographic elaboration of specific issues. The model was not so much the philosophy of positivism as the method that required the truncation of a problem into parts and their careful analysis. The age of great stories, of overarching histories of Russia, ended once and for all.

By this time history had won its 'struggle for independence' from literature and philosophy. Solov'ev's prestige had reached its zenith, propelling history through its next phase of development, which meant that archaeology, historical geography, and ethnography became autonomous disciplines and

[13] Quoted by Raisa Aleksandrovna Kireeva, 'Za khudozhnikom skryvaetsia myslitel', in A. N. Sakharov (ed.), *Istoriki Rossii XVIII–nachalo XX veka* (Moscow, 1996), 441.

published their own fundamental works. This was the time when the Russian school of world history, which represented a high level of achievement even by international standards, took shape. It was founded by an expert on the eighteenth century from Moscow, Vladimir Ivanovich Ger'e. His student, Nikolai Ivanovich Kareev, who was the first to defend a thesis on the French Revolution in Russia, went on to become an influential historiographer in his own right. Other outstanding figures included two Byzantinists, Vasilii GrigorievichVasilevskii and Fiodor Ivanovich Uspenskii, the medievalist Dmitrii Moiseievich Petrushevskii, as well as Maksim Maksimovich Kovalevskii, who specialized in medieval English history, and Pavel Gavrilovich Vinogradov, whose special field was also England and who also taught the young adherents of the 'Kliuchevskii school'.

The social confidence and esteem enjoyed by history, which secured the encouragement and support of the authorities, ensured the discipline a conspicuous public presence. The first professional journals (generally source publications) and professional organizations appeared; history departments at universities proliferated, and more people made a living from history. The period from the university reform in 1863, which provided wide-spread autonomy for the universities to the assassination of Alexander II, was especially propitious for historical scholarship. The profession was confident and looked to the future with optimism. The historical generation of the 1870s embraced the scientific ethos and considered the 'metaphysical' school a relic of the past. Of course, this is not meant to imply that historians made no attempt to produce general histories of Russia—but they now did so in scholarly monographs. Most importantly, they were able to rely on monographs written by their colleagues. Now, writing a history of Russia was no longer the heroic struggle of a lone historian but a synthesis based on the collective effort of contemporary historiography.

During this period expectations surrounding serf reform and other limited but significant changes were followed by a conservative backlash, giving rise to a variety of intellectual currents. These intellectual-political currents influenced the leading scholars of the day. Solov'ev was still teaching, but even Pogodin made an effort to revive his influence. Another representative of populism who at one time had competed with Pogodin, Nikolai Gerasimovich Ustrialov, published his multi-volume, outmoded (but document-rich) *Istoria Tsartsvovania Petra I* [History of Peter I's Rule] (1858–64). It was Dmitrii Ivanovich Ilovaiskii who assumed the leading role among professional historians with his textbooks and major work entitled *Istoria Rossii* [History of Russia] (1876), which was, however, obsolete at the very moment it appeared with its concepts and ideals dating back to Karamzin. The heroic treatment of history was counter-balanced by Afanasii Prokofievich Shchapov, who explained the uniqueness of the Russian people with reference to their physiological and

psychological peculiarities.[14] People played a similarly prominent role in the works of the federalist Nikolai Ivanovich Kostomarov, who drew a sharp contrast between Kiev-Novgorod and Moscow.[15] Because of his Ukrainian origin and consciousness, he should be listed among the greats of Ukrainian historiography had he not published so many works on the history of Russia in Russian. It was perhaps his national bias that led him to an 'artistic', emotional concept of history, which by that time had gone out of fashion in Russia.

Even though these books occupy an important place in the historiography, they are no longer read. Ivan Yegorovich Zabelin's 1872 work *Domashnyi byt russkikh tsarei* [Domestic Life of Russian Tsars], Vasilii Ivanovich Semevskii's *Krest'iane v tsarstvovanie imperatritsy Ekateriny II* [Peasants in the Reign of Empress Catherine II] of 1882, or the three-volume *Russkie iurodicheskie drevnosti* [Early Russian Law] (1890–1903) by the legal historian Vasilii Ivanovich Sergeievich that had appeared somewhat later, had a lasting impact. But the spirit of the times was perhaps best conveyed by Vladimir Izmailovich Mezhov, who published a bibliography of Russian historical scholarship between 1865 and 1876 in eight volumes.[16] In short, historiography became professional, institutional—and fragmented.

THE ST PETERSBURG SCHOOL

There is no agreement as to the existence of distinct St Petersburg and Moscow schools, their purported membership, or characteristic features. Many historians identified themselves as belonging to one or the other school and there is no doubt that they were at least geographically separate. Later the 'Petersburg' and 'Moscow' schools would acquire political connotations in the Soviet period, but originally they were distinguished along purely professional and methodological lines.

The profession was further divided methodologically and thematically. Research was directed at particular problems, and the publication and analysis of sources became increasingly elaborate. Following the earlier period of transition, it was now that positivist methods of research, given their factographic orientation, come to dominate the field. Historians of the St Petersburg School were in the vanguard of applying these new scientific methods.

By their own account, these historians shared a belief in the centrality of primary sources even at the price of neglecting historiographical traditions and abandoning grand historical concepts. Their colleague in Moscow, Pavel Miliukov,

[14] Afanasii Prokofievich Shchapov, *Obshchii vzgliad na istoriiu intellektual'nogo razvitiia v Rossii: Estestvenno-psikhologicheskie usloviia umstvennogo i sotsial'nogo razvitiia russkogo naroda*, in *Sochineniia*, vols. 1–3 (Moscow, 1906–8).

[15] Nikolai Ivanovich Kostomarov, *Istoricheskie monografii i issledovaniia*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg, 1872).

[16] *Russkaia istoricheskaia bibliografiia za 1865–1876*, vols. 1–8 (St Petersburg, 1882–90).

saw their *ars poetica* as taking shape under Schlözer's influence, but there is little doubt that it took final form in the course of the State School's internal rivalries.

Konstantin Bestuzhev-Riumin is usually regarded as the Petersburg School's first leading figure, though he did not embody all of its attributes. His master's thesis (which was in fact awarded a doctorate) ushered in a new epoch in the history of Russian source criticism. He studied contemporary historiography, published widely, and spent several decades on a three-volume *Istoriia Rossii* [History of Russia] (vols. 1–2, 1872–85) which was never completed. Due to his methodological proficiency and his open personality he attracted a large following of students, who formed the nucleus of the Petersburg School.

Of these, Sergei Fiodorovich Platonov was the most prominent: he became the leading Petersburg historian of the turn of the century and was one of the few also highly regarded in Moscow. He owed and still owes his high reputation to a monograph on an exceptionally significant and sensitive problem of Russian history. In his master's thesis he exploited the narrative sources relating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[17] Then, in what could be considered a modern approach, he wrote a detailed social and economic history of the early seventeenth-century 'Time of Troubles'.[18] He thereby satisfied both the Moscow and the Petersburg expectations. During his turbulent and tragic life—which ended in his exile during the early Soviet period—he penned a comprehensive history of Russia.[19]

The life and career of Platonov's younger contemporary and student, Nikolai Pavlovich Pavlov-Silvanskii provided a stark contrast to that of Platonov: he was barely accepted by the academic establishment and was never given the opportunity to teach at St Petersburg University. Despite his job as an archivist, he was—apart from his papers on Russian feudalism—considered to be a dilettante. Yet his papers on Russian feudalism,[20] which argued that aside from chronological differences Russian and Western feudalism were identical, ensured his popularity in the revolutionary period and throughout the Soviet age.

The later reception of Aleksandr Sergeievich Lappo-Danilevskii, the Petersburg historian most sensitive to problems of methodology, was quite different. He elaborated an alternative to the Marxist view of history, an alternative often considered an extreme example of the crisis of 'bourgeois idealism'. Recently, however, his historiographical significance has been rediscovered. But he was neglected in his lifetime, partly because of his reserved personality and partly as a result of his rivalry with Platonov, whom he regarded as an ultraconservative man of the 'dark forces'. Thus, at the turn of the century, the Petersburg School was polarized

[17] *Drevnerusskie skazaniia i povesti o smutnom vremeni XVII veka* (St Petersburg, 1888).
[18] *Ocherki po istorii smuty v Moskovskom gosudarstve XVI–XVII* (St Petersburg, 1899).
[19] *Lektsii po russkoi istorii* (St Petersburg, 1899).
[20] *Feodalizm v drevnei Rusi* (St Petersburg, 1907).

around two centres: the authority of the empiricist Platonov was unquestioned at the university, whereas at the Philology-History Department of the Petersburg Academy, the more theory-oriented Lappo-Danilevskii was preeminent. The liberal Lappo-Danilevskii was irritated by Platonov's monarchism; they also had professional conflicts over the history of Muscovite Russia. Platonov represented positivism, which by that time had come under fire in the West, while his opponent created a new methodology with his *Metodologiia istorii* [The Methodology of History] (1910). Under the intellectual influence of Immanuel Kant and the neo-Kantian school, as well as the late nineteenth-century German philosopher Heinrich Rickert, Lappo-Danilevskii was the first Russian historian to confront the theoretical crisis of his profession. He attempted to iron out the nomothetic/ideographic distinction; he believed in the conception of history as a 'pure science' while simultaneously breaking with the positivist trinity of source/fact/concept. Generations of historians learned the technical and methodological fundamentals of the profession from his diplomatic and strenuous efforts to publish sources, while his philosophy of history introduced Russian liberals to the basic values of liberalism. He died young and did not live to see Platonov exiled or being ranked ahead of Lappo-Danilevskii in Russia's historical canon.

THE MOSCOW SCHOOL

The 'Moscow School' is usually referred to as Kliuchevskii's school since all its representatives were his students and it would have been hard for any historian of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to avoid his influence. In a broader sense, the Moscow School was more sensitive to the large issues of history and were willing to make broad generalizations about it.

This characterization is particularly true of Pavel Nikolaevich Miliukov, whose talents provided him with every opportunity to follow his professor, Kliuchevskii, in becoming Russia's leading historian. He began his career as an eminent representative of the positivist school. Because it was so well documented, his master's thesis (the publication of which actually preceded his defence of it in the same year, 1892) remains an essential contribution to the literature on Tsar Peter the Great.[21] Only four years later he published the first of his three-volume synthesis *Ocherki po istorii russkoi kul'tury* [*Outlines of Russian Culture*] (1896–1903), which due to its sensitivity to the broadest methodological, philosophical, and conceptual problems, opened up new perspectives and stimulated Russian historical scholarship and intellectual life. His intellectual horizons extended to universal as

[21] *Gosudarstvennoe khoziaistvo Rossii v pervoi chetverti XVIII stoletiia I reforma Petra Velikogo* (St Petersburg, 1890–2).

well as Russian history. He studied the philosophical schools of his time from Marx to August Comte, and he was well versed in international historical scholarship. He owed his intimate knowledge of European history and scholarship to his other professor, Pavel Vinogradov, whose seminars honed the skills of the members of the future Moscow School.

Since Miliukov interpreted culture in the broadest possible terms, ranging from the economic to the intellectual sphere, his synthesis can be seen as an attempt to interpret the essence and totality of Russian history. Precisely because of the wide variety of intellectual influences on his thinking, Miliukov's history was eclectic. He acknowledged his intellectual debt to the State School; one also detects the influence of contemporary sociologists, the German Karl Lamprecht, and even of the Marxist focus on the economy. His universal historical approach led him to search for Russia's place within it, which—similar to the State School—he located in Europe. But he saw the peculiarities of Russian history in an even more structured way, emphasizing the role of the 'pathologically enlarged state' in Russia's development.

The historian Pavel Miliukov registered the dominance of the state in Russian development; as a political animal he tried to remedy it. Breaking with the life of a scholar, his career led him to the leadership of the Cadet Party, appointment as foreign minister in the Provisional Government, and finally to exile in Paris.

Since Kliuchevskii did not consent that Miliukov should be awarded the doctorate for his master's thesis, their relationship cooled. This might have been the reason why Kliuchevskii picked another student, Aleksandr Alexandrovich Kizevetter, as his successor. Eventually, when the departmental leadership was vacated by the death of Kliuchevskii, his place was taken by a third student, Mikhail Mikhailovich Bogoslovskii. Both could well have been representatives of the Petersburg School since their dissertation research resulted in works built strictly on facts based on newly uncovered evidence. Bogoslovskii's *Oblastnaia reforma Petra Velikogo* [Local Reforms of Peter the Great] (1902) and Kizevetter's *Posadskaia obshchina v Rossii XVII stoletia* [Urban Community in Seventeenth-Century Russia] (1903) became handbooks of their topics. These works were accomplishments of positivist historiography. The research interests and publications of the rest of Kliuchevskii's students reflect a wide-ranging scientific programme of grand scale. This is not to say that the school was a workshop, but Kliuchevskii's intellectual authority played a large role in it. The slightly younger Iurii Vladimirovich Got'e's *Zamoskovnii krai v XVII: Opyt issledovania po istorii ekonomicheskogo byta Moskovskoi Rusi* [The Zamoskov Region in the Seventeeth Century: An Attempt at Research on the History of the Economic Existence of Muscovite Rus'] (1906) and Matvei Kuzmich Liubavskii's *Litovsko-ruskii seim: Opyt po istorii uchrezhdenia v sviazi s vnutrennim stroiem I vneshnei zhiznui gosudarstva* [The Lithuanian-Russian Sejm: An Attempt at a History of the Institution in Relation to the Inner Structure and the Outer Life of the State]

(1901) or *Istoricheskaia geografia Rossii v sviazi s kolonizatsiei* [An Historical Geography of Russia with Regard to Colonization] (1909) are indicative of their scholarly ambition: the complete mapping of the state institutional system in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The utopian goal of a grand synthesis survived, although only as the avowed goal of a community of authors. The Revolution crushed or dispersed Kliuchevskii's circle of students, though many of them continued to work in their profession after 1917—some of them as émigrés, others in the service of Soviet power. Yet their work did not continue down the path their great mentor had blazed.

FROM PLURALITY TO MARXISM

Early twentieth-century Russian historiography was on a level comparable to its Western counterpart. It was European in its ideas, trends, and even in the results of its research. Russian historians were partners of their Western colleagues: they lectured widely, participated in study tours and international organizations, and published in Western journals, and their works were translated into several foreign languages. Similarly, they hosted their colleagues from abroad, reviewed their works, and translated them into Russian. There was also a Petersburg–Moscow dialogue, and collaboration of the various schools without regard to party or ideological affiliation. The large collective efforts of the early part of the century, the nine volumes of *History of Russia in the Nineteenth Century* and the six-volume *Tri Veka* [Three Centuries] series with the participation of Kliuchevskii's students, are good examples of the fruits of these. Alexandr Evgen'evich Presniakov took his place in the historiographical canon with his *Obrazovanie velikorusskogo gosudarstva* [The Formation of the Great Russian State] (1915); likewise Stepan Borisovich Veselovskii, who preserved the *sine ira et studio* ethos throughout the Soviet period. But Sergei Vladimirovich Bakhrushin, Yevgeni Viktorovich Tarle, and Boris Dmitriyevich Grekov were already flexing their muscles as well.

Besides mainstream positivist historiography, alternative philosophies of history and methodologies found their places in Russian academy. A spirit of professional pluralism allowed for discussion and debate, sometimes independent of politics and sometimes encouraged by it. These were the years of a 'general crisis' in the discipline, beset by the recurring scepticism that haunts the profession, and of the 'assault' of the newer discipline of sociology. Marxism was arguably a mere offshoot amid this rich diversity—despite the great promise of its concept of historical materialism, which powerfully influenced the *fin de siècle* intelligentsia, it soon became monolithic and the Soviet period gradually suppressed all alternatives. It should be pointed out that the two most famous representatives of pre-1917 Marxist historiography, Mihail Nikolaievich Pokrovskii and Nikolai Aleksandrovich Rozhkov, were both trained historians—both Kliuchevskii's

students, in fact. Their mentor's special attention to social and economic history would in itself have provided a good starting point towards Marxism, but there is no doubt that the decisive inspiration came from explicitly Marxist teachings, political sympathies, and their own revolutionary dedication. Thus these professional historians, trained to solve concrete historical problems, introduced a new trend by gradually imposing abstract ideological schemas onto specific historical material.

Georgii Valentinovich Plekhanov's *Istoriia russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli* [*A History of Russian Social Thought*] (1925), the first Marxist study of sociological thinking, provided them with an excellent example. Although Plekhanov was a professional revolutionary and not an historian, after writing several theoretical works on economic materialism he produced his *Istoriia*. The introduction summarizes his most important theses regarding Russian history. He relied heavily on Kliuchevskii's and Miliukov's interpretation of the role of the state and geographical factors and the underdeveloped status of economic and social conditions, but he came up with a novel answer to the problem of Russia's historical relationship to Europe. In essence he found that Russian history swung as a pendulum between East and West, thereby introducing the notion of the 'relative peculiarity' of Russian development, which would provide a more dialectical explanation than later the Soviet Marxist axioms.

Rozhkov's master's thesis of 1899 entitled *Sel'skoe khoziaistvo Moskovskoi Rusi v XVI veke* [Agrarian Economy in Muscovite Russia in the Sixteenth Century] was underpinned by a positivist method even though it concentrated on economic processes. This also applied to his other early work, the *Proiskhozhdenie samoderzhaviia v Rossii* [The Origins of Autocracy in Russia] (1906), whose periodization of history followed the stages of economic development but on the basis of schematic and formal grounds. Even though he accepted the existence of feudalism in Russia, he did not do so on the basis of Marxist theory. Nor did he attribute any significance to class struggle in the course of Russia's past, but he argued all the more forcefully for the inclusion of social psychology in the study of history. The transition to 'true' Marxism occurred only later in his career.

During his émigré years (1907–17) Mikhail Nikolaevich Pokrovskii had little time for historical research, so in writing his pre-1917 historical works he relied mainly on his memory and the historical literature. His four volumes of *Russkaia istoriia s drevneishikh vremen* [Russian History from the Earliest Times], published between 1910 and 1913, and *Ocherki istorii russkoi kultury* [Sketches on the History of Russian Culture] (1914–18), completed only a few years later, attempted to revise the dominant views of history; in the first work he was a veritable anti-Kliuchevskii, in the other an anti-Miliukov. (It is an irony of fate and of historiography that when Pokrovskii's own books were subjected to shattering criticism in the Stalin era they were termed 'anti-Pokrovskii' by the collective memory of historians.) Pokrovskii gave prominence to the economy (and commercial capital in particular) over the state, used the social formations theory, including

Pavlov-Silvanskii's notions of feudalism. The intellectual heir of revolutionary democrats, he appeared as the implacable enemy of the tsars. His politically motivated prejudices and the imposition of ideological schemas on well-documented historical material lent his works a schematic, sometimes even primitive appearance. The latter was not at all alien to the propagandistic ethos of post-1917 historical scholarship; it is no coincidence that it was Pokrovskii who abolished the teaching of history as such in schools as the Bolsheviks came to power. Still, it must be stressed that this was not yet the Stalinist concept of history: the interpretation of class struggle was still fairly differentiated and free from nationalist prejudices, and it made no concession to the Great Russian beautification of history.

The dominance of the Marxist paradigm, let alone the Stalinist one, did not follow automatically from several centuries of Russian historiography, despite its consistent receptivity to the influence of intellectual currents. Russia's was a historiography loyal to political power, which paradoxically provided it with enough independence to be in a position to play an active role in the rejuvenation of the profession by the first generation of the Annales School, and, in fact, it was well on its way to doing so. Instead, over the next seventy years, with only the rarest exceptions, it played a lowly role as the puppet of politics, while the only alternative was provided by old-fashioned positivism.

Translated by László Borhi

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1807	Treaty of Tilsit
1812	Defeat of Napoleon's invasion
1825	Decembrist revolt
1833	Code of Laws
1854–6	Crimean War
1861	Emancipation of the serfs
1863	Rebellion in Poland; Local goverment (*zemstvo*) and judicial reforms
1875	Trial of 'To the People' movement
1877–8	War with Ottoman Empire
1880	Loris-Melikov's government
1881	Assassination of Aleksandr II
1894	Franco-Russian alliance
1898	First congress of the Social Democratic party
1904–5	War with Japan
1905	'Bloody Sunday'; October 17 Manifesto
1906	Stolypin's agrarian reforms begin
1914	Russia enters the First World War
1917	'February Revolution'; End of the Monarchy

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Chapter 16

East-Central European Historical Writing

Monika Baár

The nature of historical writing, at least to a certain extent, is undoubtedly influenced not only by temporal but also by local circumstances. Accordingly, an insight into these conditions may prove indispensable to an assessment of historiographical developments in East-Central Europe. This is especially true since between approximately the mid-nineteenth and the mid-twentieth centuries, national history constituted the predominant tradition of European historiography, generating intricate links between historiographical and political developments. A further feature was the constantly shifting borders in the region: East-Central Europe displayed more frontiers and less coherence than any other part of Europe.[1] Behind these unsettled borders resided a remarkably heterogeneous population, representing a wide array of languages, religions, and customs. Typically, ethnic groups were not confined to clearly defined territories, but formed an inseparable patchwork of indivisible domains. It is in part due to these ambiguous contours that no consensual definition of East-Central Europe exists in historical literature. This chapter adopts, with some modifications, perhaps the most dominant concept, one which considers the former lands of the Habsburg Monarchy and those of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as its main constituents, as well as touching on milestones in Latvian and Estonian historiography.

A markedly emancipatory drive constitutes a quintessential characteristic of historical writing in East-Central Europe. In this context it is essential to take into account that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the constituent territories of the region were not independent entities, but formed parts of the Habsburg, Russian, and Prussian realms. Certain key events shaped the trajectories of historical writing. These include the revolutionary year of 1848 in the Habsburg Monarchy, as well as that of 1867, when the Austro-Hungarian Compromise was concluded. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, which led to the outbreak of the First World War and the defeat and subsequent dissolution of the empire, marked further crucial junctures. In the

[1] Louis Namier, 'The Downfall of the Habsburg Monarchy', in *Vanished Supremacies* (London, 1962), 139.

Russian-dominated lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which had ceased to exist politically towards the end of the eighteenth century when partitioned between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the two failed uprisings of 1830 and 1863 constituted watersheds in political and intellectual life. Importantly, the outcome of the First World War fundamentally reconfigured the entire region. For the Poles, the post-war settlement meant the restoration of their country and the three Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia acquired independent status. Slovakia became part of Czechoslovakia, while Croatia and Slovenia were attached to Yugoslavia. In addition, a vulnerable Austria and a Hungarian rump state, drastically reduced in size, emerged from the ruins of the Habsburg Empire.

The unsatisfactory nature of the post-war settlement, in particular the unsuitability of the Wilsonian principle of self-determination for a multinational environment, accounted to a large extent for the fragility of inter-war East-Central Europe. This was because, contrary to the expectations of the peacemakers, the creation of new independent nation-states necessarily exacerbated ethno-national conflicts, causing problems for minority ethnic groups and territorial disputes. Such conflicts culminated in the German National-Socialist regime's desires to achieve a new order (*Neuordnung*) in East-Central Europe through policies of forced migration and mass murder. Yet not even the outcome of the Second World War—the defeat of National Socialism by the Allied Forces in 1945—could produce a stable and peaceful new arrangement. Instead, the following decades of the Cold War came to be dominated by ideological confrontations between East and West.

Like their counterparts elsewhere in Europe, many of the historians in nineteenth-century East-Central Europe were heavily engaged in political life and believed in the compatibility of their professional and ideological objectives. Some of their major intellectual dilemmas reflected omnipresent concerns of the age and were thus shared with colleagues in other regions, while other preoccupations were either unique to East-Central Europe as a whole, or to individual national contexts. The significance attached to 'universal' versus 'particular' values and the acceptance or denial of the normative 'Western' model of civilization constituted fundamental dividing lines along which historians of East-Central Europe positioned themselves. They were also paradigmatically confronted with pressing economic and social problems in their societies, whether they interpreted them as signs of 'backwardness' or not.

In addition to such underlying themes, local discourses revolved around more specific concerns. Understandably, in Poland historians sought to uncover the causes of the partitions, and identify those responsible for their country's tragic fate. They also contemplated how the restoration of the state could be achieved and what form it should take. Although Lithuania's membership of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth marked a shared trajectory with the history of Poland, in the second half of the nineteenth century Lithuanian historians gradually disentangled the continuities between Poland's history and that of their own country



Map 3. Europe, 1938–42


Dvina
FINLAND
Helsinki
Leningrad
ESTONIA
Volga
Moscow
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
EAST PRUSSIA
S O V I E T U N I O N
Warsaw
O L A N D
Kursk
Kiev
Stalingrad
Dnieper
Don
Volga
Rostov
Caspian Sea
Maikop
Grozny
ROMANIA
Bucharest
Danube
B l a c k S e a
Baku
Sofia
BULGARIA
Istanbul
Ankara
GREECE
Dardanelles
T U R K E Y
PERSIA
Athens
Tigris
SYRIA
Euphrates
Damascus
I R A Q
Crete
Cyprus
Alexandria
El Alamein
PALESTINE
TRANSJORDAN
Tobruk
Suez Canal
A R A B I A
Cairo
Nile

and placed a growing emphasis on the medieval period of independent statehood. In the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy the individual provinces' relationship to Austria and to Hungary constituted a fundamental concern. Hungarian scholars had to consider the consequences of the failed War of Independence following the Revolution of 1848, while Czech historians were compelled to come to terms with the detrimental effects of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, which overlooked their demands. During the inter-war period, scholars in Czechoslovakia (and Yugoslavia) faced the challenge of providing retroactive legitimization to these artificially created entities, and scholars in the new Baltic states were likewise unexpectedly confronted with the need to offer historical justification for national independence. On the other hand, in interwar Hungary, the content as well as the tone of historical production was fundamentally determined by the devastating consequences of the Trianon Peace Treaty (1920), which radically reduced both Hungary's territory and its population.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT LEGACY

Enlightenment scholars made a huge contribution to the advancement of historical research through the formulation of new desiderata, such as the application of critical standards and the exploration of hitherto neglected areas, especially economic and social history. New and sometimes even revolutionary ideas, for example those generated by the French Revolution, also resonated with historians' concerns. On the whole, however, in East-Central Europe, German scholarship provided the most crucial impetus. To this end, Johann Gottfried Herder's considerable (although often overestimated) impact is common knowledge, as is the influence of a group of scholars who were associated with the University of Göttingen. Especially notable among them was August von Schlözer, whose pioneering research helped to elevate the position of the region within the European intellectual landscape. Moreover, Göttingen scholars' achievements in the field of political sciences, such as *Staatswissenschaften* (political science), likewise found an echo in East-Central Europe.

In the Habsburg lands, the reforms initiated by Maria Theresa and Joseph II proved to be particularly significant. The two rulers' centralizing and homogenizing incentives threatened the political and economic interests of the Czech and Hungarian nobility and acted as a catalyst for the growth of territorial estate patriotism. Local elites found themselves in need of new historical accounts through which to justify their ancient rights. Furthermore, Germanization intensified the national sentiment and contributed to the renewal of vernacular languages, paving the way for their use in scholarly work. The peculiar trajectory of the Polish state, culminating in its disappearance for a time from the map of Europe, inspired lively politico-historical discourses both among the ranks of Polish and foreign scholars (the latter including

Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Gabriel Bonnot de Mably). In general, however, historical accounts were produced by local scholars in the spirit of territorial patriotism and a major Enlightenment genre, philosophical history on a grand scale, largely eluded the region.

During the Enlightenment era, the majority of historical works were produced by clerics, some of whom had already voiced a preference for critical analysis as well as the use of the vernacular language. The first Polish historian to attempt a synthesis of history in the national language, Bishop Adam Naruszewicz, exhibited a monarchist orientation and believed that the downfall of the country was mainly due to the inadequacy of the Polish political system.[2] Historical discourses were often embedded in a broader cultural context. For example, although the two greatest figures of the Bohemian Enlightenment, Abbé Dobrovský and Joseph Jungmann, contributed primarily to the field of Slavonic philology and linguistics, their activities also provided important inspiration for historical studies. Croatian and Slovenian proponents of the Enlightenment benefited from the arrival of Napoleon's troops (1809–13) and the short-lived educational policy of the French protectorate of Illyria before the Habsburgs resumed power. Among them was the Slovenian Anton Tomaž Linhart, a secular scholar and Freemason, who instigated the foundation of what later became the national library in Ljubljana and attempted a synthesis of the history of 'Carinthia and other provinces inhabited by Austrian Slavs'.[3] In the Baltic lands, historical research received stimulation from the territorial patriotism of Baltic German scholars, who, for the first time, developed an interest in the history of the peasantry.

HISTORICAL WRITING IN THE ROMANTIC ERA

Scholars in the nineteenth century attributed an exceptional role to the study of history, and the Romantic period was without doubt the great era of the 'backward-looking prophets'.[4]

Whereas Enlightenment scholars employed a conjectural and philosophical setting in their study of society, government, and language, their successors in the nineteenth century took up identical themes in an empirical, historicized, individual-national framework. Furthermore, unlike the histories produced in the spirit of the Enlightenment, which appealed to the intellect, Romantic historians aimed to offer a history that appealed to their readers' hearts as well as to their minds. They also sought to extend their audience to the entire (literate) national

[2] Adam Naruszewicz, *Historia narodu polskiego od początku chrześcijaństwa*, 7 vols. (Warsaw, 1780–1824).

[3] Anton Tomaž Linhart, *Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain und den übrigen Ländern der südlichen Slaven Öesterreiches*, 2 vols. (Laibach, 1788–91).

[4] Friedrich Schlegel used this expression. See 'Athenäum Fragmente: No. 80', in *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*, ed. Hans Eichner (Munich and Vienna, 1967), 176.

community, an intention that necessitated the harmonization of the medium of writing with the requirements of the readers. In East-Central Europe, earlier histories had normally been composed in German and Latin, which was unintelligible to the majority of the population. Therefore a shift to the vernacular language became necessary.

The Romantic era saw the crystallization of 'grand narratives' in historiography. Characterized by a prescriptive tone, these usually contained an aspect of teleology, within which context historians often expressed an unfailing belief in the progress of civilization. Most notably in regard to national history, they were eager to demonstrate the antiquity, continuity, and uniqueness of their national traditions. Moreover, arguments were also influenced by historians' contemporary desire to achieve national unity. While these themes were omnipresent in contemporary European historiography, certain specific concerns were distinctive to historical writing in East-Central Europe and in broader terms among non-dominant nations. A major political and professional intention lay in seeking emancipation. In domestic circles historians promoted the extension of liberties to the unprivileged domestic population. However, they believed that the freedom of the people was impossible without the freedom of their own nation within the concert of other European nations (whether that meant complete independence or not). Nevertheless, demands for a change in the European status quo needed to be accompanied by a corresponding shift in public opinion. Enlightenment scholars approached the region through a lens of intellectual mastery: whereas they considered Western Europe as the epitome of civilization, they viewed Eastern Europe in terms of underdevelopment.[5] That image survived well into the nineteenth century. Ranke's *Geschichten der lateinischen und germanischen Völker* [The Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations] (1824), in which the Latin and Germanic nations were identified as constituting 'the core of all modern history', was a powerful and revealing manifestation of that stance. Ranke openly disregarded everything foreign to that core as something peripheral and, in that context, classified the Slavic, Lettic, and Magyar peoples as 'tribes'.[6]

Because their own existence was not necessarily recognized, historians in East-Central Europe had to find a *raison d'être* to counter the widely held contemporary view that groups of people needed to be sufficiently large in size before they could be designated as a fully fledged nation. Perhaps the most well-known manifestation of that approach is Friedrich Engels's distinction between historical and non-historical nations. Even as late as 1849, Engels contemptuously dismissed the Czechs, Slovaks, South Slavs, Transylvanian Romanians, and Saxons as 'historically absolutely nonexistent' nations who had never had a history of their own

[5] Larry Wolf, *Inventing Eastern Europe* (Stanford, 1994), 9.

[6] Leopold von Ranke, *Geschichten der lateinischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1535* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1824), pp. iii–iv.

and were doomed to extinction.[7] Thus the desire on historians' part to achieve both greater independence and recognition precipitated an emphasis on the necessity for change in the status quo.

The preoccupation with status enhancement was reconfirmed through historians' accommodation of their countries within the framework of European civilization: they sought to identify their nation's contribution to the advancement of mankind. In the Polish context this encompassed appeals to the brotherhood and solidarity of nations in their common struggle for freedom and justice: it was assumed that the Poles had shed their blood not just for their country but for the freedom of Europe. Moreover, Hungarian, Polish, and Croatian (and even Romanian) historians had recourse to the old trope of *antemurale Christianitatis*, asserting that their national community's sacrifice contributed to keeping the Turks out of Western Europe. Occasionally such explanations also served to explain underdevelopment in these countries: it was possible to argue that these nations were lagging behind precisely because their lands had been battlefields for centuries. At the same time, this argument also implied that the West enjoyed peaceful development precisely because of their sacrifice.

For all their tendencies to venerate national uniqueness, most historians in this era held universal values in even higher regard. For example, the towering figure of Czech historiography, František Palacký, who came to be known as the 'Father of the Nation', proclaimed that: 'with all my burning love towards my nation, still I praise the good of humanity and of learning higher than the national good'.[8] Palacký and some of his colleagues contributed so greatly to historiography that they deserve special mention. A brief glance at the individual output of some leading scholars of the Romantic generation in East-Central Europe may also prove worthwhile because it reveals the extent to which, in addition to the above mentioned general preoccupations, specific concerns dominated within different historiographical traditions. A glance at Palacký's work indicates that intellectual trajectories could undergo substantial shifts within the lifework of an individual historian, too. At the outset of his career Palacký wrote primarily in German; the first volume of his *Geschichte von Böhmen* [History of Bohemia], which he began in the role of the Historiographer of the Bohemian Estates, appeared in 1836. Enjoying a good reputation among German scholars, in the revolutionary year of 1848 he received an invitation to attend the Frankfurt *Vorparlament*. To his colleagues' astonishment Palacký refused the invitation, claiming that he was not German but a Czech of Slavic origin. This declaration was reconfirmed by his decision to resume his work in the Czech language after 1848. As the title of the Czech version of his magnum opus, *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě* [The History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia] (1848–76), reveals,

[7] Friedrich Engels, 'Democratic Pan-Slavism' (1849), in Karl Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 8. (New York, 1977), 367.

[8] František Palacký, *Gedenkblätter* (Prague, 1874), 152.

his resolution had momentous consequences: his new work no longer addressed the history of a territorial entity, Bohemia, but that of an ethnic group, the Czech nation. Consequently, the German-speaking population (in the Bohemian lands) was simply excluded from his history.

Many tenets of Palacký's interpretation are typical manifestations of historical arguments pursued by contemporary historians. To these belonged the assertion that his nation enjoyed a democratic tradition in ancient times and that feudalism represented a pernicious and alien development in his country, introduced by foreigners (Germans), although it never fully penetrated society. Historians in the Romantic epoch often fixed upon what they considered to be the most glorious period in their nation's history. In line with Romantic historians' 'rediscovery' of the Middle Ages, Palacký located this exceptional era in the fifteenth century. He undertook a pioneering study into the history of the Hussite movement and reconfigured it from a medieval heresy into a movement of European significance which foreshadowed many of the most treasured liberal values of the nineteenth century, including freedom of expression and freedom of religion. By casting John Hus and the Hussites as the first representatives (not even forerunners!) of the European Reformation, Palacký devised a markedly Protestant version of national history and sought to prove that even small nations could make a substantial contribution to European civilization. His fascination with medieval heresy was, however, by no means unusual: in this context Jules Michelet's portrayal of Joan of Arc as the symbol of the French nation presents an obvious parallel.[9]

Poland's foremost historian of the age, Joachim Lelewel, was an international authority in the fields of numismatics and historical geography: his *Géographie du moyen âge* [Geography of the Middle Ages] (4 vols., 1850–2) maintained a readership until relatively recently. Furthermore, uniquely among his contemporaries in East-Central Europe, he also contributed original ideas to the theory of historiography. Lelewel devised a powerful interpretation of history which was influenced by his republican democratic convictions. He held professorships at the Universities of Vilna and Warsaw in his youth, but because of his active participation in the uprising of 1830 he was forced to leave the country and settled in Belgium. His finest account of national history, initially published in French as *Histoire de Pologne* [History of Poland] (1844) and later as *Uwagi nad dziejami Polski i ludu jej* [Observations on the History of Poland and its People] (1854), succeeded in overcoming the restricted scope of earlier histories: it no longer revolved around the history of the state but focused on the relationship between the various social strata. Like Palacký, Lelewel expressed the belief that the pre-Christian Slavic period had been characterized by a primitive form of democracy, which was later ruined by the harmful impact of Germanic feudalization. He saw the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita)* as the pinnacle of Polish history and located the cause of Poland's downfall not in the inadequacy of its

[9] Jules Michelet, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, 1853).

political system, but in the aggression of foreign powers. According to Lelewel, Poland constituted the only large-scale republic in Europe, thereby defying the view that republicanism only suited small entities.

A comparison of Lelewel's approach to the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with that of his Lithuanian contemporary, Simonas Daukantas, the first scholar to produce history in the vernacular language, sheds light on a fundamental disparity. While in Lelewel's view Poland represented a superior civilization and thus undertook a civilizing mission in Lithuania, Daukantas understood Lithuania's entering a personal union with Poland in terms of colonization and foreign occupation. In this way, Daukantas was the first scholar to detach Lithuania's history from that of Poland and focus his attention on the medieval era of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy. He also elaborated a powerful claim on the antiquity of the Lithuanian nation by drawing attention to the Indo-European ancestry of the (Lithuanian) language and extolling his country's unmatched pagan heritage.[10]

Hungarian historiography reveals certain similarities with its Polish counterpart in its emphasis on historical institutions. The veneration of the ancient constitution and emphasis on the Hungarian Diets was reconciled with liberal values, and the accentuation of economic and social progress as well as the improvement of the situation of the unprivileged people was evident in the work of Mihály Horváth. Horváth's participation in the revolution of 1848 and the ensuing War of Independence forced him to emigrate. Only after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 was he allowed to return to Hungary. In addition to composing various versions of national history and undertaking pioneering research into the history of the Hungarian peasantry, uniquely among his contemporaries, Horváth produced two outstanding accounts of contemporary history which were published in Geneva. *Huszonöt év Magyarország történetéből* [Twenty-Five Years in the History of Hungary] (1864) was a seminal and monumental study of the so-called Reform Period between 1823 and 1848, which the author identified with the ascendancy of liberalism. In 1865 *Magyarország függetlenségi harcának története 1848 és 1849-ben* [History of the 1848–9 War of Independence], published in Geneva, followed. This book, expressing an ingenuous belief in the nation's collective longing for freedom, recounted the principal episodes of the failed War of Independence, and hinted at the necessity of reconciliation with the Habsburg dynasty.

Naturally, not all historians of the Romantic era were indebted to the tradition of liberalism, but the best pieces of scholarship came out of that tradition. To that end, it is worth noting that the first half of the nineteenth century was still characterized by the peaceful coexistence of liberal and national ideals. Furthermore, while the dominance of national history is indisputable, occasionally scholars

[10] The Lithuanians were the last people in Europe to adopt Christianity in the fifteenth century. Daukantas, *Būdas senovės lietuvių, kalnėnų ir žemaičių* (St Petersburg, 1845).

succeeded in superseding the national framework and addressing contemporary developments. This was the case with the brilliant historical account produced by the Hungarian Baron József Eötvös. His *A tizenkilencedik század uralkodó eszméinek befolyása az álladalomra* [The Influence of the Dominant Ideas of the Nineteenth Century on the State] (1851–3), was published in a German version in 1854[11] and exerted considerable influence on contemporary thinkers such as Alexis de Tocqueville. According to Eötvös, the dominant ideologies of the nineteenth century were liberty, equality, and nationality. Contrary to the mainstream contemporary view, which held that these were competing and irreconcilable forces, Eötvös sought to redefine these three ideals in a way that permitted their reconciliation.

POSITIVISM AND NEO-ROMANTICISM

Historians' achievements in the first half of the nineteenth century were multifarious and wide-ranging on the political stage and scholarly front alike. Nonetheless, because the availability of sources remained restricted, the professional ambition to provide fundamentally new, comprehensive histories could not yet be fully achieved. The need for professional source editions became even more pronounced when a new generation, usually associated with the currents of positivism, rose to prominence. The narratives of Romantic historians, who appealed to their readers' emotions, eschewed sophisticated methodologies. By contrast, under the impact of positivism, historians approached both their sources and the works of a previous generation from a critical standpoint. The new focus on *Quellenkritik* (source criticism), as emphasized by Ranke and his followers, was in accordance with the professionalization of historical research which put the application of skills and a rigorous methodology at the top of the agenda. New ambitions included writing history 'without illusions', and studying history for history's sake. Many historians expressed genuine faith in the applicability of methods used in natural sciences to historical research; they sought to turn history into an 'exact science'.

Such ambitions accelerated the publication of primary sources, and historians increasingly realized that only long-term collective activity accompanied by proper institutional frameworks could bear fruit. Source editions throughout the region were typically modelled after the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and *Monumenta Austriae Historica*. For example, *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, an initiative of the Hungarian Academy, was launched in 1857, while *Monumentae Historiae Bohemica* first appeared in 1865. Another sign of the institutionalization of historical studies was the increasing demand for the establishment of national

[11] József Eötvös, *Der Einfluss der herrschenden Ideen des 19. Jahrhunderts auf den Staat* (Leipzig, 1851–4).

archives: in Hungary this issue emerged in the revolutionary year of 1848, and in Bohemia Palacký propounded the idea of an official archive of the Kingdom of Bohemia in 1862.

As was the case elsewhere in Europe, historians increasingly relinquished the large-scale books that were aimed at the learned public and produced more specialized monographs and articles instead; such specialist accounts were only accessible to their own colleagues. Specialized works required specialized journals and professional historical associations. The Hungarian Historical Society and its periodical, *Századok*, was inaugurated in 1867. Subsequently, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* was founded in 1887 in Lwów (Galicia) and *Český Časopis Historický* came into being in 1895 in Prague. On the whole, it can be argued that manifestations of institutionalization and professionalization appeared remarkably early in East-Central Europe.[12] This phenomenon confirms a general trend in the history of this process on the European scale: 'peripheral' and non-dominant national cultures usually led the way, turning the absence of established structures to their benefit. Alongside this, the activities taking place in professional institutions could also be employed to support national ambitions.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the lion's share of historical research was undertaken by privately funded academies and learned societies, which were somewhat less prone to censorial scrutiny than institutions financed by the state. At this time, universities—where they existed—were not necessarily revered centres of learning, for they were principally intended to train loyal bureaucrats rather than erudite scholars. This situation changed gradually from the second half of the century onwards: with the professionalization of historical studies, the role of universities in academic research intensified and increasing numbers of independent chairs of history were established. It also proved necessary to modernize the structures of old universities; for example, at Prague University, in the years between 1848 and 1850, attempts were undertaken to introduce reforms in the spirit of Alexander von Humboldt's educational programme. Furthermore, in addition to the already existing universities, including those of Vilna, Cracow, Warsaw, Pest, and Dorpat/Tartu, new institutions of higher learning were founded, for example at Zagreb in 1878.

In Poland the tragedy of the failed uprising of 1863 against Russia prompted historians to abandon self-delusion and inspired a new scientific orientation, with greater emphasis on methodology. This anti-Romantic turn, which to some extent revisited the Enlightenment tradition, was initiated by a group of scholars who are commonly referred to as the 'Cracow School'. The most eminent representatives of this approach, Józef Szujski and Michał Bobrzyński, were both conservative and deeply religious. Józef Szujski's arguments were shaped by his philosophical idealism and Catholicism; he discerned the meaning of history in

[12] Nevertheless, in Slovakia, Latvia, and Estonia the breakthrough came only after the First World War.

change, and claimed that this was not identical with the concept of progress. Naturally, Szujski also addressed the trauma of the partitions and argued that these had been triggered by the Poles themselves. Regarding the backwardness of Polish civilization compared with the West, he asserted that this was caused by Poland's delayed integration in European civilization and its distorted political evolution.[13]

In the historian, lawyer, and politician Michał Bobrzyński, who in 1908 would become viceroy of Galicia, the Cracow School had its most outstanding representative. Bobrzyński's brilliant synthesis, *Dzieje Polski w zarysie* [Outline of Polish History] (1879), sought to invalidate the powerful Romantic legacy created by Joachim Lelewel. While his predecessor primarily blamed foreign powers for Poland's problems and backwardness, Bobrzyński attributed them to Poland's peripheral position and also to the Poles' own complacency, which had deluded them into thinking that general laws governing history did not apply to their own country. He also dismissed Lelewel's theory of unique early democracy as a myth and even claimed that, far from being harmful, German feudalism had contributed to Polish national survival. Furthermore, contrary to Lelewel, who venerated what he saw as Poland's unique republican institutions, Bobrzyński believed that the republican arrangement was an anachronistic system that failed to accommodate essential political and social reforms and thus expressed his preference for an efficiently governed monarchical state. Bobrzyński's thought-provoking book stimulated keen debate and had considerable impact on the mainly liberal and positivist scholars who constituted the 'Warsaw School'. Although Warsaw scholars engaged critically with the book, they failed to produce an account of equivalent standing.

The Czech scholars Jaroslav Goll and Josef Pekař appear in many respects to have been Szujski's and Bobrzyński's counterparts. Goll, who studied in Berlin and Göttingen and embodied the new 'professional' historian, was primarily concerned with the European dimensions of Czech history. He played an important role in educating a younger generation of historians and in the foundation of the (above-mentioned) journal *Český Časopis Historický*. Pekař, who was educated in Prague and Berlin and later became Professor of Austrian history in Prague, should be counted as the most outstanding Czech historian of his generation. His primary target was the powerful legacy of the Romantic concept created by the Protestant Palacký, above all the evaluation of the Hussite movement within Czech and European history. By this time Palacký's theory had gained even greater currency owing to Tomas Garrigue Masaryk (later the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic) having further elaborated it in his book *Česká otázka* [The Czech Question] (1895). Pekař's revisionist approach to the Hussite era was coloured by his own Catholicism and was supported by his innovative research

[13] Piotr P. Wandycz, 'Poland', *American Historical Review*, 97:4 (1992), 15; and Józef Szujski, *Dzieje Polski*, 4 vols. (Lwów, 1862–6; Cracow, 1894–5).

into the Thirty Years War.[14] Far from being an early manifestation of the striving for liberty and equality in the modern sense of the words, as Palacký had assumed, for Pekař the Hussite movement was simply a medieval heresy. Pekař's highly original contribution to the interpretation of Czech history, *Smysl českých dějin* [The Meaning of Czech History] (1929),[15] disagreed with Masaryk's view according to which the issue of humanity and democracy was at the core of the Hussites' ideology and the movement was of universal significance.[16]

It is interesting to contrast the time-frame of 'revisionism' with the Slovak context: while Czech scholars such as Pekař embarked on the deconstruction of existing powerful narratives from the late nineteenth century onwards, the underlying themes of Slovak historiography, such as the Slovaks' 1,000-year suffering under the Kingdom of Hungary, were soon to be thoroughly elaborated. Similarly to Lithuanian scholars who had started to view their country's history as separate from that of Poland, Slovak historians such as Július Botto, increasingly dissociated themselves from the history of the Hungarian kingdom through the forging of continuities between the time of the Great Moravian Empire in the ninth century and that of the Slovaks a millennium later. Botto and his successors constructed an idealized account of the Slovak 'national awakening'.[17] It was only after 1918 that some historians started to distance themselves from that interpretation, by pointing out that, far from being a manifestation of the Slovak people's collective desire for liberty, the revival was initially a pragmatic concern of a handful of people.

In the second half of the nineteenth century positivism also found an echo in Hungary as scholars ventured into hitherto unexplored fields of economic and social history such as the history of taxation. Perhaps the most prolific historian of this orientation was Henrik Marczali. The son of a rabbi, Marczali was educated in Berlin, Paris, and Oxford. His interests ranged from early medieval to contemporary history and at the university he taught the best scholars of the next generation. He wrote several monographs on Hungarian history, one of which appeared in English and has remained a definitive account ever since.[18] The unresolved question of the Hungarians' origins sparked interest in oriental studies, yielding outstanding scholars such as the ethnographer Ármin Vámbéry, who also undertook extensive journeys in Asia, and Ignác Goldziher, an internationally acclaimed founder of the modern critical study of the Islam.

The first outstanding representative of Croatian historiography, the priest Franjo Rački, took a specific interest in the medieval period and in the problem

[14] Josef Pekař, *Kniha o Kosti* (Prague, 1909). See Maciej Janowski, 'Three Historians', *CEU History Department Yearbook* (2001–2), 207.

[15] Translated into German as *Von der Sinn der tschechischen Geschichte* (Munich, 1961).

[16] Richard Georg Plaschka, *Von Palacký bis Pekař: Geschichtswissenschaft und Nationalbewusstsein bei den Tschechen* (Graz and Cologne, 1955), 77, 82.

[17] Július Botto, *Slováci: Vývin ich národného povedomia* (Martin, 1906).

[18] Henrik Marczali, *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1910).

of Croatia's position within the Hungarian state. He undertook research in the Vatican archives and initiated the editing of the most significant Croatian historical documents.[19] Rački's work was further elaborated by the greatest personality within Croatian historiography, Fedro Šišič, who had been heavily influenced by positivism. Šišič was particularly fascinated with early medieval Croatian history, and revealed a keen interest in the question of South Slav unity, as well as the relationship between Serbian and Croatian culture.[20]

A crucial ambition of historians under the impact of positivism lay in the deconstruction of the myths created by their predecessors. Despite this critical stance, it was precisely through their intense engagement with the Romantic tradition, and through rendering it as their vantage point, that positivist historians contributed significantly to the canonization of their predecessors' legacy. Furthermore, while the credibility of earlier myths was now questioned, in their search for the 'naked truth', positivist historians created their own master narratives and myths, wrapped in the language of the objective scientific method. With growing awareness of this shortcoming, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a new generation of scholars came to regard positivist historians' emphasis on method as narrow-minded. Thus, instead of following in the footsteps of their predecessors, they derived inspiration from revisiting the legacy of Romanticism. An outstanding representative of this neo-Romantic trend was Szymon Askenazy of Lvov (Lemberg), the first Polish scholar to contribute to the *Cambridge Modern History* (1902–12).[21] In common with most of his predecessors, Askenazy's point of departure was the problem of the partitions. He asserted that Poland was neither a chosen country nor a victim nation, and questioned the unique nature of the partitions. He concluded that Poland's fall was simply due to its greater degree of vulnerability compared with other nations. He also believed that the Poles were perfectly capable of regaining their independence.

INTER-WAR TRAJECTORIES

The precarious political and intellectual climate in inter-war Europe—the slide of nationalism from the left to the right-wing end of the political spectrum, and the rise of authoritarian regimes—left an indelible mark on the nature of historical writing. Influenced by German and Austrian scholarship, some historians in East-Central Europe professed that lifeless method was meant to be a tool and not the ultimate aim of research and they believed that what really mattered in history was the spirit (*Geist*). Although the ideological commitment of historians

[19] Franjo Rački, *Documenta historiae chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia* (Zagreb, 1877).

[20] Ferdo Šišič, *Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vladara* (Zagreb, 1925).

[21] Szymon Askenazy, 'Poland and the Polish Revolution', in A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, and Stanley Leathes (eds.), *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 10 (Cambridge, 1907), 445–74.

following this tradition of *Geistesgeschichte* was glaringly obvious, this did not prevent some of them from producing high-quality work. Another field that also found its representatives in East-Central Europe was economic and social history as well as the history of mentalities, mainly under the inspiration of French scholarship. However, these new trends did not spread throughout the academic landscape of every region evenly: while *Geistesgeschichte* enjoyed great popularity and prestige in Hungary, in Poland it passed almost unnoticed. On the other hand, Polish scholars offered pioneering accounts of social and economic history.

Several members of the pre-war generation continued their work in the inter-war period, but research usually had to take the new conditions into account. In East-Central Europe historians found themselves confronted with fundamental territorial rearrangements, and consequently with the need to adjust historical master narratives. This was particularly evident in Poland's case: attention was directed away from the question of how and why the state had fallen towards contemplating the contours of re-emerging Poland.[22] Accordingly, historians' interests shifted to the recent past, especially to the nineteenth century, and they also sought to comprehend the international context of the Polish question.

National independence also improved the circumstances of institutionalized research, which in turn yielded several outstanding scholars in the region. Among them was the Polish Marceli Handelsman, a scholar of Jewish origin who was associated with the moderate left wing of the political spectrum and remained a staunch defender of democratic values until his murder by the Germans in 1945. Handelsman's research interests included medieval and modern history, and he wrote his *magnum opus* on Prince Adam Czartoryski and his era.[23] Quite exceptionally, he also contributed to methodological and theoretical problems. Handelsman's interest in the national minorities in Poland and his aim of promoting inter-ethnic reconciliation inspired him to found the Institute for the Study of Nationalities in 1921, while his dedication to the history of the Slavic world prompted him to set up the Institute for East European Research in Warsaw in 1927. Another brilliant contributor to inter-war scholarship was Franciszek Bujak, who distinguished himself through innovative research into social and economic history. Bujak believed that the medieval economy functioned on fundamentally different lines from those of the modern economy and could thus only be understood by the application of a historical approach.[24] The pioneering studies of Stanisław Kot into the history of education and that of the Polish Reformation enriched cultural history. Kot's monograph on the political and social doctrines of the Polish Antitrinitarian Brethren was also translated into English.[25]

[22] Wandycz, 'Poland', 1017.

[23] Marceli Handelsman, *Adam Czartoryski* (Warsaw, 1948).

[24] Franciszek Bujak, *Poland's Economic Development: A Short Sketch* (London, 1926).

[25] Stanisław Kot, *Socianism in Poland: The Social and Political Ideas of the Polish Antitrinitarians* (Boston, 1957).

Inter-war Czech historiography also faced new challenges: national independence rendered the assessment of the Habsburg legacy less relevant, but scholars found themselves confronted with the need to forge a Czechoslovak identity and even to try to find the roots of that identity in the past. Even in this era the Hussite legacy continued to occupy historians' attention: religious history was a primary interest of Kamil Krofta, a student of Jaroslav Goll, and he reassessed the Hussite movement as part of a progressive tradition.[26] In broader terms, the question about the meaning of Czech history, which had originally been the focus of the debate between Pekař and Masaryk, acquired new resonance in the late 1930s, when the existence of the state became threatened by German expansionism. Krofta also produced a pioneering study on the history of the peasants in Bohemia.[27] His colleague, Josef Šusta, likewise ventured into the confines of social and economic history, with a primary interest in the rise of Bohemia as an economic and political power.[28] Zdeněk Nejedlý, a somewhat idiosyncratic scholar with socialist convictions, evolved into a dominant intellectual in inter-war Czechoslovakia and acquired an even more authoritative role after 1948, as the first Minister of Education following the communist takeover. Nejedlý wrote inventive essays on the Hussite songs as historical documents and also studied the history of modern opera.[29] Last but not least, the outstanding achievements of the assirologist Bedřich Hrozný deserve mention. A professor of Prague University, his world-famous achievement lay in deciphering the Hittite language on the basis of the findings of Boghazköy (Hattusa/Turkey).[30]

Unsurprisingly, Slovak historians remained less convinced of the legitimacy of common Czechoslovak history than their Czech counterparts. The Czech Kamil Krofta, who, while on a diplomatic mission in Vienna, delivered lectures at the newly established nearby University of Bratislava, emphasized the aspect of a natural cultural unity. This common heritage, he argued, rendered the Slovaks closer to the Czechs than to the Hungarians, in whose state they had resided for centuries. On the other hand, the most significant Slovak historian of the inter-war era, Daniel Rapant, explicitly questioned the meaningfulness of 'Czechoslovak' historiography, alluding to its fabricated nature and lack of roots before the emergence of the new Czechoslovak state in 1918.[31] This debate became irrelevant between 1939 and 1945, the era of the short-lived existence of the independent wartime Slovak state, when official history came to venerate the dictatorial state leader Andrej Hlinka and tried to 'purify' Slovak history of its Czech 'vestiges'.

[26] Kamil Krofta, *Žižka a husitská revoluce* (Prague, 1936).

[27] Kamil Krofta, *Přehled dějin selského stavu v Čechách a na Moravě* (Prague, 1919).

[28] Josef Šusta, *Dvě knihy českých dějin*, vols. 1–2 (Prague, 1926, 1935).

[29] Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Počátky husitského zpěvu* (Prague, 1907); and *Dějiny operu Národního divadla*, 2 vols. (Prague, 1949).

[30] Bedřich Hrozný, *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi in Umschrift, mit Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Leipzig, 1919).

[31] Daniel Rapant, 'Československé dejiny', in Josef Pekař (ed.), *Od pravěku k dnešku* (Prague, 1930), 531–63.

Hungary's trajectory following the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire and the loss of the war diverged fundamentally from those of other nations in the region. The post-war settlement, while it initially provided grounds for optimism elsewhere, brought only the Peace Treaty of Trianon and the frustrating experience of Bolshevism for Hungarians. Historians never quite recovered from the trauma caused by Hungary's loss of two-thirds of its pre-war territory and nearly 60 per cent of its pre-war population (more than 3 million of whom were ethnic Hungarians). This shocking experience and the need to compensate for the immense loss motivated scholars to emphasize unique spiritual values and assert Hungary's cultural superiority over its neighbouring countries. The quintessential exponent of this idea was Gyula Szekfű, whose career began in the positivist spirit by his challenging of the national-Romantic myths. He then went on to become the leading representative of *Geistesgeschichte*, and his highly influential *Három nemzedék: Egy hanyatló kor története* [Three Generations: The History of a Declining Age] (1920) assessed the prosperity and subsequent decline of Hungarian political and spiritual life between the beginning of the reform age in 1825 and the collapse of the Hungarian state in 1918. Szekfű held the representatives of Hungarian liberalism, primarily the gentry and the Jews, accountable for the decline.[32] While he endorsed Hungary's debt to Catholic Austria and to German culture, another prominent historian of the inter-war period, Elemér Mályusz, developed his own ethno-historical school, rejecting Szekfű's emphasis on Western influences. Instead, he insisted on the contributions of a special and original Hungarian spirit to intellectual developments. A multi-volume source publication series initiated by Kuno Klebelsberg, chairman of the Hungarian Historical Association, who also served as Minister of Culture during the 1920s, looked into the underlying causes of Hungary's tragedy.[33] A highly innovative historian, István Hajnal, under the influence of contemporary German sociology, developed an individual hypothesis on societal progress and on the role played by literacy and technology.[34]

The acquisition of national independence considerably boosted historical research in the three Baltic countries. Lithuanian historiography had possessed relatively solid foundations, on which the inter-war generation could build. The situation was different in Latvia and Estonia, where the foundations of professional research—institutes and journals—were about to be laid. A peculiarity of Baltic historiography lay in its close relationship to folklore studies, a discipline to which historians could make recourse when seeking to emancipate themselves

[32] Istvan Deak, 'Hungary', *American Historical Review*, 97:4 (1992), 1050. In a sequel to his book *Három nemzedék és ami utána következik* (Budapest, 1934), Szekfű himself recognized the dangers of spiritualizing the nation's historical experience and in his late career his ideas acquired a leftist orientation.

[33] *Magyarország újabbkori forrásainak története: Fontes historia Hungaricae recentoris* (Budapest, 1921–).

[34] István Hajnal, *Az újkor története* (Budapest, 1936).

from earlier versions of history, produced mainly by Baltic German historians. Their ambition was to replace territorial history (*Landesgeschichte*) with the history of the people (*Volksgeschichte*), and simultaneously elevate their nations from their former role as 'passive objects' to 'active agents' in history. At the same time, they sought to devise new chronologies instead of the traditional mould which revolved around foreign (German, Polish, Swedish, and Russian) epochs. Latvian historiography enjoyed a golden age in the 1930s. Its outstanding representative, Arveds Švābe, attempted to prove the primacy of Latvian over German civilization since the Middle Ages.[35] His Estonian contemporary Eduard Laaman, wrote his *magnum opus* on the birth of Estonian independence.[36] Although it contained elements of anti-Russian and anti-German sentiment, this was nevertheless an excellent study, benefiting from the relatively liberal intellectual climate and thus unfettered by the pressures which the authoritarian regime imposed on scholars in subsequent years.

It was during the inter-war period that the careers of two outstanding regional experts were launched. Oskar Halecki prepared his *Borderlands of Western Civilization*, which would mark a watershed at the time of its publication in 1952. Halecki reminded his readers that East-Central Europe, positioned between the West and the Orthodox East, shared a historical trajectory with Western civilization. His book drew attention to the fact that the aggregate number of peoples of East-Central Europe exceeded that of both Germany and Russia. Halecki's Czech counterpart was Josef Macůrek, who also had an explicit interest in historiographical developments, including the Byzantine Empire. His *Dějepisectví evropského východu* [Historiography of Eastern Europe] (1946) has remained a standard reference work ever since.

The Second World War wrought serious devastation upon East-Central Europe. Not only the lives of millions of people, but also numerous libraries and archives fell victim to the atrocities. The outcome of the war was equally traumatic: East-Central Europe became part of the Soviet-dominated world, and the three Baltic states were incorporated into the Soviet Union. This led to a fundamental reorientation of academic life, bringing about, among other things, the domination of the Marxist paradigm in historical research.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

By and large, historiographical trends in the region followed 'mainstream' developments, although they typically occurred later than in the 'West'. There is no doubt that the genre of national history dominated the era. To that end, as we have seen, a 'colour locale' of historiography in East-Central Europe lay in its

[35] Arveds Švābe, *Latvijas vēsture, 1800–1914* (Stockholm, 1958).
[36] Eduard Laaman, *Eesti iseseisvuse sund*, vols. 1–6 (Tartu, 1936–8).

explicit orientation toward emancipation. Furthermore, as the history of the region typically abounded in tragic events, in addition to its traditional role—the maintenance of memory—historical writing increasingly assumed the role of consolation and self-defence. Because historians were typically preoccupied with political concerns of immediate urgency, little scope remained for deliberations on the theory or philosophy of history. German scholarship made the most pronounced impact on the region, though French and, in the Slavic countries, Russian influence was also considerable. On the other hand, the reception of British historiography was relatively modest.

Enlightenment-style territorial and estate patriotism inspired scholars to undertake the first study into the history of the fatherland. The Romantic tradition represented not rupture, but rather continuity with the Enlightenment tradition: it often resumed the study of themes that were of primary interest to Enlightenment historians, albeit not in a universal but in individual-national contexts. This was often accompanied by a conceptual metamorphosis whereby the territorial concept of history was replaced by an ethnic one. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries historians' greatest ambition was to provide a monumental synthesis of national history, but this was only rarely fulfilled. This does not mean, however, that such projects should be considered failures: the fact that multi-volume histories could not be completed was far less significant than their stimulating impact on the organization of professional research. The appearance of dominant trends in historical writing revealed significant temporal variations across the region. This was because, as we have seen, political traumas (such as those of 1848 and 1863) considerably influenced not only the mindset of individual historians, but also the functioning (or non-functioning) of academic institutions. This explains why in some national contexts the second half of the nineteenth century saw the influx of positivist ideas, as well as the advent of historicism and neo-Romanticism, while in other cases it was not until this epoch that the first Romantic-style narratives began to take shape. On the whole, the phenomenon of syncretism, that is the simultaneous occurrence/presence of intellectual trends, which in mainstream 'Western' historiography were usually more confined to discrete epochs, is a general peculiarity of the intellectual life of East-Central Europe.

At the national level certain fundamental divisions in historiography persisted for decades or even for centuries. These included, for example, in Poland a monarchist versus republican orientation, while Czech and to some extent Slovak and Hungarian historiography were marked by a confessional—Catholic versus Protestant—divide; in that context Catholic historians usually had a more appreciative view of their country's shared history with the Habsburgs. Generations following each other often sought to invalidate the work of their immediate predecessors: a typical manifestation of this pattern was the positivist historians' approach to the tradition of Romanticism and, in turn, the neo-Romantic school's attitude to the legacy of positivism. On the whole, just as elsewhere in Europe, political history constituted the principal genre of historical scholarship in the period under discussion.

The process of institutionalization and professionalization commenced in the nineteenth century and received new impetus in the inter-war period. Of the related disciplines, folklore and archaeology assumed distinguished roles. Although the dominance of the 'national paradigm' was undeniable, occasionally historians succeeded in extending the scope of their investigation by embracing the common past of the Slavs, the multinational legacy of the Habsburg Empire, or the common course of the history of the entire region.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1795	Poland's third partition
1780–90	Reign of Joseph II of Austria
1815	Congress of Vienna
1830	November uprising in Poland
1848	Revolutions in Central Europe
1860	January uprising in Poland
1867	Austro-Hungarian Compromise (*Ausgleich*)
1897	Austrian Prime Minister Kazimier Badeni issues language decrees in the Czech lands
1908	Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary
1914	(28 June) Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo
1914–18	First World War
1919	Peace of Paris: complete rearrangement of the map of East-Central Europe; dissolution of Austria-Hungary; and birth of an independent Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia
1920	Admiral Horthy comes to power in Hungary
1926	Józef Piłsudski assumes power in Poland; Antanas Smetona comes to power in Lithuania
1934	Karlis Ulmanis comes to power in Latvia; Konstantin Päts seizes power in Estonia
1938	Munich pact: the annexation of Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland by Germany
1939–45	Second World War
1945	East-Central Europe falls under Soviet sphere of influence; Baltic states lose independence

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Chapter 17

Historical Writing in the Balkans

Marius Turda

Academic historical writing in the Balkans emerged in the nineteenth century. Narratives connecting the past with the present and the future were needed not only to explain the complicated political transformation of this region from Ottoman provinces into national states but, equally, to provide these new states with historical arguments in their quest for authenticity and legitimacy. 'History', declared the Romanian historian Mihail Kogălniceanu, 'makes us spectators of the series of battles and revolutions that have taken place since the beginning of time; it unearths our ancestors and shows them to us alive, with their virtues, passions and traditions'. Moreover, he continued, history 'connects us to eternity, establishing communication between the past and us, and again between us and our offspring, with whom we share our deeds'.[1] No nation, Kogălniceanu finally asserted, could claim individual existence without an understanding of its past. As elsewhere in Europe, it was this axiom that mostly characterized academic historical writing in the Balkans from the early nineteenth century.

With the establishment of national universities throughout the Balkans (the first to be established was the Othonian University in Athens in 1837), local historians engaged in a complex national pedagogy, one centred on disseminating as widely as possible the theme of continuity: temporal (communities living on the same territory for centuries), cultural (transmission of values from generation to generation), and biological (sharing the same ethnic characteristics with ancestors). This national pedagogy awakened not only the interest in the national past, but also a belief in the right and capacity of nations to determine their own political destiny. Historical writing was to offer both guidance and material for national politics. As the Greek historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos remarked, 'The historian does not draft political programs, but he does use the past to infer lessons which may prove useful to the politician. And even though these findings

[1] Mihail Kogălniceanu, 'Speech for the opening of the course on national history, delivered at the Mihăileană Academy', in Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček (eds.), *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770–1945)*, vol. 2 (Budapest, 2007), 47.

are distressing, it is necessary for us to summarize them, because the first condition for the salvation of nations is an exact knowledge of their true state.'[2]

In this context, history-writing played a dual role: to shed light on the past and to inspire other nations into following those who had already claimed their individual destiny. In the Balkans, these first-timers were the Greeks, and Paparrigopoulos saw them both as torch-bearers of liberty and inheritors of successive Hellenic traditions since antiquity. Yet this repeated return to the motif of historical continuity influenced not only debates on the past but equally important debates about what constituted the nation. As Paparrigopoulos explained:

> If the kingdom of Greece, from the moment it was first founded, had behaved with due foresight and dexterity towards the races which it is currently opposing, things would have been much less difficult than they are today. At that time, the Bulgarians and Albanians were not yet dreaming of autonomy, and felt an affinity towards the Hellenic nation, which, having benefited from this, could have easily appropriated those living in Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace.[3]

At the time, it was not uncommon amongst Balkan communities to vacillate between competing ethnic and national loyalties. It was the historian's responsibility to ensure that various groups were integrated into the national communities and others were not. What Anastasia Karakasidou noted with respect to Macedonia applies equally to all the Balkan countries: 'Harnessed to serve the interests or purposes of the nation, itself an artificial and highly reified entity, history becomes a commodity.'[4]

This chapter considers how history and historical writing in the Balkans became a commodity, serving competing narratives of different nations which, despite sharing a common culture and traditions, became alienated from each other during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The emergence of academic historical writing in the Balkans should thus be seen as part of larger European processes of cultural and political transfer that these countries engaged with during critical stages in their consolidation as nation-states. Once these national historiographies are viewed in a comparative framework, one can then suggest a more integrative interpretation, one that is equally attentive to historical idiosyncrasy and regional similarities. In broader terms, therefore, looking at the specific themes on which historians and others in the Balkans based their narratives will enable us to explain teleological interpretations of history which have dominated historical writing in the Balkans since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Modern Greece, Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria were all established in the nineteenth century; while no independent Croatian state existed before 1941.

[2] Constantin Paparrigopoulos, 'History of the Hellenic Nation', in Trencsényi and Kopeček (eds.), *Discourses of Collective Identity*, 79.

[3] Ibid., 77–8.

[4] Anastasia Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870–1990* (Chicago, 1997), p. xii.

Such historical circumstances favoured the emergence of particular historical themes based on the idea of an incomplete state and failed historical mission. In this context, historical writing was viewed as essential to the process of state and nation-building, assisting other disciplines in the search for the nation's past. Historical writing was firmly located at the confluence of many disciplines, extending far into the fields of archaeology, prehistory, literature, anthropology, and sociology. Historians in the Balkans aimed to develop an all-encompassing science of the nation, one which established the connection of a nation's past to its present and future through historical progress and continuity. Consequently, the broader relationship between various historical narratives needs to be contextualized within these nationalist discourses.

Although each historical tradition in the Balkans claimed it envisioned its own national past in specific ways, common, regional patterns can nevertheless be discerned. One such pattern, common to all historical writing in the Balkans, was the focus on vernacular languages, followed by their transformation into symbols of historical endurance and national permanence. During the 1850s, the Greek historian Spyridon Zambelios, for instance, concentrated on both the demotic songs (seen as the symbols of Greek popular culture) and the history of Byzantium (where he based the origins of Greek nationality), arguing that the most indisputable proof of historical continuity and unity was vernacular language. It was an argument that others in the Balkans also found particularly attractive. From the 1860s onwards, Serb authors too began to argue for the use of vernacular Serbian instead of the Slaveno-Serbian literary language created in the eighteenth century. The language reformer Vuk Karadžić also equated nationality with language, suggesting that Serbs, most Croats, and Muslims spoke the same language (neo-*štokavian*). Like Zambelios, Karadžić looked at popular heroic songs and peasant culture for inspiration, and considered these as expressions of Serbian cultural identity.[5]

The preoccupation with vernacular languages and idioms was, however, based on a larger programme of national revival, one that fused preoccupation with vernacularism with the emergence of a key historiographic theme: the idea of historical continuity. Illustrating this development, the Romanian historian Mihail Kogălniceanu combined the political and social goals of the French Revolution with the Romantic ideals of cultural distinctiveness. Kogălniceanu was influenced by the German historians Alexander von Humboldt and Leopold von Ranke, as well as the Russian historian Nikolai Karamzin. The latter's book *Istoria gosudarstva Rossiikogo* [The History of the Russian State] (1818–29) provided a model of national history centred on great heroes and popular wisdom as reflected in the medieval Russian chronicles that Kogălniceanu found particularly attractive. Similarly, Kogălniceanu believed that national history should glorify the heroic

[5] *Songs of the Serbian People: From the Collections of Vuk Karadžić*, trans. and ed. Milne Holton and Vasa D. Mihailovich (Pittsburgh, 1997).

past of Romanians, one that could teach them how to build a prosperous future. The importance of historical origins notwithstanding, the historian should, Kogălniceanu believed, be equally interested in finding a balance between respecting 'historical truths' (based on Ranke's call for '*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*') and his nationalist commitments (favouring one historical narrative over others).[6]

Invocations of a great heroic past emerged not only from collection of folklore, but also from a rich discourse on the glorious civilization of antiquity. If modern Greeks extended back to Ancient Greece, modern Romanians invoked the Roman Empire as their place of origin. Whilst the Transylvanian School in the Habsburg Empire insisted on the 'pure' Latin origin of the Romanians, a rival perspective emerged in the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia at the beginning of the nineteenth century that came to stress the Dacian ancestry of the Romanians. The clerical historian Naum Râmniceanu, for example, argued that, apart from the Romans, the Dacians too played an important part in the Romanian ethnogenesis. He also resurrected the themes of medieval glory described by the Moldavian chronicles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[7]

This programmatic reclamation of the historical past, already founded upon a very selective reading of the sources, animated the Bulgarian historian Marin Drinov, who in his *Pogled varhu proizhozhdenieto na bulgarskiya narod i nachaloto na balgarskata istoriya* [An Outline of the Origins of the Bulgarian People and the Beginnings of Bulgarian History] (1869) constructed an exclusively Slavic ethnogenealogy for the Bulgarians. Similarly, the theme of origins dominated much of late nineteenth-century Romanian historical writing, as illustrated by Bogdan P. Haşdeu's *Istoria critică a românilor* [The Critical History of the Romanians] (1873–4) and A. D. Xenopol's six-volume *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană* [The History of Romanians from Trajan's Dacia] (1888–93).[8] But it was the historian Nicolae Iorga who most successfully provided Romanian nationalism with the essential notions of historical continuity and cultural unity. This iconic figure of Romanian national historiography created and cultivated narratives of origins from which successive Romanian 'imagined communities' extracted their sentiment of national belonging and affiliation. These attempts to prove temporal historical continuity produced a new ethno-political and historical legitimacy. Transylvania was Romanian, Iorga argued, not only because the majority of the population was Romanian, but more importantly because its soul and spirit were Romanian.[9]

[6] Barbara Jelavich, 'Mihail Kogălniceanu: Historian as Foreign Minister, 1876–8', in Dennis Deletant and Harry Hanak (eds.), *Historians as Nation-Builders: Central and South-East Europe* (London, 1988), 87–105.

[7] Naum Râmniceanu, 'Important Treatise', in Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček (eds.), *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770–1945)*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2006), 324–31.

[8] See Paul A. Hiemstra, *Alexandru D. Xenopol and the Development of Romanian Historiography* (New York, 1987).

[9] Nicolae Iorga, *Desvoltarea ideii unității politice a Românilor* (Bucharest, 1915).

A similar position was enjoyed in Serbia by Stojan Novaković, the 'patriarch of modern Serbian historiography'.[10] Like Iorga, Novaković excelled in numerous historical disciplines, including historical geography, heraldry, and numismatics. He was particularly interested in the history of the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century. Both periods were seen as paradigmatic for the evolution of Serbian history: the first witnessed the collapse of the Serbian state and its inclusion in the Ottoman Empire; the second its modern revival. Notwithstanding the glorification of the past, Novaković insisted, the ambition of the new Serbian state should be to strengthen its vision of the future. 'The need for our century', he maintained, 'is not to revive what was left from middle-ages. We have to look today at the past only to learn from our own mistakes and not to repeat them.'[11]

In periods of domestic political turmoil and international conflicts, historical writing became both revolutionary and politicized, actively involved in devising solutions for a nation caught between the high ambitions of its elite and a disillusioned political environment. It was Giuseppe Mazzini, a leading figure of European liberal nationalism, who in his 1852 'On Nationality' described the principle of nationality as one of the formative forces of the modern world, composed of natural elements such as language and ethnic origin, and moulded into the consciousness of the people by education. This theory of the nation was based on the assumption that ethnic groups were intrinsic parts of nature and hence combined two traditions: the Romantic idea of national individuality, and the liberal notions of individual equality and universal unity.

Historians in the Balkans combined Jules Michelet's and Mazzini's views on the natural tendency of individuals to associate in larger groups such as family, tribe, and nations according to their interests and physical conditions with the Romantic ideas about the permanence of ethnic characteristics.[12] The rights of the nation derived from the rights of men that were by definition individual and universal. But these rights were also the creation of nature, and as such they were governed by natural laws, including the need for territory or expansion. In his *Mersul revoluției în istoria românilor* [The Course of Revolution in the History of the Romanians] (1850) Nicolae Bălcescu offered a critical interpretation of the Romanian Revolution of 1848 by creating a genealogy of the idea of the revolution—one whose origins were to be found in the Romanians' heroic past. Bălcescu argued that the history of the Romanians testified to their revolutionary spirit and love of liberty. The revolution nurtured the national spirit and determined, Bălcescu believed, the special mission the Romanians had to accomplish in the world.[13]

[10] Dimitrije Djordjević, 'Stojan Novaković: Historian, Politician, Diplomat', in Dennis Deletant and Harry Hanak (eds.), *Historians as Nation-Builders: Central and South-East Europe* (London, 1988), 51.

[11] Quoted in Djordjević, 'Stojan Novaković', 66.

[12] Maurizio Viroli, *For Love of Country: An Essay on Patriotism and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1995).

[13] Nicolae Bălcescu, 'The Course of Revolution in the History of the Romanians,' in Trencsényi and Kopeček (eds.), *Discourses of Collective Identity,* 467–72.

Others, like the Serbian historian Ilarion Ruvarac, conceptualized heroism and martyrdom differently. In his *O knezu Lazaru* [On Prince Lazar] (1887), Ruvarac assigned a prominent discursive role to the tropes of bravery, betrayal, and sacrifice. Like Kogălniceanu, Ruvarac argued that the historian's ultimate goal must be the postulation of 'historical truth'. He consequently challenged the Romantic glorification of a distant medieval past and insisted upon an objective knowledge and the use of proper historical sources instead.[14]

Yet Bălcescu's and Ruvarac's historical narratives were based on the same argument that the Romanians and Serbians had enjoyed liberty in the past and had defended it heroically. The medieval princes of Wallachia and Moldavia, especially Michael the Brave and Prince Lazar, were depicted as glorious defenders of the Romanian and Serbian revolutionary tradition. Medieval heroes were historical subjects that defined the particular conditions of Romanians and Serbians—their glorious history, their constant struggle against the foreign oppressor, and their love of freedom—along with the universal aspiration for liberty and fraternity among nations.[15]

Restoring medieval empires also excited the imagination of a range of Balkan politicians. In 1844, the Serbian Minister of the Interior Ilija Garašanin, for example, outlined the territorial ambitions of the Serbian state in *Načertanije* [The Draft].[16] Influenced by ideas of Slavic unity as advocated by Polish and Czech revolutionaries in exile (some of whom found a hospitable home in Serbia), Garašanin envisaged the construction of a 'Greater Serbia' to serve as a catalyst for the unification of the Slavs in the Balkans:

> If Serbia considers thoroughly what she is at the moment, what her position is and what the nature of the nation surrounding her is, she will invariably arrive at the conclusion that she is still very small, and that she cannot remain thus. Only in alliance with her neighbouring nations can she ensure a future for herself; and this must be her sole task.[17]

Such comments became highly sensitive issues in a period of intense ethnic, religious, and linguistic conflicts. Historical narratives were construed to distinguish one national community from those residing outside it. An illustrative example is provided by a 1908 Greek geography textbook which described the Greeks of Asia Minor thus:

> Greeks are those who speak Turkish but profess the Christian religion of their ancestors. Greeks are also the Greek-speaking Muslims of Asia Minor, who lost their ancestral religion but kept their ancestral tongue. As far as the inhabitants of Asia Minor who are Muslims and speak

[14] Ilarion Ruvarac, 'On Prince Lazar', in Almet Ersoy, Maciej Górny, and Vangelis Kechriotis (eds.), *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770–1945): Texts and Commentaries*, vol. 3 (Budapest, 2010), 17–19.

[15] Bahner Werner, *Nicolae Balcescu (1819–1852): Ein rumänischer revolutionarer Demokrat im Kampf für soziale and nationale Befreiung* (Berlin, 1970).

[16] David MacKenzie, *Ilija Garašanin: Balkan Bismark* (Boulder, Col., 1985).

[17] Ilija Garašanin, 'The Draft', in Trencsényi and Kopeček (eds.), *Discourses of Collective Identity*, vol. 2, 239.

Turkish are concerned, only reliable historical evidence or anthropological studies can prove their Greek descent and that they are distinct from the non-Greek Muslims.[18]

A new interpretation of national history was therefore established, one that proposed an organic connection between the nation and its ontological and geographical space. Theories of geographical and racial determinism elaborated by authors like Friedrich Ratzel and Paul Vidal de la Blache also found their way to the Balkans, as illustrated by the Greek geologist Konstantinos Mitsopoulos, who wrote a few influential geographical studies of Thrace and Macedonia, arguing for a conception of national history based on ideas of Greek racial superiority.[19] Historical writing sought therefore to redefine the nation in terms which were not only religious and cultural but also biological and geographical. 'Geography', as Robert Shannan Peckham noted in the case of Greece, 'at least from the 1880s, worked in the service of this imperialist vision of a Romantic Hellenism'.[20]

Gradually, most of historical writing during the first decades of the twentieth century indulged in racial rhetoric and political instrumentalism. According to John Koliopoulos and Thanos Veremis, 'Identifying modern Greeks as descendants of the ancient Hellenes was unavoidable: the Greek language spoken by most of the country's inhabitants, and the physical remains of ancient Hellas, as well as the intellectual requirements of the age, made this identification irresistible.'[21] As 'tools for the regeneration of Hellas', Koliopoulos and Veremis further identified 'history and geography and, from the end of the nineteenth century, folklore'.[22]

Regenerating Hellenism or Romanianism was by no means simple. Before the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, historical writing in Greece had become deeply engrossed in struggles with competitive scholarship, especially Bulgarian and Serbian, over contested territories in the Balkans, while Romanian historians battled the arguments put forward by Hungarian authors.[23] As Maria Todorova suggested, the emerging Bulgarian anthropology and *Völkerpsychologie* provided Bulgarian authors with sufficient arguments to lay nationalist claims on Macedonia.[24] Bulgarian nationalists argued that all Slav-speakers in Macedonia were 'Bulgarians'.[25] Such claims echoed negatively in Greece and Serbia. Commenting

[18] Quoted in John Koliopoulos and Thanos Veremis, *Greece: The Modern Sequel, 1821 to the Present* (London, 2002), 255–6.

[19] Robert Shannan Peckham, *National Histories, Natural States: Nationalism and the Politics of Place in Greece* (London, 2001), 144–5.

[20] Peckham, *National Histories, Natural States*, 144.

[21] Koliopoulos and Veremis, *Greece*, 242.

[22] Ibid., 243.

[23] Radeff Simeon, *La Macédoine et la Renaissance Bulgare au XIXe Siècle* (Sofia, 1918).

[24] Todorova Maria, 'Self-Image and Ethnic Stereotypes in Bulgaria', *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, 8 (1992), 139–63.

[25] See Theodora Dragostinova, 'Speaking National: Nationalizing the Greeks of Bulgaria, 1900–1939', *Slavic Review*, 67:1 (2008), 154–81.

on the 'ethnography of the Macedonian Slavs' in 1906, the Serb geographer Jovan Cvijić, for instance, described the local populations as 'nationally floating' between Serbia and Bulgaria.[26] But linguistic arguments, Cvijić further claimed, were rather unpredictable, as the 'Macedonians' were often bilingual. Anthropological research, on the other hand, yielded important distinctions. 'In southern and eastern Macedonia itself types . . . ought to be considered as specifically Bulgarian; broad face, prominent Adam's apple, low or medium stature, broad chest, muscular and strong. It appears that the southern and eastern Macedonian Slavs are anthropologically more akin to the Serbs.'[27]

Similarly, Croatian nationalists viewed Bosnia-Herzegovina as racially Croat. Already in 1908, the leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, Stjepan Radić, argued in his study *Živo hrvatsko pravo na Bosnu i Hercegovinu* [The Clear Right of Croatia to Bosnia and Herzegovina] (1907) that ethnographic research had demonstrated that the Bosnian Muslims were in fact Croats, and that these regions should rightfully belong to Croatia. Others followed. In 1915, the leading Albanian writer Mid'hat Frashëri, for example, suggested that part of Epirus should belong to an independent Albanian state.[28] That same year, Nicolae Iorga spoke of 'l'habitat ethnographique de notre nation', in order to justify his own nationalist claims.[29] Yet the series of military conflicts dominating the first two decades of the twentieth century, culminating in the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and the First World War, demonstrated that these territorial demands were not entertained by nationalists alone. Not surprisingly, then, after 1918, with the creation of Greater Romania and Yugoslavia, historical writing brought forward more sophisticated arguments.

In Romania, Gheorghe I. Brătianu, Petre P. Panaitescu, and Constantin C. Giurescu were amongst three prominent historians advocating a return to objectivity and comparative history. As early as 1931 they founded a new historical journal, *Revista istorică română* [Romanian Historical Review], in which they argued for the primacy of historical methodology over political and nationalist allegiances: 'History should not be shifted onto the level of political and social struggles.' And further, 'Between patriotism and objectivity there is no antinomy.'[30] By rejecting previous historiographic narratives and the artificial disjunction between synchronic (European culture) and diachronic (Romanian past) approaches, this new trend in Romanian historiography treated history as a perpetually evolving entity. National history was thus in need of a new epistemological paradigm, and some historians in the Balkans recognized it in the totalizing historical framework advocated by the two French historians Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch.

[26] J. Cvijić, *Remarks on the Ethnography of the Macedonian Slavs* (London, 1906), 2.
[27] Ibid., 9.
[28] Mid'hat Frashëri, *Çështa e Epirit* (1915; Tirana, 1999).
[29] Nicolae Iorga, *Droits des Roumains sur leur territoire nationale unitaire* (Bucharest, 1919), 3.
[30] Quoted in Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness* (Budapest, 2001), 67.

However, this was an interpretation that existed at the margins of the mainstream historiographic field. With the emergence of authoritarian regimes in the late 1930s in Greece, Romania, and Bulgaria, as well as the success of fascist movements, especially the Iron Guard and the Ustaša in Romania and Croatia respectively, nationalist and racist interpretations of the past became widespread. Fascists throughout the Balkans claimed to represent the 'true' nation and the authority of the state; they were anti-liberal, anti-democratic, and anti-Semitic.[31] The Legionary and the Ustaša movements portrayed their coming into existence as the culmination and vindication of Romanian and Croatian history: they signified the renewal of Romania's and Croatia's primacy in the world as creative nations.[32] Because both movements claimed to represent the nation, it was important to prove its descent from glorious historical moments in the Romanian and Croatian past. Moreover, as its propagandists proclaimed self-consciously, Legionary and Ustaša nationalisms would regenerate Romanian and Croat nations and based them on two new principles: one ethnic, the other religious. According to the first principle, a new definition of the nation was proposed, one that placed emphasis upon anthropological characteristics of race and their connection to specific mechanisms of national identification.[33]

Like elsewhere in Europe at the time, anthropology in the Balkans 'proclaimed an ethos of objective, impartial scholarship, although in fact the scholarship was highly ideological, nationalistic and socially conservative'.[34] In fact, the anthropologists' ambition to engage with debates on national identity echoed precisely what historians aimed at achieving since the beginning of the nineteenth century, namely scientific knowledge in the service of the nation.[35]

Moreover, anthropological theories encouraged historians to believe in the existence of a specific racial type, one which they located at the bottom of the Acropolis, in the Dinaric Alps, or in the Carpathian mountains. Substantiating these claims about the existence of a distinct racial type was the idea of racial permanence—an idea that served as a medium for various cultural constructions of the idea of historical continuity elaborated by historians like Paparrigopoulos or

[31] Ana Antic, 'Fascism under Pressure: Influence of Marxist Discourse on the Ideological Redefinition of the Croatian Fascist Movement, 1941–1944', *East European Politics and Societies*, 24:1 (2010), 116–58.

[32] On Romania see Radu Ioanid, *The Sword of the Archangel: Fascist Ideology in Romania* (Boulder, Col., 1990); on Croatia see Sabrina Ramet (ed.), 'The Independent State of Croatia (NDH), 1941–45', special issue of *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 7:4 (2006).

[33] Marius Turda, 'The Nation as Object: Race, Blood and Biopolitics in Interwar Romania', *Slavic Review*, 66:3 (2007), 413–41; and Nevenko Bartulin, 'The Ideal Nordic-Dinaric Racial Type: Racial Anthropology in the Independent State of Croatia', *Review of Croatian History*, 1 (2009), 189–219.

[34] Georg G. Iggers, 'Foreword', in Ingo Haar and Michael Fahlbusch (eds.), *German Scholars and Ethnic Cleansing, 1919–1945* (New York, 2005), p. ix.

[35] See Christian Marchetti, 'Scientists with Guns: On the Ethnographic Exploration of the Balkans by Austro-Hungarian Scientists before and during World War I', *Ab Imperio*, 1 (2007), 165–90; and Christian Promitzer, 'The Body of the Other: "Racial Science" and Ethnic Minorities in the Balkans', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropas*, 5 (2003), 27–40.

Iorga. For instance, an oft-voiced image underpinning the Romanian historiographic tradition during this period was the notion that the territories constituting Greater Romania had frequently been invaded (from the Romans of antiquity to the Magyars of the Middle Ages and the Jews in modern times).[36] Yet such troubled history only confirmed what Romanian nationalists overtly proclaimed with respect to the national past: only a race superior in its qualities could have survived centuries of dislocation and foreign domination. What specifically constituted that race was subjected to heated debates, as commentators could not agree whether it was Roman, Dacian-Roman, Dacian, or Dacian-Roman-Slavic.[37]

Central to these arguments was the search for the nation's historical and cultural place. While most intellectuals in the region retained a scholarly admiration for the universities of Western Europe—where they continued to receive education and recognition—the domination of Western cultural life had given rise to resistant strains of ethnocentrism, forcefully expressed in the debates about the national specificity. In the name of originality and purity, as opposed to the cosmopolitanism and decadence of high European culture, a variety of texts were published in these countries announcing the emergence of cultural and nationalist movements that were as original as the European counterparts they were allegedly repudiating. Already at the end of the nineteenth century, authors like Perikles Giannopoulos elaborated a form of spiritual and aesthetic Greek nationalism, according to which Hellenism was at the centre of a new project of national revival, based on indigenous values and morality.[38] Others, like Ljubomir Micić, editor of the Yugoslav avant-garde journal *Zenit* (1921–6), imagined a resurrected Balkan ethos, able to create a new European culture amidst the decadence and degeneration brought about by Western modernity.[39] The world in general was thus imagined as a space of national territories and ethnic transformations. It is a world based on the convergence between 'the discourse on the beauty and the discourse on the nation',[40] and on the metamorphosis of the race. Even when traditional values were undermined—as attempted by the Yugoslav Zenitists—the autochthonous national essence was acknowledged. 'Zenitism', Micić declared, 'is the most rebellious act of the young barbaric race'.[41]

If history and literature provided ideas of continuity, anthropology offered evidence to support them. As late as 1948, Ioannis Koumaris, the towering figure

[36] For the classic version of this narrative see Nicolae Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains et de leur civilisation* (Paris, 1920).

[37] N. Densuşianu, *Dacia prehistorică* (1913; Bucharest, 2000); and N. Lahovary, 'Istoria şi o nouă metoda de determinare a raselor', *Arhiva pentru ştiinţă şi reformă socială*, 7:1–2 (1937), 122–73.

[38] See Perikles Giannopoulos, *Άπαντα* (Athens, 1988). See also Dimitrios Tziovas, *The Nationism of the Demoticists and Its Impact on their Literary Theory (1888–1930)* (Amsterdam, 1986), 308–10; and Artemis Leontis, *Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland* (Ithaca, NY, 1995), 119.

[39] See Irina Subotić, 'Avant-Garde Tendencies in Yugoslavia', *Art Journal*, 49:1 (1990), 21–7.

[40] Leontis, *Topographies of Hellenism*, 120.

[41] Ljubomir Micić, *Kola za spasavanje: zenističke barberogenija u 30 cinova* (Belgrade, 1925), 5. See also Irina Subotić, '"Zenit" and Zenitism', *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, 17 (1990), 15–25.

of Greek anthropology, explained that a 'Greek race' existed, one composed of 'almost uniform characteristics, physical and psychical, inherited in its descendants; it has all the principal characteristics of the basic elements, which are all Greek and indigenous in spite of the variety of types'.[42] In his attempt to describe the reality of Greek national identity as revealed by historical continuity, Koumaris did not hesitate to declare: 'The Greek race was formed under the Acropolis Rock, and it is impossible for any other to keep the keys of the sacred rock, to which the Greek soul is indissolubly linked.'[43] One need only recall the Greek Prime Minister, Ioannis Kolettis, who in 1844 envisioned Greece as incorporating 'any land associated with Greek history or the Greek race',[44] to understand that for these authors the Greek nation was united not only by common language as argued by Zambelios, or by shared history as suggested by Paparrigopoulos, but also by shared racial consciousness as advocated by Koumaris.

Rigidly adhering to their nationalist conviction that their nations depended upon territories whose place in the nationalist imagery was central, anthropologists endowed historical narratives with scientific support. But the fusion between two disciplines was not neutral. As noted by the Croat sociologist Dinko Tomašić, Cvijić, for instance, was 'the outstanding theorist of Serbian expansionism' who attempted to 'establish the superiority of the Dinaric race and the necessity of transforming other Yugoslav types into subordinate groups under the leadership of Serbia'.[45] Cvijić developed a racial geographical taxonomy of the South Slavs, placing the Dinaric race (by which he meant mostly Serbs) in a culturally and politically leading position in the new Yugoslav state.[46]

Racial arguments advanced by Cvijić and others were then incorporated into public discourses about the popularization of history. What anthropologists wrote found its way into the accounts of national histories, which in inter-war Yugoslavia were rarely in accordance with each other. Thus, ideas of the racial pre-eminence of the Serbs were also adopted by historians, most notably by Stanoje Stanojević. Described as 'a respected pre-war historian',[47] Stanojević nevertheless produced a racial version of national history that claimed the Dinaric race excelled in 'physical and moral qualities' and since the Middle Ages had become 'the representative of the Serb race and the bearer and propagator of all Serb racial qualities'. Not surprisingly, and owing to 'the state-making qualities of the Serb race', their predominant role in Yugoslavia was therefore justified.[48]

[42] John Koumaris, 'On the Morphological Variety of Modern Greeks', *Man*, 48 (1948), 126.
[43] Ibid., 127.
[44] Kolettis's text can be consulted in Th. Dimaras, *Ελληνικός Ρωμαντισμός* (Athens, 1985), 405–6.
[45] Dinko Tomašić, 'Sociology in Yugoslavia', *The American Journal of Sociology*, 47:1 (1941), 53.
[46] Jovan Cvijić, 'The Geographical Distribution of the Balkan Peoples', *Geographical Review*, 5:5 (1918), 345–61.
[47] Charles Jelavich, 'South Slav Education: Was there Yugoslavism?' in Norman M. Naimark and Holly Case (eds.), *Yugoslavia and Its Historians: Understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990s* (Stanford, 2003), 112.
[48] Quoted in Tomašić, 'Sociology in Yugoslavia', 55–6.

If 'the main ideological division' in inter-war Yugoslavia 'was between separatist nationalists and Yugoslav integrationists',[49] then there was an obvious political dimension to this division. 'Separatists, for example Croatian nationalists, believed that Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were three distinct nations whose individuality and prosperity—indeed survival—could only be guaranteed if they existed as separate and independent nation-states; by contrast, supporters of Yugoslavism argued that the appellation "Serb," "Croat," and "Slovene," were merely tribal names that constituted an embryonic "Yugoslav race" '.[50]

A different perspective was suggested by the Croat historian Milan Šufflay. He argued for a racial incompatibility between Croats and Serbs, the former Catholic and 'Westerners', the latter Orthodox and 'Balkan'.[51] The nationalist priest Kerubin Šegvić went further and suggested that the Croats, unlike the Serbs, were not of Slavic but German origin. In a book published in 1936 he stressed that the tribes which formed the 'first Croatian political community' were, in fact, Gothic tribes.[52] A related argument was put forward by the Bulgarian anthropologist Stefan Konsulov, who, in his 1937 *Rasovijat oblik na Bălgarite* [The Racial Appearance of the Bulgarians] argued that Bulgarians were not Slavic by origin, but belonged to the Nordic races.[53] To assert that the Croat or Bulgarian races were non-Slavic in origin, supposedly hailing from the Germanic tribes, was no trivial claim in the politically charged scholarly debates of the inter-war years.

In most cases, to be sure, historical writing associated race with the authentic 'soul' of the nation, one which opposed the structural features of the ethnic community's traditions to the cosmopolitanism of the modern civilization. The Romanian poet and philosopher Nichifor Crainic created a synthesis between Orthodoxy, Byzantine tradition, and racism, arguing that Western modernity was incompatible with Romanian national character. Crainic defined Romanian national identity in terms of 'blood' and race, affirming that modernist nationalism was both biological and spiritual, and that Romania needed to embark upon her spiritual redemption having already discovered its biological roots. In short Crainic proposed a complete anthropological revolution to assist the cultural one:

> The problem of regeneration should be addressed in terms of ethnicity [although] this is discarded and denied by internationalist doctrines. [Ethnicity] is not just a general biological

[49] Rory Yeomans, 'Of "Yugoslav Barbarians" and Croatian Gentlemen Scholars: Nationalist Ideology and Racial Anthropology in Interwar Yugoslavia', in Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling (eds.), *Blood and Homeland: Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900–1940* (Budapest, 2007), 83.

[50] Ibid., 83–4.

[51] Milan Šufflay, *Hrvatska u svijetlu svetske historije i politike* (Zagreb, 1928).

[52] Kerubin Šegvić, *Die gotische Abstammung der Kroaten* (Berlin, 1936); and id., *Die Kroaten und ihre Mission während dreizehn Jahrhunderte der Geschichte* (Zagreb, 1942).

[53] See the excellent discussion in Christian Promitzer, 'Taking Care of the National Body: Eugenic Visions in Interwar Bulgaria, 1905–1940', in Turda and Weindling (eds.), *Blood and Homeland*, 223–52.

concept, but one specifically anthropologic. Man is both body and soul, but he does not come into the world with the body of just another animal and then later adds spirit in order to differentiate him artificially from his animal body. From his birth man is both body and spirit, and together they make the same being. This is both an anthropologic and an ethnic being. The idea of regeneration, as it is conceived of by the new ethnic nationalism, concerns man in its integral, harmonious form, both morally and physically.[54]

On 6 September 1936, the Greek politician Ioannis Metaxas delivered a radio speech in Thessaloniki, outlining a similar vision of the new Greece:

Greece cannot exist socially if its society consists of unhappy and miserable people. The Greek people have reached such a point of degradation and indifference that they have endangered the fate of the Nation and the Country… Thus I repeat: Regeneration from a national point of view: because you cannot exist but as Greeks; as Greeks who believe in the power of *Hellenism*, and through it you can develop and create your own civilization.[55]

The public announcement of the national regeneration of Greece was accompanied by an equally ambitious cultural project: the creation of the 'Third Greek Civilization'. Metaxas's idea of this civilization was based on a dynamic and teleological vision of Hellenism that would gradually unite the classical Greek civilization with the Byzantine Orthodox heritage. Hellenism was thus invoked as the necessary ideological principle for a nation on the verge of achieving national unity and independent status in the pantheon of world civilizations: 'Our Nation is the *Hellenic* Nation: our Motherland is *Hellas* and we constitute *Hellenism*.'[56] In a typical modernist and fascist fashion, Metaxas—the 'Saviour of the Nation'—portrayed his historical mission as one of combat, against 'the allegedly degenerative forces of contemporary history (decadence) by bringing about an alternative modernity and temporality (a "new order" and "a new era") based on the rebirth, or palingenesis, of the nation'.[57]

Some authors wrongly assumed that this form of nationalism was 'the ideological caricature of Paparrigopoulos's ideas'.[58] In fact, both the cultural modernists of the 1890s, like Giannopoulos, and the political modernists of the 1930s, like Metaxas, faithfully located their Hellenism within the parameters of the national history conceived by Paparrigopoulos.[59] Metaxas, like Crainic, adopted

[54] Nichifor Crainic, 'George Cosbuc, Poetul rasei noastre', in id., *Puncte cardinale in haos* (1936; Bucharest, 1998), 120–1.

[55] Quoted in Marina Petrakis, *The Metaxas Myth: Dictatorship and Propaganda in Greece* (London, 2006), 126.

[56] Quoted ibid., 141.

[57] Roger Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism: The Sense of A Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler* (Basingstoke, 2007), 181.

[58] Koliopoulos and Veremis, *Greece*, 235.

[59] See Philip Carabott, 'Monumental Visions: The Past in Metaxas' *Weltanschauung*', in Keith S. Brown and Yannis Hamilakis (eds.), *The Usable Past: Greek Metahistories* (Lanham, 2003), 23–37. Anthony Smith speaks of a synthesis between 'Hellenic republicanism and ethnoreligious criteria derived from a more "Byzantinist" idea of the nation' in his *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic* (Oxford, 2008), 165.

a new discourse on race which lent the nation the quality of a natural, biological entity. The racial quality of the nation, and the ways it shaped the community depended on a wide range of elements, including a characteristic racial geography and a specific national topography. Both assumed that a new Greece and a new Romania would eventually be forged. Yet the fusion of conservative palingenesis and cultural modernism was by no means exclusively rooted in the past.

The Albanian writer Lazër Radi made this connection clear in his 1940 *Fashizmi dhe fryma shqiptare* [Fascism and the Albanian Spirit]. Albania needed to acquire a new racial morality, which meant supporting the family, mothers, children, and encouraging birth rates: 'One of the many virtues of our people is the particular concern for the upbringing of man, taking specific care for the clearness of the race and maintaining the continuity of the family. I believe no other country believes in the force of blood [as Albania does].'[60] To this natural instinct Radi added the importance of defending the race, especially in those regions where the virtues of the Albanian race were preserved, namely the remote mountainous areas. According to Radi's metaphysical racial essentialism, an Albanian was always brave, especially on the battlefield; dying with honour was more important than life itself because 'dying with honour brings relief in pain and misery; honour is more important than death'.[61] Radi's culturally symptomatic display of national character based on racial heroism also marked the works of the Yugoslav ethnographer Vladimir Dvorniković. In 1939, Dvorniković published *Karakterologija Yugoslovena* [The Characteriology of the Yugoslavs], in which he constructed the image of the Yugoslav prototype race, based on the 'Dinaric' type, but equally characterized by a specific musical sensibility and tragic understanding of history. 'The Dinaric type', according to Dvorniković, 'is the prototype of the male warrior, perhaps the most outstanding among all the white races'.[62] According to this definition, the essence of the Yugoslav race was its innate eclecticism. Physiologically, this race grouped together the qualities of all Slavic nations within the state of Yugoslavia; culturally, it possessed an acknowledged talent for spirituality and religious atonement superior to any other nation in south-eastern Europe.

The assertion of racial essentialism also appears in the texts of two prominent Bulgarian authors during the inter-war period, Ivan Hadzhiyski and Naiden Sheitanov. Similar to Hellenism, Yugoslavism, Romanianism, and Albanism, Sheitanov introduced the term 'Bulgarism', a form of national identity connecting modern Bulgarians not to their contemporary neighbours but to ancient Greek and German cultures.[63] Yet, while Greek and Romanian modernist

[60] Lazër Radi, *Fashizmi dhe fryma shqiptare* (Tirana, 1940), 87. Translation provided by Rigels Halili.

[61] Radi, *Fashizmi dhe fryma shqiptare*, 153.

[62] Vladimir Dvorniković, *Karakterologija Yugoslovena* (Zagreb, 1939), 208; quoted in Yeomans, 'Of "Yugoslav Barbarians" ', 99.

[63] Naiden Sheitanov, 'Bulgarian Worldview', in Marius Turda and Diana Mishkova (eds.), *Discourses of Collective Identity*, vol. 4 (Budapest, forthcoming, 2012).

nationalists embraced the Byzantine tradition as theirs,[64] Sheitanov rejected it, viewing Bulgarian medieval history as the main obstacle towards a new nationalist beginning. Like Dvorniković, Sheitanov's view of national culture was messianic. For both, the Balkans was the new centre of European culture, whereby the Yugoslavs and the Bulgarians were situated ambiguously between East and West, caught between their identification with Western Christianity but weakened by their historical existence in the East.

In all these works similar structural peculiarities are in evidence. Composed as explorations of local cultures, the blurring of the boundary between the national and the universal is made thematic by virtue of a recurring invocation of a collective identity transcending time and space. As one contributor to *Το Νέον Κράτος* [The New State], the main journal of the Metaxas regime in Greece, declared: 'The Hellenic soul [ψυχή] is in harmonious relation with the Hellenic race [φυλή].' And further, 'The fact that we have been born in a certain place [τοπος] where that race once lived which gave to humanity classical civilization—this is not mere coincidence.'[65] Artemis Leontis described this relationship between racial imagination, ideas of national rejuvenation, and the symbolic geography of the nation as 'the aesthetic principle of autochthony. It is the principle of native authenticity. It is the principle that culture is native, that culture is nature, that culture is autochthonous.'[66]

Territory therefore was central to theories of national belonging as well as claims to historical continuity. As the Romanian historian Petre P. Panaitescu declared: 'We are not only the sons of the earth, but we belong to a great race, a race which is perpetuated in us, the Dacian race. The Legionary movement, which has awakened the deepest echoes of our national being, has also raised "Dacian" blood to a place of honour.'[67] Panaitescu located Romanian national identity in the resurrection of the Dacian past, assuming that the nation was now expected to fully embrace categories of racial identity at the expense of ethnic minorities and external enemies. Panaitescu, like other historians in the Balkans, relied on racial sciences to excavate the nation's racial characteristics and their connection to specific mechanisms of national identification and classification.

In many ways, these trends in historical writing reflected the political atmosphere of emerging authoritarian regimes in the late 1930s. As in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, the historical writing that emerged in Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, and Croatia during the early 1940s endorsed the ideas of a totalitarian state and

[64] See Aristotle A. Kallis, 'Fascism and Religion: The Metaxas Regime in Greece and the "Third Hellenic Civilisation": Some Theoretical Observations on "Fascism", "Political Religion" and "Clerical Fascism"', in Mathew Feldman and Marius Turda (eds.), *'Clerical Fascism' in Interwar Europe* (Oxford, 2008), 17–34.

[65] Quoted in Leontis, *Topographies of Hellenism*, 114.

[66] Ibid., 115.

[67] P. P. Panaitescu, 'Noi suntem de aici', *Cuvântul*, 17:38 (20 November 1940), 1.

ethnically homogeneous nation. During the Second World War, therefore, this transgression of scientific boundaries was a pressing concern not only to historians, but to all those preoccupied with defining the future of the nation in a period in which political revisionism and military conflicts reached their pinnacle. Ultimately, historical writing in the Balkans became associated with other processes intrinsic to discussions about the nation, such as cultural particularity, historical destiny, ethnic assimilation, and racial supremacy.

By exploring both the elements of convergence and divergence between historiographic traditions in the Balkans, as they developed since the early nineteenth century, contemporary historians may find it easier to understand those cultural forces whose form changed after the Second World War but whose content remained very much the same. One does not need to speculate about how these ideas were reincarnated half a century later, during the collapse of Yugoslavia. A survey of historical writing before 1945 can therefore assist our understanding of how disparate ideas of language, national belonging, and territory can be synchronized into a teleological interpretation of history, one which not only placed the nation at the centre of a historical continuum, but also blurred the distinction between the individual, the ethnic community, and the state.

During the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, historical writing in the Balkans contributed to the formation, consolidation, and confirmation of national identities. Historians projected unity, specificity, and continuity onto the national past, but they did so by considering national difference in terms of distinct national traits and by claiming that each national history was unique in terms of its cultural heritage. These questions, then as now, continue to constitute some of the most crucial problems characterizing historical writing in the Balkans. What is needed now is a comparative theoretical framework, so that different histories and stories about the past are unveiled and critically examined.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1821–30	Greek War of Independence
1831	Foundation of the Principality of Serbia
1859	The Union of the Principalities Moldavia and Wallachia
1877–8	Russo-Turkish War
1878	Treaty of Berlin
1881	Foundation of the Kingdom of Romania
1882	Foundation of the Kingdom of Serbia
1908	Foundation of the Kingdom of Bulgaria
1908	Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia
1910	Foundation of the Kingdom of Montenegro
1912–13	Balkan Wars
1913	The Treaty of Bucharest

1914–18	First World War
1919–22	Greek–Turkish War
1918–40	Foundation of Greater Romania
1918–41	Foundation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes
1920–1	Little Entente
1934	The Balkan Pact
1941–4	Foundation of the Independent State of Croatia

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PART III

EUROPE'S OFFSPRING

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Chapter 18

Writing American History, 1789–1945

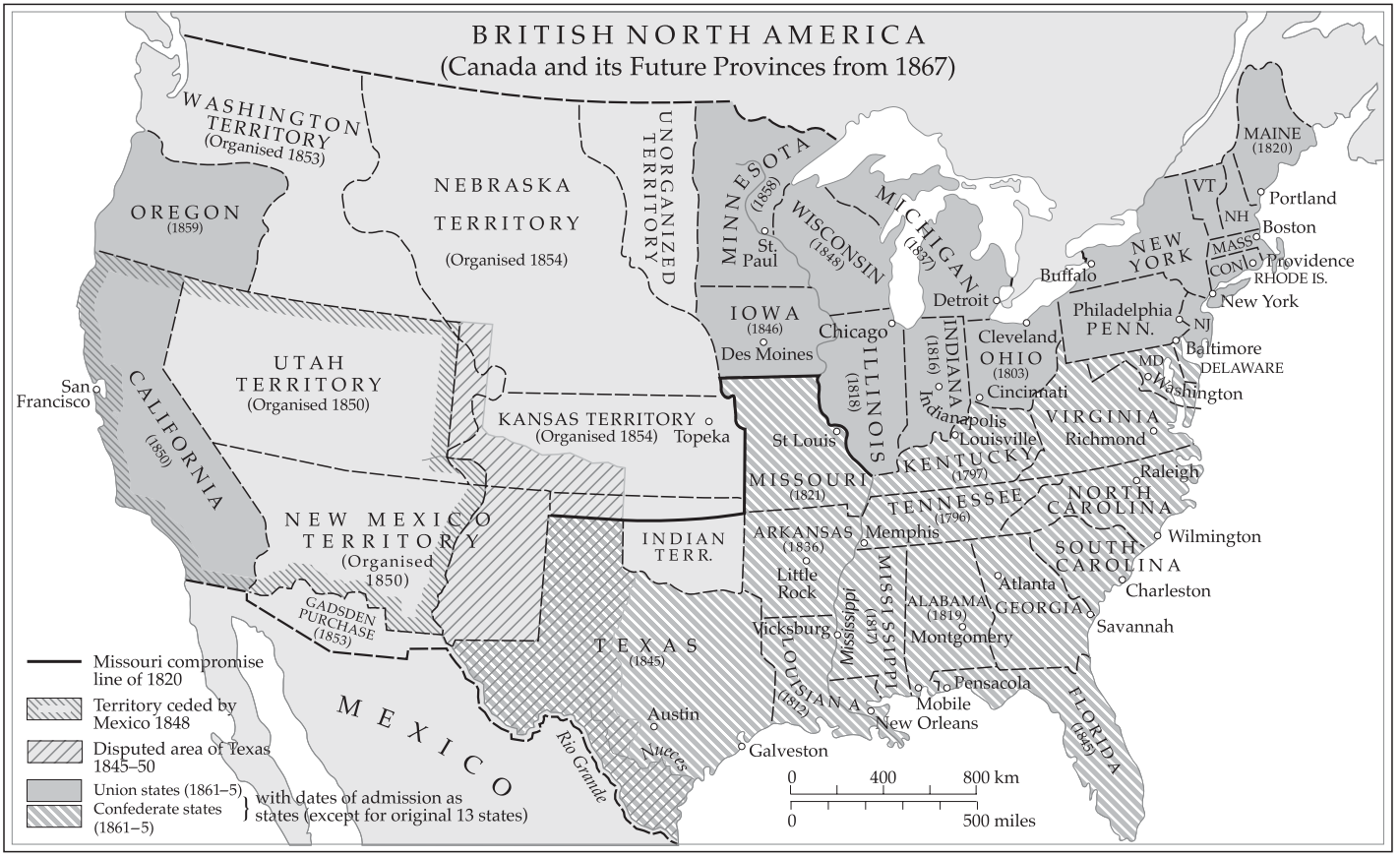
Thomas Bender

FOUNDERS

Histories of the United States and the making of the American nation were partners from the beginning. The year 1789 not only marked the inauguration of the national government established by the Constitution, but it was also the moment when the first history of national scope was published. Indeed, David Ramsay, who had previously published a history of the revolution in his home state of South Carolina, held off publication of his *History of the American Revolution* (1789) until the ratification of the Constitution was complete. It is fair to say that his history began the work of establishing for the new nation an historical consciousness of itself, thus contributing to larger, national identities among its citizens. He concludes his narrative with the observation—much in the spirit of eighteenth-century science—that the new nation is an experiment. If it fails, as the Articles of Confederation did, another form of government would have to be devised. His understanding of the Constitution, in other words, was political and pragmatic. It was not for him the sacred document and political miracle it would become.

Several years later a second national history of the revolution was published: Mercy Otis Warren's *History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution, Interspersed with Biographical, Political, and Moral Observations* (1805). Brilliant, ready to judge, more inclined than Ramsay to philosophical speculation, and a more interesting writer, this sister of James Otis, a leading Massachusetts revolutionary, was, as she puts it, 'connected by nature, friendship, and every social tie, with many of the first patriots', and her biographical sketches of them are both insightful and candid.[1] They were her special contribution to this early historiography. More than Ramsay, however, she worried

[1] Mercy Otis Warren, *History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution, Interspersed with Biographical, Political, and Moral Observations*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1805), i. p. iii.



Map 4. The United States of America, 1861

that were the experiment of a 'FEDERAL REPUBLIC' to fail then the states could face 'petty despots' who might stretch 'their scepters over the disjoined parts of the continent'.[2]

Only limited documentation was available to these first national historians; most histories were either local or biographies of leading figures in the revolution, of which Parson Weems's biography of George Washington, with its story of the cherry tree, was the most widely circulated.[3] The main historical activity in the new nation was focused on establishing archives and publishing essential documents. The most active and important historian undertaking this work was Jared Sparks, who in 1838 was appointed McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History at Harvard, where he taught a course on the American Revolution. This first chair in historical studies gave history recognition as a distinct field of academic knowledge. Sparks laboured for years on a history of the American Revolution that he never finished, yet he served the cause of American history well with his *Life and Writings of Washington* (12 vols., 1834–7), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution* (12 vols., 1829–30), *The Correspondence of the American Revolution* (4 vols., 1853), and as editor of the Library of American Biography series (25 vols., 1833–49). He laid important foundations—collecting documents in the United States, Canada, and Europe.

The work of collecting and the publication of the materials for history were zealously pursued in the nineteenth century. Thus were created the great collections at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New-York Historical Society, and, later, state historical societies such as the Wisconsin State Historical Society. Towards the end of the century men of great wealth endowed libraries and manuscript collections supporting American historical scholarship, including the Filson Society in Louisville, Kentucky (1884), the Newberry Library in Chicago (1887), and the Henry Huntington Library in San Marino, California (1919). Beginning with the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, founded by Ann Pamela Cunningham in 1853, historic sites, like the archival collections, were established with increasing frequency, often by women.

By contrast, the national government played little role in the collection of materials until the twentieth century. Upon his appointment as head of the Library of Congress in 1899, Herbert Putnam converted a quite limited institution that served the reference needs of Congress into a true national library, supporting scholarship in American history. At the same time the great work of creating university research libraries advanced. The National Archives was not established, however, until a generation later, in 1934.

[2] Warren, History, i. p. viii.
[3] Mason Locke Weems, *The Life of George Washington* (Philadelphia, 1808).

THE HISTORIAN AS LITERARY GENTLEMAN IN A ROMANTIC AGE

While one of the first two national histories was written in the South, in the nineteenth century New Englanders dominated the writing of US history. American nationalism was phrased in these histories largely as an extension of New England, with an offer of incorporation as the nation expanded westward. This deeply embedded structure of the national narrative was challenged by the poet Walt Whitman in a letter of 1883 to the civic leaders of Santa Fe, New Mexico, declining their invitation to write a poem for the occasion of the 275th anniversary celebration of its founding, a decade before Plymouth. Whitman rejected the Anglo-Saxon story.

> We Americans have yet to really learn our own antecedents, and sort them, to unify them. They will be found ampler than has been supposed, and in widely different sources. Thus far, impress'd by New England writers and school masters, we tacitly abandon ourselves to the notion that our United States have been fashion'd from the British Isles only . . . which is a very great mistake.[4]

Yet this story of a mythic band of Englishmen and of an equally mythic frontier-making America was not easily displaced, and it survived well into the twentieth century. This national narrative found brilliant exposition in the work of Francis Parkman and George Bancroft, both of New England patrician backgrounds. Often they are paired as 'Romantic historians', which is fair enough. But part of the appeal of Romantic history was the misty origin of the people and their customs. Bancroft and Parkman were situated differently. As Parkman observed in the first sentence of his first volume, 'the springs of American civilization, unlike those of the elder world, lie revealed in the clear light of history'.[5] Both understood history to be a branch of literature, but they also sought out and grounded their history in documents.

Parkman, after the fashion of Sir Walter Scott's historical novels, gave more play to imagination and deployed his substantial writerly skills to evoke time, place, and character. Bancroft, by contrast, kept the documents upon which he was building his history continually before the reader. While of the generation of literary figures deeply touched by the transatlantic currents of Romanticism, he was also one of the first Americans to be trained in the German historical methods, having gone abroad in 1818 to study at Göttingen and Berlin.

There were other differences between Parkman and Bancroft. Parkman, who suffered from a number of chronic ailments, devoted himself completely to his

[4] Walt Whitman, *Complete Prose and Poetry of Walt Whitman*, ed. Malcolm Cowley, 2 vols. (New York, 1948), ii. p. 402.

[5] Francis Parkman, 'France and England in North America', in *Pioneers of France in the New World*, (rev. edn, Boston, 1899), p. ix.

writing, while Bancroft was an active participant in politics, advising presidents, and he took on major diplomatic posts as Ambassador to the Court of St James's before the Civil War and after the war to Prussia, taking advantage of access to European archives in both instances. Indeed, for him politics and history joined in the common challenge of promoting liberty and justice. Bancroft's history was a ringing endorsement of democracy, and it is clear that he assumed the durability of the American republican experiment. Throughout he trusted the voice of democracy. Parkman's one direct engagement with politics consisted of an article in the *North American Review*. In the wake of the celebrations surrounding the 100th anniversary of the American Revolution, he announced his view of democracy in the title of the article 'The Failure of Universal Suffrage'.[6]

Today, Bancroft is often caricatured with a comment about his seeing the hand of God in American history. In fact, he wrote of the providential emergence of democracy, the identical phrase with which Alexis de Tocqueville began his classic interpretation of *De la démocratie en Amérique* [*Democracy in America*] (1835–40). Bancroft, like Tocqueville, explicitly denied that God intervened in history.[7] While his nationalistic fervour contributed to the popularity of his work, the work endured into the age of academic professionalism because of his careful use of archival materials and for the political insights embedded in the narrative.

Both historians shared a deeply Protestant interpretation of American history. Bancroft celebrated the providential connection between Protestantism and progress, while Parkman contrasted the Protestant triumph in North America with the French (Catholic) failure. His phrasing of the difference between New England and New France is absolute: 'the one was the offspring of a triumphant government, the other, of an oppressed and fugitive people; the one an unflinching champion of the Roman Catholic Reaction, the other a vanguard of Reform. Each followed its natural laws of growth, and each came to its natural result.'[8] There is an inevitability in both of these histories—the triumph of a democratic republic in the case of Bancroft, and the inevitable triumph of English Protestantism and free political institutions over both the French and the Indians in the case of Parkman. In fact, the cultural work that Parkman's volumes did for nineteenth-century Americans was to justify the tragic conquest and dispossession of the first Americans by narrativizing it as inevitable. Finally, their multivolume histories occupied these authors through the better part of the century.[9]

[6] Francis Parkman, 'The Failure of Universal Suffrage', *North American Review*, 127 (1878), 1–20.

[7] The meaning of Bancroft's reference is specified in George H. Callcott, *History in the United States, 1800–1860* (Baltimore, 1970), 180. The comparison with Tocqueville is mine.

[8] Parkman, 'France and England in North America', pp. x–xi.

[9] The publishing history and sales information is in Bert James Loewenberg, *American History in American Thought* (New York, 1972), 246.

Bancroft's was the first connected, archival-based narrative of American colonial history through the revolution. For him American history required integration not only into British imperial history, but into European history more generally. The European powers are consistently a part of his narrative. Yet the United States represented a distinctive and unique development of liberty and individualism, the product of the national union made possible by the adoption of the Constitution of 1788.

More obviously international in its framing, Parkman's narrative was shaped by the imperial competition of France and England. Both wrote history in terms of national types; each was endowed with different political possibilities. They believed that Anglo-Saxons were designated carriers of liberty, while Latin, Catholic nations were trapped in a politics of absolutism. Although they often characterized these cultural or national differences as racial characteristics, their phrasing bore no relation to modern racial theories.

Nonetheless, these characterizations fed all too well into post–Civil War scientific racism evident in the writings of the first generation of professional academic historians. The professionals stressed the Teutonic origins of American democracy in the medieval forests of Germany and its later flowering in the rocky soil—and town meetings—of New England. The scientific racism imbibed by the first academic historians made them make little of slavery, and it enabled them to justify the dispossession of Indians and the decision for empire at the end of the century.

ENTR'ACTE

The Civil War had confirmed and strengthened American nationality. History with a strong national theme flourished, but its production was various. Some historians were literary men, others were college professors who wrote in the era before the university. Counter-intuitively, regional fiction flourished, particularly in the South, expressing the Confederate nationalism suppressed by the union victory. It was an era that literary historians associate with 'local colour' writing. Likewise, local and regional history-writing was vigorously pursued, sustained by the increase and expansion of state historical societies, particularly in the Midwest. At the same time, the national literary marketplace was vastly expanded by and after the Civil War, during which history was published as it was made.[10] This expansion made possible the emergence of amateur historians who, unlike wealthy literary gentlemen, earned a living from their work. It also created a reading public for history, sustained in part by the post–Civil War nationalism.

Edward Eggleston, who was a successful writer of local colour fiction, most notably *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* (1871), was also author of histories of early America, most importantly *The Transit of Civilization from England to America*

[10] On this development in publishing and popular history see Alice Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature in the North and South, 1861–1865* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2001).

in the Seventeenth Century (1901), which explored the cultural baggage carried across the Atlantic and the adaptations the settlers made. Conceptually, it was nearer late twentieth-century historiography than the writing of his time. While many of the newly organized professional historians were hostile to the approach, enough of them were impressed to elect him president of the American Historical Association (AHA). Helen Hunt Jackson, like Eggleston, was primarily a novelist, but she wrote one book of history that was a powerful challenge to the dominant narrative of American history, the progress of civilization and the inevitable and thus acceptable destruction of Native American communities and culture. Her 1881 book *A Century of Dishonor* was an unrelenting critique, and she furthered that critique with a novel, *Ramona* (1884), that was a bestseller and that in its emotional impact might be fairly considered the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) for American treatment of Indians.[11]

Theodore Roosevelt had a different view of the westward movement. But his first book was about the sea, not the west. Begun as an undergraduate at Harvard, his history of *The Naval War of 1812* (1882) was a fine work of scholarship that perhaps forecast his later appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He is more widely known as an historian, however, for his four-volume *Winning of the West* (1889–96), a rather carelessly constructed work that celebrated the success of Anglo-Saxon civilization in North America—a general theme in the historiography of the period, whether academic or not.

James Ford Rhodes came to history by a different route. He earned a fortune in industry, with the explicit intention of amassing enough wealth to devote himself to writing history. In 1884 he retired, hired research assistants, and set out to write what became a highly praised *History of the United States From the Compromise of 1850 to the Final Restoration of Home Rule at the South in 1877* (1892–1906).[12] National reconciliation was very much on the national political and cultural agenda after the end of Reconstruction, and Rhodes's history was well received, in part for its contribution to that end. His interpretation offered something to both the North and the white South. He endorsed the northern view of disunion and the necessity of ending slavery, but he gave support to the South's hostility to Reconstruction (military rule) and black suffrage. That Eggleston, Rhodes, and Roosevelt were all elected to the presidency of the American Historical Association makes clear that before the twentieth century it was not an enclave of academic history. The first purely academic historian to be honoured with the presidency did not take office until 1907.

John Fiske was a scientist and philosopher who popularized Darwin's theories. He made contributions to many fields, including historical linguistics and the

[11] *Uncle Tom's Cabin* mobilized northern anti-slavery opinion, and was at the time thought to be one of the causes of the war, which it probably was.

[12] Rhodes's work was later extended to include the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, with the final volume published in 1922.

development of Spencerian sociology. American history was only one of his undertakings, but his *The Critical Period of American History, 1783–1789* (1888) defined an historical problem and interpretation that continued to be the focus of enquiry and debate well into the twentieth century. He described the economic and political circumstances of the period when the new nation was governed by the Articles of Confederation as a crisis, thereby putting great emphasis on the necessity and success of the movement for the Constitution, which he saw as a significant advance in political ideas of representative government. It was the first book to challenge the easy accounts of early America that treated the progress to the Constitution as preordained.

The last historian of this miscellaneous group to be discussed is surely the greatest American historian of the nineteenth century and perhaps the finest ever, Henry Adams. Great-grandson of one president, grandson of another, and son of Lincoln's Ambassador to the Court of St James's, Adams had a family history that was nearly inseparable from the national history. He personifies the *entr'acte* that names this section. His social world was that of Bancroft and Parkman, not that of those who would professionalize history and bring it into the academy. Yet while rightly celebrated for his remarkable literary gifts, his methods were more akin to that of the academic historians yet to come.

Under family pressure to find a career he agreed to teach history at Harvard College. Beginning in 1870, he continued for seven years, resigning in order to pursue history as an independent man of letters. But before doing so, he had established a graduate seminar on the German model there and advised the first Ph.D. in history at Harvard. He began his teaching career in the field of Anglo-Saxon law, as he had studied law in Berlin—given family expectations of a career of statecraft. He thus became familiar with German historical methods. He then shifted to colonial history, which was the principal field of historical enquiry at that time. Before long, however, he relinquished that course to his former student and later Senator, Henry Cabot Lodge. He turned to modern history, teaching a course covering 1789 to 1840. The change in period brought a change in his understanding of history and historiography. The age of high politics, he recognized, was over. In earlier eras, which had been defined by dynastic wars, statecraft was the focus of political interest and historical inquiry. But in a democratic age, political history necessarily expanded into the history of society. Modern history, he grasped, would address the making of nations, constitutions and parliaments, economic development, intellectual and social life, and popular politics.

This new idea of history shaped his great *History of the United States during the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison* (9 vols., 1889–91). He opened and closed his grand narrative with a remarkable clutch of chapters on social and intellectual history. The narrative, of course, is structured by time, but the analytical chapters are organized by space; he divides them by region, with particular focus on cities. The beginning chapters set the stage—a provincial and undeveloped society—and he ended the last volume with democracy as a political

system established and a democratic society evolving. The closing chapters are notably concerned with literature, art, and 'American character'. By their placement and themes these concluding chapters suggest, perhaps even affirm, that beliefs can become causes and affect history, notwithstanding all the constraints of agency that his narrative reveals. The narrative chapters embrace a generous geography, as Adams locates his narrative in international space larger than the nation itself, and it is grounded in a multinational network of archives.

Though he had a very low opinion of the intellectual culture at Harvard, he threw himself into teaching, often in quite innovative ways. A letter he sent to Harvard's President Charles Eliot proposing that his former student, Henry Cabot Lodge, teach the same course on American history from 1789 to 1840 that he had taught and would continue to teach reveals the teaching ideas he brought to Harvard and the modernity of his conception of historiography. It would serve, he said, 'to stimulate both instructors and students, and to counteract… the inert atmosphere which now pervades the college'. His next comment is in fact heavy with philosophical import. 'His [Lodge's] views being federalist and conservative, have as good a right to expression in the college as mine which tend to democracy and radicalism.'[13] This contrast would stimulate classroom discussion, perhaps even shake up the students. But the implications reach far beyond an effective classroom technique: he is indicating his belief that however rigorous one's search for and reading of the sources the historian is a factor in the making of history. The personal aspect becomes a positive good, as well as being unavoidable.

PROFESSIONAL HISTORY IN THE ACADEMY

The development of academic history and its organization into professional scholarly disciplines was part of a larger reorganization of American intellectual culture. By the middle of the nineteenth century the civic culture that had organized and sustained an elite intellectual culture weakened, and the claim of learning in cultural and political life seemed to be losing its legitimacy. In the middle third of the nineteenth century, intellectuals were uncertain of both their authority and their audience. E. L. Godkin, founding editor of *The Nation* and a leading figure among intellectuals, looked to modern research universities and national professional disciplines to restore the authority of learning and take scholars out of the vulgar competition of the marketplace. But the realization of this vision of intellectual life awaited the foundation of a national system of research universities, which came only towards the end of the century.[14]

[13] J. C. Levenson, 'Henry Adams', in Marcus Cunliffe and Robin W. Winks (eds.), *Pastmasters* (New York, 1969), 48–9.

[14] For this shift see Thomas Bender, *Intellect and Public Life: Essays on the Social History of Academic Intellectuals in the United States* (Baltimore, 1993), chs. 3–4.

Proposals for doctoral education on the German model were as much concerned with elite authority and the elevation of civic discourse as with disciplinary scholarship for its own sake. The objective of the first graduate faculties in history and the social sciences established at the Johns Hopkins University, founded in 1876, and at Columbia College, which established the Graduate Faculty of Political Science in 1881, were civic, aiming to prepare young men for careers in the 'civil service' or as 'public journalists' or for the 'duties of public life generally'.[15] Johns Hopkins was less explicit, but Woodrow Wilson, who went from graduate student there to professor to president of the United States, exemplified the expectations of the vision for higher learning. For Wilson seeking advanced scholarly training was a commitment to 'profound and public-spirited statesmanship', expecting a 'literary' career or one in 'non-partisan agencies'.[16] Wilson was not alone; a remarkable number of progressive era journalists, social reformers, and politicians passed through the famous History Seminary there.

Only in the 1890s, when the spread of the elective system inaugurated by President Eliot at Harvard in 1869 and the demise of the classical curriculum provided space for studies in the natural and social sciences, did graduate programme faculty refocus their work to replicating themselves. By 1900 historians, especially Americanists—and they represented nine of ten Ph.D.s in the discipline—were trained in American universities, the leading institutions then being Columbia University and the University of Wisconsin, one a private institution, the other public.

By that time most of the infrastructure for academic professionalism had been established. The first Ph.D. in history at Johns Hopkins was awarded to J. Franklin Jameson in 1882. By 1907 there were sixteen universities offering doctoral training in the field.[17] The first chair in American history was established at Cornell University in 1881, with Moses Coit Tyler the first occupant. He understood his role in undergraduate teaching to be civic. 'My interest in our past', he explained to Herbert Baxter Adams, organizer of doctoral training at Johns Hopkins,

> is chiefly derived from my interest in our own present and future; and I teach American History, not so much to make historians as to make citizens and good leaders for the State and Nation . . . I try to generate and preserve in myself and my pupils such an anxiety for the truth that we shall prefer it even to national traditions or the idolatries of party.[18]

Through a 'Committee of Seven' leading historians, the profession reached down to the schools in 1899, establishing guidelines for a high school curriculum in history that included a four-year sequence of ancient, medieval, and modern Europe, English, and American history.

[15] Columbia College, *Outline of a Plan for the Instruction of Graduate Classes* (New York, 1880), 4, 11, 12, 15.

[16] Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters*, 8 vols. (Garden City, NY, 1927–39), i. p. 171.

[17] For the growth of education and professionalism see John Higham, *History: The Development of Historical Studies in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1965).

[18] Herbert Baxter Adams, *Methods in the Study of History* (Baltimore, 1884), 32–3.

The historians organized themselves into the American Historical Association, incorporated in 1884 in Washington, DC by Congressional charter, a legal detail that reveals their interest in civic influence in the capital that was not to be realized. Several university presses were established, with the first being the Johns Hopkins University Press in 1878, and the *American Historical Review* was founded in 1895, initially independent of the AHA, but in 1915 the organization assumed ownership and control. Jameson became singularly important in professionalizing the discipline and securing for the discipline an archival base, most importantly the establishment of the National Archives in 1934. He considered these end-of-the-century years a season of preparation. He was aided in this work, especially the survey of archives and publication of their holdings, by his position as director of the Department of Historical Research at the Carnegie Institute of Washington, DC, from 1903 till the closure of the department in 1928. In 1910 he explained his ambition to Henry Adams: 'I struggle on making bricks without much idea of how the architects will use them, but believing that the best architect that ever was cannot get along without bricks, and therefore trying to make good ones.'[19] Those bricks and the monographs crafted from them were put to good use after the turn of the century by Harvard's Albert Bushnell Hart. Hart, who was something of the academic statesman of the generation, took on the task of editing the American Nation Series, a twenty-six-volume, multi-authored synthesis (1904–7) displaying the accomplishments of American academic scholarship but intended for a general audience.

If Henry Adams—as a reader of history—was *learned* in history, the scientific historians who populated the academy were *trained* in history. These new historians are more frequently remembered for their limitations than for their accomplishments, which were substantial. They established new standards and principles of criticism. A commitment to accuracy and verification is their considerable legacy. They also established a method of training historians that still largely—perhaps too largely—remains in place. Distancing the discipline from Parkman's literary commitments is not easy to justify, but Jameson did so. He argued that for some time to come the new profession should be satisfied with work that is 'second-class in respect to purely literary qualities'. Why? What is needed 'is the spread of thoroughly good second-class work—second class in this sense—that our science most needs at present; for it sorely needs that improvement in technical process, that superior finish of workmanship, which a larger number of works of talent can do more to foster than a few works of literary genius'.[20]

What is striking about the pioneer graduate programmes at Columbia and Johns Hopkins is that the students were so astoundingly good, superior in talent to their mentors, Herbert Baxter Adams at Johns Hopkins and John W. Burgess

[19] E. Donnan and L. Stock, *An Historian and His World: Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson* (Philadelphia, 1956), 136.

[20] J. Franklin, *The History of Historical Writing in America* (Boston, 1891), 132–3.

at Columbia. The quality is an indicator of the appeal rigorous academic training had for young men of talent. It helped that these new research universities were as concerned with the present as with the past. That they were multidisciplinary also appealed, and they were so partly because the social sciences were then historical, especially economics. Indeed, the American Economic Association was founded at the second annual meeting of the AHA, since all the leading academic economists were members of the historical profession. At Columbia the economist E. R. A. Seligman played a central role in the Faculty of Political Science, and it was from his liberal reduction of Marx to economic interest that Charles A. Beard learned about an economic interpretation of history. Likewise, at Johns Hopkins, Turner and Wilson were more influenced by the economist Richard Ely than by Adams. And Turner replicated the multidisciplinarity at Wisconsin, including the recruitment of Ely himself.

Burgess and Adams, both of whom became remarkably successful educators, were trained in Germany, but differently. Burgess was imbued with German idealism and tended toward formalism and a juridical approach to politics and history, while Adams, perhaps as much influenced by England's Edward A. Freeman as by his German mentor, carried back across the Atlantic a strong empiricism, perhaps even a naive empiricism that powerfully shaped the American scholarship of the era. While the scientific historians thought they were following the precepts of Leopold von Ranke, who set the agenda for German historical scholarship, they actually misunderstood or simplified his demand for history exactly as it was lived. They did not recognize the degree to which Ranke was a Romantic idealist and believer in a universal history.[21] The Americans rejected any connection with philosophy without realizing that for Ranke it was in history that philosophy is realized.

If the Americans talked about bricks, Ranke had something else in mind for monographic studies. 'Nothing but universal history can be written', he believed. 'All our efforts tend to illuminate this. Detail never seems better than when it is seen in its relation with the whole.'[22] He also had a deeper understanding of the quest for objectivity, one more akin to that of Henry Adams than of Herbert Adams. While Ranke wanted to distance the historian from the documents being interpreted, even to strive for erasure of the historian, he knew that the background the historian brought to the materials of history would be part of any narrative constructed. Not only was this unavoidable, but it gave value to history.[23] Not until after the First World War, when Charles Beard and Carl Becker explored these questions, would American historians have to confront the complexity of their guiding faith in objectivity.

[21] See ch. 2 by Georg G. Iggers in this volume.

[22] Quoted in Loewenberg, *American History in American Thought*, 385.

[23] Ranke's notion and that of Henry Adams mentioned earlier are strikingly close to the analytic and compelling position recently argued by philosopher Thomas Nagel, *The View from Nowhere* (New York, 1986).

The scientific historians emphasized continuity. The colonial period was the present in formation, and there was an implicit teleology of evolution. The major foci of research were the colonial period and the Civil War and Reconstruction. Adams at Johns Hopkins generally urged his students to explore early American institutions, always with a view to illuminating the progress of democracy from the Teutonic forests of medieval Germany, passing through Anglo-Saxon England on its way to its realization in colonial America.

Burgess was concerned with nationalism and the state. With his student and colleague William A. Dunning, he focused on the Civil War and Reconstruction. One could say that together these histories embraced a kind of democratic nationalism, which would be correct if one added the adjective 'white', or more specifically 'Anglo-Saxon'. The historiography of this period was saturated with and explicit in articulating the racial superiority of the Anglo-Saxon 'race' and Protestant religion as the carrier of self-government and liberty. In a single sentence Burgess justified the end of Reconstruction; the denial of rights to Indians, African-Americans, and many immigrants; and American imperialism in the Philippines. No robust democracy for him; he praised a 'nationalizing of civil liberty' led by 'white men, whose mission . . . duty . . . and right' is 'to hold the reins of political power in [their] own hands for the civilization of the world and the welfare of mankind'.[24] Nationalism, the work of consolidating the nation-state, was more important to the very conservative Burgess than the extension of freedom.

The 'Dunning School' of Reconstruction history was central to the forgetting or reprogramming of memory that enabled a nationalist road to reunion, which required the reconciliation of the North and South. Monograph after monograph by Dunning's students revealed the error of empowering blacks during Reconstruction and the correctness of the restoration of white rule. To say this legitimated the end of federal protection of the formerly enslaved people of the South in 1877 makes it all too abstract. It also justified formal segregation, denial of suffrage, and popular lynching of African-Americans by the thousands. While Dunning by no means endorsed or justified violence, by characterizing Reconstruction as misgovernance at its worst, he undermined national efforts to achieve full citizenship for African-Americans in the former Confederate states.

The genetic history of Anglo-Saxon democracy promoted by Adams was contested in two rather different ways. Adams's student Frederick Jackson Turner offered a more complex account of institutional development and rejected the Atlantic focus that dominated the profession. In the most famous paper ever written by an American historian, Turner fused census data, popular myth, and poetic expression to refigure the narrative of American history. Speaking at the Columbian World's Exposition in Chicago in 1893, he argued in 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History' that 'behind institutions' and 'constitutional

[24] John W. Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution* (New York, 1902), pp. ix, viii.

forms' that had been the focus of historical writing, there were 'vital forces that call these organs into life and shape them to meet changing conditions'. The most important of these forces was 'the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward'. That explained American history and the character of Americans. 'The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West.'[25]

The other challenge pointed east rather than west. Charles McLean Andrews proposed that the imperial institutions of the British Atlantic framed colonial history, and innovations that established American political traditions derived from that history. He denied any claim of a transfer of institutions from German forests to England to New England.[26] Both Turner and Andrews missed some of the open-endedness of Adams's institutionalism, which could at least partially accommodate their arguments, but their blows were nonetheless telling.

More important changes in the interpretation of American history were yet to come, and with his second big idea about American history Turner would lead the way. His discussion of sections and sectional conflict opened the way for social and economic factors and a conflict model of American history that he, Beard, and the progressive historians made de rigueur in American historiography for a half century, ending with the beginning of the Cold War. The first synthesis of the whole of American history by a single author, Edward Channing's *A History of the United States* (6 vols., 1905–25), actually revealed the phases of historical writing, with the early volumes done in the style of Parkman and the final ones reflecting the ideas of Turner and Beard.

PROGRESSIVISM AND THE 'NEW HISTORY'

The 'new historians', a phrase taken from James Harvey Robinson's book *The New History* (1912), challenged earlier histories, rejecting the emphasis on gradual evolution, homogeneity, stability, and national reconciliation. History for them was about the play of power and contest in the dynamics of change, so they examined conflict. If the older generation traced origins and understood history as the evolutionary unfolding from those origins, the new historians saw environmental challenges, conflict, and innovation.[27] They wanted history to promote and guide change, thus contributing to the reform movements of the early twentieth century.

[25] Frederick Jackson Turner, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History', in *Frontier and Section: Selected Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner*, ed. Ray Allen Billington (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1961), 37, 38.

[26] Andrews's first articulation of this argument was in his dissertation, but it was fully elaborated much later in his four-volume history.

[27] Turner raised this issue in various ways in 'Social Forces in American History' (1911), 'The Significance of the Section in American History' (1925), and 'Sections and the Nation' (1922), in *Frontier and Section*, 115–71.

They expanded the scope of history. Some, particularly Robinson, attributed importance to intellectuals and ideas as historical agents, but more characteristically progressive historians were suspicious of ideas, treating them as ideologies fronting for interests. One ought not make too much of it, but many of the new historians came from the Midwest—not only Turner, but Beard, Becker, and Robinson, the other leading progressive historians. For them, as Beard put it, talk of 'interests' was the language of any Midwestern farmer. The new historians shifted the focus of concern from the colonial period to more recent history. American history began for them with the revolution, and their primary concern was with the industrial era, as it was the focus of progressive reform. Like the pragmatic philosopher John Dewey, with whom they were closely associated, they were more interested in outcomes than origins.

If Turner was a precursor, with his interest in material sources of conflict and reform, Robinson was the spokesman for the programme. The prime exemplar, however, was Charles A. Beard, and the exemplary book was his shocking study of the making of the Constitution, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (1913). Of course, the suggestion that the Founding Fathers had an economic interest in the government they devised produced much discussion. His political purpose was to de-sacralize the Constitution that was being used by conservative judges to nullify progressive social legislation. But in his first chapter ('Historical Interpretation in the United States') Beard made it clear that he had a methodological point to make as well. He rejected the formalism and juridical methods that characterized the scholarship in Columbia's Faculty of Political Science, where he earned his doctorate and taught. Formalist methods allowed scholars to claim that the Constitution 'proceeds from the whole people', with no suggestion of particularity among them. All traces of party conflict in the making of the Constitution or its ratification were obscured, to say nothing of material interests. 'Law is not an abstract thing', he insisted. 'Separated from the social and economic fabric by which it is, in part, conditioned and which in turn, it helps to condition, it has no reality.'[28]

Before the First World War, he and the other new historians were no less empiricists than the 'scientific' historians; all shared the progressive era faith that objective data, often quantitative, spoke to the public interest. Objective data as power to persuade was the animating spirit as well of *The Journal of Negro History*, founded by Carter G. Woodson in 1916. Discomfiting as it may be, the scholarship of the southern historian Ulrich B. Philips in *American Negro Slavery* (1918) is at once a model of empirical progressive history and a racist justification of the South's post-Reconstruction racial system. Over time, Beard and others recognized that subjective framing was part of any work of history and that historical narrative could carry special force. W. E. B. Du Bois, a gifted and prolific writer,

[28] Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (New York, 1913), 10, 12.

followed a similar path but made the move more quickly, moving from his study of *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) to *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) and in much of his later political and scholarly writing.

Beard strongly influenced the writing of two classic progressive histories of the American Revolution, Carl Becker's *Political Parties in New York, 1760–1766* (1909) and Arthur M. Schlesinger's *Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution* (1918). Both offered strong class interpretations of the origin and meaning of the revolution. To follow their careers into the inter-war years is to see how the glue that held the new history together weakened. Becker moved in the direction of increasingly philosophical speculation on issues of objectivity, progress, and the meaning of history, while Schlesinger moved in the opposite direction, including more and more details of social life till history became a compendium rather than a narrative or interpretation, a point made by a disappointed Beard in reviewing Schlesinger's *Rise of the City, 1878–1898* (1933). 'He steers clear of all interpretations—economic, political, and philosophical. Apparently he thinks interpretations are wrong, that none is possible, and that impressionistic eclecticism is the only resort of contemporary scholarship.' Perhaps he is right, Beard mused. But, if so, that 'is an interpretation, with profound philosophic implications'.[29]

Here Beard was pointing to the philosophical issues he and Becker addressed in the 1930s. Increasingly aware of subjective conceptions of history, especially as argued by the Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce, they forced the historical profession to address more seriously than ever before the question of objectivity—and the consequences for the profession if it is impossible to achieve it. Becker, the more philosophically adept, adopted a philosophical scepticism about the status of the fact as well as the narrative, while Beard believed that relativism—rather than his earlier positivism—might actually provide rhetorical aid to his neo-enlightenment reform agenda. He turned to a narrative style, most notably in the great book he co-authored with Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (2 vols., 1927), perhaps the most important and certainly the most widely read progressive interpretation of American history.

In their respective presidential addresses to the American Historical Association, Beard and Becker—in different but related ways—urged historians to respond to the popular need for history by updating useful myths in Becker's case, while Beard asked his colleagues to take an act of faith and select an interpretive frame that offers a possible path to a better world. For both, science and facts had been sufficient before the war; now, however, it seemed that values were not only unavoidable in historical narratives but essential as well.

If the philosophical Becker turned to finely tuned scepticism, many historians in the 1930s turned to debunking. Fred A. Shannon challenged the Turnerian

[29] Beard, Review of *The Rise of the City, 1878–1898* by Arthur M. Schlesinger, *American Historical Review*, 38 (1933), 780.

assumption that the frontier offered opportunity and was thus a 'safety-valve',[30] while James G. Randall, disillusioned, like many of his generation, by the results of the First World War, argued that the Civil War was unnecessary, that it was the product of a 'blundering generation'.[31] James Truslow Adams, a wealthy New York amateur historian whose books were enormously popular, debunked the much honoured Puritans, suggesting that cod fisheries were more important than religion in their errand to New England.[32]

One of the historiographical scandals of the 1930s concerns W. E. B. Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction* (1935), now recognized as a classic of American historical writing. Du Bois opened the book with a note to the reader: This book assumes that the 'Negro in America . . . is an average and ordinary human being . . . If, however, he [the reader] regards the Negroes as a distinctly inferior creation . . . then he will need something more than the facts that I have set down.'[33] Apparently, established historians fit that description, as the *American Historical Review* did not review the book.

Beginning in the 1940s and accelerating after the war, the Beardian interpretation of American history came under sustained attack. Still, in the few years immediately before the war and during it, some of the best and most representative books written in the progressive key were published. C. Vann Woodward published his Pulitzer Prize-winning biography, *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel* (1938), while Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s *The Age of Jackson* (1945), written partly from Beard's own notes on the period, also won a Pulitzer Prize. And Merle Curti, who had studied with Frederick Jackson Turner and who took up the challenge of social and intellectual history promoted by Robinson, won a Pulitzer Prize for *The Growth of American Thought* (1943), a remarkably inclusive history, reflecting Curti's strong democratic commitments.

In 1940 the American Historical Association addressed the problem of the incoherence that Beard found in the elder Schlesinger's *Rise of the City*. The organizers of the annual convention of that year invited Caroline Ware—historian, anthropologist, sociologist—and other social scientists to discuss the ways theories of culture might help historians bring together different aspects of social life

[30] Fred A. Shannon, 'Homestead Act and Labor Surplus', *American Historical Review*, 41 (1936), 637–51; and id., 'Post-Mortem on the Labor Safety-Valve Theory', *Agricultural History*, 19 (1945), 31–7.

[31] James G. Randall, 'The Blundering Generation', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 27 (1940), 3–28.

[32] Of many books see James Truslow Adams, *The Founding of New England* (Boston, 1921). It should be noted that while Adams had considerable influence in the inter-war years, at the same time the great intellectual historian of Puritanism, the literary historian Perry Miller, was beginning the work that would transform understanding of them. See Perry Miller, *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts: A Genetic Study* (Cambridge, 1933); and id., *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1939).

[33] W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward a History of the part that Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America* (New York, 1935), front matter.

into a coherent whole.[34] They were also drawn to the notion of 'national character' and looked to the 'culture and personality' studies that had been undertaken by social scientists.[35]

Curti and Beard collaborated under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council on an interdisciplinary project that—much in the spirit of the 'new history'—sought to create a history that incorporated the social sciences and would be more theoretically self-conscious than was common for histories. The meetings that led to the report were rife with conflict, and when *Theory and Practice in Historical Study* (1946) was published it had limited impact.

Though brought forward by the progressive historians and their students, notions of culture and national character, combined with the ideological pressures of the Cold War, undermined the conflict model of society so central to their historiography. Culture and national character offered a baggy kind of coherence, but these concepts also tended to homogenize history. The rise of intellectual history pointed in the same direction; studies of the 'American mind', 'American thought', or 'American civilization' tended to mask areas of disagreement. Alexis de Tocqueville, whose *De la démocratie en Amérique* with its composite portrait of America, had rarely been cited by the progressive historians—attentive as they were to division and conflict—became the most favoured interpreter of American history in the early Cold War.

Richard Hofstadter struggled with Beard's legacy during the whole of his own brilliant career, beginning with an article in the *American Historical Review* in 1938, while still a graduate student, and ending with *The Progressive Historians* (1969), which he wryly called a 'parricidal' foray.[36] In 1948 he published *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It*. This remarkable book, a series of irreverent biographical sketches, marked not only the emergence of the best American historian of his generation, but it deflated the core idea of the progressive movement in American historiography. The challenge was all the more important in that it came from a liberal; it was a critique from within the liberal tradition. But like many liberals conscious of the catastrophic events of the century, Hofstadter felt American liberalism was too thin to sustain American democracy. The old pieties would not serve.[37] Rereading his mini-biographies so as to write a preface requested by his publisher, he recognized little evidence of fundamental conflict. Rather he saw a political culture marked by 'a shared belief in the rights of property, the philosophy of economic individualism, the value of

[34] See Caroline Ware (ed.), *The Cultural Approach to History* (New York, 1940).

[35] Most influential of the scholars of this school were Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead. The best example of use of these ideas by a historian is David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago, 1954).

[36] Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians* (New York, 1969), p. xiv.

[37] In this, he shared the view of Lionel Trilling, his Columbia colleague and friend. The theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, who taught at nearby Union Theological Seminary, played a major role in the development of this tough-minded liberalism.

competition' and American acceptance of the 'economic virtues of capitalist culture as necessary qualities of man'.[38]

The 1940s also brought a new and very strong commitment to 'American exceptionalism', the notion that the United States did not share the history of the rest of the world.[39] Although some sense of exceptionalism runs deep in American history beginning with the Puritans, the outlook of the nineteenth-century historians was strikingly international—whether Bancroft, Parkman, or Adams—who all understood American history to be part of a much larger history, the history of civilization.

The first academic professionals saw American history as an extension and a new chapter of European history. Even Frederick Jackson Turner, who turned the focus of history towards the great interior of the continent, deeply believed that American history was located in global history. 'We cannot', he explained, 'select a stretch of land and say we will limit our study to this land; for local history can only be understood in the light of the history of the world.'[40] His Wisconsin colleague Charles Kendall Adams made a similar point in a handbook for historians. There is no American 'providence'. 'We find that we are under the same rigorous laws that have shaped the destinies of nations on the other side of the Atlantic.'[41] Turner's mentor, Herbert Baxter Adams, argued the importance of comparative approaches to American history, thus making American history 'less provincial and more universal'.[42] And Turner's later Harvard colleague, Albert Bushnell Hart, established as one of his basic principles that '*no* nation has a *history disconnected* from the rest of the world: the United States is closely related, in point of time, with previous ages; in point of space, with other civilized countries'.[43] No historian practised this approach to history more fully than Hart's most distinguished student, W. E. B. Du Bois, who held to it from 1896, with the publication of *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870*, until his death in 1963. But the mainstream historiography in the post-war years became, paradoxically, more insular as the United States established itself as a global power.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1776	Declaration of Independence
1783	Treaty of Paris (Independence)

[38] Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York, 1948), p. viii.

[39] Daniel T. Rodgers, 'Exceptionalism', in Anthony Molho and Gordon S. Wood (eds.), *Imagined Histories: Americans Interpret their Past* (Princeton, 1998), 21–40.

[40] Frederick Jackson Turner, 'The Significance of History' (1892), in *Frontier and Section*, 11–27.

[41] Higham, *History*, 95.

[42] Adams, *Methods in the Study of History*, 38.

[43] Loewenberg, *American History in American Thought*, 435.

1787	Constitutional Convention
1789	Inauguration of George Washington
1800	Library of Congress established
1812	War of 1812
1861–5	US Civil War
1877	Reconstruction of Southern political and racial system abandoned
1898	Spanish–American Cuban War
1898–1902	Spanish–American–Philippine War
1900–20	Progressive Reform Movements
1917–18	US participation in the First World War
1929	Depression and shift of intellectuals to Left
1932	New Deal inaugurated
1941–5	US participation in the Second Wold War
1940s–50s	Cold War and American 'exceptionalism'

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Chapter 19

The Writing of the History of Canada and of South Africa

Donald Wright and Christopher Saunders

In both Canada and South Africa the British conquered sizeable non-British white populations, which retained their separate identities and in time saw themselves as nations, and British rule was extended until by the end of the nineteenth century it embraced all of the modern state. But whereas in Canada settlers from Europe grew to outnumber the aboriginal population, in South Africa such settlers remained a minority. Not surprisingly, while there are striking similarities between the historiographies of the two countries, there are also significant differences.

CANADA

As a massive and unforgiving landmass covering half a continent, as a colony first of France and then of Great Britain, as a nation with two distinct nationalisms, one French Canadian, the other English Canadian, and as a country situated next to the United States, Canada is a question. The writing of Canadian history from 1800 to 1945—in French and in English, by amateurs and by professionals—was characterized not simply by the effort to explain the past, but by the imperative to transform the present from a question into an answer, to narrate a reason for being, a purpose, and, sometimes, even a mission.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

François-Xavier Garneau was not the first to write about the history of French Canada, but he was the most significant, and his three-volume *Histoire du Canada* (1845–8) has been described as 'the most important historiographical work ever published in French in Canada'.[1] Sympathetic to the *patriotes* in the

[1] Fernande Roy, 'Historiography in French', *The Canadian Encyclopaedia*, 2nd edn, 4 vols. (Edmonton, 1988), ii. 992.

Rebellion of 1837–8, Garneau shared their liberal nationalism, that is, their vision of political liberty in the form of representative democracy on the one hand and their defence of French Canada on the other. In the wake of the Rebellion's defeat and Lord Durham's subsequent recommendation to assimilate French Canadians, Garneau decided to write a history that would vindicate French Canada. In the present crisis—the union of Upper and Lower Canada and Britain's desire 'to efface' French Canada—he believed that history presented the national purpose: survival, or 'the conservation of our religion, our language, and our laws'. His history narrated French Canada's struggle to survive against the land, 'an immense couch of granite'; against the Iroquois, the 'lurking', 'heathen barbarians' who 'attacked the labouring colonists in their fields' with 'untiring perseverance'; and against the British, whose military victory in 1759 and subsequent domination constituted so many 'humiliations'. If French Canada's 'disappearance', if its 'coming annihilation', were to be averted, French Canadians must remain true to their religious faith and 'the nationality of their ancestors'. History, he maintained, both anchored and propelled this 'noble and touching' project.[2]

Garneau's national vision distinguished him from his contemporaries. Michel Bibaud's three-volume *Histoire du Canada* (1837–78), for example, defended British constitutional monarchy, condemned the *patriote* movement, and betrayed its author's Tory sympathies.[3] Not surprisingly, Garneau earned the title 'national historian' while Bibaud was disparaged as '*un historien loyaliste*'.[4] Still, the tension between Garneau's nationalism and Bibaud's loyalty animated French-Canadian historiography for the next century.

The English-speaking colonies in British North America did not constitute a nation, but were a collection of distinct colonies, each with its own identity, history, and outlook, made possible by the establishment of printers and booksellers, the growth of a reading public, and the emergence of literary, scientific, and historical societies. There were historians and even a number of multi-volume histories,[5] but no national historian to capture the imagination as Garneau did of French Canada. Historical writing in English-speaking British North America focused on a particular colony. To Nova Scotia's Thomas Haliburton, for example, history revealed 'the operation of an enlightened people upon uncultivated nature' and 'the process by which the wilderness is converted into a fruitful country'. The key event in Nova Scotia's transformation from a wilderness into a

[2] François-Xavier Garneau, *History of Canada*, trans. Andrew Bell, 3 vols. (Montreal, 1860), ii. 413; i. pp. xxii, 114, 161, 155, 161; ii. 86; i. p. xxii; iii. 406; and i. pp. xxii, xxx.

[3] The third volume was published posthumously.

[4] See Guy Frégault, 'Michel Bibaud, historien loyaliste', *L'Action universitaire*, 11:2 (1944–5), 1–7.

[5] See M. Brook Taylor, *Promoters, Patriots, and Partisans: Historiography in Nineteenth-Century English Canada* (Toronto, 1989).

garden was the founding of Halifax as a British garrison in 1749. Extending 'the dominion of the Crown of Great Britain' became the colony's purpose. The concomitant defeat and dispossession of the 'desultory, murderous, and predatory' 'savages' and the deportation of the French-speaking Acadians were necessary—if, in the case of the Acadians, also 'unfortunate'—events in the fulfilment of that purpose.[6]

Following the creation of the Dominion of Canada out of the colonies of British North America in 1867, members of English Canada's expanding middle class took an active interest in Canadian history: now that Canada had been made, it was time to make Canadians. Local and provincial historical societies were constituted; essay competitions were organized; papers, pamphlets, and books were published. History, as these men and women conceived it, revealed Canada's progressive march from a handful of colonies to a self-governing dominion still loyal to Britain. Their master narrative was discovery, exploration, settlement, expansion, and self-government; their themes were triumph over adversity, heroism, loyalty, and destiny; their topics were individual explorers, the Loyalists, the pioneer past, the War of 1812, and constitutional milestones. This narrative proclaimed Canada's separateness in North America; because of its imperial connection, Canada was not another United States. It was distinct. It was British. Also informing English-Canadian historical writing was the theme of anti-conquest: French Canadians and aboriginal peoples had not been conquered. Rather, they too were participants in the British imperial project in the northern half of North America. As a strategy of representation, this exculpated both authors and their readers and it legitimated the notion of Canada as a British country.

When William Kingsford set out 'to trace the history of British rule in Canada' in a ten-volume *History of Canada* (1887–98), he realized that he must first write the history of French Canada. A single history of Canada, he hoped, would unite a country divided along linguistic and national lines. But his attempt to write a history 'acceptable in all quarters' fell flat. For example, he argued that the conquest was not a conquest at all; it was a liberation. 'It is impossible', he concluded, 'not to contrast the benefits which Canada has enjoyed from the date of conquest with the hard, stern, depressing rule which weighed them down under the French government'. A nineteenth-century liberal and a whig historian, Kingsford believed that the British Empire embodied political liberty and material progress. For him, Lord Durham was one of the great men in Canadian history. Where Garneau's Durham sought 'to efface' French Canada, Kingsford's Durham sought to 'raise [its] defective institutions' and 'to remove all impediments to the course of British enterprise'.[7]

Aboriginal peoples appear in Kingsford's history not in and of themselves, but as either enemies or allies of first the French and later the British. From this

[6] Thomas Haliburton, *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, 2 vols. (Halifax, 1829), i. 2; ii. 126; and i. 136, 155, 196.

[7] William Kingsford, *The History of Canada*, 10 vols. (Toronto, 1887–8), i. 1; iv. pp. v, 503; and x. 159.

vantage point, Kingsford's Tecumseh fought in the War of 1812 not for the interests of the Shawnee nation, but for the British Empire in North America. Once their military threat or their military usefulness disappeared, aboriginal peoples disappear from history and the story of either French or British exploration and settlement proceeds. The vanishing act implicit in Kingsford's history found its contemporary source in the notion—widely accepted in nineteenth-century British North America and Canada—of the disappearing Indian, the unproblematic and at times even romantic idea that aboriginal peoples were outside the march of history and thus doomed to die out.

Kingsford's history did not do for English Canada what Garneau's history did for French Canada. At 5,000 pages, it was repetitive and excessively detailed. Focused on central Canada, it excluded western Canada and it largely ignored eastern Canada. Newfoundland garnered only a handful of passing references. Whereas Garneau is celebrated as the national historian of French Canada, Kingsford has been dismissed as the 'dull dean' of Canadian history.[8]

D. W. Prowse was Newfoundland's Garneau. Although loyal to Britain, Prowse criticized the imperial government for its neglect, and even its sacrifice, of Newfoundland's interests. In this sense he echoed his English-Canadian—and for that matter his South African and Australian—counterparts. But while the tension between imperial and colonial interests, and between imperial and national identities, is a familiar theme in nineteenth-century historical writing in the British Empire, Prowse made it his animating theme. According to his narrative of Newfoundland exceptionalism, Newfoundland had failed to develop like a 'normal' colony because the British government had favoured a migratory fishery over settlement. For two centuries, Prowse wrote, the opposition of the West Country merchants and the British government to settlement 'fell like a blight upon the unfortunate colony, paralyzing progress and the development of the great resources of the Island'.[9] This would later be called the thesis of Newfoundland's 'retarded colonisation'.[10] Prowse's *History* is history as consolation—Newfoundland could have been a great country—and as conviction—Newfoundland could be a great country yet given its natural resources. His interpretation would remain the dominant one for nearly three-quarters of a century.

PROFESSIONALIZATION

The professionalization of history in English Canada—the development of autonomous departments of history, the launch of the *Canadian Historical Review*

[8] J. M. S. Careless, 'Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History', *Canadian Historical Review*, 35:1 (1954), 2.

[9] D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (London, 1895), 145.

[10] A. H. McClintock, *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland 1783–1832* (London, 1941), 6.

in 1920, the creation of the Canadian Historical Association two years later, the expansion of graduate programmes, and the drawing and policing of boundaries between amateurs and professionals—unfolded in the first half of the twentieth century. The slower development of universities in Quebec meant that history did not professionalize there until the 1940s and 1950s.[11] Despite changes to the practice of history, the imperative to answer the Canadian question remained, and there was no one answer in either French or English.

Appointed to the inaugural chair in Canadian history at the University of Montreal in 1915, Abbé Lionel Groulx quickly established himself as Garneau's successor. Like Garneau, he read the Conquest as a '*suprême catastrophe*' and stressed the survival of French Canada. But for Groulx assimilation was no longer incarnate in imperial authorities like Lord Durham. It was inherent in the modern, liberal, and, he believed, atomizing project of industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and American mass culture. National survival, Groulx believed, depended on Catholicism and the Catholic Church: our religion 'constituted for us, in the vast Anglo-Saxon sea, our best, if not our only, defence against foreign assimilation'.[12] Quebec was not simply a French-speaking nation. It was a French-speaking Catholic nation. Where Garneau harboured a sceptical view of the church, Groulx privileged its role in Quebec's past. A corporatist nationalist, Groulx's dream of nation lay in an idealized New France, a golden age of faithful peasants, benevolent parish priests, and heroic Catholic martyrs. History revealed Quebec's providential mission to create and to conserve a Catholic society in North America and it was the historian's role to serve as a guiding shepherd to his people in the realization of that mission. However briefly, Groulx even imagined an independent French Canada. In addition to his scholarship and his teaching, Groulx founded the Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française in 1946 and the *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* in 1947. While he remains a controversial figure—to some, his dream of nation makes him the spiritual father of modern Quebec; to others, the racial logic of insiders and outsiders informing his nationalism makes him a 'vile little cleric' and 'virulent anti-Semite'[13]—Groulx, more than anyone else, was responsible for the emergence of a historical profession in Quebec.[14]

Groulx's intellectual opposites—his Bibauds—were Thomas Chapais and Abbé Arthur Maheux. They both emphasized survival, but refused to read the

[11] See Donald Wright, *The Professionalization of History in English Canada* (Toronto, 2005); and Ronald Rudin, *Making History in Twentieth-Century Quebec* (Toronto, 1997).

[12] Lionel Groulx, *La Naissance d'une race* (Montreal, 1919), 219, 117. Quote translated by Donald Wright.

[13] Mordecai Richler, *Oh Canada! Oh Quebec! Requiem for a Divided Country* (Toronto, 1992), 89, 81. See also Esther Delisle, *The Traitor and the Jew: Anti-Semitism and the Delirium of Extremist Right-Wing Nationalism in French Canada from 1929–1939* (Montreal, 1993).

[14] Rudin, *Making History*, 220.

Conquest in catastrophic terms. It had, they said, brought benefits in the form of political liberty and parliamentary democracy. Chapais opened his eight-volume *Cours d'histoire du Canada* (1919–34) by reminding his readers of the difference between 1760, when French Canada confronted a doubtful future, and 1867, when Quebec received its own legislature to pass its own laws.[15] Writing in the early 1940s, Maheux compared Britain's conquest of French Canada to Germany's actions in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and occupied France: Britain had 'shown itself as conciliatory as possible towards French Canadians' since 1759.[16]

In English Canada, George Wrong pursued two themes.[17] The first was national unity, or the relationship between French and English Canada. Writing within the *bonne entente* tradition, Wrong emphasized consensus over conflict. Referring to the Conquest, he argued that 'fifteen years of tranquility under the mild British sway had made the habitants prosperous' and loyal to Britain in the coming war against its American colonies. And he wrote in admiring terms of the determination of the French Canadian 'to live his own separate life and pursue his own separate ideals'.[18] Wrong's second theme was Canada's relationship with Great Britain. While he emphasized the achievement of self-government, he was quick to add that self-government did not preclude loyalty to the British Empire. 'It never occurred to the average Canadian', he wrote, 'even when his country reached national stature, that he could not remain both a Canadian and a Briton. The British flag had always been his.'[19] Wrong's imperial and national identities did not contradict each other: imperialism was his nationalism. If the French Canadian lacked an emotional connection to the British flag, 'reason makes him a loyal citizen of a British state'.[20] After all, the greatest protection to French Canada's culture comes from the liberty of British institutions. For Wrong, the purpose of Canadian history was the achievement of national unity and the realization of self-government within the British Empire. The imperial connection was not an antiquated piece of Victorian plumbing; it was a vital counterweight to the United States.

Oscar Skelton agreed with much, but not all, of Wrong's view of Canadian history. While he shared Wrong's commitment to national unity and self-government, he harboured an abiding distrust of British imperialism. In Skelton's view, British imperialism hindered more than it advanced the Canadian purpose of national unity, self-government, and autonomy. His answer to the Canadian question was Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the first French-Canadian Prime Minister, who successfully mediated French-Canadian nationalism and English-Canadian

[15] Thomas Chapais, *Cours d'histoire du Canada*, 8 vols. (Quebec, 1919), i. 3–4.

[16] Arthur Maheux, *French Canada and Britain* (Toronto, 1942), 34, 1.

[17] The standard reference on English-Canadian historiography remains Carl Berger's *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing 1900–1970* (Toronto, 1976).

[18] George Wrong, *A Canadian Manor and its Seigneurs* (Toronto, 1908), 63, 174.

[19] Id., *The United States and Canada* (New York, 1921), 132–3.

[20] Id., 'The Two Races in Canada', *Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association* (1925), 26.

imperialism in the South African or Boer War. Canada contributed to the British war effort, thus satisfying the demands of English-Canadian imperialists, but enlistment was voluntary and, once in South Africa, Canadian men were equipped and paid by the British, thus satisfying the demands of French-Canadian nationalists. Skelton's Laurier also successfully defended Canadian autonomy against imperial federation schemes and colonial contributions to the British navy. According to Skelton, it was Laurier who set an example for Prime Minister Louis Botha of the Transvaal: the strength of the empire lay in the autonomy of its parts.[21]

Frank Underhill went further. Canada's future, he believed, lay in North America, not in the endless entanglements of an old Europe. Canada's history, in Underhill's calculus, lay in North America. Influenced by the scholarship of the American historian Charles A. Beard, Underhill took an economic approach to the study of Canadian politics and concluded that Canada and the United States were not very different.

> That one of them in the course of its growth had a violent quarrel with the mother-country and severed its political connection while the other grew up to independence without any such political breach is relatively unimportant . . . It was not the Declaration of Independence which made the Americans a separate people, it was the Atlantic Ocean; and Canada is on the same side of the Atlantic.[22]

Like other English-Canadian historians, Underhill was not indifferent to the threat the United States represented to Canada's survival. Writing against the backdrop of the military agreements Canada struck with the United States in the Second World War, he acknowledged that '[w]e are going to spend the next century, from the Ogdensburg and Hyde Park agreements of 1940 down to somewhere about 2040 in maintaining our independence of the United States'.[23] But, he believed, this story would be a variation on an earlier story: the achievement of independence from Britain. The answer to the Canadian question, according to Underhill, was Canada's independence from both the United States and Britain.

Harold Innis disagreed. According to his staples thesis—which he first articulated in *The Fur Trade in Canada* (1930)—Canada's economy, its institutions, and even its boundaries, had been shaped by the transcontinental and transoceanic trade in successive staple commodities, first fish, then fur, timber, wheat, and minerals. Two central conclusions emerged from his seminal book. Canada was a natural, not an artificial, creation. 'The present Dominion emerged not in spite of geography but because of it', he concluded. 'The significance of the fur trade

[21] Oscar Skelton, *The Day of Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (Toronto, 1920), 292–3.

[22] Frank Underhill, 'O Canada, Our Land of Crown Corporations', *Canadian Forum* (December 1929).

[23] Id., 'Goldwin Smith', reprinted in id., *In Search of Canadian Liberalism* (Toronto, 1960), 102.

consisted in its determination of the geographic framework.' Second, although Canada's geographical axis was east–west, not north–south, Britain, as a metropolitan centre, off-set the United States and the north–south pull of continentalism. Unlike Wrong, Innis did not sentimentalize Britain but he appreciated its significance in keeping Canada independent in North America. 'Canada', he wrote, 'remained British in spite of free trade and chiefly because she continued as an exporter of staples to a progressively industrialized mother country.'[24]

Innis's brilliance inspired a generation of scholars, including Donald Creighton. In *The Commercial Empire of the St Lawrence* (1937), Creighton presented the clearest expression of the Laurentian thesis when he argued that Canada was made possible by the St Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. As the only waterway to penetrate into the centre of the continent, it led to an east–west transcontinental and transatlantic commercial and territorial empire: out of the St Lawrence River Valley and the Great Lakes basin, out of the Laurentian Shield, came Canada. The heroes of Creighton's story were the Montreal merchants who, over many decades, attempted to realize the river's promise of a vast commercial and territorial empire. The real hero, though, was the river itself, which presented the very purpose of Canada: to achieve a separate political existence in North America. If the St Lawrence River was an argument against continentalism, Creighton reminded his readers that North America's north–south pull was powerful and that Britain mattered to Canada. His conclusion for the nineteenth century, that 'Canada was virtually meaningless apart from the imperial connection',[25] applied equally to the twentieth century.

For Innis and Creighton the creative centres were the metropolitan ones. Frederick Jackson Turner's insistence that the frontier provided the greatest formative influence in American history was turned on its head. But the limits of the Laurentian thesis were obvious. It could not explain the unique historical experience of western Canada. In an important 1946 essay, W. L. Morton observed that 'the sectionalism of the West is, in different terms, as justified as the French nationalism of Quebec or the British nationalism of Ontario'. The West, he said, must 'work out its own historical experience'.[26] This 'working out' was already underway. In *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions* (1936), George Stanley sought a new explanation for the Métis rebellions of 1869–70 and 1885. They were not, he argued, the production on a western stage of the eastern play of French Catholic Quebec vs. English Protestant Ontario. Both rebellions were 'the problem of the frontier, namely the clash between primitive and civilized peoples'. A 'primitive' people, the Métis were ill-equipped to compete with 'white civilization' and, facing extinction, they fought for their survival. As a

[24] Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada* (New Haven, 1930), 393, 385.
[25] Donald Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence* (New Haven, 1937), 357.
[26] W. L. Morton, 'Clio in Canada: The Interpretation of Canadian History', reprinted in Carl Berger (ed.), *Approaches to Canadian History* (Toronto, 1967), 47.

problem of the frontier, the rebellions were not unlike the 'clash between primitive and civilized peoples' in South Africa and New Zealand.[27] In categorizing the rebellions as problems of the frontier, Stanley was careful to avoid a Turnerian conclusion: Louis Riel was no Andrew Jackson and his was a struggle for survival, not democracy.[28]

The limits of the Laurentian thesis were also revealed in its inability to explain what actually happened when two very different peoples—European and aboriginal—met in the very place the thesis took its name from. Alfred Bailey made this the focus of his first book, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504–1700* (1937). Sympathetic to the aboriginal point of view, this pioneering work in ethnohistory did not treat the Eastern Algonkian people as so many disappearing Indians. Instead, its themes were assimilation and annihilation and its topics included the decimating impact of smallpox, the tragic introduction of alcohol, and the disintegration of Eastern Algonkian society. Bailey avoided the doctrine of inevitability inherent in the Laurentian thesis when he examined the price that aboriginal people paid in order for Canada to fulfil its assumed destiny as a self-governing dominion extending from sea to sea in an empire upon which the sun never set.

Although inspired by Innis's economic interpretation of history, the Marxist historian Stanley Ryerson rejected the Laurentian thesis because it could not address the social relations of production. In *1837: The Birth of Canadian Democracy* (1937), Ryerson observed that Groulx was a Fascist historian who misread the Rebellions as a 'race war with which democracy had nothing to do',[29] and that Creighton was a reactionary historian who celebrated Montreal's mercantile oligarchy. 'The Toronto Tory and the Quebec corporatist meet on common ground: hostility to the democratic peoples' movement [and] denial of our democratic heritage.'[30] According to Ryerson, the 1837–8 rebellions in Lower and Upper Canada were bourgeois-democratic revolts. But if they represented a military defeat, they also represented a political victory: they opened the path to responsible government, industrial capitalism, and 'ultimate nationhood',[31] or the necessary preconditions to a socialist revolution. A socialist revolution, not ultimate nationhood, was Ryerson's answer to the Canadian question.

It would be another three or four decades before historians followed Bailey's lead in ethnohistory and Ryerson's in Marxist analysis. In the pre-1945 era, the colony-to-nation narrative remained intact. The title of Arthur Lower's one-volume history of Canada, *Colony to Nation* (1946), echoed Creighton's insistence

[27] George Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions* (London, 1936), p. vii.

[28] Id., 'Western Canada and the Frontier Thesis', *Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association* (1940), 110.

[29] Stanley Ryerson, *1837: The Birth of Canadian Democracy* (Toronto, 1937), 52.

[30] Id., *French Canada: A Study in Canadian Democracy* (Toronto, 1943), 36.

[31] Id., *1837*, 127.

on the importance of the imperial connection in the past to keeping Canada separate in North America, at the same time as it echoed Underhill's conviction that Canada's present interests lay in North America, not Europe. But for Lower, the purpose of Canada was to achieve not just its political independence from Britain and the United States. Its purpose was to achieve a unique and enduring homeland. Because nationhood could not be found in the traditional denominators of 'race, language, religion, history, and culture', it would have to be found in the land itself. Geography was the one thing all Canadians—French and English, east and west—shared. 'From the land, Canada, must come the soul of Canada.'[32] Since Lower wrote, the attempt to answer the Canadian question has taken new directions and now involves a multiplicity of voices, but most historians would accept that Lower was right when he concluded that, whatever else it is, 'Canada is a supreme act of faith'.[33]

SOUTH AFRICA

Those who wrote about the South African past in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, either before the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 or after, whether in English or in Dutch/Afrikaans, were overwhelmingly of European extraction, but they lived in a country in which people of European origin were always in a minority. As in Canada, many historians in South Africa wrote of the past as if indigenous people had no significant history of their own, and almost all historical writing in our period remained Eurocentric. But unlike in Canada the central theme of historical writing on South Africa in these years, as later, was how whites had interacted with the black majority. Much of this writing was highly political and closely related to contemporary debates. That was true, too, of the two other inter-related themes that loom large in much historical writing on South Africa: relations between people of European descent living in South Africa and Britain, and between Afrikaners and English-speaking whites.

Until 1910 'South Africa' was merely a geographical expression for the southernmost part of the continent. From 1652 white rule had gradually spread from Table Bay on the Cape Peninsula in the extreme south-west, until in the last years of the nineteenth century the last areas of what became the Union came under white control. Having occupied the Cape at the end of the eighteenth century, Britain extended its rule in stages until by the beginning of the twentieth all of what is now South Africa was part of the British Empire. English-speaking whites lost political power after 1910, the year in which the Cape and Natal and the two

[32] Arthur Lower, *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada* (London, 1946), 560.
[33] Ibid., 561.

former Boer republics came together to form the united South Africa, but remained culturally dominant.

From the late 1820s the first debate about the country's past in print concerned how the settler population had treated aboriginal people since 1652. In his *Researches in South Africa* (1828) John Philip, the Scottish-born head of the London Missionary Society at the Cape, wrote at some length of how the colonists had dispossessed the indigenous Khoisan and made them into virtual slaves.[34] This provoked angry responses in Cape Town newspapers. A group of colonists backed the publication of a set of documents, compiled by an official, Donald Moodie, entitled *The Record* (1838–41), which was designed to show that Philip was wrong and that the colonists had behaved honourably in their dealings with untrustworthy barbarians. In the 1840s and 1850s, those who wrote about the past did so mainly either to encourage others to emigrate from Britain to the Cape or Natal, or to justify their presence in those colonies and to criticize those Dutch-speakers who had trekked from the Cape in the 1830s en masse into the interior, cutting their ties with Britain. The most prominent of these amateur historians, John Centlivres Chase, a critic of Philip, first compiled two volumes on Natal and then, with another colonial official, Alexander Wilmot, wrote the first history of the Cape.[35] The Wesleyan Methodist missionary William C. Holden assembled the first detailed study of the history of black Africans in South Africa in the 1840s, but his book *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races* was not published until 1866.[36]

As in Canada, some of British origin, while welcoming the establishment of British institutions at the Cape, criticized successive British governments for not ruling in the interests of the settlers. British policies towards indigenous people and slaves had, it was said, been too influenced by humanitarian considerations, ignoring local realities. From the middle of the nineteenth century such a critical view of British policy grew stronger in historical writing in South Africa. Some even defended those who had left the Cape to settle in the interior. In published lectures, Henry Cloete, an Anglicized lawyer who became a government official in Natal, sought to counter myths about the Boer settlement there.[37] There was, however, no Garneau among those who were to become known as Afrikaners. It was not until the mid-1870s that S. J. du Toit, living not far from Cape Town, published the first history of his people in their variant of Dutch. In the interior Boer republics other writers took an even more critical approach to the British role in the sub-continent in the last

[34] Andrew Bank, 'The Great Debate and the Origins of South African Historiography', *Journal of African History*, 38 (1997), 261–81.

[35] J. C. Chase, *The Natal Papers . . . a History of Events from its Discovery in 1498 to the Mission of the Hon. H. Cloete, LL.D. etc.* (1843); and A. Wilmot and J. Chase, *History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town, 1969).

[36] He also authored a *History of the Colony of Natal, South Africa* (London, 1855).

[37] Henry Cloete, *Five Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers* (Cape Town, 1856).

decades of the century. Such writing reached an apogee in a polemic published on the eve of the South African war: *Eene eeuw van onrecht* [*A Century of Wrong*] (1899) saw British policy during the nineteenth century as treacherous and duplicitous, and South African history throughout that century as replete with wrongs done to the Boers.[38]

THEAL AND HIS SUCCESSORS

By then a man of Canadian origin, who had arrived in the eastern Cape in 1860, had become South Africa's Kingsford. George McCall Theal, the most prolific historian the country has yet seen, published the first multi-volume history of South Africa from before the European arrival to the present, along with numerous other works and many collections of documents.[39] When he taught at a mission school on the frontier in the early 1870s, he embraced the missionary perspective on his adopted country, the perspective of Philip, critical of the settlers and the way they had treated blacks.[40] After moving to the western Cape in the late 1870s, at a time of massive British intervention in the sub-continent, Theal's views changed, and he adopted a settler perspective on the region's past. Claiming to be objective and non-partisan, he was sympathetic to those of both British and Dutch origins in South Africa, and accepted that British policy had often been disastrous. Theal thus promoted the idea of a common white South Africanism, well before the creation of the Union of South Africa. His colonial nationalist perspective embraced an extensive justification of white rule in the sub-continent. He painted a picture of whites entering a land inhabited by backward, often brutal people, and argued that a great internecine struggle among the aboriginals in the interior and Zululand in the 1820s had cleared the way for the Voortrekkers to enter virtually empty land in the interior.[41]

Until Theal began to write his eleven-volume *History* (1897–1919) no serious historical scholarship had been undertaken in South Africa based on archival research. He had no formal training in history, but underpinned his settler interpretation with extensive research in archives in Cape Town and Europe, though he rarely cited his sources. In his writing, he was implicitly answering the question whether South Africa would become another Canada or Australia or another

[38] *A Century of Wrong* (London, 1900), orig. pub as *Eene eeuw van onrecht* (Pretoria, 1899), was the joint work of J. Roos and J. C. Smuts.

[39] Including *Basutoland Records*, 3 vols. (Cape Town, 1883); *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, 9 vols. (London, 1898–1903); and *Records of the Cape Colony from 1793 to 1838*, 36 vols. (London, 1897–1905).

[40] See his *Compendium of South African History and Geography* (Lovedale, 1874).

[41] Deryck Schreuder, 'The Imperial Historian as Colonial Nationalist: George McCall Theal and the Making of South African History', in G. Martel (ed.), *Studies in British Imperial History* (London, 1986), 95–158.

India. Despite its black majority, South Africa was and should be, he believed, a 'white man's country' and his view of the past, riddled with crude Social Darwinist assumptions, buttressed that idea.

Theal's general outlook was shared by George Cory, a chemistry professor turned historian, who was a pioneer in the collection of oral testimony, not only among whites.[42] From 1910 he published a series of volumes on *The Rise of South Africa*, which despite its title mostly focused on the settlers in the eastern Cape. The Theal–Cory interpretation of the past, based on the idea that white settlement had been beneficial, was reproduced in school texts and much popular writing for decades. Though professional historians began to challenge this interpretation in the 1920s, it remained dominant in the public discourse of most whites beyond our period.

As in Canada, indigenous people mostly remembered and interpreted the past orally,[43] but in South Africa there are some examples of history written by black amateur historians, who produced significant work from their own perspective. Francis Peregrino, who had grown up in Britain, drew heavily on Theal for his *Short History of the Native Tribes of South Africa* (1899), the first work of history by a person of black African origin on South Africa. But his book contained none of Theal's anti-black bias. Two general histories written by black authors in the early twentieth century have not survived.[44] During the First World War, Solomon T. Plaatje, a leading member of the South African Native National Congress, produced a classic work entitled *Native Life in South Africa before and since the European War and the Boer Rebellion* (1916). His friend Silas Modiri Molema, when a medical student in Scotland, published *The Bantu, Past and Present: An Ethnographical and Historical Study of the Native Races of South Africa* (1920). Magema M. Fuze's *Abantu Abamnyana* (1922) presented a Zulu view of the past in Zulu, while John Henderson Soga's *The South Eastern Bantu* (1930), though written in the vernacular, was translated into English for publication.[45] Two amateur white historians wrote significant works about black Africans in the early twentieth century.[46]

[42] George Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, 5 vols. (London, 1910–30). On Cory see J. M. Berning (ed.), *The Historical 'Conversations' of Sir George Cory* (Cape Town, 1989).

[43] For historical references in poems in praise of early chiefs see Jeffrey Opland, *Xhosa Poets and Poetry* (Cape Town, 1998), esp. 46–7.

[44] A draft foreword and the table of contents of Alan Kirkland Soga's 'The Problem of the Relations of Black and White in South Africa', are in the Aborigines Protection Society papers, Rhodes House, Oxford. No extant copies survive of the book, or of Walter Rubusana's 'History of South Africa from the Native Standpoint'.

[45] J. H. Soga's *The Ama-Xosa, Life and Customs* (Lovedale, 1932) was part anthropology, part history.

[46] James Stuart, a colonial official, wrote *A History of the Zulu Rebellion* (London, 1913), and Arthur Bryant, a missionary, drew upon oral testimonies to compile *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal* (London, 1929).

PROFESSIONALIZATION

Amateur historians continued to write important books—one of the most notable in the early twentieth century was that by the young Jan Hofmeyr on his politician ancestor, *Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr* (1913)—but from early in the twentieth century South African historians began to be trained overseas. The first chair in history at what became the University of Cape Town was founded during the South African War, as a direct consequence of the war. The two key figures in the development of the professional study of history in South Africa both read history at Oxford: Eric Walker, the second holder of the Cape Town chair, and W. M. Macmillan, who took up a teaching post in Grahamstown. A fledgling South African Historical Society, active for some years after Walker's arrival, did not survive the First World War, and the historical profession remained highly fragmented, with very little contact between historians at different universities, even if, as was the case with Cape Town and Stellenbosch, they were not far apart. Nothing comparable to the *Canadian Historical Review* appeared in our period. But the prolific Walker produced the first historical atlas of South Africa in 1922, then wrote the first detailed scholarly synthesis of the political history of the country, the single most important general history of the country to appear before 1945.[47] In a lecture he gave in Oxford in 1930 on the frontier tradition in South Africa, Walker applied the ideas of Frederick Jackson Turner to the South African case and argued that segregation and racism had originated on the frontier. In emphasizing the role of the frontier, Walker was in some respects the George Stanley of South Africa, but there was no Harold Innis or Donald Creighton in South Africa to advance a major challenge to the frontier thesis, and it was over four decades before Walker's ideas were systematically rebutted.[48] Macmillan first pioneered the study of social history, writing a seminal study, *The South African Agrarian Problem and its Historical Development* (1919). Then, at the new University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), he used the papers of John Philip to support the interpretation that that missionary had advanced a century earlier, that blacks had been victims of colonial aggression. Macmillan's *The Cape Colour Question* (1927) and *Bantu, Boer, and Briton* (1929) are arguably the most important historical monographs of the inter-war years.

Others also challenged the Theal–Cory view of South African history. J. A. I. Agar Hamilton, also Oxford-trained, in *The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers* (1928) and then *The Road to the North* (1937), showed that the Boer

[47] Eric Walker, *Historical Atlas of South Africa* (Cape Town, 1922); and id., *History of South Africa* (1928; 2nd edn, London, 1935). He also wrote biographies of Lord de Villiers (London, 1925) and W. P. Schreiner (Cambridge, 1937) and a sympathetic study of what he called the romance of *The Great Trek* (London, 1934).

[48] Martin Legassick in Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore (eds.), *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa* (London, 1980).

system of labour had been little different from slavery.[49] The most important composite work devoted to South African history in this period was the eighth volume of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (1936). Though edited by two leading British historians, it included chapters by most of the leading South African historians then writing in English.

These historians were concerned, as the amateur historians had not been, with cause and consequence, and they analysed the significance of events. Macmillan, a strong critic of the racial segregation of his own day, argued that there had been much economic and other contact between the peoples of South Africa in the past, and saw the central theme of South African history as the interaction between its peoples, but his focus was still on what whites had done to blacks rather than the history of blacks *per se*. Other scholars, not professional historians, who added to historical knowledge, included most notably Edgar Brookes, whose pioneering *History of Native Policy* was published in 1924, and the economists D. M. Goodfellow, who wrote the first general economic history of the country (1931), and H. M. Robertson, author of a key article entitled '150 Years of Economic Contact between Black and White'.[50] It was Macmillan's star student, C. W. de Kiewiet, who developed that theme in his chapter in the *Cambridge History*. He had earlier published his University of London doctoral thesis as *British Colonial Policy and the South African Republics* (1929) and continued to write on British policy, which he saw as having had 'high motives and worthy ends'.[51] He then returned to socio-economic themes in his masterly *History of South Africa Social and Economic* (1941), which, despite its lack of political detail, would remain for decades the best introductory work on South Africa history, and remains to this day unequalled in South African historical literature for its elegance and sparkling style. Another master-historian, the Australian W. K. Hancock, went further than De Kiewiet in drawing comparisons between South Africa and Canada and Australia in a seminal contribution to a survey of inter-war economic policies.[52]

The historical profession in South Africa suffered greatly from the departure of Macmillan and then Walker to the United Kingdom, where they wrote nothing more of significance on South Africa, while De Kiewiet, who had gone to the

[49] Agar-Hamilton's general history, entitled *South Africa* (London, 1934), received little attention. At the University of Pretoria he was hounded for being an English speaker: F. A. Mouton (ed.), *History, Historians and Afrikaner Nationalism* (Vanderbijlpark, 2007), ch. 2.

[50] D. M, Goodfellow, *A Modern Economic History of South Africa* (London, 1931); and H. M. Robertson, '150 Years of Economic Contact between Black and White', *South African Journal of Economics*, 2:4 (1934), 403–25 and 3:1 (1935), 3–25.

[51] *The Imperial Factor in South Africa* (Cambridge, 1937), 5; and cf. Christopher Saunders, *C. W. de Kiewiet: Historian of South Africa* (Cape Town, 1986).

[52] W. K. Hancock, *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs*, vol. 2: *Problems of Economic Policy 1918–1939, Part 2* (London, 1942), 144–63. David Fieldhouse was too critical of it in 'Keith Hancock and Imperial Economic History', in F. Madden and D. K. Fieldhouse, (eds.), *Oxford and the Idea of Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1982).

United States to teach, had applied for, but was not appointed to, the Cape Town chair. Margaret Hodgson, having published a seminal article on the Khoi,[53] was not given Macmillan's post at Wits. When she married, her appointment there was terminated, after which she went into Parliament and only wrote history again after her retirement.[54] The leading historian to continue teaching in South Africa in the early 1940s, J. S. (Etienne) Marais, followed Macmillan and Agar-Hamilton in challenging Theal, first in a masterly survey of the history of *The Coloured People* (1939) and then even more directly in the more narrowly focused *Maynier and the First Boer Republic* (1944). Other professional historians published little in these years, the main exception being Alan F. Hattersley, who wrote prolifically on the British settlement of Natal.[55] Much more significantly, the economist Sheila van der Horst's pioneering history of *Native Labour in South Africa* (1942) would long remain a key text in its field. While no South African historian in this period followed Ryerson in writing from a Marxist perspective, Edward Roux, a botanist by training and former member of the Communist Party, did begin in the 1930s to write articles on aspects of black history from a black perspective. After completing a biography of a leading communist in 1944, he gathered his articles together to form the basis of *Time Longer Than Rope: A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa* (1948), the first book to set out such a view of South Africa's past.[56]

Until well after the end of the Second World War, history departments at South African universities remained very small and their staff spent most of their time teaching. As the war ended, the writing of the Union War Histories began, and they absorbed the energies of some of South Africa's leading historians for a decade thereafter.[57] It would be two decades after 1945 before professional historians began to follow Roux and take the history of black African societies and resistance seriously.[58]

Afrikaner historical writing to 1945 was less monolithic than is sometimes suggested, and nationalist writing was only one strand in it. Some European-trained professional historians at the South African universities that taught in Afrikaans

[53] M. L. Hodgson, 'The Hottentots in South Africa: A Problem in Labour and Administration?' *South African Journal of Science*, 21 (1924), 594–621.

[54] M. Ballinger, *From Union to Apartheid* (Cape Town, 1969).

[55] Most notably in A. F. Hattersley, *Portrait of a Colony* (Cambridge, 1940).

[56] Edward Roux, *S. P. Bunting* (Cape Town, 1944); and id., *Time Longer than Rope* (London, 1948). The publication of a second edition of this work by the University of Wisconsin Press in 1964 brought it a large readership for the first time.

[57] These included Agar-Hamilton, Robertson, and Eric Axelson. The self-effacing Agar-Hamilton, who became editor in chief of the Union War Histories, had left the University of Pretoria to join the staff of the Historical Records Office of the South African army during the war.

[58] On the significance of J. Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath* (London, 1966), L. M. Thompson (ed.), *African Societies in Southern Africa* (London, 1969), and the first volume of the *Oxford History of South Africa* (Oxford, 1969) see Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past* (New York and Cape Town, 1988), 150–9.

believed that history should be an objective science, and their writing often stuck so closely to the documents as to be almost antiquarian.[59] Among their narrowly conceived studies were a number on the early years of Dutch settlement at the Cape and on the Afrikaners in the interior in the nineteenth century. From 1938 some of the best of these began to be published in the Archives Year Book of South African History series.[60] The most innovative Afrikaner historian of his generation, P. J. van der Merwe, who lectured at Stellenbosch University from 1938, opened up the socio-economic history of the trekboers, demonstrating the importance of the environment on their development.[61] It was a journalist, Gustav Preller, who took the lead in helping to construct Afrikaner nationalism on the basis of a set of past grievances. Anti-British and anti-black, Preller depicted the leading figures of the Great Trek in heroic terms,[62] and others cited the concentration camps of the South African War as the chief example of British atrocities, or, say, interpreted the Afrikaner rebellion of 1914 in nationalist terms.[63] Leo Fouche, head of History at the University of Pretoria, was regarded as a traitor because of his failure to support the nationalist movement, and was hounded until he resigned his chair at Pretoria in 1934 and moved to Wits.[64] Under his successor, I. D. Bosman, a passionate Afrikaner nationalist who wrote little of significance, the Pretoria History Department dedicated itself to the history of the Afrikaner people. *Volksgeskiedenis*, 'blood and tears history',[65] was seen as essential in maintaining the Afrikaners' unique identity, and fed into the political movement that triumphed in 1948.

[59] On the Stellenbosch Department see P. H. Kapp (ed.), *Verantwoorde Verlede: Die Verhaal van die Studies van Geskiedenis aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch, 1866–2000* (Stellenbosch, n.d. [2004]); and cf. A. Grundlingh, 'Politics, Principles and Problems of a Profession: Afrikaner Historians and their Discipline, c. 1920–c. 1965', *Perspectives in Education*, 12:1 (1990), 6–14. L. M. Thompson identified a British school of writing in 'South Africa', in Robin Winks (ed.), *The Historiography of the British Empire-Commonwealth* (Durham, NC, 1966), 212–36. Floors van Jaarsveld distinguished between an earlier 'colonial' school and an 'imperial' one of the late nineteenth century: F. A. van Jaarsveld, *The Afrikaner's Interpretation of South African History* (Cape Town, 1964).

[60] These included E. C. Godee-Molsbergen, *Jan van Riebeeck en zijn tijd: een stuk zeventiende-eeuws Oost-Indie* (Amsterdam, 1937); and A. J. Böeseken, *Nederlandsche commissarissen aan de Kaap 1657–1700* (The Hague, 1938).

[61] P. J. van der Merwe, *Die Noordwaartse Beweging van die Boers voor die Groot Trek* (Den Haag, 1937); id., *Die Trekboer in die Geskiedenis van die Kaapkolonie* (Cape Town, 1938); and id., *Trek* (Cape Town, 1945). One of his students wrote a pioneering dissertation on the Khoi of the western Cape in the late seventeenth century: H. J. le Roux, 'Die Toestand, Verspreiding en Verbrokkeling van die Hotttentotstamme in Suid Afrika, 1652–1713', unpublished MA thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1945.

[62] See esp. Gustav Preller, *Piet Retief* (Cape Town, 1920); and id., *Andries Pretorius* (Johannesburg, 1937).

[63] E.g. J. A. Coetzee, *Politieke Groeprering* (Johannesburg, 1941); G. D. Scholtz, *Die Rebellie* (Johannesburg, 1942); and cf. L. M. Thompson, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid* (New Haven, 1985).

[64] His main work was *Die Evolutie van de Trekboer* (Pretoria, 1909).

[65] Van Jaarsveld, 'Geskiedenis van die Departement Geskiedenis, Universiteit van Stellenbosch', in *Die Afrikaner se Groot Trek na die Stede and Ander Opstelle* (Johannesburg, 1982), 260–1.

CONCLUSION

Historical writing in Canada and South Africa developed along roughly similar lines, from Eurocentric amateur histories to more critical works by professional historians. In both countries there was little interaction between professional historians writing in different languages. South African historiography did not develop the depth and sophistication of Canadian history-writing in this period, but it focused on relations between whites and indigenous people in a way that only Alfred Bailey did in Canada. Unlike Canada, there was some historical writing by people of indigenous descent in South Africa. Again unlike Canada, many of South Africa's leading historians left the country for political reasons. Despite the differences between Canada's and South Africa's historical writing, historians in both countries used history as a way of understanding the present, and historical writing in both often had an existential as well as a national purpose.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

Canada

1608	France establishes colony at Quebec
1759	Conquest of Quebec
1837–8	Rebellions in Lower and Upper Canada
1867	Dominion of Canada constituted out of British North America

South Africa

1795	First British occupation of the Cape
1820	Arrival of the first large group of British settlers
1835–40	Great Trek of Afrikaners into the interior
1853	Cape obtains representative government
1910	Union of South Africa
1939	South Africa enters Second World War

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Chapter 20

Historical Writing in Australia and New Zealand

Stuart Macintyre

Australia and New Zealand were late products of Europe's overseas expansion, shaped decisively by the voyages to distant destinations undertaken by 45 million people during the nineteenth century. In contrast to other regions of European settlement, the colonial experience of these two countries was undisturbed by imperial rivalries; they began under British rule and adapted British institutions and practices to local circumstances. Both grew into nationhood with continuing ties to Great Britain of trade, investment, migration, defence arrangements, religion, education, culture, and sentiment. Their proximity, interaction, and common endeavours strengthened the similarities in their history and historical writing up to 1945.

Yet the histories written in these two countries also registered fundamental differences between them. The British settlement of Australia began in 1788 with the establishment of a penal colony on the south-east coast of a vast landmass. The legacy of convict transportation and the challenge of mastering an obdurate environment shaped narratives of hardship, endurance, and redemption. Traders, missionaries, and officials soon extended the European presence to the more temperate archipelago situated 2,000 kilometres to the east of Australia, but after its formal annexation in 1840 New Zealand was administered separately as a place of free settlement.

The proclamation of British sovereignty over New Zealand, moreover, was accompanied by a treaty with the indigenous inhabitants, unlike the earlier acquisition of Australia, which made no such provision. The Aboriginals had occupied Australia for more than 40,000 years; they lived lightly on the land as hunter-gatherers, with social structures that were denied recognition and sustained only local resistance to dispossession. The Maori came to New Zealand less than 1,000 years before the Europeans, bringing skills of horticulture that supported higher population densities. Their capacity was demonstrated in wars fought during the 1860s against 20,000 British and colonial soldiers. Settler societies can deal with the legacy of their origins by excluding the indigenous presence or incorporating it: in establishing a national history, most Australian

writers dismissed the indigenous peoples as alien or marginal to a history that began with white settlement, whereas their New Zealand counterparts assimilated theirs as heroic and chivalrous foes in a story of Maori–Pakeha harmony.

The nation-building project accentuated these differences. From the 1850s, when the Australian and New Zealand colonies became self-governing democracies, they also became more concerned with their separate purposes. New Zealand delegates were present at the first federal convention of the Australian colonies in 1890, but the eventual formation of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901 confirmed an independent path. The larger nation-state was more ambitious in its schemes of state-directed development, more strident in its nationalism. There is a remarkable similarity in the genres of history written in Australia and New Zealand, the facilities they created for historical scholarship, the way that a historical profession emerged and the conventions it followed; but the histories of the two countries proceeded on increasingly divergent lines.

COLONIAL ORIGINS

The writing of history began with the first settlement. Arthur Phillip, the naval captain who commanded the eleven vessels that entered Sydney Harbour in January 1788 and served as the first governor of New South Wales, published an account of his activities, as did several of his officers.[1] These and other early works provided British readers with information about the new land, its topography and climate, flora and fauna, the mode of life of the Indigenous inhabitants and the first dealings with them, as part of a narrative of purposeful activity. Similar accounts of New Zealand were published from 1807, and would be followed by descriptions of exploration, travel, and the establishment of further settlements.

The foundational narratives soon gave way to a new kind of writing that drew on the colonial experience to contest imperial policy. Notable Australian examples include William Charles Wentworth's *Statistical, Historical and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales* (1819), written while he was in England lobbying on behalf of free settlers against the restrictions imposed by the penal regime. James Macarthur presented similar arguments on behalf of the wealthy pastoralists in *New South Wales: Its Present State and Future Prospects* (1837) when he gave evidence to a committee of the British parliament that was investigating convict transportation, while the Presbyterian minister John Dunmore Lang's *A Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales* (1834) was a plea for assisted migration written on one of his many recruitment missions to Scotland.[2]

[1] Arthur Phillips, *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay* (London, 1789).

[2] John Ritchie, *The Wentworths: Father and Son* (Melbourne, 1997); J. M. Ward, *James Macarthur: Colonial Conservative, 1798–1867* (Sydney, 1981); and D. W. A. Baker, *Days of Wrath: A Life of John Dunmore Lang* (Melbourne, 1985).

These works used narrative to relate the consequences of maladministration by local officials. They were published in Britain and aimed at changing the policies of the Colonial Office; hence Macarthur's assurance that 'if wise measures are now adopted, the false steps of the past may soon be retrieved'. The authors drew on whig models of political and constitutional history, anticipating the extension of ancient liberties and the benefits that would follow; hence Wentworth's vision of 'a new Britannia in another world'. Lacking a substantial body of documentation, they relied perforce on personal testimony and their own authority, but authenticity was subsidiary to polemical purpose. Indeed, Edward Gibbon Wakefield's argument for a planned settlement in *A Letter from Sydney* (1829) was composed in a London prison and related the misfortunes of a place he never visited. It expressed in an extreme form the assumption of such colonial histories that successful colonization transposed an entire cross-section of the parent society.[3]

Similar histories were written in New Zealand during the 1840s, contrasting the country's rich potential with the prohibitions imposed by ignorant officials in London and enforced with capricious zeal by autocratic governors. Notable among such publications were those written by members of the New Zealand Company, a group of speculators who bought land from Maori owners to establish new settlements along Wakefieldian lines and quickly fell into dispute with missionaries, administrators, and the Colonial Office. In *Adventure in New Zealand* (1845) Wakefield's son, Edward Jerningham Wakefield, described the 'brave colony of Englishmen' that had taken 'firm root in the fertile soil' despite such obstruction. A history written a decade later by Arthur Thomson, an army surgeon, caught the magnitude of this colonizing ambition: 'the transplanting of English society in its various gradations in due proportions, carrying with them the laws, customs, associations, habits, manners, everything in England but the soil and the climate'.[4] Nor was it confined to English stock: the same principles were applied to the Scottish Free Church colony in the South Island, even down to the name of its first town, Dunedin.

This line of polemical history culminated in Australia with two works stimulated by the popular movement to abolish the convict system. Transportation of convicts to the mainland had ended in 1840 but its brief revival at the end of the decade provoked the evangelical Dr Lang to call for a republic. His historical tract *Freedom and Independence for the Golden Lands of Australia* was first published in London in 1852, but an enlarged Sydney edition followed in 1857. Meanwhile

[3] Philip Temple, *A Sort of Conscience: The Wakefields* (Auckland, 2002).

[4] E. J. Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand*, 2 vols. (London, 1845), ii. 529–30; and Arthur S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, 2 vols. (London, 1859), ii. 13. See Peter Gibbons, 'Non-Fiction', in Terry Sturm (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, 2nd edn (Auckland, 1998), 38–41; and James Belich, 'Colonization and History in New Zealand', in Robin W. Winks (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 5: *Historiography* (Oxford, 1999), 182–3.

John West, a Congregational minister and newspaper editor, began his *History of Tasmania* as part of the campaign to stop penal transportation to the island-colony; it appeared in 1852, on the eve of its success. West's history, the first major work to be published locally, gave a sustained denunciation of the evil effects of the penal system and the treatment of Tasmanian Aboriginals.

West was not the only Australian historian to acknowledge the violent dispossession that accompanied the colonial occupation. Henry Melville, a Tasmanian predecessor, had deplored the massacres that culminated in a declaration of martial law there in 1830; James Bonwick, a colleague of Melville during the 1840s, later wrote a substantial account of this 'Black War'; and in the most ambitious of the nineteenth-century histories, George Rusden condemned a national record of slaughter that 'can be denied by none who know the course of Australian history'.[5] Rusden's claim was indignantly rejected. While diaries, journals, narratives, and reminiscences published in this period contain frank accounts of conflict and killing, the colonists resisted the inclusion of the Aboriginal presence in the historical record. There was an interest in ethnographic description, and missionaries recorded Aboriginal languages and beliefs as part of their proselytizing endeavour, but the results were disappointing. The reluctance of Aboriginals to cooperate in the colonial project and their rapid depopulation in the settled areas were understood as confirming their primitive status. They were seen as a timeless and unchanging remnant that had survived in isolation but was incapable of adaptation and thus doomed to extinction. Even Bonwick's sympathetic account of their earlier way of life was premised on the judgement that 'They knew no past, they wanted no future.'[6]

The relegation of the indigenous past strengthened the conviction of the colonists that Australia was deficient in history. The newcomers looked at the land with a Romantic sensibility and found it lacking in familiar associations. The kangaroo and the platypus appeared bizarre inversions of nature, the tracts of eucalyptus presented a weary monotony. The absence of a recognizable past could be remedied by the promise of future success—the first volume of Australian poetry declared that 'anticipation is to a young country what antiquity is to an old'—so that the sound of axes breaking the timeless solitude of the virgin forest became a standard device whereby the narrator imagined the civilization that was to be.[7] The empty space could be rendered an Arcadian paradise in which the industrious emigrant might find peace, happiness, and prosperity.[8] But nature in

[5] Henry Melville, *The History of the Island of Van Diemen's Land* (Hobart, 1835); James Bonwick, *The Last of the Tasmanians* (London, 1870); and G. W. Rusden, *History of Australia*, 3 vols. (London, Melbourne, and Sydney, 1883), i. 127;

[6] James Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians* (London, 1870), 1–2.

[7] Barron Field, *First Fruits of Australian Poetry* (Sydney, 1819).

[8] Coral Lansbury, *Arcady in Australia: The Evocation of Australia in Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (Melbourne, 1970).

Australia remained harsh and unforgiving. The horrors of convict life, as depicted by the novelist Marcus Clarke, were compounded by the 'weird melancholy' of the bush.[9] Pioneer settlers fought drought, fire, and flood in a popular historical mythology that stressed struggle, courage, and survival amidst pain, tragedy, and loss. The struggle to subdue the land displaced the conflict between the newcomers and the indigenous peoples, though there were also captivity narratives, especially of white women falling into Aboriginal hands, which reversed the relationship.[10]

New Zealand historians were more receptive to the indigenous culture, as indeed the Maori were more responsive to the Pakeha. George Grey, the governor from 1843 to 1853 and 1861 to 1867, employed the Arawa chief Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke, to produce a rich collection of *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race* (1855), published under his own name, and subsequently as premier commissioned John White's more extensive collection of traditions, published bilingually in six volumes as *The Ancient History of the Maori* (1887–90). These reworked a rich and diverse oral tradition that employed narrative, song, genealogy, and proverb to transmit ancestral knowledge. The Maori rising that began in 1860 and persisted for a decade had a profound effect. An early *History of the War in the North of New Zealand* (1862) by the settler and trader Frederick Maning described the Maori dissatisfaction with the results of the Treaty of Waitangi, exacerbated by fundamentally different attitudes to land. Maning had in fact advised Maori chiefs against signing the Treaty, but the novelty of the history arises from his invention of an 'old chief' as the narrator; he presents himself as a 'Pakeha Maori' translator.[11]

The couplet—Pakeha is a stranger, Maori a person of the land—suggests how the colonists responded to this challenge. While reluctant to concede the merits of the Maori grievances or acknowledge their military prowess, Pakeha writers paid tribute to the courage and chivalry of a vanquished foe.[12] Out of the New Zealand Wars came the expectation that the Maori were capable of conversion and civilization, an expectation fostered by new work on their history. Percy Smith, the surveyor-general, proposed that the Maori had explored and settled New Zealand with their own Great Fleet. The ex-soldier Edward Tregear deduced that they were a forgotten branch of the Indo-Aryan diaspora. By such means New Zealand was given its own distinctive history and the recent European

[9] Marcus Clarke, *His Natural Life* (Melbourne, 1874); and id., preface to Adam Lindsay Gordon, *Sea Spray and Drift Smoke* (Melbourne, 1876).

[10] Kate Darian-Smith, Roslyn Poignant, and Kay Schaffer, *Captured Lives: Australian Captivity Narratives* (London, 1993); and see Ann Curthoys, 'Expulsion, Exodus and Exile in White Australian Historical Mythology', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 61 (1999), 1–18.

[11] Alex Calder, 'Introduction', to F. E. Maning, *Old New Zealand and Other Writings* (London, 2001), 1–14.

[12] James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland, 1986).

settlement turned into 'a family reunion'.[13] The contrast with Australia is heightened by the reception accorded George Rusden's *History of New Zealand*. This crusty conservative retired from Melbourne to England in 1882 and his three-volume histories of Australia and New Zealand appeared in the following year. His criticism of indigenous relations was dismissed in Australia: on the other side of the Tasman Sea it provoked angry denunciation. A member of the New Zealand Parliament proposed that the government pay the expenses of prosecuting the author, and the former Minister for Native Affairs won heavy damages in a libel action.

RECOLLECTING THE PAST AND ANTICIPATING THE FUTURE

Rusden's was one of the few voices raised against the histories that were written in the second half of the nineteenth century as a paean to progress. In the 1850s the colonies became self-governing and speedily democratized their polities. A gold rush in the same decade initiated a period of rapid and sustained growth. Prosperous export industries allowed colonial governments to raise loans, improve transport and communication, endow urban centres with civic amenities, and create the systems of universal education that enlarged the reading public. Numerous histories recapitulated this record of progress, sometimes directed to a British audience to attract money and migrants, more often in local publications designed to validate the achievement. In works such as the merchant William Westgarth's *Half a Century of Australasian Progress* (1889) and the statistician T. A. Coghlan's *The Progress of Australasia in the Nineteenth Century* (1903), progress was measured in flocks and crops, bricks and mortar, and then in the civilization these made possible.

The character of this civilization continued to exercise colonial historians. As with other European settler societies, there was a keen desire to emulate the standards of the homeland. New Zealand, smaller and more dependent, tightened its economic links to Britain with the introduction of refrigerated shipping in the 1880s and flourished as a loyal Dominion. Its historians emphasized both continuity and improvement: an exemplary new society that was British in its population, institutional inheritance, and guiding values, but a better Briton in its select stock, agrarian virtue, and capacity for improvement. These qualities, together with the idea of Maori–Pakeha harmony and racial homogeneity, distinguished New Zealand from Australia, the United States, and other new world countries. Building on the social reforms of the Liberal government of the 1890s

[13] The phrase comes from James Belich, 'Myth, Race and Identity in New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 31 (1997), 17. S. P. Smith, *Hawaiki: The Original Homeland of the Maori* (Christchurch, 1910); and Edward Tregear, *The Aryan Maori* (Wellington, 1885). See K. R. Howe, *Singer in a Songless Land: A Life of Edward Tregear 1846–1931* (Auckland, 1991).

in which he served before moving to London as Agent-General, William Pember Reeves constructed a history of 'the world's social laboratory'. Its title, *The Long White Cloud: Ao Tea Roa* (1898), joined a popular designation to the Maori name for New Zealand.[14]

'The most successful colonization', G. W. Rusden asserted, 'is that which founds abroad a society similar to that of the parent country.'[15] His Australian contemporaries were more inclined to assert the differences. Common historical themes included exploration, celebrating 'the indomitable courage, heroic self-sacrifice and dogged perseverance' of the men who risked and often lost their lives in epic journeys through trackless wastes and encounters with hostile natives.[16] Another favoured subject was the bushranger, originally a convict who absconded from custody and later an outlaw with a measure of legitimacy and support among the rural poor. In ballads and folklore, then novels and popular histories, the bushranger was invested with manly independence, gallantry, and loyalty to his mates; his defiance of oppressive authority, as well as his bushcraft and nativist values stamped him as distinctively Australian—Ned Kelly, the most celebrated bushranger, was the subject of many publications after his capture and execution in 1880, as well as the first Australian feature film in 1906.[17]

Australia was more assertive in its nationalism, less comfortable in its imperial dealings. Profligate borrowing fuelled a speculative boom that broke in the early 1890s, damaging the country's credit and halting migration for a decade. Attempts by export producers to reduce wage costs resulted in strikes and lockouts that compounded the hardship. These circumstances shaped the formation of a radical legend that maintained a powerful hold on subsequent generations. It was a frontier legend, created by urban intellectuals who turned from the derivative culture of the city to the real Australia of the outback, but harsher and more elemental than the North American one. The Australian version gathered the prior experience of convicts and bushrangers, diggers who gathered around the mining campfires, the hard-bitten drovers and shearers, and incorporated their struggles into the militant ethos of the newly formed labour movement. In celebrating the independence, egalitarianism, and masculine licence of the itinerant bush worker, the radical nationalists rejected the inequality, snobbery, and restrictive moralism that they associated with colonial subservience.[18]

Alongside this radical legend of the nomad bushman was a more affirmative alternative, the pioneer legend. In its original usage, the term pioneer was applied to all early settlers regardless of station. By the end of the nineteenth century it

[14] Keith Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves: New Zealand Fabian* (Oxford, 1965).
[15] Rusden, *History of Australia*, iii. ch. 16.
[16] Ernest Favenc, *The History of Australian Exploration* (Sydney, 1888).
[17] George E. Boxall, *The Story of the Australian Bushrangers* (London, 1899); and Charles White, *History of Australian Bushranging*, 4 vols. (Sydney, 1900–3).
[18] Vance Palmer, *The Legend of the Nineties* (Melbourne, 1954); and Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne, 1958).

was becoming reserved for those who first settled the land, cleared and improved it, endured loneliness and misfortune to transform the wilderness into a productive patrimony. Popular and ostensibly democratic, the pioneer legend was deeply conservative in its reverence for an idealized and consensual rural past. It was practised locally in memoirs and reminiscences, promoted in monuments and commemorations, inculcated in school readers.[19]

Pioneer history flourished in New Zealand in the late nineteenth century as colonists approached the fiftieth anniversary of official settlement. They were sufficiently far away from their beginning to feel a need to commemorate it, sufficiently close for it still to be remembered by participants. One impulse for the formation of pioneer and early settler associations, as well as historical societies, was a sense of urgency to record the memories of these pioneers before they were lost forever. In contrast to formal history-writing, this was a collective activity that used social memory to affirm a shared identity. Building on the methods of collection and classification used by amateur naturalists, pioneer historians faithfully gathered information—above all, endless lists of firsts—as cues for recalling the associations between local landmarks and old identities. The compilers did not usually claim to be creating histories, indeed they often described their collections as providing raw material for a future historian, but they insisted on its authenticity. The material was minutely particular but the rhetoric that turned these pioneers into nation-builders allowed their personal memories to be incorporated into historical narratives of nationhood. And the writers of national history invoked the same authority: Alfred Saunders opened his *History of New Zealand* (1898) with the claim that he was 'the first settler who landed from the first immigrant ship that entered Nelson Harbour'.[20]

The same impulse carried over into the activity of regional historical societies. New Zealand had a national government from the 1850s, but the original colonies (now provinces) retained strong identities. In Australia the far-flung colonies came together in a federal government in 1901 (when the colonies became states), and it was this change of status that stimulated a conscious attempt to provide an authoritative account of their colonial origins. A historical society was formed in New South Wales following a dispute over the date of the foundation stone of an old Sydney church. Since 'the swift advance of civilization is continually . . . sweeping away historical monuments of the past', there was a need for an authoritative record, and the society subsequently produced a *Calendar of Events in Australian History* (1933).[21] Similar societies were formed in Victoria in 1909 and Queensland

[19] J. B. Hirst, 'The Pioneer Legend', *Historical Studies*, 18 (1978), 316–37; and Graeme Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History* (Sydney, 2000), ch. 11.

[20] Quoted in Fiona Hamilton, 'Pioneering History: Negotiating Pakeha Collective Memory in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36 (2002), 66–81; and see also Chris Healy, *From the Ruins of Colonialism: History as Social Memory* (Cambridge, 1997).

[21] K. R. Cramp, 'The Australian Historical Society: The Story of its Foundation', *Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings*, 4 (1917–18), 1–14.

in 1913. Enjoying viceregal patronage, these bodies brought together descendants of pioneer families, clerics, and other professionals to discuss papers on foundational events—the precise place of James Cook's landing in 1770 exercised the Sydney members mightily.[22]

The societies were active in collecting, preserving, and commemorating historical remains, but in the first of these endeavours they were handicapped by the fact that much of the official record of colonization was deposited in London. In 1883 the Queensland government commissioned James Bonwick, who had returned to England, to copy material in the Public Record Office, and in 1885 and 1886 he performed similar work for South Australia and Victoria. As part of its centennial celebrations, the government of New South Wales published a two-volume history based on his transcriptions, and then employed him to produce eight volumes of *The Historical Records of New South Wales* (1892–1901). These served as the precedent for an even more ambitious project, the *Historical Records of Australia* in thirty-three volumes (1914–25), which were edited by an irascible surgeon, Dr Frederick Watson, at the behest of the Commonwealth. Describing these documents as 'the birth certificates of a nation', Watson was relentlessly antiquarian. 'I have now written twenty-one books', he insisted in 1921, 'but have never advanced a theory. At the same time I have discredited numberless theories and exploded many so-called facts.'[23] In New Zealand Robert McNab undertook a similar exercise with the *Historical Records of New Zealand* (1908–14), and with a similar orientation: 'The reader is given the results of the author's research, not the fruits of his thought.'[24]

During this same period the state assumed responsibility for previously private bodies of historical material. In Sydney the reclusive David Scott Mitchell bequeathed his collection of manuscripts and 60,000 volumes to the New South Wales government on condition that a suitable building be provided; the Mitchell Library opened in 1910.[25] In Wellington his counterpart, Alexander Turnbull, left a collection of similar magnitude to the New Zealand government in 1918 as 'the nucleus' of a national collection.[26] Together with the nearby library of the General Assembly (the national parliament), which held government archives and official publications, the Turnbull Library provided a base for the historical community. Johannes Andersen, the first Turnbull Librarian, published extensively on Maori history; Guy Scholefield, a former journalist who directed the General Assembly

[22] Macintyre, 'The Writing of Australian History', 17; and see Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Melbourne, 1995), ch. 9.

[23] Ann M. Mitchell, 'Dr Frederick Watson and *Historical Records of Australia*', *Historical Studies*, 20 (1982), 171–97.

[24] Robert McNab, *The Old Whaling Days: A History of Southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840* (Christchurch, 1913), p. iii; and see Chris Hilliard, 'Island Stories: The Writing of New Zealand History 1920–1940', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1997, ch. 4.

[25] David J. Jones, *A Source of Inspiration and Delight* (Sydney, 1988).

[26] Rachel Barrowman, *The Turnbull: A Library and its World* (Auckland, 1995), 1.

Library, produced the first dictionary of national biography; Lindsay Buick, an ex-parliamentarian and author of *The Treaty of Waitangi* (1914), was employed there to collate historical records; and James Cowan, another former journalist, wrote the two-volume official history, *The New Zealand Wars* (1922–3).[27]

Although the Mitchell Library attracted its own circle of writers, Australia lacked the same institutional centre of historical research. A national collection was begun in the Commonwealth Parliamentary Library, but in 1927 it moved with the parliament from the provisional seat of government in Melbourne to the raw new capital, Canberra, and did not collect manuscripts with any purpose until the Second World War.[28] A proposal to create a proper Commonwealth archives was prepared in the 1920s, but not implemented until the same stimulus to action. Australia was far more ambitious in its sponsorship of war history—the war correspondent Charles Bean wrote six substantial volumes of *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–18* (1921–42) and edited another six, whereas only four slight books appeared in New Zealand—but otherwise lagged in state-sponsored historical activity. One reason was that the locus of history-writing in Australia was shifting to the universities.

THE ADVENT OF ACADEMIC HISTORY

The first universities were established in Sydney and Melbourne in the 1850s, and by the early twentieth century there was one in each of the six state capitals. The New Zealand provinces of Otago and Canterbury established theirs in 1869 and 1873, and the North Island centres of Auckland and Wellington followed in 1882 and 1899. From the beginning the colonial universities taught history as part of the Arts degree. The early professors, recruited from Britain and usually responsible for teaching several disciplines, took undergraduates through a conventional curriculum of ancient, medieval, and modern history; classes in British history sometimes used texts such as J. R. Seeley's *The Expansion of England* (1883) and, if pressed, a local professor was likely to borrow his explanation of the role of such training as 'a school of statesmanship'. The first academic publications were by professors of law setting out the lineage and local development of constitutional and political institutions.[29]

[27] Chris Hilliard, *The Bookmen's Dominion: Cultural Life in New Zealand 1920–1950* (Auckland, 2006), ch. 3.

[28] Andrew and Margaret Osborne, *The Commonwealth Parliamentary Library, 1901–27, and the Origins of the National Library of Australia* (Canberra, 1989); and Peter Cochrane (ed.), *Remarkable Occurrences: The National Library of Australia's First 100 Years, 1901–2001* (Canberra, 2000).

[29] Edward Jenks, *The Government of Victoria* (London, 1891); id., *The History of the Australasian Colonies* (Cambridge, 1895); Sir Harrison Moore, *The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia* (London, 1902); and J. Hight and H. D. Bamford, *Constitutional History and Law of New Zealand* (Christchurch, 1914).

Australian history was introduced in the early years of the twentieth century by two Englishmen who held chairs at Sydney and Melbourne. George Arnold Wood trained at Manchester and Oxford before his appointment to Sydney in 1891. From William Stubbs he absorbed the close study of primary sources; from his Congregational background and Lancashire liberalism he derived a high-minded humanism. Wood's major work, *The Discovery of Australia*, occupied him from early in the century and was published in 1922. His teaching was constructed around exemplary figures who 'embodied the highest qualities of human endeavour' and extended to Australian history from 1905. His ablest students went on to further study at his own Balliol College and returned to chairs at other universities.[30]

Two years younger than Wood, Ernest Scott won appointment to the Melbourne chair in 1913 without any qualifications. He had come to Australia with his bride, the daughter of Annie Besant, and briefly edited a theosophical journal before the marriage failed. While a Hansard reporter, Scott wrote a series of carefully researched and closely argued studies of French and British exploration, and his *Short History of Australia* (1916) passed through many subsequent editions. Scott's teaching was distinctive for its emphasis on primary sources, for its training students in historical interpretation, and a growing attention to Australian history taught within a comparative colonial framework.[31] Some of his graduates, notably Keith Hancock, proceeded to Balliol but others obtained higher degrees elsewhere. They too established academic careers back in Australia, so that the profession became autochthonous. Wood was succeeded in 1929 by Scott's pupil Stephen Roberts, Scott in 1937 by Wood's student Max Crawford; and the distinctive curricular and pedagogical styles of Sydney and Melbourne were adopted across the country.[32]

It took longer for New Zealand history to establish a similar academic presence. British scholars occupied three of the four chairs and none was familiar with the conventions of historical research that were now firmly established there: the rigorous scrutiny of primary sources, the synthesis of methodological scientism and expository artistry. These techniques were introduced by James Rutherford, an Englishman who had a Michigan doctorate when appointed as professor at Auckland in 1934; Arnold Wood's son Fred, who brought Oxford qualifications to the Wellington chair in 1936, and the New Zealander J. C. Beaglehole, who was appointed to a lectureship there in the same year with a London doctorate. All three took up research on New Zealand material and shifted the discipline towards contemporary academic practice.[33] The teaching of

[30] R. M. Crawford, *'A Bit of a Rebel': The Life and Work of George Arnold Wood* (Sydney, 1975).
[31] Stuart Macintyre, *A History for a Nation: Ernest Scott and the Making of Australian History* (Melbourne, 1994).
[32] Id. and Julian Thomas (eds.), *The Discovery of Australian History, 1890–1939* (Melbourne, 1995).
[33] Hilliard, 'Island Stories', ch. 5.

New Zealand history took longer to establish, in part because the university system (the four foundations were formally colleges of a federal University of New Zealand) inhibited unilateral innovation, in part because their members held more closely to the traditional curriculum.

'The time has come when the history of the Commonwealth should be undertaken in a systematic and scientific way, and the institutions through which that might be done are the universities. The historical work done there at present is preparatory, and should find fulfilment in research.'[34] The speaker was George Henderson, a student of Wood who filled the Adelaide chair in 1905, and he was addressing the 1911 meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, the first at which history was represented. Henderson's declaration signalled the claim for recognition of history as a research discipline with the same status as the natural sciences. There was a long struggle for parity of esteem within the academy: support for research remained exiguous and the Australian professor was lucky if he had more than a few assistants to share the heavy burden of teaching. The assertion of professional expertise over the activities of untrained, lay practitioners was also contested: its eventual success derived to a considerable extent from the university-educated public these hard-worked professors created.

The early academics proclaimed their adherence to the strict procedures of archival scholarship, thereby distancing themselves from the inaccurate excesses of their predecessors. As Scott declared in his first book on the French navigation of Australia, he sought to 'ascertain exactly what was done'. Throughout the ensuing narrative he eschewed speculation: 'we had better resolve to have the material before we do formulate a conclusion'. His student Stephen Roberts allowed 'no preconceived ideas to warp the facts', while George Henderson 'refrained wherever possible from reading published works in order to keep my mind free from prepossessions'. To undertake history in a scientific and systematic manner meant setting aside all extraneous considerations that would interfere with objectivity. Scott put the claim most vividly when he stated that 'the object of all historical inquiry' was 'to ascertain the truth', a truth freed from the jealousies and prejudices that formed and petrified 'until, as with guano massed hard on islets in Australian seas, it is difficult to get at the solid rock beneath the accretions on it'.[35]

All the more striking is these historians' cultivation of the romance of their subject. Science and romance came together with particular effect in the history of exploration, which they used as a device to validate the British appropriation of

[34] G. C. Henderson, 'Colonial Historical Research', *Report of the Thirteenth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science* (Sydney, 1911), 373.

[35] Ernest Scott, *Terre Napoléon: A History of French Exploration and Projects in Australia* (London, 1910), pp. v, 123, 127; Stephen H. Roberts, *History of French Colonial Policy* (London, 1929), p. vii; and G. C. Henderson, *The Discovery of the Fiji Islands* (London, 1933), 281.

Australia. Other European countries had ventured into the Pacific but only the British possessed the necessary blend of scientific curiosity and imaginative awareness to grasp the potential of the new land. Thus Scott exulted in his conclusion that 'we have nothing to do with Dons, Dagoes and Frenchmen' and that Australia was 'left for a race that knew how to woo her with affection and conquer her with their science and their will'. Australia, in this trope, was a sleeping continent brought to life by the kiss of knowledge and transformed into 'a being fair to look upon and rich in kindly favours'. If the foundation myth flaunted the sexual metaphors of conquest, exploration, and fertilization, perhaps its most striking evasion is the refusal to see the indigenous inhabitants. In Scott's version, Australia before its awakening was 'the abode of desolation and the nursery of a solitude uninterrupted for untallied ages, save by the screams of innumerable sea-birds, or, occasionally, here and there, by the corroboree cries of naked savages'. Roberts wrote a history of land settlement that barely mentioned the Aborigines, save for the difficulties presented by 'the blacks, floods, fire, droughts, accidents'. Wood simply remarked that they exhibited 'almost the worst manners and customs in the world'.[36]

In marked contrast, an early academic monograph on the European settlement of New Zealand took comfort in the demonstration that it 'proved possible to found a British colony without exterminating the native race'.[37] The co-option of the Maori remained a cornerstone of the national historiography, marking New Zealand off from Australia.

New Zealanders were less interested in exploration history, especially of the solipsistic character practised by Scott. John Beaglehole took up the subject in the 1930s, and would go on with the intensive study that culminated in his biography of James Cook, but he was interested in the exploration of the Pacific as a scientific enterprise and a cultural encounter rather than as an act of procreation.[38] His doctoral thesis in London was written on British colonial policy, as was that of W. P. Morrell at Oxford and A. J. Harrop at Cambridge, while Rutherford used the methods of imperial history to reinterpret the Treaty of Waitangi.[39] In Australia the historical profession applied the new methods of research to national purposes; in New Zealand it reaffirmed colonial origins.

These works exhibited the distinctive characteristics of the academic monograph: a close examination of a carefully delimited topic with critical appraisal of sources, attention to their provenance and context, and precise documentation of

[36] Ernest Scott, 'English and French Navigators on the Victorian Coast', *Victorian Historical Magazine*, 2 (1912), 145; id., *The Life of Captain Matthew Flinders, R.N.* (Sydney, 1914), 64, 122; Stephen H. Roberts, *History of Australian Land Settlement (1788–1820)* (Melbourne, 1924), 181; and G. Arnold Wood, *The Discovery of Australia* (London, 1922), 20–1.

[37] A. J. Harrop, *England and New Zealand: From Tasman to the Taranaki War* (London, 1926), 311.

[38] *The Exploration of the Pacific* (London, 1934); and see Tim Beaglehole, *A Life of J. C. Beaglehole: New Zealand Scholar* (Wellington, 2006).

[39] W. P. Morrell, *British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell* (Oxford, 1930); and James Rutherford, *Hone Heke's Rebellion 1844–1846: An Episode in the Establishment of British Rule in New Zealand* (Auckland, 1947).

quotations and citations, all attesting to the disavowal of partisanship in favour of a studied objectivity. University historians did not confine themselves to the genre, and in the 1930s they exhibited a growing confidence as public intellectuals who could interpret the nation to itself. After Keith Hancock returned from Oxford to the chair of history at Adelaide in 1926, he threw himself into preparing an incisive account, *Australia* (1930). John Beaglehole's homecoming from London in 1930 was less auspicious—he was too radical for two selection committees—and these difficulties shaped his *New Zealand: A Short History* (1936). It was called a short history, but as with Hancock, rejected the usual narrative approach for a more free-ranging exploration of underlying themes.

Both authors dealt summarily with the topics that shaped the conventional narrative as a progress from infant colony to sturdy nation: exploration, settlement, pioneering, self-government, economic growth, and social improvement. They were more concerned with the shortcomings and derivative character of the settler society. The two historians were also impatient with the myths of new world exceptionalism, critical of the democratic excess and instinctive recourse to state action. They wrote with a conspicuous irreverence, using paradox and epigram to cut their countries down to size. Hancock would describe *Australia* as 'a young man's cheeky book'—he was just thirty-two when it appeared, while Beaglehole was thirty-five when his was published—and both were inclined to flaunt their urbanity.[40] But there was a more serious purpose in their reminder of the British inheritance: settler societies suffered from an impetuous self-sufficiency that robbed them of an historical perspective and left them incomplete. Hence Hancock's judgement that 'among the Australians pride of race counted for more than love of country', an assessment echoed in Beaglehole's statement that Pakeha New Zealanders were not, 'with any deep feeling, a nation'.[41]

In criticizing the Australian habit of regarding the state as a 'vast public utility', Hancock drew on the warnings of the economist Edward Shann against the dangerous consequences of state socialism for a small, internationally exposed export economy. Shann's *Economic History of Australia* also appeared in 1930, as his dire predictions were fulfilled, and it extended the argument that collectivism had regularly distorted and diminished the operation of the market. The New Zealand economist J. B. Condliffe drew similar lessons in his trenchant account of *New Zealand in the Making* (1930), and the chastened mood is apparent in the Australian and New Zealand volumes of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, which appeared in 1933. Ernest Scott was responsible for the Australian volume, James Hight for the New Zealand one, and they assembled teams of

[40] W. K. Hancock, *Country and Calling* (London, 1954), 125; and see Stuart Macintyre, ' "Full of Hits and Misses": A Reappraisal of Hancock's Australia', in D. A. Low (ed.), *Keith Hancock: The Legacies of an Historian* (Melbourne, 2001), 33–57.

[41] W. K. Hancock, *Australia* (London, 1930), 66; and J. C. Beaglehole, *New Zealand: A Short History* (London, 1936), 159.

senior academics and men of affairs who traced the progress of these British dominions as they slowly came to appreciate 'the responsibilities as well as the privileges which nationhood involves'.[42]

In both countries the emergent historical profession was small and exclusive. The professors were all men, and spinsterhood was a condition of employment for the women who occupied subordinate academic positions. They were drawn from the Protestant middle class, and several of them were sons of the manse, leaving the minority Irish Catholics to record their own experience. They were drawn into the local elite, rubbing shoulders with other men of affairs in a variety of exclusive organizations, and had little sympathy for the dissident forms of national history. Through their control of public examinations for entry to the university, they had significant influence on school history and several of them followed Scott in writing textbooks that affirmed a prudent gradualism.

Alternative forms of history were practised outside the academy. Brian Fitzpatrick, a freelance historian and champion of civil liberties, responded to Shann with two major studies of the formation of the capitalist economy in Australia, which he presented as a process of imperial expansion and local initiative. In a more popular *Short History of the Australian Labour Movement* (1940) he explained: 'I have taken the view that the history of the Australian people is amongst other things the history of a struggle between the organised rich and the organised poor, and that the usual aim of the belligerents has been to keep or win economic and political power.'[43] The New Zealand public servant W. B. Sutch produced a similar account of *Poverty and Progress in New Zealand* (1941).

Sutch's study was commissioned by New Zealand's first Labour government as part of an ambitious programme of historical publications to mark the country's Centennial. The proposed title of his contribution was 'How the State Helps New Zealanders', and his demonstration that it had failed to do so caused it to be withdrawn from the series and published independently. The eleven volumes that appeared in 1940 extended the range of New Zealand history, and they included the first treatment of women's experience and the first cultural history, though the planned Maori volume did not eventuate. The Centennial surveys were designed to be scholarly yet popular, and they brought together amateur historians like James Cowan with academics such as Beaglehole, who was attached to the Centennial Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs and fostered its transition to a permanent Historical Branch of the department. An officer in the Centennial Branch set out the new relationship: 'New Zealand history has always suffered from the enthusiastic amateur. What is valuable in his researches will

[42] *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. 7, part 1 (Cambridge, 1933), 624.

[43] Brian Fitzpatrick, *Short History of the Australian Labour Movement* (Melbourne, 1940); id., *British Imperialism and Australia 1788–1833* (London, 1939); id., *The British Empire in Australia: An Economic History, 1834–1939* (Melbourne, 1941); and see Don Watson, *Brian Fitzpatrick: A Radical Life* (Sydney, 1979).

now be more strictly assessed by trained minds, and something approaching a standardisation of that elusive entity, historical truth, achieved.'[44]

The contrast with Australia's Sesquicentenary in 1938 could scarcely be greater. There the celebrations were organized by the New South Wales government and the showpiece was a re-enactment of the first landing at Sydney Cove from which all reference to convicts was omitted. A group of Aboriginals (those in Sydney boycotted the event) was brought from afar to simulate their acquiescence, while the actor playing Governor Phillip read a speech (invented by the secretary of the state historical society) that proclaimed this 'the most valuable acquisition Britain has ever made'. The Mitchell Librarian protested against the fiction, as did the historical novelist Flora Eldershaw, who edited a collection of women's writing for the occasion, but the historical profession played no part.[45]

In the following year the new professor of history at Melbourne, Max Crawford, delivered the presidential address to the historical section of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, an ambitious proposal for a new and more rigorous study of 'the complex and uneven activity of societies working out their nature from within'.[46] Crawford's plans for historical teaching and research were suspended when the Second World War spread to the Pacific and his secondment to diplomatic service followed the belated recognition that Australia could no longer rely on British protection. But before he left he founded *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, the first academic journal and the principal forum for the rapid expansion of the profession and new kinds of historical writing. If the academic impulse between the two world wars was towards a more imperial perspective, greater self-sufficiency after 1945 would foster a much stronger national perspective.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

*c.*50,000–40,00 BC	Aboriginal occupation of Australia
c. AD 1000	Maori occupation of New Zealand
1642	First confirmed European landing in New Zealand by Abel Tasman
1770	James Cook explores eastern coast of Australia
1788	First British colony in Australia; further colonies established to 1837
1790s	First European presence in New Zealand

[44] Chris Hilliard, 'A Prehistory of Public History: Monuments, Explanations and Promotions, 1900–1970', in Bronwyn Dalley and Jock Phillips (eds.), *Going Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History* (Auckland, 2001), 33; and Chris Hilliard, 'Stories of Becoming: The Centennial Surveys and the Colonization of New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 33 (1999), 3–19.

[45] Julian Thomas, '1938: Past and Present in an Elaborate Anniversary', *Australian Historical Studies*, 23 (1988), 83.

[46] R. M. Crawford, 'The Study of History, A Synoptic View', *Record of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science* (Canberra, 1939), 124; and see Fay Anderson, *An Historian's Life: Max Crawford and the Politics of Academic Freedom* (Melbourne, 2005).

1840	Treaty of Waitangi followed by establishment of British colonies in New Zealand
1850s	Australian and New Zealand colonies (except Western Australia) granted self-government
1860s	Wars between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand
1901	Commonwealth of Australia established
1914–18	Australia and New Zealand Army Corps (Anzac) participates in World War One
1929	Onset of severe economic depression
1941	Following entry of Japan into World War Two, Australian forces withdrawn to the Pacific

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Chapter 21

Historical Writing in Mexico: Three Cycles

D. A. Brading

The writing of history in Mexico during the period 1800–1945 mainly consisted of the narration of the country's tumultuous political experience. The Insurgency of 1810 and the achievement of Independence in 1821, the Liberal Reform and the French Intervention 1855–67, and the Mexican Revolution of 1910–20, constituted a series of dramatic, axial events that gave rise to three great cycles of historiography. In each case the publication of eye-witness accounts and simple annals was followed by standard narratives, usually written from a partisan perspective. But generally it took several decades to pass before revisionist interpretations appeared. In the case of the Mexican Revolution it was only during the 1960s that the first scholarly studies were published and these lie beyond the purview of this chapter. Alongside the obsession with contemporary politics, however, there also existed a tenacious but exiguous tradition of scholarship devoted to pre-Hispanic civilization and the Spanish conquest, which found expression in the editing and printing of sixteenth-century chronicles that had been preserved in manuscript form. For inspiration, most Mexican historians during the nineteenth century looked to France, especially since their Liberal–Catholic divide echoed the party strife of that country. But despite their broad knowledge of European history, Mexicans confined themselves to the writing of their own history, which is to say, of *historia patria*.

The first political history composed by a Mexican was the *Historia de la revolución de Nueva España antiguamente Anáhuac* [History of the Revolution of New Spain formerly Anáhuac] (1813), published in London by the exiled Dominican Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, who traced the first stages of the popular insurgency of 1810 led by Miguel Hidalgo, a distinguished country vicar, who offered the rural masses an image of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the principal patron of New Spain, as the symbol of their rebellion. In his account of the struggle between insurgent and royalist forces, Mier excoriated the Spanish generals and compared their cruel repression to the crimes of Hernán Cortés and other conquerors of the sixteenth century. He cited the famous tract of Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* [Most Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies] (1552), as proof of perennial Spanish atrocities, and sharply criticized



Map 5. Latin America and the Caribbean *c.*1830, with Dates of Independence

'the story-teller Pauw and his acolyte Robertson' for slandering Las Casas. In a disconcerting appendix he argued that the natives of Mexico had been converted to Christianity prior to the discovery of America, thanks to a mission led by St Thomas the Apostle, who was later venerated by the Indians as the god Quetzalcoatl, the plumed serpent.[1] Mier thus appealed to history and myth to justify the liberation of Mexico from Spanish rule.

INDEPENDENCE

In late 1821, soon after Agustín de Iturbide, a former royalist colonel, had succeeded in achieving Mexican Independence, Carlos María de Bustamante, a lawyer who joined the second phase of the Insurgency led by José María Morelos, issued the first twelve-page instalment of his *Cuadro histórico de la revolución de la América mexicana* [Historical Sketch of the Revolution in Mexican America] (1823–7). Thereafter, in irregularly published pamphlets, which were later reprinted in three volumes, he drew upon eye-witness narratives, official documents, and his own lively recollections, to offer his readers a portrait gallery of the rebel leaders, whose diverse social origins were such that he created the semblance of an entire nation fighting for its freedom. Like Mier, whom he revered as a great patriot, he invoked the crimes of the Spanish conquest to justify the Insurgency as a liberation from a malign, despotic legacy. Thus, for example, in dramatic fashion he depicted the shades of Cortés, Pizarro, and Alvarado as weeping in sorrow for their compatriots massacred by the Mexican rebels at Guanajuato, only for them to be sternly reproached by the Spirit of America, who reminded them of the atrocities they themselves had perpetrated. So, too, when he described Iturbide's triumphal march through the streets of Mexico City, Bustamante saw in his mind's eye the shades of the ancient Mexican emperors rising from their tombs to lead the procession.[2]

The manner in which Bustamante invoked sixteenth-century history to justify independence is best seen in his account of the Congress of Chilpancingo, held in 1813, in which José María Morelos, a country vicar turned insurgent leader, declared: 'We are about to re-establish the Mexican empire, improving its government.' In a passage written by Bustamante, Morelos then continued:

> Spirits of Moctezuma, Cacamatzin, Cuauhtimotzin, Xicotencatl and Catzonzi, as once you celebrated the feast in which you were slaughtered by the treacherous sword of Alvarado, now celebrate this happy moment in which your sons have united to avenge the crimes and

[1] On Mier see D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge, 1991), 583–602.

[2] Edmundo O'Gorman, *Guía bibliográfica de Carlos María de Bustamante* (Mexico, 1967), 39–51. The five volumes were composed of 151 'letters'. See also, Brading, *The First America*, 577–81, 634–8.

outrages committed against you, and to free themselves from the claws of tyranny and fanaticism that were about to grasp them forever. To the 12th of August of 1521 there succeeds the 14th of September 1813. On that day the chains of our serfdom were fastened on Mexico Tenochtitlán, on this day in the happy village of Chilpancingo they are broken forever.

In this speech we encounter the premature emergence of a nationalistic rhetoric in which Moctezuma and Cuauhtémoc, the last Mexica emperors, were united with Hidalgo and Morelos in the same patriotic pantheon. Ironically, when Iturbide promulgated the Act of Independence on 28 September 1821, it echoed the Chilpancingo declaration, stating: 'The Mexican nation, which for three hundred years has neither had its own will nor free use of its voice, today leaves the oppression in which it has lived'.[3]

The two leading Liberal historians of the post-independence years, Lorenzo de Zavala and José María Luis Mora, both criticized Hidalgo for launching a popular movement that had proved immensely destructive of property and which was bereft of a political programme other than the expulsion of the Spaniards. Indeed, Zavala wrote: 'Long Live Our Lady of Guadalupe was the only basis of his campaign; the national flag on which her image was painted, his code of law and institutions.' As for Bustamante, Zavala scornfully dismissed his chronicle of the Insurgency as a farrago of 'false, absurd and ridiculous facts'.[4] Neither of these Liberals exhibited the slightest interest in Mexico's pre-Hispanic history, dismissing its religion as barbaric and its form of government as despotic. In *México y sus revoluciones* [Mexico and its Revolutions] (1836), Mora conducted a review of Spain's colonial policy in which he concluded that the protection of the communal land tenure of Indian villages had denied their inhabitants the benefit of individual enterprise, and had separated them from the Hispanic-mestizo population. Conversely, he criticized the virtual monopoly over great tracts of territory exercised by the great landed estates, leading him to compare Mexico to Ireland. Finally, Mora deplored the Church's great accumulation of wealth and its allegedly pernicious control over education, since it inculcated scholastic modes of thought. In effect, these anti-clerical Liberals found little of value in postcolonial Mexico, and much that demanded change.[5]

'In truth', wrote Bustamante, 'Don Lucas Alamán is the great statesman of the republic.' He was also the greatest historian of the post-independence epoch. The son of a wealthy mining family of Guanajuato, Alamán witnessed the capture of that city by Hidalgo, narrowly escaping with his life. Educated at the mining

[3] Ernesto Lemoine, *Morelos: Su vida revolucionaria a través de sus escritos y de otros testimonios de la época* (Mexico, 1991), 365–9; and Felipe Tena Ramírez, *Leyes fundamentales de México 1808–1967* (Mexico, 1967), 122–3.

[4] Lorenso de Zavala, *Ensayo critic de las revoluciones de México desde 1808 hasta 1830*, ed. Manuel Gozáles Ramírez (Mexico, 1969), 7, 48. On Zavala see Evelia Trejo, *Los límites de un discurso: Lorenzo de Zavala, su 'Ensayo histórico' y la cuestión religiosa en México* (Mexico, 2001).

[5] See José María Luis Mora, *Obras completas*, prologue by Andrés Lira, 8 vols., 2nd edn (Mexico, 1994), esp. vols. iv–vi.

college in Mexico City and then in Europe, he served as Mexican deputy in the Cortes at Madrid in 1820–1, returned home to become foreign secretary, and later dominated the cabinet of President Anastasio Bustamante in 1830–2. During these years Alamán attracted large-scale British investment in the mining industry and established a government bank to finance the mechanization of the textile industry. Out of political favour, he published his *Disertaciones* [Dissertations] (1844–9), in which he discreetly eulogized Hernán Cortés and criticized Bustamante for his anti-Spanish rhetoric and idealization of the Aztec Empire. Alamán insisted: 'The conquest . . . has eventually created a new nation in which all traces of the past have been erased: religion, customs, language, people—all come from the conquest.' Moreover, two-thirds of the republic's vast territories lay outside the confines of the Mexica realm.[6]

A devoted reader of Edmund Burke and Joseph de Maistre, Alamán was a Catholic Hispanic conservative who took Mexico's defeat in the war with the United States as proof that the country required a European monarch to restore order and progress. In his five-volume *Historia de Méjico* [History of Mexico] (1849–52), he defined the late eighteenth century as a period of enlightened rule when mining production soared and the country enjoyed prosperity, peace, and good government. By contrast, the Insurgency had brought economic ruin and political chaos. He wrote: 'These years of warfare were nothing more than the endeavour of the educated and the owners of property, acting in conjunction with the Spanish government, to subdue a vandalistic revolution which could have destroyed the civilization of the country . . . In effect, it was an uprising of the proletariat against all wealth and culture.' But Alamán then identified the radical governments of Guerrero and Gómez Farías, supported by Zavala and Mora, as equally destructive of property and public order, in particular deploring their assault on the Church. At all points in his successive volumes, Alamán provided invaluable appendices packed with statistics and official documents, and for the years of civil war he drew upon the detailed diary of events kept by his half-brother, a canon of the Mexican cathedral. In his fifth and final volume, he surveyed the deplorable condition of Mexico in the late 1840s, when over half the national territory had been annexed by the United States, when the army's prestige had been irremediably shattered, and when the federal treasury had suffered virtual bankruptcy. The Church was almost the only institution that had escaped ruin, leading him to define the Catholic religion as 'the only common bond that united the Mexicans when all others have been broken'.[7]

Despite Alamán's insistence on the Hispanic foundation and character of the Mexican nation, the decades immediately before and after independence witnessed the publication of a series of works about the country's indigenous

[6] See José C. Valadés, *Alamán: estadista e historiador* (Mexico, 1977); and Lucas Alamán, *Disertaciones*, 3 vols., 5th edn (Mexico, 1969), i. 103, 109.

[7] Lucas Alamán, *Historia de Mejico*, 5 vols., 4th edn (Mexico, 1968), iv. 461, v. 568.

population. In response to the Enlightenment historians Corneille de Pauw, Guillaume Raynal, and William Robertson, all of whom had dismissed the Aztecs as mere savages or at best superior barbarians, Francisco Javier Clavijero, an exiled Mexican Jesuit, published in Italian his *Historia antígua de México* [Ancient History of Mexico] (1780–1). In circumspect neoclassical prose, Clavijero wrote a compendium of the *Monarquía Indiana* [Monarchy of the Indies], the canonical text of ancient Mexico, first published in 1615 by Juan de Torquemada, a Franciscan friar, which incorporated previous mendicant chronicles, native annals, and mestizo narratives. But whereas the Franciscan had depicted Tenochtitlan as a glittering Babylon founded by Satan himself, the Jesuit compared the Aztecs to the ancient Romans and Greeks and eliminated all mention of the devil. In addition, Clavijero offered a series of polemical dissertations in which he sharply criticized the climatic theories, historical distortions, and racism of the Enlightenment historians of America.[8]

In 1790 two pre-Hispanic monoliths were excavated in the main square of Mexico City, one the famous Sun-Stone carved with the glyphs of a calendar wheel, the other a figure of the goddess Coatlicue covered with bulging skulls and intertwined serpents. Two years later, Antonio de León y Gama, a Creole functionary expert in Nahuatl and mathematics, published his *Descripción histórica y cronologica de las dos piedras* [Historical and Chronological Description of the Two Stones] (1792), a work later described as 'the first and only strictly rigorous archaeological investigation to which Mexico can lay claim'. For León y Gama demonstrated that the great stone disc represented a native calendar and explained that the Aztec solar year was composed of eighteen months, each of twenty days, which were aggregated into indictions of thirteen rather than fifteen years and cycles of fifty-two years. There was also a ritual, lunar calendar with a different count of months. In effect, this Creole savant substantiated Clavijero's claim that Mexico possessed native sources from which an exact chronology of its ancient history could be reconstructed. In time the Sun-Stone came to be regarded as a national symbol.[9]

Once independence was achieved, a select band of Mexican scholars set about the grand task of publishing and interpreting the manuscript sources of their history, be they native codices or mendicant chronicles. In this they were assisted by Alexander von Humboldt, who, in his *Vues des cordilleres et monuments des peuples indigenes de l'Amerique* [Views of the Cordilleras and Monuments of the Native Peoples of America] (1810), presented drawings of Mexican sculptures at Mitla and Xochicalco, and reproduced a sample of Mexican codices, several of which were pre-Hispanic and located in libraries situated in Vienna, Rome, and Madrid. In his

[8] Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana y los veinte y un libros rituales*, ed. Miguel León-Portilla, 7 vols., 3rd edn (Mexico, 1975–83); and Francisco Javier Clavijero, *Historia antigua de México*, prologue by Mariano Cuevas, 2 vols. (1780–1; Mexico, 1945, 1964).

[9] Antonio de León y Gama, *Descripción histórica y cronológica de las dos piedras* (1792, 1832; facs. edn, Mexico, 1978), unpaginated introduction.

commentary, Humboldt accepted Clavijero's arguments that the American Indians had followed 'a special route in the development of their intellectual faculties and in their path to civilization', an affirmation that was undercut, however, by his surmise that Quetzalcoatl might well have been a migrant Buddhist monk.[10]

It was the New England historian William Hickling Prescott who, in his *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843), provided a romantic narrative of the encounter between the warriors of Anáhuac and the Spaniards. In the introductory section entitled 'A View of Aztec Civilization', Prescott steered a middle course between Robertson and Clavijero and concluded that 'the Aztec and Texcocan races were advanced in civilization far beyond the wandering tribes of North America . . . in degree not short of our Saxon ancestors under Alfred.' But he relied upon written sources and adopted a sceptical view of the value of the native codices, surmising that their meaning might never be deciphered. Although he portrayed the ruler of Texcoco, Nezahualcoyotl, as a philosopher king, he nevertheless found the pomp and luxury of the courts at Tenochtitlan and Texcoco reminiscent of 'Asiatic and Egyptian despotism' and condemned their addiction to human sacrifice. Moreover, when he came to narrate the events of the conquest, Prescott presented Cortés as the hero of the story, the representative of 'the expiring age of chivalry', whereas Moctezuma was described as 'effeminate' in character, 'whose pusillanimity sprang from his superstition', an assessment that echoed the views of the Spanish historian Antonio de Solís.[11]

In Mexico, Prescott's romantic style of history was widely welcomed and swiftly translated. But in the 1844 edition Lucas Alamán warned readers against the American's anti-Catholic bias and inserted Mier's dissertation on St Thomas-Quetzalcoatl in an appendix. More importantly, José Fernando Ramírez, an antiquarian scholar and politician, added a commentary in which he criticized Prescott's 'racial disdain', since in all the battle scenes the Aztecs were described as barbarians or savages, who invariably shrieked their war cries. Noting that the American had described Nahuatl as an unmusical language, Ramírez queried how a man accustomed to the tunes of *Yankee Doodle* could judge the tonality of a language he had never heard. He complained also of Prescott's distrust of native historical sources, the codices and post-conquest annals from which, so Ramírez argued, several centuries of Indian history could be reconstructed. It was Prescott's neglect of such sources that had led him to ignore Moctezuma's belief that Cortés was the herald of Quetzalcoatl's return to Anáhuac.[12]

[10] Alejandro de Humboldt, *Vistas de las cordilleras y monumentos de los pueblos indígenas de América*, ed. Jaime Labastida (Mexico, 1974), 6–9, 97–112, 146–85, 370.

[11] William Hickling Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (New York, n.d.), 21, 33, 52, 91, 103, 223.

[12] Id., *Historia de la conquista de México*, annotated by Don Lucas Alamán with notes and clarifications by Don José Fernando Ramírez, ed. Juan A. Ortega y Medina (Mexico, 1970), 657–99.

It was Ramírez who, in 1853, edited a codex which, until then, had been assumed to describe the migration of the Mexica from their northern homeland at Aztlan to the site of Tenochtitlan. Ramírez undertook a rigorous analysis of each glyph, citing not merely Torquemada, but also Hernando Alvarado Texocomoc, a grandson of Moctezuma, whose manuscript history he had discovered in the Franciscan conventual library in Mexico City. He demonstrated that the migration had been enacted within the limits of the central valley. What was significant here was not the conclusion but the method, the detailed comparison of the glyphs with subsequent written accounts. Ramírez was a tragic figure, who witnessed both the American occupation of Mexico City in 1847–8, and the Liberal destruction of the great convents of the capital in 1856–63. It was as foreign minister for Emperor Maximilian that, in 1867, he published the first volume of Diego Durán's invaluable manuscript study of native religion and history, which was based on native sources.[13]

THE LIBERAL REFORM

The dramatic events of the Liberal Reform (1855–7), the Three Years War (1858–60), and the French Intervention (1862–7) generated a cycle of political historiography that endured until 1910. In contrast to the Insurgency, however, the quality of the initial eyewitness accounts was limited and completely lacked the popular verve of a Bustamante. The most immediate contemporary source was the monumental *Historia del Congreso Constituyente* [History of the Constituent Congress], a transcript or paraphrase of the speeches delivered in this Liberal assembly, recorded by Francisco Zarco and first published in successive instalments of *El Siglo XIX* [The Nineteenth Century], an influential contemporary review, and then published in two volumes in 1857–61.[14] Its mode of publication demonstrated the central importance of political journalism in this epoch. Among the narratives, Anselmo de la Portilla's *Historia de la revolución de México* [History of the Revolution in Mexico] (1856) described the Liberal rebellion against Santa Anna's last dictatorship; José María Iglesias's *Revistas históricas sobre la intervención francesa* [Historical Review of the French Intervention] (1862–4) provided a semi-official defence of the government of Benito Juárez; and Francisco de Paula Arrangoiz's *México desde 1808 hasta 1867* [Mexico from 1808 to 1867] (1871–2) offered an essentially conservative chronicle. A Spaniard, Pedro Pruneda, offered the most achieved account of the French Intervention in his *Historia de la Guerra de Méjico, desde 1861 a 1867* [History of the War in Mexico, from 1861 to 1867] (1867). The experience of civil

[13] José Fernando Ramírez, 'Tira de la peregrinación mexicana', in Ernesto de la Torre Villar (ed.), *Obras*, 5 vols. (Mexico, 2001), i. 241–81. On Ramírez see Enrique Krauze, *La presencia del pasado* (Mexico, 2005), 63–74. See also Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España*, 2 vols. (Mexico, 1867, 1800).

[14] See Francisco Zarco, *Historia del Congreso Constituyente* (1856–1857), preliminary study by Antonio Martínez Báez (Mexico, 1956).

war and foreign invasion was also explored in the novels of Juan A. Mateos, *El cerro de las campañas* [Mountain Campaigns] and *El Sol de Mayo* [The Sun in May], both published in 1868. By far the most instructive memoir of this period was *Algunas campañas* [Some Campaigns] (1884–5), in which Ireneo Paz, a prolific journalist, related in popular form reminiscences of his participation in rebellions, first against the Emperor Maximilian and then against the implacable presidential autocracy of Benito Juárez.[15]

Despite the turmoil of civil wars, a number of scholars continued to explore Mexico's rich heritage of sixteenth-century historical sources. When the Liberals dissolved the religious orders, the dispersal of the great conventual libraries allowed Joaquín García Icazbalceta, a wealthy landowner, devout Catholic, and erudite scholar, to acquire a great range of post-conquest manuscripts ranging from letters to complete chronicles. He had contributed already many historical entries to the *Diccionario Universal de Historia y Geografía* [Universal Dictionary of History and Geography] (1853–6), published in ten volumes. He then installed a printing press in his own mansion and in 1858 and 1866 published two successive volumes entitled *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México*, which included unedited letters of Cortés and Las Casas, and much additional material on the sixteenth century. But it was the *Historia de los indios de Nueva España* [History of the Indians in New Spain], written by Fray Toribio de 'Motolinia' Benavente, accompanied by a preliminary study of José Fernando Ramírez, that attracted attention since here was an account written by one of the first twelve Franciscans to arrive in New Spain, a friar renowned for his exuberant devotion and identification with the Indians. A third volume printed in 1871 was entirely devoted to the *Historia eclesiástica indiana* [Ecclesiastical History of the Indies] of Jerónimo de Mendieta, written during the 1590s in limpid prose. Following this achievement, García Icazbalceta published, in 1881, a life of Fray Juan de Zumárraga, the first archbishop of Mexico, in which he incisively rebutted Prescott's criticism of the prelate. Icazbalceta demonstrated that the Franciscan had been responsible for the foundation in 1536 of the College of Santa Cruz Tlatelolco, where children of the native nobility were educated, some learning Latin and later acting as rulers of their community. Zumárraga had also had a printing press brought to Mexico City which, as early as 1539, was used to produce a simple *Doctrina Cristiana* [Christian Doctrine], set out in both Spanish and Nahuatl. In 1886 García Icazbalceta published his masterpiece, the *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI* [Sixteenth-Century Mexican Bibliography], a work which the great Spanish critic Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo saluted as 'the most perfect and excellent work in its line that any nation possesses'. It was a remarkably handsome volume filled with copies of illustrated title pages, and with extracts and some translations of the 179 listed items. The most notable

[15] Ireneo Paz, *Algunas campañas*, prologue by Antonia Pi-Suñer Llorens and 'postfacio' by Octavio Paz, 2 vols. (Mexico, 1997).

feature of the bibliography was the sheer number of grammars and dictionaries of the native languages of Mexico produced by the mendicants with the assistance of their native disciples. While García Icazbalceta himself did not study the native past, he provided all future students of the indigenous culture of Mexico with an invaluable list of the basic instruments for their endeavour.[16]

The chief disciple of José Fernando Ramírez, and the beneficiary of García Icazbalceta's publications, was Manuel Orozco y Berra, an impoverished functionary and dedicated scholar, whose life's work consisted of the four stout volumes of his *Historia antígua y de la conquista de Mexico* [Ancient History and Conquest of Mexico] (1881). At the start, he praised Ramírez, both for his interpretation of 'the hieroglyphics' of the codices and for his profound knowledge of native languages. At all points, Orozco drew upon a wide variety of sources in both Spanish and Nahuatl, citing them throughout his narrative. He clearly demonstrated that virtually all the materials employed without reference by Juan de Torquemada in his *Monarquía indiana* [Monarchy of the Indies] had by then been identified and printed. At times his judicious balancing of sources betrayed him, as when he accepted that Quetzalcoatl might well have been an Irish or Icelandic missionary. For all that, he castigated Cortés and Alvarado for their unjustified massacres of Indians at Cholula and Tenochtitlan, only then to criticize Moctezuma's decision to admit the Spaniards into the island city, declaring that 'the most stupid of superstitions threw this imbecile monarch at the feet of the invader'. Although he characterized the conquest as 'a great calamity' for the native peoples, he nevertheless admitted that it had incorporated Mexico into a European and Catholic civilization.[17]

During the 1880s Mexico entered a phase of prosperity based on foreign investment in railways and the development of a vigorous export economy. At the same time, General Porfirio Díaz, a hero in the war against the French Intervention, was re-elected as president in 1884 and remained in office until 1911. In 1887 a majestic statue of Cuauhtémoc, the last Aztec emperor, was unveiled in the Paseo de la Reforma, the central avenue of the capital. On its base relief was depicted the torture of the emperor inflicted by Cortés. In the same year, the National Museum, situated alongside the National Palace, opened a room in which all the great pre-Hispanic monoliths were exhibited. Pride of place was given to the Sun-Stone. The degree to which pre-Hispanic civilization had become Mexico's

[16] For a list of García Icazbalceta's publications see Manuel Guillermo Martínez, *Don Joaquín García Icazbalceta: su lugar en la historiografía mexicana* (Mexico, 1950), 147–53 (for Menídez Pelayo's praise see p. 62). See also Agustín Millares Carlo (ed.), *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI*, 2nd edn (Mexico, 1954); and Rafael Aguayo Spencer and Antonio Castro Leal (eds.), *Don fray Juan de Zumárraga primer obispo y arzobispo de México*, 4 vols., 2nd edn (Mexico, 1947). On García Icazbalceta himself see D. A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix, Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition Across Five Centuries* (Cambridge, 2001), 258–68, 285–6.

[17] Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Historia antígua de la conquista de México*, prologue by Angel María Garibay Kintana and bio-bibliography by Miguel León-Portilla, 4 vols. (Mexico, 1960), i. 80–7, 339; ii. 138–45, 380.

classical past was further demonstrated in 1889, when the Mexican pavilion at the World's Fair in Paris was constructed in neo-Aztec style, loaded with statues of the more peaceable deities and of heroes such as Cuauhtémoc.[18]

An historical expression of the consolidation of political power and prosperity was seen in the publication of *México a través de los siglos* [Mexico Across the Centuries] (1884–9), in five lavishly illustrated folio volumes, with scarlet boards emblazoned with a golden reproduction of the Sun-Stone, all printed in Barcelona. The first volume, written by Alfredo Chavero, a friend of Orozco y Berra, offered a synoptic view of Nahua and Maya civilizations that reflected contemporary knowledge, but which was marred by the author's speculations that the Nahuas descended from immigrant Basques, and the Mayas and Otomies from Chinese settlers. The last three volumes covered the period from 1800 to 1861 and offered readers a standard Liberal narrative of republican history, with the Insurgency and Reform presented as two phases in the popular struggle to free the country from Spanish rule and overthrow the power of the privileged classes, the Catholic clergy, and the military.[19]

The general editor and author of the second volume of *México a través de los siglos* was Vicente Riva Palacio, a novelist, soldier, and Secretary of Development (*Fomento*) in 1876–80, responsible at that time for commissioning the statue of Cuauhtémoc. In his survey of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, Riva Palacio cited García Icazbalceta's publications and praised both Zumárraga and Las Casas for their exemplary defence of Indian liberty, even though thereafter he emphasized the tyrannical procedures of the Inquisition and condemned the Jesuits for their wealth and fearsome corporate discipline. Where he innovated decisively was in proposing a distinctive theory of Mexican nationality. In this context Riva Palacio discussed the recently published lecture of Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* [*What is a Nation?*] (1882), in which a nation was defined as 'a living soul'; and as 'a moral consciousness' united by 'a heritage of memories' and 'the desire to live together'. But Riva Palacio responded by asserting that 'nations, like individuals, ought to have a spirit, a national soul, but also a body, a material organism that is equally national'. As a reader of Charles Darwin, he accepted the principle of 'the struggle for existence', and argued that across the three hundred years of the colonial period, 'the nucleus of a new race', the Mexican mestizo race, had slowly emerged, first as virtual pariahs, the offspring of Spanish conquerors and Indian women, and then slowly amalgamating and forming the basis of a new nationality endowed with its own distinctive characteristics. Here was a theory that was to serve as a major component of Mexican nationalism in the early twentieth century.[20]

[18] Carlos Martínez Assad, *La patria en el Paseo de la Reforma* (Mexico, 2005), 33–9; and Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Nation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1996), 64–79, 223–32.

[19] Vicente Riva Palacio (ed.), *México a través de los siglos*, 5 vols. (Mexico and Barcelona, 1884–9), i. 62–73.

[20] Riva Palacio, 'El virreinato', ibid., ii. 471–9, 896.

In 1877 Justo Sierra, a young poet, was appointed professor of universal history at the National Preparatory School, an institution founded by Gabino Barreda, a Mexican disciple of Auguste Comte. To justify his position and salary, Sierra quickly published in 1879 a compendium of classical history, which was followed in 1891 by a general history of Western civilization. In addition, he wrote a number of history texts for use in schools, including *Elementos de historia patria* [Elements of National History] (1893), which was reprinted as late as the 1920s. A stylish writer, Sierra included a sketch of relevant heroes for each phase of his text. In his essay *México social y político* [Mexico: Society and Politics] (1889), he responded to the denigratory views of Gustave Le Bon, who had dismissed the 'bastard populations' of Latin America as incapable of progress or civilization, by identifying 'the mestizo family' as 'the dynamic element in our history' who had embraced the new ideas of Liberalism and had broken the entrenched power of the Church and the military. In effect, Sierra located the mestizos as an energetic stratum in society, caught between the mass of Indian villagers and the indolent caste of Creole landowners.[21]

In 1900–4 Sierra undertook the onerous task of editing *México: Su evolución social* [Mexico: Its Social Revolution], three unwieldy tomes published to advertise the effective government and economic progress attained by Mexico at this time. It fell to Sierra to provide an account of the country's political history, an account that was later published separately and filled an entire volume of his collected works. To start with he swiftly despatched the Aztec Empire as an intolerable theocratic despotism and condemned New Spain as 'a tremendous intellectual cloister' dominated by scholasticism and the Inquisition. In dealing with the republican period, he defined the Insurgency and Reform as 'two violent accelerations' in the country's evolution, a process that culminated in the creation of 'a national person, master of itself'. It was the Laws of the Reform, the separation of church and state, that removed the chief obstacle to the republic achieving 'the complete dominion of itself... the final institution of a secular State'. When the French occupied Mexico City in 1863, the fate of the nation depended on Benito Juárez, who thereafter succeeded in establishing a viable central government. During the heroic resistance to the French, so Sierra concluded, the Liberal party came to embody the nation and 'from that moment the Reform, the Republic and the Patria amounted to the same thing'.[22] This eulogy by Benito Juárez profoundly irritated Francisco Bulnes, a former senator and an engineer who, in 1904–5, published *El verdadero Juárez* [The True Juárez] and *Juárez y las Revoluciones de Ayutla y de Reforma* [Juárez and the Revolutions of Ayutla and the Reform], in which he sought to emulate Hyppolite Taine's critique of the French Revolution by arguing that Juárez, in both the Three Years War and during the French

[21] Justo Sierra, *Obras completas*, 17 vols. (Mexico, 1948–1996), ix. 191–4, 126–48.

[22] On Sierra see Claude Dumas, *Justo Sierra y el México de su tiempo 1848–1912*, 2 vols. (Mexico, 1986); see also Justo Sierra (ed.), *México: Su evolución social*, 3 vols. (Mexico, 1900–2). For Sierra's *Evolución política del pueblo mexicano* see his *Obras completas*, xii. 117, 250–2, 354–8.

Intervention, had been little more than a figurehead, albeit always intent on retaining political power. The Reform had been the work of an entire generation of intellectuals, politicians, generals, and local chieftains; yet Juárez had used these men and then discarded them when no longer necessary, so that 'throughout his presidency he was seen to spend and reduce to nullity men of true merit . . . simply for being considered rivals in the question of supreme power.' Bulnes complained that Juárez had been hailed as 'a political colossus' and venerated as if he were 'a Zapotec and secular Buddha', and attributed his apotheosis to the residual Catholicism of the Mexican people 'that always looks for an image, a cult, a piety for social emotion'.[23] Since the political nation celebrated the centenary of Juárez's birth in 1906, this onslaught provoked widespread indignation.

It fell to Justo Sierra, by then Mexico's first Secretary of Education, to compose a stirring rebuttal of Bulnes in his *Juárez: Su obra y su tiempo* [Juárez: His Work and Times] (1906), a magisterial, albeit incomplete work, in which he drew upon his own memories and his conversations with the leading figures of the previous generation. Sierra explained that his aim was 'to make those who read this see what I have seen, perceive what I have perceived, without interposing the spectacles which have helped me'. In this he imitated Jules Michelet rather than Taine, and took his characterization of Juárez from Thomas Carlyle's portrait of Cromwell in *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (1841). The emotional and ideological centre of the book dealt with the years 1861–3 when, after the Three Years War, Juárez entered Mexico City, only to find that his government was virtually powerless beyond the confines of the capital. Sierra painted an attractive image of Juárez as impassive, habitually silent, implacable in regard to power but flexible in policy and, above all, determined to maintain and restore the independence and authority of the Mexican state. At the same time, he evoked the fervid congressional oratory of the period in which leading intellectuals occupied cabinet posts and debated issues in Congress. While he confessed that 'Mexico was not really *governed* until Juárez governed it in the period which followed the Empire', Sierra's narrative was infused with an immense nostalgia for those years when, as a boy, he entered Mexico City and heard his first speeches in Congress.[24]

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

The third great cycle of Mexican historiography celebrated the Revolution of 1910–20, a movement whose momentum was not exhausted until 1940. Its agrarian nationalism found ideological support in *Los grandes problemas nacionales* [Great National Problems] (1909) by Andrés Molina Enríquez, who condemned

[23] Francisco Bulnes, *El verdadero Juárez y la verdad sobre la intervención y el imperio* (Mexico, 1965), 652, 840–4; and *Juárez y las revoluciones de Ayutla y de Reforma* (Mexico, 1967), 477, 483.

[24] Sierra, *Obras completas*, xiii. 293, 296–7, 541–2.

the country's great estates as essentially feudal institutions rooted in the injustice of the Spanish conquest. He advocated the distribution of their lands among a numerous class of proprietary farmers flanked, however, by the communal tenure of Indian communities. A Social Darwinist inspired by Ernst Haeckel, Molina Enríquez was also indebted to Auguste Comte and Theodore Roosevelt. He dismissed Creole landowners, industrialists, and bishops as irretrievably foreign cosmopolitans who were the servants of North American or European imperialists. By contrast, Indian villagers exhibited a parochial patriotism and did not identify with the nation. The only true Mexicans were thus the mestizo farmers, skilled workers, professional men, and politicians. When Juárez broke the power of the Creole clerical conservatives, he inaugurated the national period of Mexican history, especially when he created a presidential autocracy, since 'for both Indians and mestizos the spontaneous and material form of government is dictatorship'.[25]

In *La revolución agraria en México, 1910–1920* [The Agrarian Revolution in Mexico, 1910–1920], published in five illustrated volumes in 1932–6, Molina Enríquez traced the course of this great upheaval and praised its popular mestizo leaders, Emiliano Zapata and Francisco Villa, as exemplifying its true spirit. By contrast, he castigated the victorious leaders, Francisco Madero, Alvaro Obregón, and Venustiano Carranza, as Creoles who had betrayed the radical, nationalist objectives of the movement. For all that, Molina Enríquez collaborated with Carranza and Obregón and was active in framing Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917, which endowed the Mexican nation with reversionary rights over all land in the national territory and proscribed the continued existence of latifundia. By contrast, the proprietary rights of small properties and of Indian villages were clearly defined and protected. In effect, Molina Enríquez was a radical nationalist who invoked historical analysis to demonstrate the necessity of liberating Indians and mestizos from the economic and social legacy of the Conquest and the Liberal Reform.[26]

During the revolution the perennial Mexican obsession with its Indian past was fully incorporated into the revolution's nationalist ideology. In 1912 Manuel Gamio, who had studied archaeology and anthropology at Colombia University with Franz Boas, conducted excavations in the Valley of Mexico that applied stratigraphic analysis to determine the sequence of occupation. In 1917 he was appointed Director General of Archaeological Monuments and furnished with sufficient funds to enable him to excavate and restore the ceremonial centre of Teotihuacan (*fl.* AD 1–600). In the process he uncovered the temple of Quetzalcoatl. The imposing scale of this site, dominated by the two great pyramids, immediately evoked comparisons with ancient Egypt and demonstrated the grandeur of Meso-American civilization.

[25] Andrés Molina Enríquez, *Los grandes problemas nacionales (1909) y otros textos, 1911–1919*, prologue by Arnaldo Córdova (Mexico, 1978), 3–4, 17, 346–8, 484–98, 439.

[26] Andrés Molina Enríquez, *La revolución agraria de México 1910–1920*, prologue by Horacio Labastida Muñóz, 5 vols. (1932–6; facs. edn, Mexico, 1986), iv. 13, v. 184–93; and Agustín Basave Benítez, *México mestizo: Análisis del nacionalismo mexicano en torno a la mestizofilia de Andrés Molina Enríquez*, prologue by Carlos Fuentes, 2nd edn (Mexico, 2002).

Gamio wrote a tourist guide to attract visitors and also sought to revive artisan industry, especially textiles, ceramics, and metalwork, crafts that employed Indian and colonial techniques, and which could be sold to tourists. In recognition of his work, Gamio was awarded a doctorate by Colombia University.[27]

The Mexican Revolution was a dramatic, often chaotic affair, which lent itself to photography and attracted foreign journalists and native novelists. Among the earliest published narratives was *Ocho mil kilómetros en campaña* [8,000 Kilometres on Campaign] (1917), put together by General Alvaro Obregón, in which the future president used his official reports and personal memories to present a first-hand account, replete with battle plans, of his victorious campaigns. In his *Insurgent Mexico* (1914), the American journalist John Reed painted a vivid contrast between the dynamic popular figure of Pancho Villa and the corrupt clique that surrounded the elderly Venustiano Carranza, the self-proclaimed First Chief of the revolutionary armies.[28] The most accomplished of these eye-witness accounts was *El Aguila y la Serpiente* [The Eagle and the Serpent], published in Madrid in 1928, in which Martín Luis Guzmán employed the techniques of the modern novel to relate his encounters with the revolutionary leaders, among whom his preferred choice was Villa, albeit with the caveat that he was 'more of a jaguar than a man' and liable to sudden fits of rage. A decade later, Guzmán wrote his *Memorias de Pancho Villa* [Memoirs of Pancho Villa] (1938), in which he undertook a form of literary ventriloquism and thereby rendered his hero more attractive to the Mexican public.[29] In the same decade there appeared the first volumes of *Emiliano Zapata y el agrarismo en México* [Emiliano Zapata and Agrarian Reform in Mexico], written by General Gildardo Magaña, who had served with the peasant leader in Morelos and who offered a sober appraisal of the agrarian problems of that state.[30]

By far the most dramatic of autobiographical indictments of the revolution was *Ulises criollo* [Creole Ulysses], which initiated four volumes of memoirs written by José Vasconcelos in 1936–9. Secretary of Education, first with the Convention government supported by Villa and Zapata, and then under President Alvaro Obregón in 1920–3, Vasconcelos was a Romantic intellectual, by turns a prophet and a philosopher, who refounded the National Autonomous University of Mexico and summoned the young generation of students to enter the service of the revolution and help transform the country. He made available the walls of

[27] Gamio, *La población del Valle de Teotihuacan*, 3 vols. (Mexico, 1922). On Gamio see David A. Brading, 'Manuel Gamio and Official Indigenismo in Mexico', *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 7 (1988), 75–89.

[28] Alvaro Obregón, *Ocho mil kilómetros en campaña* (2nd edn, 1959; 3rd edn, Mexico, 1973). John Reed, *Insurgent Mexico*, ed. Albert L. Michaels and James W. Wilkie (New York, 1969). See also Jim Tuck, *Pancho Villa and John Reed* (Tucson, 1984).

[29] Martín Luis Guzmán, *Obras completas*, 2 vols. (Mexico, 1984), i. 229; ii. 1–800.

[30] General Gildardo Magaña, *Emiliano Zapata y el agrarismo en México*, 5 vols. (Mexico, 1951). Note that the last two volumes were written by Carlos Pérez Guerrero.

public buildings for the muralist school of painters to cover with revolutionary images. But, when his campaign for the presidency was brutally defeated in 1929, Vasconcelos fled into exile and thereafter castigated the governing regime for its corruption and electoral manipulation. In *La raza cósmica* [The Cosmic Race] (1925), he had boldly proclaimed the mestizo race of America, be it Latin or Hispanic, to be the fifth great race of humanity, destined to enjoy a universal ascendancy during the imminent advent of the third age, when love and beauty would reign. But in his *Breve historia de México* [Brief History of Mexico] (1936), written in embittered exile, he saluted Cortés as another Quetzalcoatl who had rescued the Indians from their sufferings, but denounced Juárez and the revolutionary leaders as mere lackeys of North American imperialism.[31]

The abusive anti-clericalism of the revolutionary regime provoked an open confrontation with the Mexican Church in 1926–9, when rural bands of Catholic rebels, known as Cristeros, fought the federal army and eventually succeeded, after massive loss of life, in persuading the government to abate its demands. At much the same time, there appeared the *Historia de la Iglesia en México* [History of the Church in Mexico] (1921–8), a five-volume work written by Mariano Cuevas, a Mexican Jesuit educated in Spain, Louvain, and Rome, who had engaged in extensive research in European archives. He celebrated the mendicant conversion of the Indians in the sixteenth century, defended the reputation of the Jesuits, defined the Mexican Insurgency as essentially Catholic in inspiration, and acclaimed Iturbide as the founding father of an independent Mexico. By contrast, the vehemence with which he criticized Juárez and the Liberal Reform obviously reflected the bitterness of the contemporary conflict between church and state. It was left to a French scholar, Robert Ricard, to demonstrate, in his *Conquête Spirituelle du Mexique* [Spiritual Conquest of Mexico] (1933), the extraordinary character of mendicant activity in New Spain, with regard to both their acquisition of native languages, and in their systematic preaching, and deployment of liturgy in the churches they constructed. At the same time, Ricard was quick to admit that here was an enforced conversion, based on the destruction of a native religion, and in part betrayed by a failure to recruit a native clergy.[32]

It was only in the 1930s and 1940s that Mexican historians began to engage in archival research, especially for the colonial period, and produce academically acceptable work. The pioneer here was Silvio Zavala, who in 1930 obtained a doctorate in law from the University of Madrid, where he studied with Rafael Altamira, a leading legal historian. During the next two decades Zavala published

[31] José Vasconcelos, *Memorias*, 2 vols., 2nd edn (Mexico, 1982) includes reprints of *Ulises criollo, La tormenta, El desastre*, and *El proconsulado*. On Vasconcelos see David A. Brading, *Mito y profecía en la Historia de México*, 2nd edn (Mexico, 2004), 186–204.

[32] Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la Iglesia en México*, 5 vols., 5th edn (Mexico, 1946). It was Cuevas who discovered the original, Spanish, version of Clavijero's *Historia antígua de México*, published by Editorial Porrúa in 1945.

a number of influential articles and books in which he drew a sharp distinction between encomiendas and haciendas, demonstrated the Spanish Crown's determination to preserve the personal liberty and freedom of movement of its Indian subjects, traced the origins of debt peonage, and signalled the influence of Thomas More's *Utopia* on Bishop Vasco de Quiroga's ordinances for the communities of Santa Fe in western Mexico. In 1938 Zavala founded and edited the *Revista de Historia de América* in Madrid and, together with María Castelo, edited the eight volumes of *Fuentes para la historia del trabajo en Nueva España* [Sources for the History of Labour in New Spain], a collection of archival materials. Zavala was to dominate the writing of colonial history in Mexico for more than a generation.[33]

In 1938 President Lázaro Cárdenas offered asylum to over 20,000 Spanish refugees from the Civil War and thereby immeasurably enriched Mexico's intellectual life. In particular, the National University benefited from this influx of scientists, literary men, and historians. Their employment was also facilitated by Daniel Cosío Villegas, who in 1934 had established the Fondo de Cultura Económica, an independent editorial house that quickly diversified its range of publications. Cosío also founded the Casa de España in Mexico in 1938, which two years later became the Colegio de México, with Alfonso Reyes, a distinguished literary critic and diplomat, as its first president. While all these institutions benefited from the Spanish immigration, albeit more in the study of literature than history, they also succeeded in attracting a new generation of Mexican historians. Cosío Villegas himself launched a collaborative research project, first on the restored republic of 1867–76, and then on the Porfiriato in 1876–1911, of which the first volumes appeared in 1955. Trained as a sociologist in the United States, Cosío adopted a positivistic approach to the source materials that his team of collaborators encountered.[34]

The most influential Spanish émigré historian was José Gaos, a disciple of José Ortega y Gasset and a translator of Martin Heidegger. As lecturer at the National University, he attracted talented pupils. In particular, he encouraged Leopoldo Zea to write *El positivismo en México: Nacimiento, apogeo y decadencia* [Positivism in Mexico: Birth, Apogee, and Decline] (1943–4), which offered a critical review of the intellectual debates and political significance of these doctrines during the regime of Porfirio Díaz. In later years, Zea was to attempt to frame a philosophy of *Lo Mexicano* and to trace the influence of positivism in South America.[35] Even more explicit was the influence of Gaos on Edmundo O'Gorman, who, in his *Crisis y porvenir de la ciencia histórica* [Crisis and Future in Historical Science] (1947), launched a sharp attack on the 'scientific history' of Leopold von Ranke, which had

[33] Silvio Zavala, *Estudios indianos* (Mexico, 1948); see also his *La 'Utopia' de Tomás Moro en la Nueva España y otros estudios*, introduction by Genaro Estrada (Mexico, 1937); and the preface by Rafael Altamira in Silvio Zavala, *The Political Philosophy of the Conquest of America* (Mexico, 1953).

[34] See Enrique Krauze, *Daniel Cosío Villegas: una biografía intelectual* (Mexico, 1980), 94–136.

[35] Leopoldo Zea, *El Positivismo en México: Nacimiento, apogeo, y decadencia* (Mexico, 1968).

led, so he declared, to the personification and eventual mummification of such imaginary entities as nations, epochs, and civilizations. Instead, O'Gorman embraced an 'existential historicism' in which the past was conceived as 'a deposit of experiences' that still affected the historian's own life.[36] O'Gorman's intellectual stance derived partly from his antipathy to the narrow nationalism that still dominated Mexican cultural life. In practice, he wrote a series of critical studies of sixteenth-century chroniclers, in which he deduced that 'America' was never discovered but was instead an invention of the Europeans who invaded its shores. In 1945 O'Gorman also edited a selection of the writings of Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, the beginning of a lifelong interest in this heterodox insurgent historian.[37] Unlike his peers, O'Gorman steered clear of politics and university administration, and became one of the most influential Mexican historians of the twentieth century.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1519–21	The Spanish Conquest
1810	The Insurgency of Miguel Hidalgo
1821	The Declaration of Independence
1824	The federal republican constitution
1846–8	The Mexican–American War
1857	The Liberal Constitution
1859	The separation of church and state, and the expropriation of church wealth
1858–72	Presidency of Benito Juárez
1862–7	The French Intervention and Empire of Archduke Maximilian of Austria
1876–80, 1884–1911	Presidency of General Porfirio Díaz
1910–20	The Mexican Revolution
1917	The revised Constitution
1934–40	Presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas and widespread agrarian reform

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[36] Edmundo O'Gorman, *Crisis y porvenir de la ciencia histórica* (Mexico, 1947). The book was dedicated to 'José Gaos, always a master, always a friend'.

[37] See id., *The Invention of America: An Enquiry on the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of its History* (Bloomington, 1961).

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Chapter 22

Brazilian Historical Writing and the Building of a Nation

Ciro Flamarion Cardoso

STARTING POINT: HOW TO BUILD A BRAZILIAN NATION

In concluding his *Capítulos de História Colonial* [Chapters on Colonial History] (1907), the Brazilian historian João Capistrano de Abreu summarized the effects of three centuries of Portuguese colonization. Five regions had been created, according to Abreu, along with five 'ethnographic groups' that did not yet form a social whole, even if they did possess one language and one religion; at the end of the colonial period, those five regions were joined in a common 'aversion or contempt for the Portuguese'.[1]

From the eighteenth century, scholars wrestled with the problem of how to weld into a symbolic or ideological whole the very heterogeneous parts of the Portuguese Empire. After political independence (1822), albeit in a more up-to-date (that is to say liberal) vein, Brazilian scholars, who had inherited the imperial ideal from the Portuguese,[2] wanted to unite the five diverse, scattered regions to which historian Abreu alluded into a nation. These regions—North, North East, East, South, and Centre West—were poorly integrated; in part a result of centuries of Portuguese colonial strategy, but, even more so, a consequence of a very sparsely populated interior, for the Brazilian population was concentrated along the coast.[3]

Brazil was a multi-ethnic country in which a minority of white persons (or those considered as white) ruled over numerous blacks (slaves and freedmen),

[1] João Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos de História Colonial (1500–1800)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1907), 216.

[2] Eduardo Romero de Oliveira, 'A idéia de império e a fundação da monarquia constitucional no Brasil (Portugal-Brasil, 1772–1824)', *Tempo*, 18 (2005), 43–63.

[3] According to the most important of Brazilian historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the political regimes of the period 1808–89 succeeded in uniting disparate provinces (the captaincies of colonial times) into a coherent country and, at the end of that period, in ending slavery, which for a long time seemed to be the only possible mainstay for the Brazilian economy and society: João Capistrano de Abreu, *Ensaios e estudos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938), 127.

Indians (theoretically all free since the mid-eighteenth century), and *mestiços* (half-breeds). Even before independence, the political leader José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva acknowledged in 1813 that uniting these components into something akin to a nation was a difficult task indeed.[4] After 1822, the small Brazilian elite saw itself as having the burden of governing, disciplining, and civilizing a mass of ignorant and potentially dangerous barbarians.[5] This view was not perceived as being contradictory to liberal ideals, since citizenship was always considered to be a status to be bestowed selectively. Given time, when all the illiterate subjects of the emperor could be educated, they could also become full citizens. When the empire ended and the republic began in 1889 some 80 per cent of the Brazilian population (then amounting to some 14 million people) were still illiterate. It is true that during the imperial regime literary Romanticism, following an anti-Portuguese logic, concocted a representation in which Indians of the past were described rather like virtuous medieval knights; this, however, was only a literary and ideological device, having nothing whatsoever to do with real nineteenth-century Brazilian Indians.

Slavery, as the central mainstay of the economy and society, and monarchy, as the political system, were two features that distinguished Brazil from the newly independent countries of Spanish America for the greater part of the nineteenth century; both institutions exerted strong influences on Brazilian historiography. This being so, as both disappeared in rapid succession—the abolition of slavery in 1888 and the end of the Brazilian Empire in 1889—it is possible to apply the conventional division of the history of independent Brazil, that is, the empire and republic periods, to Brazilian historiography itself. Moreover, since the 'Old Republic' (a federal regime in strong contrast to the former unitary empire) ended in 1930 and was followed swiftly by the rather late appearance of institutions devoted to the training of professional historians, it is again possible to apply to the history of historiography the same periodization derived from Brazilian political history. This yields three main periods: (1) 1808–89; (2) 1889–1930; and (3) 1930–45.[6] The first, longer period comprises the settlement of the Portuguese court in Rio de Janeiro, then the so-called United Realm of Portugal

[4] See Afonso Carlos Marques dos Santos, 'A invenção do Brasil: um problema nacional?' *Revista de História*, 118 (1983), 5.

[5] Dangerous to the elite, of course. While black slavery lasted, the fear of 'Haitianism', namely of violent slave uprisings, remained strong among the free population. John Armitage, an early English historian of Brazil, believed that, without the circumstances surrounding Brazilian independence and leading for some time to an imperial, unitary regime, a civil war would have been fought, on which occasion the slaves would have rebelled, armed themselves, and utterly wrecked the country. See John Armitage, *História do Brasil desde o período da chegada da Família de Bragança em 1808 até a abdicação de D. Pedro I em 1831*, 3rd edn (Rio de Janeiro, 1943), 314.

[6] For the whole period considered in this chapter, the best general accounts of Brazilian historiography are: José Honório Rodrigues, *A pesquisa histórica no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1952); and Francisco Iglésias, *Historiadores do Brasil: Capítulos de historiografia brasileira* (Belo Horizonte, 2000).

and Brazil (1815), and finally the independent Brazilian Empire (1822–89). It is possible to considerer this long period as a unit because 1822 did not mark a sharp break: the two emperors who reigned over Brazil after independence were scions of the Portuguese royal house; and after 1808, Rio de Janeiro boasted all the institutions we would expect to find in the capital city of an independent country, including foreign embassies.

ESTABLISHING AN INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR BRAZILIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH

When the Portuguese court, menaced by the possibility of a French invasion of Portugal, crossed the Atlantic Ocean and settled in Rio de Janeiro in 1808, higher education and printing, hitherto prohibited in Brazil, became possible at long last. Institutions began to appear, most of them located in the capital city of Rio de Janeiro, which were to foster the writing of history. The Real Biblioteca (Royal Library) was created in 1810, beginning with a collection of books and manuscripts brought from Lisbon by the Portuguese court; accessible to the general public from 1814, it became in 1878 the Biblioteca Nacional (National Library). Within its precincts there were serious efforts, at times such as when preparing the First Exhibit of Brazilian History in 1881, to catalogue, organize, and publish a comprehensive Brazilian bibliography, including manuscripts. The National Library journal, *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, often published and commented on primary sources pertinent to Brazilian history, many of them collected as the result of research pursued in European archives and libraries, and in several Brazilian provinces as well; the same journal also published colonial chronicles and other texts of difficult access. The creation of an Arquivo Público (Public Archive), later called Arquivo Nacional (National Archive), was decided by the imperial constitution of 1824; inspired by the organization of Britain's main archive, the Public Record Office, it was in fact only established in 1838. In October 1838 the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (Brazilian Historic and Geographic Institute) was created; it was the most important centre for historical research in nineteenth-century Brazil, and published a learned journal (*Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*). Here the papers presented at meetings of the Institute were published (some of them were in fact book-size, and embodied serious archival research), along with articles, biographies of prominent Brazilians, and primary sources or ancient chronicles accompanied by scholarly notes and commentary. From the beginning, the Institute strove to gather a substantial collection of historical sources, obtained through research in Brazilian, European, and Spanish American archives; this endeavour was supported by the emperor and enlisted the help of members of the Brazilian diplomatic service. Other historical institutes also appeared in some provinces, such as Pernambuco, Ceará, Bahia, and Rio Grande de São Pedro (later called Rio Grande

do Sul).[7] Even though the teaching of history at universities would not begin for some time, the Imperial Colégio de Dom Pedro II (1838) in Rio de Janeiro soon became another centre for historical teaching and research. The emperor himself, on occasion, attended the presentation of theses by scholars aspiring to become teachers at what was considered the most important Brazilian school.

Comparing the chronology of the appearance of the main institutions to support historical research in nineteenth-century Brazil with that of many Spanish American countries, we can notice how early and extensive was the effort made by the Brazilian imperial government: this attests to the importance the government attributed to the research and teaching of history as a resource to aid the development of a national community.

The task had to be undertaken in a country that, unlike colonial Spanish America, was late to develop universities and, until 1808, lacked facilities for printing books or even newspapers. Throughout the nineteenth century most books written by Brazilian authors still had to be published in Europe, the publishing industry in their own country being rather limited. Full universities, as opposed to isolated colleges or institutes, did not appear in Brazil before the mid-1930s—that is to say, at the very end of the period studied in this chapter. Only then did it become possible to acquire professional training in history in some Brazilian cities. Previously, *all* Brazilian historians were journalists, lawyers, literary writers, and so on, self-taught as historians. During the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, most Brazilian historians were, at the same time, literary or theatrical critics, or wrote literature themselves. For instance, the historian Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay's first book was a novel, *Leonor de Ávila* [Leonor of Avila]; he was an engineer by profession, became a member of the Brazilian Literary Academy in 1929 and, some years later, was one of the first Brazilian scholars to teach history at the recently established University of São Paulo. During the nineteenth century, books on Brazilian literature commented on historical texts alongside novels and poetry.[8]

A VERY SUCCESSFUL BLUEPRINT

In 1843 the German naturalist Karl Friedrich Phillipp von Martius, who had been in Brazil with another naturalist, Johann Baptist von Spix, for a scientific expedition in 1818–20, won a competition sponsored by the Brazilian Historical and

[7] Lorenzo Aldé, 'Os inventores do Brasil', *Revista de História da Biblioteca Nacional*, 39 (2008), 56–9. Undoubtedly very important in the nineteenth century in what pertains to the inception of Brazilian historiography, in later times many historians saw the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute, as well as its journal, as a stronghold of conservatism: see for instance Manoel Maurício de Albuquerque, *Mestre-escola bem-amado, historiador maldito* (Rio de Janeiro, 1987), 30.

[8] See for instance Joaquim Caetano Fernandes Pinheiro, *Historiografia da literatura brasileira: textos inaugurais* (1873; Rio de Janeiro, 2007), 421–5.

Geographic Institute. The competition was for an essay that would guide the writing of Brazilian history.[9] While considering independent Brazil as a continuation of the Portuguese Empire, the German scholar argued that its history should be written from the standpoint of the 'three human races' present in the Brazilian nation, namely Europeans, Indians, and black Africans. Each of these races should be studied in itself, but also in relation to its specific legacy for Brazilian society. Von Martius thought that it would be necessary to develop linguistic and ethnographic studies of Brazilian Indians. He paid less attention to black Africans, perhaps because slavery still existed in Brazil and would continue until 1888. Only in the twentieth century would blacks be considered seriously in discussions of the Brazilian nation. Von Martius also advised that the history of the provinces or regions of Brazil should be studied, but not by producing separate provincial accounts at the expense of a coherent Brazilian history; it would therefore be best to treat groups of provinces with historical and geographical links. São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Goiás, and Mato Grosso, for instance, were provinces linked historically to the colonial search for gold; while Maranhão and Pará, both of which had been a northern Portuguese colony in South America, were kept separate from Brazil for a long time.

As the propositions presented by von Martius coincided with some of the nationalist preoccupations active in Brazil, as elsewhere during the nineteenth century, his programme for the writing of Brazilian history enjoyed a long success; its influence can be perceived in the writings of the two most prominent Brazilian historians of that century, Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen and João Capistrano de Abreu, and in many lesser historians as well.

HISTORIANS AND A TROPICAL PARADISE

An examination of historical works produced by foreign and Brazilian historians during the nineteenth century reveals a pervasive sense of Brazil as a tropical paradise, a prodigiously rich land destined for fortune in some indefinite future. In the case of many Brazilian historians of the imperial period (1822–89), who were centrally concerned with strengthening a national sentiment in the country's elite, this encouraged a boastful attitude that was both arrogant and naive. One of the products of such extreme nationalism was the conviction that every effort should be concentrated exclusively to the construction of a Brazilian historiography; and that any other form of history was a waste of time. Even today, this attitude persists and leads many historians to think that it is a culpable waste of effort to develop studies of ancient or medieval history, for example, in Brazil.

[9] Karl Friedrich Phillipp von Martius, 'Como se deve escrever a História do Brazil', *Jornal do Instituto Histórico e Geographico Brazileiro*, 24 (1844), 381–403.

If other fields of history must be pursued, then it was imperative that they should support national history. In the imperial period the endeavour to concentrate in Rio de Janeiro a considerable collection of primary sources, both originals and copies, to help in the task of building a Brazilian historiography was very successful; in stark contrast, even at the end of the nineteenth century it would be impossible to find anywhere in Rio de Janeiro, or elsewhere in Brazil, a library that subscribed to the main international journals published, mostly in Europe, by professional historians. A few better-informed Brazilian scholars felt acutely that this was a serious handicap, but they had to try to obtain these journals for their private libraries and, by the means of the copious correspondence that seems to be one of the hallmarks of nineteenth-century intellectuals, to remain in touch with the European historians they most admired.

What one could find in the public libraries, in Rio and elsewhere, in the field of what was called in Brazil for a long time 'general history' (as opposed to the 'history of Brazil') were Portuguese translations of collections, rich in the number of their volumes but of a debatable value as historical works, such as those due to Cesare Cantù or Wilhelm Oncken (even if, in the latter, some contributors at least were of a high level, such as Eduard Meyer). This perception of history as divided into two categories, 'general' and 'Brazilian', was not merely a matter of vocabulary: they were taught to Brazilian students as utterly separate subjects, and nothing was done to put the national history within the context of a less parochial perspective.

Another consequence of such nationalism was the claim that a Brazilian nation had long existed, thwarted only by external factors and Portuguese repression. The past history of Brazil was imagined, on the basis of very slim evidence, as presenting several 'nationalist' movements (*movimentos nativistas*) during colonial times.

From colonial times Brazil inherited only one work that could be seen as a general history of Brazil, namely that written by Sebastião da Rocha Pita, *História da América Portuguesa* [*History of Portuguese America*], published in 1731. To nineteenth- and twentieth-century critics this fuzzy, ill-defined book appeared as a chronicle, a sort of prose poem or even a historical novel; even so, its influence on many Brazilian historians of the imperial period was undeniable. What attracted them, in this nationalistic phase, was that Pita's writing made Brazil a rich tropical paradise, a motherland to a worthy race of men.

Given the role attributed to the teaching of history in the education of an imperial elite destined to guide the Brazilian 'nation', at first there was some considerable demand for general histories of Brazil, rather than monographs. A number of general histories were written by foreigners. The English poet and historian Robert Southey, whose uncle had lived in Portugal for a long time and possessed what was probably the best library in Britain on Portuguese matters, wrote a *History of Brazil* in three volumes in 1810–19: translated into Portuguese only in 1863, it had some influence on Brazilian historians, even though there was

a nationalist antipathy to this foreigner's early effort in the field of Brazilian studies. Southey's was a very traditional history, justly criticized for its lack of any discernible method or even a general plan. Nevertheless, its insistence on documentary probity was salutary, and it also contained some valuable insights; for instance, the notion that Brazilian history should be attentive to that of surrounding Spanish American areas. The vision of Brazil as a tropical paradise is very strong in Southey, even though he did not present the local Indians as paragons of nobility, as Brazilian Romantics, both historians and writers of literature, would soon do. Other histories were written by Alphonse de Beauchamp, John Armitage, and Gottfried Heinrich Handelmann.[10] The last author was one of the first to question the tradition of a Brazilian paradise, believing that Brazil should prepare its future through bolstering the immigration of industrious European farmers.

The first Brazilian historian to write a general history of Brazil, albeit limited to the colonial centuries, *História geral do Brasil antes de sua separação de Portugal* [General History of Brazil before its Separation from Portugal], published in two volumes (1854–7), was Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, who adopted on the whole a pro-Portuguese perspective. His work was the result of many years of research, mostly in Brazilian, Spanish, and Portuguese archives. In a later edition, with notes by Capistrano de Abreu and Rodolfo Garcia, it remained for a long time the staple reference work on Brazilian colonial history, as well as the first example of real scholarly writing by a Brazilian author. Varnhagen wrote under the influence of the programme established by von Martius in 1843; his work also shows that he accepted some of the ideas of geographer Karl Ritter. Capistrano de Abreu, who was undoubtedly the most important historian of nineteenth-century Brazil, criticized Varnhagen's lack of any theory or general view of history.[11]

João Capistrano de Abreu won a chair in Brazilian history at the Imperial College of Dom Pedro II in 1883 with a dissertation on the Portuguese discovery and colonization of Brazil in the sixteenth century. Born in the north-eastern state of Ceará, Abreu was the most important member of the 'methodical' school of history in Brazil, and certainly the most original, due to his conception that historical explanation should also learn from sociology, geography, political economy (Gustav von Schmoller, Karl Bücher), psychology (Wilhelm Wundt), and anthropology. The methodical school conceived history as an objective, inductive endeavour; it was averse to theoretical and hypothetical constructs, aiming above all at establishing historical 'facts' through the criticism of abundant primary

[10] Alphonse de Beauchamp, *Histoire du Brésil, depuis sa découverte en 1500 jusqu'à 1810*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1815); John Armitage, *The History of Brazil, from the Period of the Arrival of the Braganza Family in 1808, to the Abdication of Don Pedro the First in 1831*, 2 vols. (London, 1836); and Gottfried Heinrich Handelmann, *Geschichte von Brasilien* (Berlin, 1860).

[11] João Capistrano de Abreu, *Ensaios e estudos (crítica e História)*, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1931), i. 193–217.

sources, often valuing monographs while consigning comprehensive syntheses to some vague future. It should be noted that Leopold von Ranke did *not* exert a strong influence on Brazilian historians of the nineteenth century, at least not directly.

As a youth, Capistrano de Abreu felt the influence of Comte and Spencer while under the spell of his north-eastern mentor, the positivist then evolutionist scholar Raimundo Antônio da Rocha Lima, from Recife (Pernambuco). Such influences, however, did not last. Abreu read easily and abundantly in English, French, and German. He himself attributed his vocation as an historian to his readings of Hippolyte Taine, Henry Thomas Buckle, and Swiss-American naturalist Jean Louis Rodolphe Agassiz. In addition, he read, translated, and applied to his own work several texts by the German anthropologist Paul Ehrenreich, and by several German geographers (J. E. Wappaeus, Friedrich Ratzel, and Alfred Kirchoff). There has been debate among Brazilian historiographers over the main European intellectual influence on Abreu—whether it was French or German—but this universal man appears primarily as a scholar of rather eclectic leanings.[12] One certain influence on the first half of his career was, as in the case of Varnhagen, the programme produced by von Martius in 1843 on how Brazilian history should be written. Abreu even studied Indian languages, as von Martius advised Brazilian historians to do. However, we shall see that this side of Abreu's convictions was set aside in the first years of the twentieth century; his career took a different perspective as he wrote his most important texts.

The imperial period also witnessed a valuable production of regional or local histories (often organized as chronicles), written by self-taught provincial scholars who, in most cases, had little knowledge of the European trends of historical writing. These books are still very useful as sources of information. The most valuable is *Compêndio das eras da Província do Pará* [A Compilation of the Eras of the Province of Para] (1838) by Antônio Ladislau Monteiro Baena. In some cases, this provincial work produced effective history; this was true for Joaquim Felício dos Santos, who in 1862 published in a provincial journal his *Memórias do Distrito Diamantino*, a history of the region of Minas Gerais where, in colonial times, diamonds were obtained. Santos was notable for his republican and liberal leanings, ferocious anti-Portuguese feelings, and surprisingly modern historical perspectives. Other authors deserving of attention wrote more restricted monographs on special subjects: Joaquim Norberto de Sousa Silva studied in 1860 the attempt to secure independence from Portugal, which occurred in Minas Gerais at the end of the eighteenth century (1860); João Francisco Lisboa devoted himself to the administrative history of the Estado do Maranhão e Grão-Para, a separate Portuguese colony from Brazil in South America; Cândido Mendes de

[12] For a summary of opposite views see Pedro Moacyr Campos, 'Esboço da historiografia brasileira nos séculos XIX e XX', in Jean Glénisson, *Iniciação aos estudos históricos* (São Paulo, 1977), 276–7.

Almeida was a researcher of ecclesiastical history from a legal and institutional perspective; and Joaquim Nabuco was one of the first authors in Brazil in the field of historical biography.[13]

HISTORY BY ALL MEANS

No attempt will be made here to explore the various 'lay history' subjects treated by Peter Burke in this volume, but there is a growing interest in the uses to which history was put in Brazil, including some interdisciplinary analyses of representations produced during the imperial period. Two examples will illustrate this aspect. The first concerns historical paintings. The coronation of Emperor Pedro II in 1841 was represented in two different paintings, one by a Brazilian artist (who was also an important member of the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute), Manuel de Araújo Porto Alegre, the other by a French painter, François-René Moreau. A study by Leticia Squeff explains why Porto Alegre's work remained unfinished and was quickly forgotten, the emperor himself having much preferred the conception developed by Moreau, ordering his painting to be bought and hung at the throne hall of the palace located in downtown Rio de Janeiro (Paço da Cidade). Squeff's analysis is attentive to political considerations, but also to the contents and forms of representation of the paintings: 'In the politicized ambiance of nineteenth-century arts, a historical painting had an objective function: it ought to serve as a visual testimony, but also as a means of *public* instruction.' By choosing Moreau's version, the young emperor was, at the same time, selecting which visual definition of his coronation he would rather have publicly displayed as a synthesis of the Brazilian monarchy as he saw it.[14]

The second example concerns the two operas by the Italian-style Brazilian composer Antônio Carlos Gomes, with Brazilian subjects: *Il Guarany* (1870) and *Lo Schiavo* [The Slave] (1889; the composition began in 1883). Both were conceived in Italy and aimed at a European audience within the tradition of exotic literary and operatic works then fashionable. *Il Guarany* was first seen and heard in Milan, *Lo Schiavo*, contrary to the author's expectations, in Rio de Janeiro. These operas, especially the second, were also indirect statements about Brazil

[13] Joaquim Norberto de Sousa Silva, *História da Conjuração Mineira: Estudos sobre as primeiras tentativas para a independência nacional brasileira baseados em numerosos documentos impressos e originaes existentes em varias repartições* (Rio de Janeiro, 1873); Francisco J. Lisboa, *Crônica do Brasil colonial: Apontamentos para a História do Maranhão*, new edn (Petrópolis, 1976); Cândido Mendes de Almeida, *Mudança de século, mudança da Igreja*, new edn (Rio de Janeiro, 1978); and Joaquim Nabuco, *Um estadista do Império: Nabuco de Araujo, sua vida, suas opiniões, sua época, por seu filho Joaquim Nabuco*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1897).

[14] Leticia Squeff, 'Esquecida no fundo de um armário: a triste história da *Coroação de D. Pedro II*', *Anais do Museu Histórico Nacional*, 39 (2007), 105–27.

and its monarchy, made by a staunch monarchist; they tried to represent Brazilian tropical grandeur with hyperbole and a contrast with 'tame' Europe, and participated in the heroic Romantic vision of Brazilian Indians. The protagonist of *Lo Schiavo* (this opera was dedicated to the imperial princess Isabel, who signed in 1888 the decree abolishing slavery in Brazil) pretends to represent an Indian chief who really existed, and who rebelled against the Portuguese in the sixteenth century (1567), but of course historical events were crudely twisted to fit the ideological message.[15]

PARADISE LOST

During the four decades of what is called the 'Old Republic' (1889–1930), Brazil became a more complex country. Slavery and the imperial regime no longer existed, and many thousands of European immigrants arrived every year at Brazilian ports (a maximum was reached in 1891, when 215,239 immigrants entered the country), most of them settling in southern Brazil. Urbanization, capitalist finance, and even some local industries were already changing the face of the land. Rio de Janeiro was profoundly transformed by sanitary and urban reforms in the first years of the twentieth century. A few decades later São Paulo, also changed by immigration and industrialization, would supersede Rio as a symbol or model of how Brazil could become a more 'modern' country. With high levels of European immigration, socialist and anarchist ideas and movements gained hold in some Brazilian cities, where there was a growth of trade unions and urban social movements. After a severe crisis of coffee exports in the last years of the nineteenth century, the Brazilian government, under President Campos Sales (1898–1902), needed to raise a 'founding loan' in order to manage its external debt and was forced to accept some harsh and humiliating conditions imposed by international capitalism.

If under the empire the Brazilian nation was taken for granted and considered to be modern and somewhat 'European' in spite of all the talk about mythical Indians, now many writers began to ask: *Is* there a Brazilian nation at all? Is such a nation even *possible* in a capitalist world, given the heterogeneous population and society, and the one-sided, mostly agrarian economy of Brazil? And if it exists, *what* exactly is this nation? It must be different from European nations, and also from the United States, which was an influential paradigm, especially after the First World War. The answers to such questions were shaped by the racist theories that were rampant. And in many cases the answers were accompanied by proposals deemed to provide the solution to what was now perceived as a

[15] Ciro Flamarion Cardoso, 'A construção da "brasilidade" na ópera *Lo Schiavo* (O Escravo), de Carlos Gomes', *Revista Sociedade em Estudos*, 1 (2006), 113–34.

national problem. In many instances, the solution was to 'whiten' the Brazilian population by means of massive European immigration and miscegenation.[16]

In this period, as for the earlier imperial one, a strong French influence is perceived by later historians. Such influence did certainly exist, but it was not as important as is sometimes implied, at least in the case of the more interesting figures. Let us take as an example the philosopher, journalist, literary critic and historian, and folklorist Silvio Romero. Even though his most famous book, a history of Brazilian literature, was published at the end of the imperial regime, in 1888,[17] some of his ideas were more typical of the first Brazilian Republic. Romero read Arthur de Gobineau, Frédéric Le Play, Taine, and Buckle, among many other authors, and drew some influence from his readings. His thought was often contradictory. It was, to begin with, strongly nationalistic. He worried about British economic imperialism and the fact that in southern Brazil there were numerous German settlements where German was spoken, not Portuguese. At the same time, he deemed European immigration in Brazil to be highly desirable in order to 'educate' the Brazilian workforce. In literary matters, he criticized the lasting (and, according to him, alienating) influence of French Romanticism on Brazilian literature, while defending naturalism and preaching the growth of folklore research as a way to bolster an 'authentic' Brazilian culture. Romero desired the development of a specific kind of social hierarchy in the country, namely modern social classes and a less heterogeneous society, and wanted a collective 'purpose' to emerge in order to make Brazil more akin to Germany, England, France, or the United States. At the same time, however, as a youth he was seen as having opposed the abolition of slavery. This was not strictly true, but in fact he opposed abolitionism as it operated in Brazil, and wanted a specific kind of economic process for ending slavery that found little support. Under the republican regime, he defended the traditional Portuguese (and imperial) centralized political system, for he thought federalism unsuited to Brazilian traditions and characteristics. Although he read French authors, among others, and absorbed their influence, there was nothing specifically 'French' in his main ideas, somewhat contradictory as they were. Rather, those ideas prefigured future authors who, with more vigour but as riddled by contradictions as he was, desired capitalism of an American kind to take root in Brazil; one example is José Bento Monteiro Lobato in his first phase. This was a kind of social consciousness typical of a period when Brazilian scholars no longer believed that their country was a tropical paradise, prodigally rich, fertile, and destined for a brilliant future.

Some authors active during the Old Republic had begun their careers under the empire. So in the first republican decades, Brazilian historiography was not

[16] Dain Borges, '"Puffy, Ugly, Slothful and Inert": Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880–1940', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 25 (1993), 239–41; and Thomas Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (Durham, 1993).

[17] Silvio Romero, *História da Litteratura Brazileira*, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1888).

markedly different, apart from a rather distinct, more pessimistic *Weltanschauung*, that coexisted with the heyday of positivism (a trend of thought strong in Brazil since around 1870, but now more prevalent in most circles). We could say that the 'methodical' kind of historical research practised, taught, and preached for decades by João Capistrano de Abreu was now more pervasive in Brazil, as illustrated by names such as Abreu himself, Rodolfo Garcia, João Pandiá Calógeras, Eugênio de Castro, and Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay.

João Capistrano de Abreu remained an indefatigable historian, teacher, and correspondent; his letters are an important source for knowledge of Brazilian intellectual trends: they cover a long period, from 1880 until his death in 1927, and were published by José Honório Rodrigues.[18] Abreu's most important work was his *Capítulos de História Colonial* [Chapters of Brazil's Colonial History], published in 1907, and he remained active until his death. In the last half of his career, he abandoned any interest in the Brazilian Indians, to the point of writing in a letter to a young Brazilian researcher that to insist on this kind of study would be a waste of time.

As in the past, history and literature tended to remain twin concerns for many Brazilian historians under the Old Republic. For this reason, the Semana de Arte Moderna (Week of Modern Art), which gathered in São Paulo in 1922 and acted as an earthquake in the literary and artistic milieu, was also felt as a very important event by historians preoccupied with the problem of how to effect a political and social 'modernization' of Brazil. Among the promoters and participants of that meeting was an historian, Paulo Prado, a friend of Capistrano de Abreu who also wrote history. His *Retrato do Brasil* [Portrait of Brazil], published in 1928, was a sort of anti-Rocha Pita—a pessimistic vision of Brazil quite unlike the paradise supposed by other writers: a mediocre, backward society that should embrace the European paradigm.[19]

TEACHING HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY

The last period, 1930–45, saw at long last the creation of genuine universities in São Paulo (1934) and Rio de Janeiro (1935). This was one of the results of the educational reform of the minister Francisco Campos (1931), after what is known in Brazil as the Revolution of 1930, a rearrangement of power which created a more centralized federal government. It was decided after 1931 that history would be taught in 'faculties of education, sciences and literature', which, in time, came to be called 'faculties of philosophy'.

The creation of universities and their public or private status had been under discussion since the beginning of the republican regime. When, after the Revolution

[18] José Honório Rodrigues (ed.), *Correspondência de Capistrano de Abreu*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1954–6).

[19] Paulo Prado, *Retrato do Brasil*, 8th edn (São Paulo, 1997).

of 1930, they were established, their purpose affirmed the project of building a nation, albeit now in a new context and in a more complex Brazilian society. This project was not very different from what in the past was considered, under the empire, to be the task of intellectual pursuits. The 'faculties of education, sciences and literature' were seen as the core of the new universities. Those faculties would have as their central function the formation of a new intellectual class who would provide teachers for an expanded network of basic and high schools. They were to spread a project of modernization and efficiency for the Brazilian nation and state through a properly educated middle class, which would ensure social stability.[20]

Thus the training of professional historians could finally begin in Brazil. In both São Paulo and Rio a direct French influence cannot be doubted, as university 'missions' were brought to Brazil, mostly in 1934–44. These scholars included historians, geographers, and other social scientists, many of whom had a strong influence on Brazilian historians, such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, Fernand Braudel, Jean Glénisson, Charles Morazé, Roger Bastide, François Perroux, Pierre Monbeig, Emile Coornaert, Henri Hauser, Jean Gagé, Eugène Albertini, and many others. Some of these eminent professors, along with Brazilian ones, formed the first generations of Brazil's history profession. The positive consequences for the teaching of history in Brazilian high schools were rapidly apparent; the benefits for scholarship and research were slower to make themselves felt, given the absence of a suitable career structure at the new universities and of the means of financing historical research that could make good the deficiencies of the past: research scholarships in history followed much later. For many years, the new scholars in São Paulo gathered in the Sociedade de Estudos Históricos (1942) around Eurípedes Simões de Paula, Pedro Moacyr Campos, and some other leaders. These scholars tended to be of the 'intellectual avant-garde',[21] even though they worked assiduously to create an up-to-date historical milieu. The same endeavour was apparent in Rio de Janeiro. But the task proved to be long and difficult: it was mostly after 1945 that a transformation in the conceptions and methods of professional historians in Brazil became visible, making their writings more compatible with what was now being done in Europe or the United States. Even at the University of São Paulo, a more traditional kind of 'methodical' history was still prevalent, as illustrated for instance by Alfredo d'Escragnolle Taunay.

The period saw another important novelty: the beginnings of economic history in Brazil, with the first works by Roberto C. Simonsen and José Jobim.[22]

[20] Elza Nadai, 'O projeto republicano de educação superior e a Universidade de São Paulo', *Revista de História*, 115 (1983), 3–16.

[21] Carlos Antonio Aguirre Rojas, *América Latina: História e presente* (Campinas, 2004), 60, 67–8.

[22] Roberto C. Simonsen, *História Econômica do Brasil, 1500–1820*, 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1937); id., *A evolução industrial no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1939); and José Jobim, *História das indústrias no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1941).

Caio Prado, Jr., was foremost among the Marxist scholars aiming at an interpretation of Brazil through its economic history.[23]

The new 'interpretations of Brazil' (many of them written by scholars who were not historians) appearing from 1930 were more consistent, interesting, and thought-provoking than anything published previously. The most notorious of these was Gilberto Freyre's first book, *Casa Grande e Senzala* [*The Masters and the Slaves*], first published in 1933 and constantly in print ever since, which was translated into many languages and became world famous. Some would say that this book appeared as the swansong of the traditional north-eastern sugar aristocracy, menaced at the time it appeared both by the effects on Brazil of the world economic depression following the crisis of 1929, and by the new kind of central state appearing in Brazil as a result of the Revolution of 1930. The new order was less amenable to respecting the power and privileges of provincial elites than during the imperial regime and the Old Republic (although with very different methods and styles in each instance). However, many of the ideas of Freyre's work were already present in the thesis with which he concluded, in 1922, his studies of social science in the United States (in Texas and then at Columbia, New York). Freyre, born in 1900 in Recife (Pernambuco), is often considered a sociologist, but the nature of his writing is rather difficult to grasp or define. *Casa Grande e Senzala* is, up to a point, a sociological and anthropological book; however, it contains also many non-empirical hypotheses, in the sense that they could not be verified. Freyre was probably the most important member of a trend of thought on modern slavery, including also Frank Tannenbaum and Stanley Elkins, that believed there existed two different types of black slavery in the Americas, leading to two distinct sets of racial relations. This typology was used in comparing Brazil to the Southern United States. Be that as it may, when first published the book was read in Brazil as something refreshingly new and provoked keen discussion.

CONCLUSION

In considering what happened in Brazilian historiography after 1808, one is led to conclude that the writing, reading, and teaching of history were considered by the imperial regime to be important elements of the effort to educate the country's elite in a nationalist ideology. This regime supported many efforts and provided substantial support to foster historical studies, mainly through the relatively rapid installation of an institutional framework. Thus in the nineteenth century there emerged in Brazil a school of 'methodical' history, in the best tradition of the European scholarly research of that time.

Nevertheless, when comparing Brazil with Spanish American areas where universities had existed since colonial times, one sees that the absence of real

[23] See, for instance, Caio Prado, Jr., *História econômica do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1945).

universities remained a severe handicap right up to the 1930s. This is one of the reasons why, after a rapid development of historical research during the imperial regime and the first years of the Old Republic, Brazilian historians took so much time (in fact, until about 1970, well beyond the period considered in this chapter) to assimilate the new trends of historical theory and research under way—mostly in Europe—since the first decades of the twentieth century.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1808	The Portuguese royal court transferred from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro
1822	Brazil becomes politically independent from Portugal: beginning of the Brazilian Empire
1881	The 'First Exhibit of Brazilian History' opens at the National Library
1888	Black slavery abolished in Brazil
1889	Republican political regime begins in Brazil
1922	Semana de Arte Moderna (Week of Modern Art) gathers in São Paulo, a meeting which had considerable impact on Brazilian artistic and intellectual life
1930	The so-called Revolution of 1930 begins to change the Brazilian Republic through a new political system and a more centralized regime
1934–5	The first true Brazilian universities are established in São Paulo (1934) and Rio de Janeiro (1935), enabling the formation of a history profession for historians in Brazil. In both cases these universities hosted French professors (mostly from 1934 until 1944)

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Chapter 23

Historians in Spanish South America: Cross-References between Centre and Periphery

Juan Maiguashca

The purpose of this chapter is to offer an overview of the historiography of Spanish South America (SSA) in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. It does not treat the nine countries individually but takes the region as a whole as the unit of analysis.[1] This can be done because during the period in question there emerged in this part of the Americas an intellectual common market, *la república de las letras*, which grew in size and complexity. To be sure, an interchange of ideas and intellectual products took place during the late colonial period. The density of exchanges, however, increased after independence. They dealt with a variety of subjects: political, military, economic, literary, and historiographical. This chapter will deal exclusively with the latter.

The idea of a common market in historical writing was suggested but not developed by Germán Colmenares about twenty years ago in his *Las convenciones contra la cultura: Ensayos sobre la historiografía hispanoamericana del siglo XIX* [Conventions against Culture: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Spanish American Historiography] (1987). There he writes: 'Hispanic American historians have constantly referred to the Europeans. All of them had access to the same authors, French mostly… But there were cross-references among them as well. Ideological connections, generational affinities, exile, common experience or incompatibilities, real or imagined, permitted these references.'[2] More recently, Josep Barnadas has referred to these cross-references more forcefully: 'it must be remembered', he writes, 'something that has been usually forgotten: that the Spanish American elites cultivated among themselves intellectual, political and

[1] The countries in question are: Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela. I shall refer to them throughout as SSA. Their historians will be called SSA historians.

[2] Germán Colmenares, *Las convenciones contra la cultura: Ensayos sobre la historiografía hispanoamericana del siglo XIX* (Bogotá, 1987), 41–2, 102–3.



Map 6. Latin America and the Caribbean in the Second World War

economic relations which were far more intense than with Europe or the United States'.[3] This chapter will expand and develop this idea of cross-references in order to see SSA historians in a new light.

Viewed from this perspective, *la república de las letras* in SSA was not an even field. Very early on in the nineteenth century two centres of historical production and dissemination surpassed all others: Santiago in Chile and Buenos Aires in Argentina. Although they were the capitals of two separate countries, they should be considered as a single entity because they were closely interconnected intellectually speaking. There is not enough space to explain how these links emerged in any detail. It will suffice to say that Argentinian politics forced into exile a generation of young intellectuals who found in Chile, much to their surprise, political elites successfully organizing a stable polity. Since they arrived with a high reputation, they were soon asked by the Chilean government to contribute to a variety of initiatives in the political and cultural fields. In return, their host nation allowed them not only to earn a living but also to publish groundbreaking works in politics, law, literature, and history. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s there developed a close collaboration between Chilean and Argentinian intellectuals that lasted for the rest of the century, even after the latter returned to their homeland for good.[4]

That the Southern Cone was perceived as a cultural centre is clear from the fact that men of letters from Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia converged in Santiago first and later in Buenos Aires, either on their own volition or when they were forced into exile by their respective governments.[5] Referring to René Moreno, the most outstanding Bolivian historian of the nineteenth century, Barnadas writes: 'Chile functioned as refuge to many Argentineans, Bolivians, and Peruvians, as well as Colombians and even Central Americans; given that Moreno adopted it as his second country, we can assert that he settled in the most important cultural epicenter of the continent.'[6] The 'centre' in the title of this chapter, therefore, is not Europe but a pole of intellectual development that created a field of force, which, starting in the 1840s, encompassed the

[3] Josep Barnadas, *Gabriel René Moreno (1836–1908): Drama y Gloria de un Boliviano* (La Paz, 1988), 68. See also J. R. Thomas, 'The Role of Private Libraries and Public Archives in Nineteenth-Century Spanish American Historiography', *The Journal of Library History*, 9:4 (1974), 334–51.

[4] Sol Serrano, 'Emigrados argentinos en Chile (1840–1855)', in Esther Edwards (ed.), *Nueva Mirada a la historia* (Santiago, 1996), 111–26. See also María Saenz Quesada, 'De la independencia política a la emancipación cultural', ibid., 91–105; and Rosendo Fraga, 'Argentina y Chile entre los siglos XIX y XX (1892–1904)', ibid., 143–65.

[5] Barnadas, *Gabriel René Moreno*, 68. For the rise of the Southern Cone as a cultural centre see Daniel Larriqueta, 'Chile y Argentina: indianos diferentes', in Edwards (ed.), *Nueva Mirada a la historia*; Jeremy Adelman, *Republic of Capital: Buenos Aires and the Legal Transformation of the Atlantic World* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1999); José Moya, 'Modernization, Modernity and Trans/Formation of the Atlantic World in the Nineteenth Century', in Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erilk R. Seeman (eds.), *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–2000* (Don Mills, Ont., 2007); and Lyman L. Johnson and Zephyr Frank, 'Cities and Wealth in the South Atlantic: Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro before 1860', *Comparative Studies of Society and History*, 48 (2006), 634–68.

[6] Barnadas, *Gabriel René Moreno*, 68.

whole of Spanish South America for the rest of the century and beyond. It is customary to think of centre–periphery relations as fundamentally exploitative in nature. But this does not apply here. Instead, for the most part, there were relations of collaboration. 'Centre', then, refers to the combined work of Southern Cone historians from the 1840s to the 1940s; and 'periphery' to the production of historians in the rest of SSA, to the extent that it was related in some way to historiographical developments in Santiago and Buenos Aires.

It is customary to claim two things about nineteenth- and early twentieth-century SSA historical writing. First, that it was about the powerful written by the powerful for the powerful. Second, that it was largely derivative because its intellectual frameworks were mainly borrowed from European historians.[7] I will not dispute the first claim, though must insist on the following caveats. To begin with, this characterization applies not just to SSA historiography but also to that of Europe in the nineteenth century. Also it must not be forgotten that a few white SSA historians wrote works on Amerindians. The most scholarly and influential were Vicente López's *Les Races Aryennes du Perou: Leur langue, leur religion, leur historie* [The Aryan Races of Peru: Their Languages, their Religion, their History] (1871) and Sebastian Lorente's *Historia de la civilizacion peruana* [History of the Peruvian Civilization] (1879). On the whole, however, the vast corpus of existing historical writing between the 1840s and the 1940s was written in Spanish, by white authors, and reflected the *criollo* worldview.[8]

Turning to the second claim, the idea that SSA historians were 'imitators' of foreign models, what J. M. Blaut calls 'European diffusionism', reflects a deeply entrenched belief that European peoples created historical (as well as other kinds of) knowledge and that non-Europeans, including Latin Americans, merely adopted them with minor modifications.[9] This view must be rejected. SSA historians were not just consumers of foreign ideas, they were also innovators. Besides offering an overview of historical writing in SSA, therefore, this chapter will also provide evidence to back up this contention.

[7] See, for instance, E. Bradford Burns, *The Poverty of Progress: Latin America in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1983), ch. 3; Colmenares, *Las convenciones contra la cultura*, 13, 27, 137; and, more recently, Ana Ribeiro, *Historiografia Nacional, 1880–1940: De la épica al ensayo sociológico* (Montevideo, 1994), 15.

[8] In the first half of the nineteenth century, a handful of indigenous authors tried to put forth their own perspectives, but to the best of my knowledge there is nothing comparable for the remainder of the period. This is the main reason why works by Amerindian authors do not figure in this chapter. See Vicente Pazos Kanki's *Memoria histórico políticas* (London, 1834) and Justo Apu Shuaraura, *Recuerdos de la Monarquía peruana o bosquejo de la historia de los Incas* (Paris, 1850). The first was a multi-volume effort that was never completed, by a Bolivian Aymara who had become a fervid republican. The second, rather than a history text, is a genealogy of Inca monarchs compiled by a priest of Inca decent. It has been suggested that his aim may have been to present himself as someone who could restore the Inca monarchy in Peru. In this connection see Catherine Julien, 'Recuerdos de la monarquía peruana', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 84:2 (2004), 344–5.

[9] J. M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York, 1993), 8–17.

To fulfil these two goals the chapter is divided into three sections. The first section will examine three nineteenth-century debates that took place in the Southern Cone on how the history of the SSA republics should be written. Two consequences of this were the institutionalization of historical writing in the region and the assembling of a tool kit that aimed to grasp SSA historical reality in an innovative way. The second section will shift from method to content and identify the creativity of SSA historians in their treatment of their respective national histories. Finally, the third section, using Argentina as an illustration, will examine the professionalization of history began to take place in the first half of the twentieth century. What happened in Argentina happened in the rest of the region, though a little later and to a lesser extent.

HOW THE HISTORY OF THE SPANISH SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS SHOULD BE WRITTEN, 1840s–1910s

The most eminent foreigner to reach Chile in the nineteenth century, apart from Charles Darwin, was Andrés Bello, a Venezuelan, who took government employ in 1829 and devoted the rest of his life to serving this country. A polymath, he reached the peak of his powers in the 1840s and 1850s and transformed Santiago into a centre for historical studies. He did so by organizing a system of education that gave importance to the study of the past, by teaching directly and indirectly the first generation of Chilean and Argentinian amateur historians, by initiating public debates on how to write the history of Chile, and by implication of the newly independent Hispanic American nations.[10] These debates were highly influential in the historical writing of the entire region.

In 1844, following a directive of the Chilean government, the University of Chile, at that time under Bello's rectorship, instituted an annual contest whereby faculty members had to submit a monograph on a topic on national history. The ensuing *Memorias* [Reports], published from 1844 to 1918, were vetted fairly regularly, provoking some memorable debates.[11] The most memorable involved the rector of the University and José Victorino Lastarria, his disciple and a new faculty member. Addressing the question 'how should the history of Chile be written?', Lastarria submitted an essay entitled *Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista y del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile* [Investigations on the Social Influence of the Conquest and the Spanish Colonial System in Chile] that openly challenged the rector's views on historiography. Bello responded and soon Chilean intellectual circles were ablaze with a debate that lasted for decades, first in Santiago and later in Buenos Aires. In a nutshell, the debate pitched those who promoted

[10] Iván Jaksić, *Andrés Bello: Scholarship and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Cambridge, 2001), chs. 2 and 5.

[11] Cristian Gazmuri, *La historiografía chilena, 1842–1920* (Santiago, 2006), ch. 4.

ad narrandum (narrative history), against those who defended *ad probandum* (explanatory history). Bello supported the first camp, Lastarria the second.

For Bello, the first task of the historian in a new country like Chile was to organize public archives and libraries and submit the collected sources to critical study. Once their authenticity had been established, the next step was to study their meaning by a variety of cognitive methods, the philological-critical method being only one of them. Only then could the historian use them in a chronological narrative, the direction of which was to be found in the documents themselves. In the meantime, whatever history was written had to be seen as provisional and subject to corrections of content and method. To communicate to the reader the importance of primary sources, he proposed inserting original documents into the narrative. For it was not just a question of truthfulness, it was just as important to get the reader to grasp the uniqueness of the moment, the lived experience. The goal was to apprehend the Chilean historical process from within, distorting it as little as possible. Only this kind of historical writing, Bello argued, could yield reliable knowledge about the Chilean people, their land, and their epoch, knowledge without which the construction of the new nation would be impossible.[12]

For Lastarria, in contrast, history was not an account of all the facts, but only of the most significant: hence the importance of having criteria to select them and use them in a general explanation. Facts were historically significant, stated Lastarria, only to the extent that they provided evidence of the march of progress. Shunning the French Romantics, he preferred the approach to history proposed by Voltaire in the previous century and by François Guizot, his contemporary. This was an interpretative history whose aim was to trace the unfolding of civilization not only in Europe but throughout the world. It was particularly relevant to Chile and to the new nations in Spanish America, Lastarria claimed, because, having destroyed the shackles of colonialism, they were all in search of a new order. Accordingly, it was not enough for history to bring to life the past in all its truthfulness and fullness; even more important was to promote a republican future, keeping in mind the advancement of humanity elsewhere.[13]

After the first round of exchanges others joined in and added nuances to the debate. Bello made a couple of additional points worth noting. First, he stated that both methods, the *ad narrandum* and *ad probandum*, have their place in a country with a well-developed historiography, but not in Chile, where the institution of history did not yet exist. In such circumstances, he insisted, the narrative method was an essential first step. Second, he advised Chilean youth against following Europe in a servile manner. 'Young Chileans!' he urged. 'Learn to judge for yourselves! Aspire to freedom of thought.'[14] He warned that failure in this regard would prompt Europeans to say that

[12] Andrés Bello, *Selected Writings of Andrés Bello*, ed. Iván Jaksić (Oxford, 1997), 154–84.
[13] Gazmuri, *La historiografía chilena*, 81–5.
[14] Bello, *Selected Writings*, 183.

America has not yet shaken off her chains, that she follows in our footsteps with bandaged eyes, that in her works there is no sense of independent thought, nothing original, nothing characteristic. She apes the forms of our philosophy and does not take over its spirit. Her civilization is an exotic plant that has not yet absorbed the sap of the land that sustains it.[15]

However, he warned against going to the other extreme and indulging in nativism because lessons could be learned from Europe: 'let us study European histories; let us observe very closely the particular spectacle that each of them develops and summarizes; let us accept the examples and lesson they contain, which is perhaps the aspect of them that we least consider'.[16] But he insisted on the primacy of independence and creativity:

In every class of studies, it is necessary to change the opinions of others into convictions of one's own. Only in this way can a science be learned. Only in this way can Chilean youth take over the stream of knowledge offered it by cultivated Europe and become capable of contributing to it some day, of enriching it and making it more beautiful.[17]

Unknown in the early 1840s in Spanish South America, Bello and Lastarria became household names by the end of the decade.

The second debate on how to write the history of the Spanish South American republics started in Buenos Aires in the early 1860s. It was sparked by the publication of Bartolomé Mitre's *Historia de Belgrano* [The History of Belgrano] in 1859. The work of a journalist and politician who lived and worked in Chile in the 1840s, it put forward the thesis that General Manuel Belgrano was the architect and personification of the Argentinian independence movement. The implications of this position were, first, that this process had been largely accomplished by the intervention of the coastal provinces where Belgrano came from and, second, that the best way to understand Argentinian history was through the study of the life of great men rather than that of the common people.

Naturally, many Argentinians from the interior disagreed, Dalmacio Vélez Sarsfield among them. A well-known lawyer, journalist, and public figure, he took Mitre to task for the content and method of his work. Concerning the first point, he stated that the idea that Argentine independence was owed mainly to the coastal elites was 'an injurious and slanderous judgment against the peoples of the interior'.[18] He then marshalled evidence to demonstrate that without the contribution of the hinterland, Argentina would not have gained her independence. Turning to method, he contended that the history of a country could not be told by singling out great men because the history of the leaders and the led was indivisible. Moreover, he went on, Mitre's *Historia de Belgrano* was based

[15] Ibid., 184.
[16] Ibid., 182
[17] Ibid., 174
[18] Dalmacio Vélez Sarsfield, *Rectificaciones históricas: General Belgrano-General Güemes*, appendix in Bartolomé Mitre, *Estudios históricos sobre la Revolución Argentina: Belgrano y Guemes* (Buenos Aires, 1864), 218.

mainly on government official sources. As such it reflected the concerns and actions of the factions in power, the internal struggles of the upper classes, and the interests of the coast. What was absent was the history of the hinterland and the ordinary people. In the final analysis, Vélez Sarsfield concluded, Mitre's history was only 'official history', not a national one. To write a national history, he would have had to go beyond government documents and dig deeply into the sources of popular culture such as legends, customs, and the oral tradition.[19]

Mitre's response was immediate. It is precisely because the history of the leaders and the led are one and the same, he said, that one must privilege the former because they are the ones that mould the masses and give them a sense of direction. He mocked the idea of using popular culture as a source for historical writing because there were no known methods to assess its cognitive validity. Whereas governmental sources, printed and manuscript, could be examined by means of the critical method, oral history could not. Accordingly, only the documents that had passed truth-value tests could provide the building blocks of a trustworthy history. As for the accusation of class and regional bias, he dismissed it, since in his opinion the task of the historian was not to give an exhaustive account of all social actors but only of those with national import.[20] The round of exchanges continued well into the following decade and had an impact beyond the frontiers of Argentina.

The third debate also took place in Buenos Aires, in the early 1880s. It involved the third edition of Mitre's *Historia de Belgrano* published in 1877. Profiting from Vélez Sarsfield's critique in the early 1860s, Mitre revised his work extensively for the new edition. Even so, it provoked a heated and long-enduring polemic. The protagonist this time was Vicente Fidel López, an Argentinian lawyer and amateur historian who, like Mitre, had lived in Chile in the 1840s. Reacting against a work bristling with footnotes that claimed to tell the truth and nothing but the truth, López shot back and argued that a history in which every particular is true could still be false when considered in its entirety. It was not enough to look into the truth-value of individual facts and piece them together into a narrative. Even more important was to structure them into a whole whose meaning surpassed the sum of its parts. In his opinion, this could not be done with the critical method alone. What was needed was a synthetic-cum-aesthetic approach in many ways similar to that of the artist. A forerunner of Hayden White, he seemed to be proposing that the patterning of events required something like the protocols of literature. Only this kind of history, he concluded, had the capacity to capture the originality and fullness of the Argentinian historical experience and, additionally, beckon and seduce the reader, implanting in his memory the experience of things past.[21]

[19] Sarsfield, *Rectificaciones historicas*, 217–62, particularly 227–88 and 233–5.

[20] Mitre, *Estudios históricos*, 3–16, 32–42, 47–61, 63–72, 73–85, 130–3, 139–51. For an account of this debate, see Abel Cháneton, *Historia de Veléz Sarsfield*, vol. 2 (Buenos Aires, 1937), 478–82.

[21] Vicente Fidel López, *Debate Histórico: Refutación a las comprobaciones históricas sobre la Historia de Belgrano*, 3 vols. (1882; Buenos Aires, 1921), i. 83–112; ii. 197–263; iii. 323–50.

As on previous occasions, Mitre's response was swift. He agreed that an historical work could be true in every particular incident, but false taken as a whole. But he went on to argue that this is precisely what happened when authors like López imposed on empirical material criteria of selection and interpretation that did not flow from the documents themselves. He conceded that history was partly a work of art, but that 'the unity of action, the truth of the characters, the dramatic interest, the movement, the color of the scenes . . . the philosophical and moral spirit of the work' had to derive from well-vetted primary sources. To do otherwise was to allow all kinds of preconceptions to creep in and distort the authenticity of the historical narrative.[22] Whereas López treated history as an art form, Mitre thought of it as fundamentally a science.

While other debates took place in the Southern Cone, these three resonated the most across the SSA periphery. Beginning with the first, if one examines the most noteworthy works that appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century in SSA, it is clear that the majority of the historians of the area opted for Bello's *ad narrandum* method. A list of the most important would include Diego Barros Arana in Chile; Bartolomé Mitre in Argentina; Gabriel René Moreno in Bolivia; Mariano Paz Soldán in Peru; González Suárez in Ecuador; and José Manuel Groot in Colombia.[23] Although a clear minority, the *ad probandum* side also had adherents: V. F. López in Argentina; Manuel Bilbao in Chile; and Sebastián Lorente in Peru being the most significant.[24]

Unlike the debate of the 1840s, that of the 1860s over the 'great man versus the people' was not immediately influential. This is somewhat surprising since this was a time when 'democratic reforms' were being adopted by governments from Venezuela down to Cape Horn. But there is a simple explanation for it: the political turmoil of the decade made it impossible for historians to report to their desks. Once the dust settled in the late 1860s, the impact of the debate in question became noticeable. While admiring the way that Mitre handled the factual material, a distinguished group of historians in the region began to move away from a history in which individuals were the sole historical agents to one where they were collective entities: the people in general, or specific social or ethnic groups.

[22] Bartolomé Mitre, *Comprobaciones históricas*: *Primera Parte* (Buenos Aires, 1916), 11–15, 196–208, 347–68; *Comprobaciones históricas: Segunda Parte* (Buenos Aires, 1921), 15–36, 387–90. For a fuller analysis of this debate see Ricardo Rojas, 'Noticia Preliminar', in Mitre, *Comprobaciones: Primera Parte*, pp. ix–xxxix.

[23] Their most important works were the following: Diego Barros Arana, *Historia Jeneral de Chile* (Santiago, 1884–1893); Bartolomé Mitre, *Historia de Belgrano y la independencia Argentina*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1859); Gabriel René Moreno, *Ultimos días coloniales en el Alto Perú* (Santiago, 1896); Mariano Paz Soldán, *Historia del Perú independiente* (Lima, 1868); Federico González Suárez, *Historia de la República del Ecuador* (Quito, 1890–3); and José Manuel Groot, *Historia eclesiástica y civil de la Nueva Granada* (Bogotá, 1869).

[24] Vicente Fidel López, *Historia de la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1883–93); Manuel Bilbao, *La sociabilidad chilena* (Santiago, 1844); and Sebastián Lorente, *Historia de la civilización peruana* (Lima, 1879).

Vicente Fidel López in Argentina; Sebastián Lorente in Peru; and Gabriel René Moreno in Bolivia exemplify this trend.[25]

Finally, the debate of the 1880s, 'science versus art', added a new dimension to reflection on how the history of the new republics should be written. Although its impact has not yet been studied, existing evidence suggests that it was significant. Mitre's scientism reigned supreme until the turn of the century. From that moment onwards, however, López's aesthetic viewpoint began to gain ground. A new generation of historians embraced this cause and developed it into a movement of cultural nationalism at the beginning of the twentieth century. Some of its initial contributors were Ricardo Rojas in Argentina; Nicolás Palacios in Chile; Ricardo Palma in Peru; and Franz Tamayo in Bolivia.[26]

These three debates, and others that took place in the Southern Cone at the same time, engendered quasi-school alignments within SSA countries and across national boundaries, which suggests that the traditional way of classifying the work of SSA historians is insufficient. Typically this has been done in terms of 'foreign influences': rationalists, Romantics, positivists, Rankeans, vitalists, Marxists, and the like.[27] The cross-references that I have started to explore following Colmenares and Baranadas, however, suggest endogenous rather than exogenous development. It is not a question of replacing the former with the latter. Both are important. But whereas the latter makes SSA historians 'imitators', the former allows us to see them in their workshop engaged in a creative dialogue with their equals. That this dialogue took place, there is no doubt: Uruguayan, Paraguayan, and Bolivian historians corresponded and exchanged primary and secondary sources with their Argentinian and Chilean counterparts throughout their careers. Peruvian, Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Venezuelan historians, for their part, kept close track of the historical production in the south and vice versa.[28] The growth of cross-references within and between countries brought about a new intellectual sociability, which contributed to the development of historical writing in a number of ways.

During the 1840–90 period, amateur historians worked without an infrastructure and without institutional support. In the absence of archives and well-equipped libraries, they collected and organized their sources in their own homes. Again, since specialized journals did not exist, they used newspapers and generalist journals to publish their research. Lastly, because history was not yet a profession, they earned a living by working simultaneously as journalists, novelists, educators, politicians, ministers, diplomats, military personnel, and even presidents. Under these

[25] The most representative works of this kind have already been mentioned: López, *Les Races Aryennes du Perou*; Lorente's, *Historia de la civilización*; and Moreno's, *Ultimos días coloniales*.

[26] Ricardo Rojas, *Historia de la Literatura argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1917–21); Nicolás Palacios, *Raza chilena* (Santiago, 1904); Ricardo Palma, *Tradiciones Peruanas Completas* (Madrid, 1957); and Franz Tamayo, *Creación de la pedagogía nacional* (La Paz, 1910).

[27] See, for instance, Edberto Oscar Acevedo, *Manual de historiografía hispanoamericana contemporánea* (Mendoza, 1992).

[28] This research is ongoing. This chapter is a preliminary report of my first findings.

circumstances, SSA writers did not have the means, material or normative, to protect their work from ideological interference from their ethnicity, their class, their religion, their party, and the ubiquitous European model.

Spurred by the debates and the backing of the state, these means were invented towards the end of the century. Historians started to create a space for themselves in the form of institutes, societies, juntas, academies, and the like. To be sure, some of these organizations had appeared fairly early in the century; the majority, however, sprang up between the 1880s and the 1920s. The most important, in chronological order, include: Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía (1839) in Chile; Instituto Histórico y Geográfico Nacional (1843) in Argentina; Sociedad Geográfica y de Historia (1886) in Bolivia; Academia Nacional de Historia (1888) in Venezuela; La Junta de Historia y Numismática (1893) in Argentina; Academia Colombiana de Historia (1902) in Colombia; Instituto Histórico del Perú (1904) and Academia de Historia del Perú (1906) in Peru; Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Históricos Americanos (1909) and Academia Nacional de Historia (1920) in Ecuador; Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay (1915) in Uruguay; and Instituto Paraguayo de Investigaciones históricas 'Dr Francia' (1937) in Paraguay. Simultaneously, national archives, which had been inaugurated in the first half of the century, were revamped and new ones were organized: Argentina in 1821; Colombia in 1868; Bolivia in 1883; Chile in 1886; Paraguay in 1895; Venezuela in 1914; Peru in 1923; Uruguay in 1926; and Ecuador in 1938.[29]

With spaces of their own, amateur historians began to build a more homogeneous scholarly community between the 1880s and the 1920s. Whereas the scholarly community of previous years had attracted literati of all kinds, the new one brought together people increasingly interested in history. One consequence of this was the emergence of agreements and disagreements over crucial issues in historical writing. There developed a fairly wide consensus concerning three principles of methodology: first, the priority of primary sources in historical narratives; second, the need to apply hermeneutical techniques such as the philological and critical methods to assess the truth-value of these sources; and third, the necessity to regard the text as open-ended, subject to constant factual and conceptual revisions.[30]

There were also, however, questions on which amateur historians agreed to disagree. They involved the cognitive strategies to best capture the historical experience of the new SSA nations: 'narrative history versus interpretative history'; 'great man's history versus people's history'; and 'scientific history versus artistic history'. To be sure, these disagreements were also being discussed at the time in Europe and elsewhere; but this fact is not an indicator of the derivative

[29] For the national archives see R. R. Hill, *The National Archives of Latin America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945).

[30] G. H. Prado, 'Las condiciones de existencia de la historiografía deminonónica argentina', in Fernando Devoto, Gustavo Prado, and Julio Stortini (eds.), *Estudios de historiografía argentina*, vol. 2 (Buenos Aires, 1999), 66–9. Roughly speaking, Prado's remarks about Argentinian historiography apply to the rest of SSA.

nature of the SSA engagement. Much like the debates in the Southern Cone, these discussions were grounded on local historical material and responded to local needs, which points to the fact that the most accomplished historians of the region made a concerted effort to assemble a tool kit appropriate to their most urgent need: understanding the traumatic passage from colony to nation.

This is not to dismiss or devalue the importance of foreign influences. Following Bello's advice, SSA historians made a considerable effort to learn from foreign authors. But they read selectively. Anxious to justify independence from Spain and their predilection for a republican way of life, they read the great historians of Rome such as Livy, Tacitus, Barthold Niebuhr, and Theodor Mommsen.[31] They were also anxious about the fate of the republic in their own times, particularly the tortured experiences of the French. This is one of the reasons they turned to François-Pierre Guizot and Jules Michelet in the 1860s and 1870s, and to Hippolyte Taine later in the century.

However, for the most part, SSA historians read foreign authors for the sake of method. Since very few of them knew German, the Rankean paradigm was not known directly until the 1940s when Leopold von Ranke's works were finally translated into Spanish.[32] In the meantime, different versions of it reached SSA through a variety of routes. One was French historical positivism, which took a German tinge from the 1870s onwards.[33] Another was the publication of a number of books on method that appeared at the turn of the century and which popularized a Rankean standpoint, such as Ernest Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der Historischen Method* [Textbook of Historical Method] in 1889, C. V. Langlois and C. Seignobos's *Introduction aux etudes historiques* [*Introduction to the Study of History*] in 1897, Alexandru Dimitrie Xenopol's *Les principes fondamentaux de l'histoire* [The Fundamental Principles of History] in 1899, and Rafael Altamira's *Cuestiones modernas de historia* [Modern Issues in History] in 1904.[34]

The impact of the German paradigm, however, was short lived. In the first two decades of the twentieth century there appeared competing models in the works of Benedetto Croce, Karl Lamprecht, Oswald Spengler, Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, and Karl Marx, which were even more attractive. Whereas Ranke confined historical practice to political history, the other methodologies pointed towards economic, social, and even total history.[35] Responding to the needs of

[31] For the intellectual formation of the first generation of Venezuelan historians see Lucía Raynero, *Clio frente al espejo: La concepción de la historia en la historiografía venezolana, 1830–1865* (Caracas, 2007). Interest in republican Rome was widespread among SSA intellectuals throughout the nineteenth century.

[32] Guillermo Zermeño Padilla, *La cultura moderna de la historia: Una aproximación teórica e historiográfica*, 2nd edn (Mexico, 2004), 147–54.

[33] For example Gabriel Monod's Revue Historique, which was founded in 1876.

[34] J. H. Stortini, 'La recepción del método histórico', in Devoto *et al.*, *Estudios de historiografía argentina*, ii, 75–100.

[35] Mexico is the only country in Latin America where the Rankean paradigm had a lasting impact towards the end of our period. See Zermeño Padilla, *La cultura moderna de la historia*, ch. 5.

the times, historical production in SSA from the 1840s to the turn of the century had been exclusively political. This began to change in the first two decades of the twentieth century when questions of economic and social modernity became of paramount concern.[36]

More than new genres of history, what SSA historians were really after in the first half of the twentieth century was a method of their own. In writing about the new school of historians who were beginning to make a name for themselves in the Argentina of the 1920s, Rómulo Carbia argued that 'The aim of the New School is to create an *American* and more particularly an *Argentinean* way of reconstructing historical events, using for the purpose documentary and bibliographic research conducted in accordance with the most strict of Bernheim's methods . . . and making the past come alive just like Croce wants it.'[37] Simultaneously, in Peru, the periphery of the region, José Carlos Mariátegui was amalgamating Marx, Lenin, Georges Sorel, and Antonio Labriola into a new interpretative framework.[38] According to José Aricó, in doing so, Mariátegui was not merely fiddling with the European paradigm, he was 'refounding it' and thus inventing 'Latin American Marxism'.[39] These were not isolated creative events. Grounded on a growing intolerance of things North American and European,[40] which was accentuated by the Mexican Revolution (1910–20) and the publication of Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* [*Decline of the West*] (1918), Latin Americans in general and SSA writers in particular were eager to find their own intellectual identity from the 1920s onwards. This was not an escape to a narrow and provincial nativism. On the contrary, the explicit aim was to achieve a synthesis between a method for the particular and a meta-method containing the principles of an evolving universal discipline.

The initiatives of the New School and those of Mariátegui were not just responses to the circumstances at the time, they were also the product of a long tradition. They were a continuation of efforts on the part of Mitre, Vélez Sarsfield, and López in the 1860s and 1880s to capture the originality of the SSA historical experience. They revived Bello's entreaties to Chilean historians in the 1840s urging them to strive for intellectual independence and creativity. They even go back to the late eighteenth century when, confronting attacks launched against the Americas by

[36] See, for instance, Sergio Villalobos, 'La historiografía económica en Chile: Sus comienzos', *Historia*, 10 (1971), 7–55.

[37] Quoted by Julio Stortini in 'La recepción del método histórico en los inicios de la profesionalización de la historia en la Argentina', in Devoto *et al.*, *Estudios de historiografía argentina*, ii. 96.

[38] Not an historian, but an essayist, Mariátegui tried to make sense of Peru's past the better to understand the present and propose a plan of action for the future.

[39] José Aricó, 'Marxismo latinoamericano', in Norberto Bobbio *et al.* (eds.), *Diccionario de Política*, 6th edn (Mexico, 1991), 950. See also *Mariátegui y los orígenes del marxismo latinoamericano* (Mexico, 1978), introduction and chs. 5 and 6.

[40] The imposition of the American 'imperialism of liberty' on the Caribbean and Central America between the 1890s and the 1930s angered Latin Americans. The carnage of the First World War, however, convinced them that European rationality was only skin-deep.

European authors such as the Comte de Buffon, Guillaume Raynal, William Robertson, Cornelius de Paw, and others, Latin American historians wrote in defence of their land, their societies, and their distinctive culture, inventing in the process what Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has called 'patriotic epistemologies'.[41]

INVENTING REPUBLICAN NATIONS, 1840s–1910s

SSA historians learnt to write history not only by debating about method, but also by writing volume after volume about their respective nations. Since these nations did not yet exist, it can be said that they invented them and vice versa.

After gaining independence from Spain, the inhabitants of SSA opted for the creation of a new economic, social, political, and cultural order. This required the invention of new identities. During the colonial period, depending on circumstances, they had identified themselves with the Bourbon dynasty or with the Catholic faith or with America. Alternatively, they had also considered themselves members of an ethnic group (Andaluz, Vasco, Quechua, Aymara, Guarani, African, etc.), a social class, or a locality. The trouble was that none of these identities were relevant to the new nation-states. An in-between identity was required, a *patria mediana*, the size of Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, and so forth. To complicate matters, it was not just a question of magnitude. It was also one of quality: the new identity had to be republican. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, therefore, Spanish South Americans had to imagine not just a national community *tout court*, but a republican one as well.[42] Amateur historians played a crucial role in inventing this composite self and the necessary conceptual and emotional accoutrements to go with it. Given their propensity to argue, they did so endlessly on the subject. Two sets of these debates stand out in particular. The first dealt with the question of national origins; the second with the kind of modernity they wanted for their imagined communities. Unlike the question of method, which was discussed mainly in the Southern Cone, national identity was hotly argued in every single country of the region. It is for this reason that this section will put aside momentarily the centre–periphery model and wander freely from north to south, stopping only in places where good illustrations of the kinds of identity writing that need to be focused on will be found.

Republican national origins were routinely discussed in terms of 'time' and 'space'. Although these aspects often appeared together, it is useful to treat them separately because the arguments advanced in each case were different. From the

[41] Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories of Epistemologies and Identities* (Stanford, 2001), ch. 4.

[42] Recent research has shown that the national and republican identities evolved at the same time in complex relationships to one another. See Anthony MacFarlane and Eduardo Posada-Carbo (eds.), *Independence and Revolution in Spanish America: Perspectives and Problems* (London, 1998).

point of view of time, the clash was over 'rupture versus continuity', from that of space, 'Europe versus Spanish America'.

The 'time debates' had three dimensions: generational, ideological, and geographical. In the mid-nineteenth century, the first generation of SSA historians argued that independence marked the birth of a new identity. This implied putting aside the Spanish colonial past and starting anew. It also meant turning away from the Hispanic cultural tradition and following the values of the northern Atlantic countries, such as France, Britain, and the United States. In the second half of the century, this changed. The second generation of historians softened their stance towards their colonial past and favoured the idea of a selective continuity. National origins in this case could be rightfully traced back to colonial times because there were elements that could be salvaged from it. Rafael Baralt in Venezuela, José Manuel Restrepo in Colombia, and Manuel José Cortés in Bolivia are good representatives of the first generation; Diego Barros Arana in Chile, Sebastián Lorente in Peru, and Federico González Suárez in Ecuador of the second.[43]

The ideological version of the 'rupture versus continuity' debate involved a clash between liberals and conservatives throughout the area. Generally speaking, the liberals condemned Hispanic values, economic, social, political, and cultural, and therefore favoured rupture. Not so the conservatives, who found them not only valuable in their own right but also essential for the organization of the new republics. This clash can best be seen in Colombia, a country where ideology played a very important role in defining identities, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century. Witnessing the rise of liberalism in this country, José Antonio Plaza and José Maria Samper wrote works defending this trend and advocating the consolidation of a liberal national identity. José Manuel Groot and Sergio Arboleda objected, and denounced these histories and the ideology behind them. In lieu of a liberal national identity, they proposed a conservative one, rooted in Hispanic values and those of the Catholic Church.[44]

The third and last version of the 'time debates' was the geographical. The protagonists this time were all liberal historians who had different takes on the subject of identity depending on from where they were writing. Those from the Southern Cone did not see the colonial period as an unmitigated disaster. To be sure, they condemned Spanish rule without reservations, but credited the colonials with developing embryonic democratic societies on the sidelines, so to speak, societies

[43] Works that illustrate the views of the first generation are: Rafael Baralt, *Resumen de Historia de Venezuela* (Paris, 1841); José Manuel Restrepo, *Historia de la revolución en la República de Colombia* (Paris, 1841); and Manuel José Cortés, *Ensayo sobre la historia de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1861). The equivalent for the second generation are: Mitre, *Historia de Belgrano*; Barros Arana, *Historia Jeneral de Chile*; Gonzáles Suárez, *Historia de la República del Ecuador*; and Lorente, *Historia de la civilización peruana*.

[44] The works on the liberal side were: José Antonio Plaza, *Memorias para la historia de la Nueva Granada desde antes de su descubrimiento hasta el 20 de Julio de 1810* (Bogotá, 1850); and José Maria Samper, *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas* (Paris, 1861). Those on the conservative side were: José Manuel Groot, *Historia Eclesiástica y civil de la Nueva Granada* (Bogotá, 1869); and Sergio Arboleda, *La república en la América Española* (Bogotá, 1868–9).

that began to flourish as soon as the Spanish were thrown out. Thus, for people like Bartolomé Mitre and Diego Barros Arana, there was rupture, but also continuity and the possibility of a prosperous future. In the north of Spanish South America, however, there was no redeeming the colonial past. The role played by the metropolis had been wholly negative and the colonials had been unable to work out an alternative of their own. For the liberal historians of the north, then, continuity was not an option. The future of their nationalities depended on their ability to embrace Northern Atlantic modernity and its cultural and political accessories. The best illustration of this position can be found in the works of the Colombian José Manuel Restrepo.[45]

The 'space debates' provided an entirely different perspective on the question of origins. For most of the participants in the 'Europe versus Spanish America' clash, the new nations were and should be an extension of Europe, at least culturally. For a minority, however, the real cultural roots of the new countries were to be found in the SSA itself. This divergence was encapsulated in the dichotomy *Civilización versus Barbarie* (civilization versus barbarism), a formula that was used extensively from the 1840s onwards. Great defenders of the first were the Argentinian Mitre and the Chilean Barros Arana; those of the second the Argentinian Vicente Fidel López, the Peruvian Sebastián Lorente, and the Bolivian Jaime Mendoza. It should be noted that barbarism for the latter was not an innate condition but a consequence of colonial exploitation. After all, prior to the arrival of the European, several civilizations flourished in the South American region, including the Inca and the Aymaras among others. Dormant for centuries, they could at last be reawakened and incorporated into a Latin American way of life that would amalgamate in different ways the best of Europe with the best of Amerindia.[46]

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century the question of origins began to fade into the background, as new concerns became more pressing. These had to do, in one way or another, with the onset of economic and social modernity throughout the region. Historians addressed these concerns in abundance.

The first encounter of Spanish South Americans with modernity took place in the first decades of the nineteenth century when they set out to organize 'the ideal republic'. They tried and tried again until the 1860s. Exhausted, in the following two decades, they put their Jacobinism aside and opted for the *República práctica*, also known as the *República posible*. What brought this change about? It was an effort to catch up with events. In effect, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the entire region began to change economically, socially, politically, and even

[45] Mitre and Barros Arana develop their self-confident perspective in *Historia de Belgrano* and in *Historia Jeneral* respectively. For Restrepo's pessimism see *Historia de la revolución en la República de Colombia*.

[46] The idea that post-independence Hispanic America was the offspring of Europe is to be found in Mitre, *Historia de Belgrano*; and Barros Arana, *Historia Jeneral*. Their opponents in this respect were: Vicente Fidel López in *Les Races Aryenne*; and Sebastián Lorente in *Historia de la civilización peruana*.

culturally. Economically, it was now linked to the international economy. Socially, the new economies started to produce new rich, new poor, and new middle sectors. Politically, liberty was no longer at the top of the agenda, supplanted as it was by order. Culturally, in tandem with an open economy and a mobile society, the region experienced a period of intense cosmopolitanism that provoked an equally intense nationalist reaction. Within this context, an inversion of priorities took place. Between 1830 and 1870 the national projects of the area had assumed that political modernity came first, and that economic, social, and cultural progress, as well as a sense of nationality, would follow inevitably from it. In the 1880s, this sequence was reversed and economic modernity was given priority over the rest. In the meantime, since this process would take time, the state was entrusted to keep the peace with a firm hand: hence the adoption of the motto '*orden y progreso*' (order and progress) by all the countries of the region.

What form did the search for identity take under these circumstances? Given the new concerns, the question of origins was shelved and a reflection began as to the kind of national identity required by economic modernization. A number of debates flared up on this subject, the most prominent among them being those on 'liberty versus order' and 'white versus non-white'.

It has been argued that for Spanish South Americans a republican identity was just as important as a national one. Proof of this is the fierce clash in the 1890–1920 period between those who wanted order as a means to progress and those who, not yielding to expediency, defended individual rights and classical republicanism. The 'order' historians thought of caudillos and dictators as the Spanish American version of popular sovereignty. They also saw them as the necessary gendarme in a period of transition and, ultimately, as the demiurge of a new economic and social order. The 'liberty' historians, by contrast, bewailed their presence as the creators of personal and factional loyalties, which prevented the development of truly modern political, economic, and social elites. Though this confrontation took place throughout SSA, it was in Venezuela where works of regional importance were penned and published. Starting in the 1890s, Jesús Muñoz Tebar and Rafael Fernando Seijas argued in favour of the rule of law and attacked dictators such as Guzman Blanco for making a mockery of it. Against them rose José Gil Fortoul and Laureano Vallenilla Lanz. They maintained that freedom was not something that could be attained through laws because, fundamentally, freedom was the product of social forces such as environment, race, material progress, social conditions, and cultural preferences. Harnessing the positive aspects of these forces would eventually translate into political modernity. *Cesarismo democrático* [Democratic Caesarism] (1919) by Laureano Vallenilla Lanz was the best expression of this line of thinking.[47]

[47] The constitutionalists were: Jesús Muñoz Tebar, *El personalismo y legalismo: estudio político* (Caracas, 1890); and Rafael Fernando Seijas, *El Presidente* (Caracas, 1891). For their opponents see José Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional de Venezuela* (Berlin, 1907–9).

The 'white versus non-white' debate was a clash over the 'ideal' agents of modernity in SSA countries. For most authors, white people were the obvious 'bearers' of a modern nation. Blacks and Indians, particularly the latter, were considered an obstacle that had to be neutralized or eliminated in some way. The aim was to build European-like nations in South America, biologically and culturally. There were a few authors, however, for whom the real carriers of the national gene were the mixture of blacks, Indians, mestizos, and whites. Instead of identifying with Europe, these peoples were inventing an identity of their own that was at once Hispanic American and modern. To be sure, the 'white versus non-white' dichotomy had a different logic in each of the SSA countries, depending on their demographic mix. The Bolivian case is particularly relevant because it produced works of regional import. Tentatively at first and emphatically later on, Alcides Arguedas proposed that the Indians and mestizo were a hindrance to the consolidation of the Bolivian nation and its entry into modernity. For him, nationhood and progress could only be attained through racial and cultural Europeanization. Jaime Mendoza, a physician, lawyer, and historian, thought otherwise. Convinced that economic prosperity, political freedom, and education could revive the Bolivian Indian and energize the mestizo population, he thought of them as the principal and most promising social actors in his country. In the first two decades of the twentieth century Arguedas's point of view was dominant. It was only in the 1930s and 1940s that Mendoza's message gradually gained ground.[48]

How did the writing of national histories contribute to the tool kit of the SSA historians? It did so in a variety of ways. Particularly relevant is what happened to the concept of nation. Rather than following to the letter European historicism that conceived of nations as entities internally unified, developing over time like windowless monads,[49] SSA historians came to think of them as grand projects that would eventually bring together civilizations, ethnicities, regions, and classes long in conflict in a given territory. As a result, the category invented by SSA historians had at least three dimensions. It acknowledged the existence of a radical heterogeneity from which a new entity had to be forged and the problems this posed for nation builders. It also recognized the difficulties of turning this heterogeneous mix into an object of knowledge, given the diversity of cultures, languages, and races and the variety of contradictory social relations that governed them such as slavery, serfdom, indigenous community life, republican citizenship, urban–rural cleavages, and centre–periphery relations. Last but not least, all these problems notwithstanding, the SSA concept of nation aimed to channel these

[48] Alcides Arguedas's main works are *Vida Criolla* (La Paz, 1905); *Pueblo Enfermo* (Barcelona, 1909); *Raza de Bronze* (La Paz, 1919); and *Historia General de Bolivia* (La Paz, 1922). Jaime Mendoza defended his thesis in *El factor geográfico en la nacionalidad boliviana* (Sucre, 1925); and *El macizo boliviano* (La Paz, 1935).

[49] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, 2000), 23.

centrifugal forces towards a new normative order, which would be both republican and democratic. Whereas the historicist concept of nation looked back to its origin in search of validation and was organic in nature, the SSA version had a utopian core to it and depended openly on social engineering.

Beyond methodology, SSA historians also contributed to the actual process of national formation. Non-existent in the early 1800s, '*la patria mediana*' came into being, to a large extent, thanks to them. Historians were the ones who toiled long hours in inhospitable archives in order to determine the physical boundaries of their countries. Historians invented a collective memory replete with heroes and valorous deeds to give historical content to that particular space. Finally, by moving from political to economic and social history in the first half of the twentieth century, historians raised the 'social question', that is, the incorporation into the national fold of the poor, blacks, Indians, and other outsiders.[50]

As everywhere else in the world, national history in SSA was used and abused. Caudillos of all sorts, political parties, the Catholic Church, the military, and the rich took advantage of it in their perennial struggle for power and profit. A good example of such use and abuse is to be found in Venezuela, where the dictator Juan Vicente Gomez and Vallenilla Lanz, the author of *Cesarismo democrático*, collaborated closely in the pursuit of 'order and progress' for their country.[51]

Ideology played a crucial role in the historical writing of the region. Indeed, it permeated all aspects of SSA life from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The dominant belief system that justified and guided the wars of independence, the process of national formation, and the search for modernity was liberalism. It is, therefore, not surprising that the vast majority of SSA historians between the 1840s and 1900 were of the liberal persuasion.[52] Given that they were almost everywhere members of the social and political elites, it has been suggested that their work expressed mainly their class and ethnic interests.[53] These allegations have not yet been substantiated through scholarly analysis. In the vast majority of cases, however, this was certainly true. The fact is that at the beginning of the twentieth century the institution of history in SSA had not yet developed the necessary safeguards to protect the integrity of the historical product. It was to tackle this problem that a new generation of historians began to take necessary steps to professionalize their craft in the first decades of the twentieth century.

[50] For the role of 'social justice' in the Chilean experience see Villalobos, 'La historiografía económica en Chile', 16–32.

[51] John Lombardi, *Venezuela: The Search for Order, the Dream of Progress* (Oxford, 1982), 260; and Nikita Harwich Vallenilla, 'Venezuelan Positivism and Modernity', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 70:2 (1990), 342–4.

[52] Juan Maiguashca, 'Latin American Historiography (excluding Mexico and Brazil): The National Period, 1820–1990', in Daniel Woolf (ed.), *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing*, vol. 2 (New York and London, 1998), 542–5.

[53] Burns, *The Poverty of Progress*, ch. 3.

THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF HISTORY, 1920–45

Returning to our centre–periphery model, it was in the Southern Cone, particularly in Argentina, that the first sustained effort towards professionalization took place. Referring to the general state of historical writing in this country in the first half of the twentieth century, Joseph Barager writes: 'the development of historical scholarship in Argentina . . . for the quarter century after 1920, was probably not surpassed or even equaled in any other country of Latin America.'[54] My own research amply confirms this assessment with the caveat that Argentina's professionalization effort actually started ten years earlier.

In 1908 the University of La Plata asked two well-known amateur historians, Ricardo Rojas and Ernesto Quesada, to prepare reports on the way European and American universities taught history and historical research at the advanced level. Rojas surveyed the universities in France, Germany, England, Italy, Spain, and the United States in his report entitled *La Restauración nacionalista* [The Nationalist Restoration], which appeared in 1909. Quesada, for his part, went to Germany, visited twenty-two universities, and wrote *La Enseñanza de la historia en las universidades alemanas* [The Teaching of History in German Universities] published in 1910. From this moment on, the history classroom became the centre of attention in Argentinian universities, as can be seen from the following sequence of events. In 1910 Rafael Altamira, a noted Spanish historian, introduced the teaching of historical methodology at the University of La Plata at the request of its rector. In 1912 the University of Buenos Aires created a history section within its Faculty of Arts and hired a young and promising scholar, Emilio Ravignani, to teach in it. The following year, another young and promising intellectual, Ricardo Levene, attached to the University of La Plata, published his *Lecciones de Historia Argentina* [Lessons of Argentinian History], the first meticulously researched textbook to appear in the country. Then in 1914 Leopoldo Lugones, a poet, historian, and educator, took over the National Council of Education and began to push hard for the teaching of history at all levels. Two years later, the aforementioned Ricardo Rojas, who was also a great teacher, published *La Argentinidad* [Argentinianness] with explicit pedagogical intent. Solidly based on primary sources, this work examined Argentinian history for the first time, not only from Buenos Aires but from the interior as well. The decade ended with the University Reform Movement in 1918, the main purpose of which was to modernize university teaching in general throughout Argentina. This movement spread to the rest of Latin America, particularly Chile, Peru, Venezuela, Mexico, and Cuba, and was responsible for a uniquely Latin American

[54] Joseph R. Barager, 'The Historiography of the Rio de la Plata Area since 1830', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 39 (1959), 602.

institution: the autonomous status of Latin American universities. Enshrined in law, the principle of 'university autonomy' protected these institutions from governmental interference. Over the years, the enforcement of this principle has been a chequered one. Even so, there is evidence that, on the whole, it has safeguarded scholarly work, including historical writing.[55]

By the early 1920s the teaching of history at university level in Argentina had advanced considerably. Ricardo Levene, Emilio Ravignani, Diego Luis Molinari, Rómulo Carbia, Luis Maria Torres, Ricardo Caillet-Bois, and others, all members of a new generation of amateur historians, took advantage of this conjuncture to launch a movement to professionalize history. La Nueva Escuela or the New School, as this group came to be known, was not a coherent group with a well-defined manifesto. Rather, it was a collection of individuals, often in conflict with one another, striving to transform history into an academic discipline each in their own way.[56] To this end, they initiated, supervised, or engaged in a wide variety of activities the most important of which were: the training of new historians by means of the university seminar and the creation of chairs of history; the transformation of regular administrative archives into historical ones; the printing and distribution of carefully annotated primary sources; the inauguration of specialized journals; and the publication of seminal works that privileged archival research. This flurry of activity was not confined to Buenos Aires, as there is plenty of evidence that the provinces joined in as well.[57]

This process amounted to a qualitative change in the development of Argentine historical studies. In effect, in addition to the innovations listed above, the New School invented a scholarly community that carved for itself an autonomous space within the university and other institutions. It was a different community than the one that had come into being between the 1880s and 1910. Whereas polymaths filled the ranks of the old historical community, the new community was made up of people who considered themselves historians *tout court*. Other characteristics of the new community were a sustained effort to achieve self-sufficiency and self-regulation. As a result, universities began to pay historians for their teaching and research activities. Just as important, the new community

[55] See Leopoldo Zea, 'La autonomía universitaria como institución latinoamericana', in *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México: La autonomía universitaria en México*, vol. I (Mexico, 1979), 317–34.

[56] For the origins of the New School see Rómulo Carbia, *Historia crítica de la historiografía argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1940), 157–65.

[57] For more information on the professionalization of history in Argentina see Fernando Devoto (ed.), *La historiografía argentina en el siglo XX*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1993–4); Devoto *et al.*, *Estudios de historiografía argentina*, ii; Nora Pagano and Martha Rodriguez (eds.), *La historiografía rioplatense en la posguerra* (Buenos Aires, 2001); Fernando Devoto and Nora Pagano (eds.), *La historiografía académica y la historiografía militante en Argentina y Uruguay* (Buenos Aires, 2004); and Fernando Devoto and Nora Pagano, *Historia de la historiografía argentina* (Buenos Aires, 2009).

began to identify the norms and rules that would assess competence in teaching, research, and other activities considered part of the new profession. In addition, the new community found the means of subsidizing their output through grants from the government or the private sector. Further indicators of qualitative change vis-à-vis the 1880s is to be found in the career of Ravignani, arguably the most representative historian of the period. Although he was a militant member of Union Civica Radical, there is no trace of his politics in his historical output. Clearly for Ravignani it was possible to be both a scholar and an advocate of a political cause, for although these two activities were related, they were not one and the same. In other words, a code of conduct to ensure professional accountability was already at work in Argentina at this time. It seemed that, here at least, the abuses of ideology had been put on a leash.[58]

Unfortunately, the reign of the New School in methodological, institutional, and productive terms was short lived. Dominant in the 1930s and early 1940s,[59] it faded thereafter, sidelined by the impact of the Great Depression and the advent of political instability and dictatorship, crises that, on and off, lasted for several decades.

What happened in Argentina, both the rise of professionalism and its first crisis, took place to a much lesser extent in Chile and even less in the rest of Spanish South America.[60] The task of creating an autonomous, specialized community of historians began in earnest once again only in the last quarter of the twentieth century. By then, however, the *republica de las letras* included Central America, Mexico, and the Caribbean. In this new context, two poles of growth developed: Argentina in the south and Mexico in the north. These two countries are the principal centres of historical production and distribution in Spanish America today.

In sum, what are the main traits of SSA historians between the 1840s and the 1940s? The maxims 'imitator, laggard' 'translator, traitor', which have often been used to characterize them for so long, do not apply. In view of the evidence presented in this chapter, a more accurate set of aphorisms would be: 'imitator, creator'/ 'translator, faithful'.

[58] Barager, 'The Historiography', 603.

[59] Barager writes that 'The period 1930–1945 might well be termed the Golden Era in Argentine historiography', ibid., 606.

[60] Except in Argentina and Uruguay, the professionalization of history has not been studied yet. Dispersed information on this subject exists in the following works: for Chile, Gazmuri, *La historiografía Chilena*, vol. 1; for Uruguay, Ana Ribeiro, *Historiografía nacional, 1880–1940: De la épica al ensayo sociológico* (Montevideo, 1994); for Bolivia, Josep Barnadas, *Dicionario histórico de Bolivia*, 2 vols. (Sucre, 2002); for Peru, Manuel Burga, *La historia y los historiadores en el Perú* (Lima, 2005) and Alberto Flores Galindo, 'La imagen y el espejo: la historiografía peruana 1910–1986', *Márgenes*, 2:4 (1988), 55–83; for Ecuador, Rodolfo Agoglia, *Historiografía ecuatoriana* (Quito, 1985); for Colombia, Jorge Orlando Melo, *Historiografía colombiana: Realidades y perspectivas* (Medellín, 1996); and for Venezuela, Germán Carrera Damas, *Historia de la historiografía Venezolana: Textos para su estudio*, 3 vols. (Caracas, 1997). I have been unable to find a reliable source for Paraguay.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1811–30	For the dates of the independence of Paraguay, Argentina, Chile, Gran Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, and Uruguay see the map 'Latin American and the Caribbean *c.*1830, with Dates of Independence' (p.429 in this volume).
1824	Chile abolishes slavery
1830	Ecuador secedes from La Gran Colombia and becomes an independent nation; Colombia and Venezuela do the same
1833	A conservative constitution is issued in Chile establishing political stability that will last until the end of the century
1836–9	War between Chile and the Peru-Bolivian Confederation
1849	In Colombia the election of José Hilario López inaugurates a period of feverish liberal reforms that spread to the rest of Spanish South America
1851–4	Abolition of slavery: Colombia (1851), Bolivia (1851), Peru (1854), Ecuador (1854), and Venezuela (1854)
1853–1918	Adoption of universal suffrage: Colombia (1853), Venezuela (1857), Ecuador (1861), Peru (1861), Paraguay (1870), Chile (1874), Argentina (1912), and Uruguay (1918)
1853	In Colombia the province of Vélez briefly grants the vote to women for first time in America; Argentina issues a constitution that organizes the country politically for the rest of the century
1862	In Argentina, Bartolomé Mitre, a liberal historian, becomes first president of a united Argentina, ending secession of his own Buenos Aires province
1864–6	War of Spain against Peru and Chile
1865–70	War of Triple Alliance (Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil against Paraguay)
1879–84	War of the Pacific (Chile against the Bolivian-Peruvian alliance); Chile establishes hegemony in the South American Pacific
1880s–1920s	A period of relative political stability and great economic growth based on export economies known as 'order and progress'
1909–35	The architect of 'order and progress' in Venezuela, Juan Vicente Gómez, rules that country for thirty years
1914	The First World War: Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Colombia, and Venezuela remain neutral; Uruguay, Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador break diplomatic relations with Germany
1915–30	ABC Pact: Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, the three most powerful countries in South America, sign a formal treaty of cooperation, non-aggression, and arbitration in order to resist US influence in the region
1918	The university reform movement in Argentina advocates the modernization and democratization of universities; the movement, led by student activists, spreads to the rest of Latin America

1928–35	The Chaco War (Bolivia against Paraguay)
1929–46	Women's suffrage is granted in Ecuador (1929) and Uruguay (1932)
1929	The Great Depression puts an end to the export boom in Spanish South America
1930s–45	A period of social unrest, military governments, and the rise of populism throughout the entire region

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PART IV

NON-EUROPEAN CULTURAL TRADITIONS

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Chapter 24

The Transformation of History in China and Japan

Axel Schneider and Stefan Tanaka

We begin our chapter with the dilemma that Romila Thapar observes in reference to early India,[1] that non-Western places in their confrontation with the West had no history. In China and Japan, too, those people most interested in bringing ideas and institutions of the West to their country had to confront their past which was not history. For example, in a rather famous quote, Erwin Baelz in 1876 repeated a statement of a Japanese acquaintance: 'We have no history. Our history begins today.'[2] This, of course, does not mean that there was no past or writings about the past on the continent or the archipelago. In both places the recording of the past occupied a central position.

China's and Japan's traditions of historiography were closely connected, with China initially exerting a formative influence on Japan. In China, concepts of the ideal socio-political order centred on the ruling clan and the worship of its ancestors.[3] The legitimacy of the ruling clan, rationalized as the Mandate of Heaven (*tianming*), depended on whether or not it succeeded in actualizing the ideal order through sacred rituals and moral example. The Mandate of Heaven thus provided legitimacy for the ruling clan, but also the rationale for a change of dynasty. It stood for the conviction that men can and do deviate from the ideal order, and that the gap between what is and what ought to be is part of the human condition. To bridge this gap through establishing and maintaining a polity as close as possible to the ideal order was the mission of the ruling clan and the political elite, and it was the task of the historiographer to keep a record of these attempts for posterity. It is whence he derived his eminently powerful

[1] Romila Thapar, 'Historical Traditions in Early India: *c.*1000 BC to *c.* AD 600', in Andrew Feldherr and Grant Hardy (eds.), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 1: *Beginnings to AD 600* (Oxford, 2011), 533–76.

[2] Quoted in George Macklin Wilson, 'Time and History in Japan', *American Historical Review*, 85 (1980), 570.

[3] Benjamin I. Schwartz, 'History in Chinese Culture: Some Comparative Reflections', *History and Theory*, 35:4 (1996), 23–33. See also On-cho Ng and Q. Edward Wang, *Mirroring the Past: The Writing and Use of History in Imperial China* (Honolulu, 2005).

position. This position was further reinforced by the fact that in Chinese culture the ideal order was not perceived as made accessible through an act of divine revelation, but was possible to measure through history. History thus acquired a central status as providing access to heavenly truth.[4] This centrality of the recording of history in Chinese culture translated into the institutionalization of historiography within the imperial bureaucracy, a process that culminated during the Tang Dynasty in the establishment of the History Office (*shiguan*).[5] On the archipelago officials connected to the bureaucracy also compiled histories. The Six National Histories or *Rikkokushi*, covering the mythical beginning up to 887, were ordered by the emperor.[6] These texts were accepted as authoritative accounts until the late nineteenth century.

The historiographer (*shi*) thus fulfilled two complementary functions, closely linked but not without internal tension: he recorded history in a historiographical mode leaving behind a record of the past as truthful as possible, yet he also manifested the ideal order by expressing praise and blame (*baobian*). In having the power to laud or to condemn, the historiographer found himself in an exposed political position, sometimes risking his life in fulfilling what Yves Chevrier calls his historiological duty.[7]

As is evident in the previous volumes of *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, pre-modern historiography in both places did change considerably over the centuries, but its central ethical and political status stands out throughout most of these periods. It would be a mistake to see the Western imperialist intrusion in the mid-nineteenth century as the catalyst for change. Chinese traditional historiography had already experienced subtle but, in hindsight, important changes. During the early Qing period the development of Han Studies (*Hanxue*) or evidential scholarship (*kaozheng*) led to an unprecedented scrutiny of the classics with the help of sophisticated methods of textual research. Whether this development represented the beginning of the emancipation of historiography from the classics (*jing*) and hence has to be interpreted as a first step towards modern science,[8] or whether it was just another approach to uncovering the ideal polity of the Golden Age in the classics through the means of critical textual scholarship, is contested.[9] However, the emphasis of Han Studies scholars on

[4] Masayuki Sato, 'The Archetype of History in the Confucian Ecumene', *History and Theory*, 46 (2007), 218–32.

[5] Denis C. Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History under the T'ang* (Cambridge, 1992).

[6] These texts are the *Nihon shoki* (beginning to 679), *Shoku nihongi* (679–791), *Nihon kōki* (792–832), *Shoku nihon kōki* (832–50), *Nihon buntoku tennō jitsuroku* (850–8), and *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* (858–88).

[7] Yves Chevrier, 'La servante-maîtresse: condition de la référence à l'histoire dans l'espace intellectuel chinois', *Extrême-Orient, extrême-occident* (1987), 117–44.

[8] Benjamin Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984).

[9] Michael Quirin, 'Scholarship, Value, Method, and Hermeneutics in Kaozheng: Some Reflections on Cui Shu (1740–1816) and the Confucian Classics', *History and Theory*, 35:4 (1996), 34–53.

methods of critical textual research became an important point of reference for Chinese historians of the twentieth century searching for predecessors of modern scientific history in the Chinese past.[10]

In Tokugawa Japan a similar method (*kōshō*) also spread within the neo-Confucian scholarship and was critical in the gradual separation of the past from the ethical ideals located in the ancient Chinese sages. Two schools that were critical in the emergence of a modern history were *kōgaku* (ancient learning) and *kokugaku* (nativist learning). For example, Ogyū Sorai argued that institutions and ethics based on those ideals were created by humans, and they were not the creation of the sages. As important as this separation was for the rise of a past separate from ancient China, we cannot go too far. The horizon of expectations was still in the past; Ogyū remained a Sinophile. In the eighteenth century, the school of nativist learning built upon Ogyū's inversion of the historical to increase this separation. Motoori Norinaga turned to ancient texts of the archipelago, especially the *Kojiki* [Record of Ancient Matters] (completed AD 712), the earliest extant account. The significance of his work was to shift the origin from an ethical idea located in ancient China, to the first people of the archipelago itself, of Japan. A third set of scholars, primarily scholars associated with Mito, a collateral domain of the Tokugawa, began to compile a history of Japan, the *Dai Nihon shi* [Great History of Japan], in the seventeenth century. In a way, the *Dai Nihon shi* completed the break from the ethical ideal of the sages; its goal was to demonstrate ethical behaviour of subjects towards the imperial line. Here, we have the beginning of a new subject, the idea of a Japan. Yet this history still followed the format of traditional Chinese histories.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the encounter with the imperialist West triggered developments that went far beyond the changes of the early Qing and Tokugawa eras. The traders, missionaries, whalers, and naval officers brought a different notion of 'civilization'. It was backed by a technology that claimed better science and technology, as well as governments claiming a new system of intercourse, called international law. The elite in both societies were simultaneously attracted and repulsed by this 'West'. These non-Asians also brought a different understanding of the relation between past and present, the 'universal history' popular in Europe at the time. Japanese intellectuals embraced these ideas before Chinese scholars. Nevertheless they confronted a similar dilemma. First, they needed to decide whether to adopt the ideas of progress and enlightenment, and if so, which parts, if they are separable. Second, even if they accepted such ideas, they were confronted with the emplotment of their culture as backward and the need to shed their past as anachronistic. Third, they then faced a contradiction in this process as they also needed to retain that now

[10] For a famous example see Fu Sinian, 'Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo gongzuo zhi zhiqu', *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan*, 1:1 (1928), reprinted in *Fu Sinian quanji*, 7 vols. (Taibei, 1980), iv. 263–6.

seemingly backward past in order to formulate a nation, the unit of participation in the international system.

Interestingly, it is a process that is filled with contradictory demands: in order to participate in the so-called universal system, they had to write a national history within that universalistic framework, rather than to have their history express that universalistic ideal.

JAPAN

Today, the Meiji *ishin* (1868) marks the end of the Tokugawa era and the emergence of modern Japan.[11] It would be a mistake, however, to mark the beginning of a modern historiography from this date. As the discussion of the *Dai Nihon shi* suggests, it took decades, even centuries, for intellectuals to reconceive their understanding of the past. (The final version of that project was published in 1906.) The new leaders did recognize the necessity of some kind of history to legitimize their ascent to power. In 1869 they issued an Imperial Rescript that began: 'Historiography is a for ever immortal state ritual and a wonderful act of our ancestors.'[12] This edict was shortly followed by the creation of the Office for the Collection of Historical Materials and Compilation of a National History whose charge it was to compile a chronology from when the *Rikkokushi* stopped, thereby connecting the new state with the old imperium, as if continuous.[13] From this straightforward beginning, intellectuals unpacked the many competing demands as well as contradictions that exist within the idea of a single, world or universal history, the need to create a history of the nation, and the competing groups of that history.

The desire for a history written according to the universal laws popular in Europe was strong. The idea of progress and development was seductive, achieving it quite difficult. Moreover, during the 1870s and 1880s, geological and archaeological discoveries, Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, and Herbert Spencer's adaption of evolution to society pushed intellectuals to shift their horizon from an ideal ethical past to a progressively better future. François Guizot's *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe* [*History of Civilization in Europe*] (1828) and Henry Thomas Buckle's *History of Civilization in England* (1857–61) were particularly influential histories that seemed to provide a road map. Two early accounts

[11] *Ishin* is often translated as restoration though renewal is likely more accurate. For a fine discussion on the problem of translating the word *ishin* as restoration see Tetsuo Najita, 'Japan's Industrial Revolution in Historical Perspective', in Masao Miyoshi and H. D. Harootunian (eds.), *Japan in the World* (Durham, NC, 1993), 13–20.

[12] Quoted in Margaret Mehl, *History and the State in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (New York, 1998), 1.

[13] This office was built upon a document collection begun by Hanawa Hokiichi in 1793 with the patronage of the shogunate.

that drew inspiration from these histories to bring Japan into the universal realm were *Bunmeiron no Gairyaku* [*An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*] (1875) by Fukuzawa Yukichi and *Nihon kaika shoshi* [Brief History of Civilization in Japan] (1877–82) by Taguchi Ukichi. These enlightenment (*bunmei*) historians have generally been depicted as liberal intellectuals who introduced the ideas of the West. Fukuzawa's very influential *Bunmeiron no Gairyaku* is less a history of Japan than an argument that the archipelago join the universal march of progress, which entailed turning it into a unified and 'civilized' Japan. Taguchi was the first to attempt to locate Japan's past within the fixed principle (*ittei no ri*) that was believed to guide human progress. Both were focused on formulating the history of a Japan, the nation, but their narratives, instead, indicate the dilemma of enlightenment ideas on a world stage. For example, in order to place Japan on that path of progress, Taguchi argued that Japan deviated from it around the sixth century. Similarly, Fukuzawa wrote that 'throughout the whole twenty-five centuries or so of Japanese history, the government has been continually doing the same thing; it is like reading the same book over and over again'.[14] There were important differences in their work; the most notable here is that Taguchi sought to locate the subject of his history in the activities of the people of Japan, not its political unfolding. In order to synchronize Japan into this enlightenment history, these two scholars dismissed all of the recorded past. This is the dilemma mentioned above, that Japan had no history and that for a non-Western place to become a part of this universal history, it must deny its own past. Significantly, neither wrote a history of Japan again; moreover, other *bunmei* historians, such as Miyake Yonekichi and Naka Michiyo, tried but did not finish their histories. It was not until the 1890s that such a history was written.

The dilemma of needing to distance the past to become modern, and to narrate that past to become a unit of the modern, necessitated a more complex configuration than merely transitioning from old to new. At this point, standard historiographical accounts juxtapose *bunmei* historians, like Fukuzawa and Taguchi, against a more conservative tradition, the empirical, *kōshō* (textual criticism) scholars, who, from their classical training in neo-Confucianism, focused on data and facts, but were 'uninspiring, without an axe to grind or the passion of political commitment'.[15] Yet at that time numerous intellectuals and politicians quickly realized that the old still had utility.

Certainly during these early decades much 'old' was thrown out, destroyed, or sold to make room for the 'new'. Yet interest in the past and its preservation was high: in the fifth month of 1871 the government issued an edict lamenting the denigration of old things; in 1872 it commissioned a survey of historic sites;

[14] Fukuzawa Yukichi, *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, trans. David A. Dilworth and G. Cameron Hurst (Tokyo, 1973), 142.

[15] Peter Duus, 'Whig History, Japanese Style: The Min'yusha Historians and the Meiji Restoration', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 33 (1974), 419–20.

during the 1880s the government passed laws to preserve artefacts; compilations such as the *Kyūji shimonroku* [Record of Investigation of Old Things] and the *Edo kyūji kō* [Remembrances of Old Things from Edo] were published; and in 1882 scholars at Tokyo University established the *Kōten kōkyūjo* (Centre for Investigation of Ancient Texts) (now Kokugakuin University).

There are undoubtedly antiquarian and romantic interests in such work. Yet we must also recognize that preservation of some past is a necessary component of modernity, not simply a conservative reaction against it. There is an interesting contradistinction in the transformation of the archipelago into Japan (or indeed of non-Western places into nation-states). The absence of history and the presence of what we characterize as a timeless tradition becomes evidence of Japanese backwardness; yet in the need to synchronize with the liberal-capitalist international realm they must both separate from that knowledge system to show progress and embrace it to establish the nation. An interesting transmutation of pasts occurs. Scholars still needed to sort out which past to preserve (and how), which to forget, and which to turn into history.

A modern history of Japan emerged from this archival project, to formulate a usable past. Thomas Richards writes of the archive as a way of organizing knowledge: 'The archive was not a building, nor even a collection of texts, but the collectively imagined junction of all that was known or knowable, a fantastic representation of an epistemological master plan, a virtual focal point for the heterogeneous local knowledge of metropolis and empire.'[16] Today, we often forget that evidence and data are part of this transformation of history.[17] Like the problems of the *bunmei* historians, the archive is more than a collection of materials.

The principal organization for the archiving of material of the past began as the Office for the Collection of Historical Materials and the Compilation of a National History.[18] This archival project had a simple, seemingly straightforward goal, to collect all that was written from throughout the archipelago to serve as the content of the new place, Japan. But at this point the new collective singular still did not have a structure. To demonstrate how far the initial office was from a modern history, the specific topics of this office were the fourteenth-century split of the imperial court into Northern and Southern Courts, the Tokugawa era, the *ishin* itself, and local topographies. By 1881, these topics were combined into a Chinese-style chronology—written in Chinese—of Japan from 1392 to 1867, the *Dai Nihon hennen shi* [Chronological History of Great Japan], which

[16] Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archives: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London, 1993), 11.

[17] Constantin Fasolt, *The Limits of History* (Chicago, 2004), 12–15.

[18] Until it was reorganized into the Historiographical Institute in 1895, this office changed many times. For simplicity of the narrative, we will call it the Office of Historiography, a name it used several times. For a good history of this institute see Mehl, *History and the State in Nineteenth-Century Japan*.

was never completed.[19] In short, even in this 'new' effort to write about the past, early work was similar to past chronologies, taking up where they left off.

One necessary transformation was the shift of data from place to time. Initially, this archive had an office of history and an office of topography. Topographical information, *chishigaku*, had been an important source of data for local administrators during the Tokugawa era. These topographies were organized to provide relevant information of the past, socio-economic conditions, information and data about production, and descriptions of the local people. The initial plan was to prepare a multi-volume work (similar to the *Dai nihon hennen shi*), *Dai nihon chishi* [Topography of Great Japan]. But this form of information became decreasingly relevant and was eventually supplanted by history and statistics when the office of topography was disbanded and eventually merged into the Office of Historiography. Its data were shorn from their local context and newly categorized according to time. Local information was no longer significant through the frame of the locale, but increasingly as data for the nation-state, Japan.

Similarly, the meaning of the past also changed. A series of essays written in 1879, 1884, and 1886 by the director of the Office of Historiography, Shigeno Yasutsugu, show this transformation.[20] In his first essay, Shigeno made a rather common call to transform history, not unlike the *bunmei* historians, by advocating the adoption of historical methods from the West while criticizing existing historical methods, particularly the Chinese chronological style. Shigeno argued that the historiographers of the latter were too limited to individuals and the particular, and none wrote about Japan itself, especially its political and economic changes. He cited Augustus Mounsey's *The Satsuma Rebellion* (1879) as an example worth following. Shigeno's tone changed in his next two essays. He criticized authoritative accounts such as the *Taiheiki* [Chronicle of Great Peace] (mid-fourteenth century) and the *Dai Nihon shi* as distortions, embellishments, and fabrications. Armed with more data and using the authority of dates, he carefully compared different accounts of heroes and deeds, finding discrepancies in dates and events. Based on these 'inaccuracies', he questioned the veracity of the supposedly noble deeds of figures such as Kusunoki Masashige and the very existence of Kojima Takanori, the loyal retainer of Emperor Go-Daigo. For his painstaking work, he became known as Professor Obliterator (*massatsu hakase*). His colleague Kume Kunitake, the historian of the Iwakura mission that toured the United States and Europe between 1871 and 1873, was also relentless. Passages and accounts in all formerly authoritative histories—early chronicles such as the *Kojiki* and *Rikkokushi*, and later accounts and tales such as the *Taiheiki, Genpei*

[19] The *Dai nihon hennen shi* was terminated when the Office of Historiography was closed down in 1893.

[20] These essays are 'Kokushi hensan no hōhō o ronzu', 'Sejō rufu no shiden oku jijutsu o ayamaru', and 'Shi no hanashi'. They are available in Tanaka Akira and Miyachi Masato (eds.), *Rekishi ninshiki* (Tokyo, 1991), 213–21, 339–55.

seisuiki [Record of the Rise and Fall of the Minamoto and Taira] (1247–9), *Heike monogatari* [Tale of the Heike] (*c.* mid-thirteenth century), and the *Dai Nihon shi*—were declared inaccurate, incomplete, distortions, and fabrications. Kume even called these narratives childlike. Other historians, such as Naka Michiyo, professor of Chinese history at the Imperial University of Tokyo between 1896 and 1904 (Naka should also be categorized as a *bunmei* historian in his early career), proposed a revised chronology of the first emperors recorded in the *Nihon shoki* [Chronicles of Japan] (completed 720). In this essay, revised in 1897, he argued that the accounts of the first eighteen emperors were unreliable and approximately 600 years should be removed.[21]

This brief account shows that the search for history involved a significant reconfiguration of the past to the point where hitherto authoritative accounts were now dismissed as falsehoods (or, more politely, myths). In these cases the past was increasingly separated from the present by being reclassified as historical data, myth, superstition, or make-believe. The relocation of the past into data for a narrative of Japan's development altered the utility of information from the past as a historiological duty to the past as an archive of data. The purpose of the archive and chronology was less to eradicate than to stabilize the past of a Japan into an archive, in the sense that Richards discusses, that could be synchronized to the international order.

The institutionalization of history began during the mid-1880s, again indicating the uncertainty and contestation of the past. In 1883 scholars from the University of Tokyo and the Historiographical Institute founded the first history association in Meiji Japan, Shigaku kyōkai, and published the journal *Shigaku kyōkai zasshi* [Journal of the History Society]. Two of the central figures were Konakamura Kiyonori and Naitō Chisō, professors of the department of Japanese and Chinese literature (*wakan bungaku*), which was responsible for the instruction on the past. These scholars, from the school of national learning (*kokugaku*), lamented the absence of a history of Japan, especially of one written in Japanese rather than Chinese. Konakamura recognized the importance of the notion of progress and recent changes, and argued that history was important to foster patriotism, to understand government and citizenship, and to establish the nation's own history (rather than to have it written by foreigners or in a foreign language). He differed in his belief in some historiological duty, that the stability necessary to anchor that change must be located in the values found in the classics. The Shigaku kyōkai disbanded in 1885, but many of its goals would play a central role in the institutionalization of history as *rekishi*.[22]

In 1885 the department of Japanese and Chinese literature (*wakan bungaku*) was split into departments of Japanese literature and Chinese literature, separating

[21] Naka Michiyo, 'Joseinenki kō', *Shigaku zasshi*, 8 (1897), 747–78, 884–910, 997–1021, 1206–31.

[22] Both *shigaku* and *rekishi* translate in English as history. *Rekishi* is akin to *Geschichte*, while *shigaku* would be between *historie* and *Geschichte*.

the past of Japan from China. The professors responsible for Japanese history, literature, and the classics were Konakamura, Naitō, and Mozume Takami. In 1886 the university was reorganized into the Imperial University of Tokyo, and in the following year the history department (*shigakka*) was founded and a young German historian (a distant student of Leopold von Ranke), Rudolph Riess, hired. In 1888 the Office of Historiography was transferred to the university and its researchers, Kume, Shigeno, and Hoshino Hisashi, were appointed professors of Japanese history. In 1889 the department of Japanese history (*kokushi*) was formally established and the department of Japanese literature changed its name to the department of national literature (*kokubungaku*), while the department of Chinese literature became the department of Chinese studies (*kangaku*). Also in 1889 another historical association, the Japanese Historical Association (Shigakkai), was founded, with Shigeno as the first president.

These reforms confirmed the careful archival work of the historiography office and were bolstered by the 'scientific' methodology of Western history (via Ranke) learned through Riess. In a memo advocating the formation of the department of Japanese history (*kokushi gakka*), Watanabe Kōki, the president of the new university, confirmed its role in support of the state as the main topic of history,

> Recently, we have realized that politics, law, and economics are subject to the climate (*fūdo*) and people (*jinsei*) of each land and each country. In order to clarify the relation of time and space, we will enthusiastically follow the research methods that establish the foundation of the history of that space, and in this way transform the methods of historical investigation. Today in order to understand social phenomena of a particular time and space, we will collect books, handicrafts, and other artefacts of those times; dissect and analyze them; discern their qualities; and research these things at a library just as science uses laboratories. Then for the first time we will have a scientific method of inquiry into history. Finally, we can refer all matters—political, legal, economic—for academic testing and decide accordingly.[23]

This was the moment when a modern historiographical method and understanding was institutionalized. History became the careful, mechanical methodology, one that advocated the dissection, analysis, and chaining of data—immutable data from a dead past—into chronological narratives of the political and economic development of Japan (the collective singular). Importantly, *kōshōgaku* underwent a considerable transmutation, from careful textual exegesis to understand the true intent within texts to an obsession with verifiable data. Thus when historians such as Ienaga Saburō argued that these historians overlooked 'the fundamental spirit of historical consciousness', it is because this resolution occluded that fundamental spirit through the mechanistic methodologies that accepted the union between history and nation-state.[24]

[23] *Tokyo teikoku daigaku gojūnenshi* (Tokyo, 1932), 1297.
[24] Ienaga Saburō, *Nihon no kindai shigaku* (Tokyo, 1957), 85.

In the emergence of national literature (*kokubungaku)*, principals such as Konakamura and Naitō agreed, on the one hand, that the purpose of history was to recount the past mechanistically, 'using accurate facts, to investigate the cause and effect of change and clarify the vestiges of our country's ebb and flow'.[25] They argued, on the other hand, that the role of national literature was to reintegrate the sensate—the human, the ideas, sensibility, and imagination—that had been denigrated by mechanistic forms of knowledge: 'Literature stores within a kind of originary spirit; even more, it is that which influences politics, religion, feelings, and customs.'[26] In an early text seeking to explain the field, Haga Yaichi and Tachibana Sensaburō asked: 'How can we bring forth and develop an everlasting literature that has such value? It is only by returning to the origins of literature, where we see how the character of our race has acted and developed in accordance with the direction of the world and the laws of nature.'[27] This is a fascinating statement that exhibits the complementarity of this field of national literature. The language is that of a return to, and preservation of, an essential Japan. But the framework is that of the abstract laws of modern society: the laws of nature, synchronization with a world history, and the primacy of the era in a narrative of development. In short, *kokubungaku* reconfigured the media that transmitted what should be known into a new discipline that ceded accuracy and objectivity for a different kind of truth, the sensibilities, ethics, and ideals of the nation. *Kokubungaku* and *kokushi*, literature and history, developed in support of each other. What began earlier as a contestation resolved in a mutual coexistence, indeed, mutual dependence. History became possible because literature (as well as other disciplines such as art history) provides conceptual grounding for political categories; both disciplines stabilize the nation and its timeless characteristics, the sensibility and spirit, while history absolves those fields from examining the specificity of the political actors who operate within those essential characteristics. Stated differently, national literature slows down time to establish the conceptual places of the nation; history uses chronology as if it is the only temporality to give those spaces activity, that is, progress.

Interestingly, this interdependence became institutionalized without the scholars most responsible for the division and resolution. In 1891 Shigeno resigned from his professorship to become director of the Office of Historiography; in 1892 Kume was fired; and in 1893 the Office of Historiography was abolished. Also in 1891, Konakamura resigned from his professorship in *kokubungaku*, and Naitō was fired.[28] The institutionalization of this newly reconfigured past is evident in the reopening of the former Office of Historiography as the Historiographical Institute

[25] Mikami Sanji and Takatsu Kuwasaburō, *Nihon bungakushi* (1890; Tokyo, 1982), 22.
[26] Ibid., 2.
[27] Haga Yaichi and Tachibana Sensaburō, *Kokubungaku dokuhon shoron*, in *Ochiai Naobumi, Ueda Kazutoshi, Haga Yaichi, Fujioka Sakutaro shū*, ed. Hisamatsu Senichi (Tokyo, 1989), 199.
[28] *Tokyo teikoku daigaku gojūnenshi*, 1318–22.

in 1895. In the legislation to reopen the archive the Diet stipulated that its members come from *kokubungaku*, not history. Hoshino, Tanaka Yoshinari, and Mikami Sanji were named editors of the compilation of historical documents, its principal task. Hoshino became the nominal director, but because of ill health, Mikami served as de facto director until 1899 when he became director and served until 1919.

Mikami was a central figure in the institutionalization of history. In addition to the directorship, he was professor of history at the Imperial University until 1926. The Diet directive, as well as his rise, demonstrates the way that the sacred or modern myth was central to the historical project, but was obscured by notions of objectivity.[29] Mikami, a specialist on Tokugawa history, was a student of Riess and Tsuboi Kumezō; yet before graduate study, he worked with Konakamura and Naitō. He claimed that he was most influenced by Naitō, making his authorship of *Nihon bungakushi* [History of Japanese Literature] (1890) a formative moment in his career, not an early aberration. In 1938 Hugh Borton recognized a shift in research among Japanese historians in the Taisho period (1912–26) (the generation after Mikami) from politics to culture.[30] His colleagues and successors, such as Kuroita Katsumi, Tsuji Zennosuke, and Hiraizumi Kiyoshi, continued this emphasis, ensuring the close connection between the state and orthodox history.

Typically, historiographies of this modern history of Japan have tended to exonerate these academic historians, praising their methodological rigour and downplaying their history as apolitical, despite the clear connection to the imperium. Kuroita, Tsuji, and Hiraizumi strengthened the linkage—Kuroita was on the commission that authored *Kokutai no hongi* [The Essence of being Japanese] (1937). Others, such as Naka, recognized the conflict between accurate history and history as the basis of the belief system of the nation and chose to compartmentalize each. The reputation of methodological rigour, however, is shallow; in an anecdote of a meeting between Mikami and then graduate student Inoue Kiyoshi, one of the most influential of Japanese historians during the late 1930s and post-war period, Inoue 'was offended and outraged, concluding that the eminent professor wanted to teach lies to the Japanese people'.[31]

The point is not to disparage these historians; instead, it is to argue for the co-constitution of the disciplines where disciplinary methodologies, here chronology and empiricism, have concealed the connection between history and national belief. This division troubled a number of historians during the pre-war period and continues to trouble Japan (and we believe other nation-states) today.

[29] Michael C. Brownstein, 'From Kokugaku to Kokubungaku: Canon-Formation in the Meiji Period', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 47:2 (1987), 435–60.

[30] Hugh Borton, 'A Survey of Japanese Historiography', *American Historical Review*, 43:3 (1938), 489–99.

[31] John S. Brownlee, *Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600–1945* (Vancouver, 1997), 145.

Before we discuss the debates that emerged as a result of this fragmentation of the past, we shall turn to an international dilemma created by this new idea of history.

The organization of the past into history 'proved' the eternal status of Japan as a nation and demonstrated progress and civilization. But, internationally, it hides a contradiction that is especially vexing for non-Western places, even today. That is, the past is necessary to write a modern, that is linear, narrative of change up to the present, but, at the same time, that same past (the 'traditional' and 'primitive') relegates those places to perpetual positions of lack, so they are always behind the West.

A major attempt to solve this contradiction occurred through the study of Asian history. From the 1890s intellectuals began to shift the study of the continent from the Chinese classics (*kangaku*) to a developmental narrative (*tōyōshigaku*) that laid out the ways that Japan was connected to, yet beyond, the continent, in a similar vein to the European construct of the Orient.[32] One of the earliest major statements emerged in 1891 when Inoue Tetsujirō, professor of philosophy at the Imperial University of Tokyo, published a series of essays on the importance of an oriental history (*tōyōshigaku*). Here he accepted the division between the Orient and the Occident, but was troubled by the condescension he experienced while in Europe. He argued that the study of oriental history was necessary for two reasons: the first was to inform Europeans about Japan; the second was to enable Japan to know itself.[33] At this early moment in the development of a historical consciousness, Asia (especially China) was becoming Japan's past. This effort to write a 'world' (that is, Eurasian) history that showed that Japan, too, was like Europe, gained historical depth during the next decade as Shiratori Kurakichi at the Imperial University of Tokyo fostered the field called *tōyōshi*, and Naitō Konan countered with *shinagaku* at the Imperial University at Kyoto. Shiratori formulated his North–South dualism, and Naitō organized progress in terms of shifting cultural centres. For Shiratori, China advanced from the ancient to the medieval where it continued (or more accurately stagnated), and Naitō's *shinagaku* described an advance to modernity around the late Tang and Sung dynasties, followed by steady decline to the twentieth century. Both argued that the vital centre was in contemporary Japan.

What is relevant about this history is that intellectuals recognized the limitations or contradictions within history as developed in the West and transmitted to Japan. Yet in resolving the contradictions, Japanese intellectuals wrote a history that resolved the problem for themselves; they established a narrative that demonstrated a development in Asia with Japan at the pinnacle. They did not recognize (or chose to ignore) the way that they created a parallel hierarchy within their *tōyō*. Their China or Asia was not the same as the places they described. For

[32] We are of course, referring to Edward Said's classic, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978). For Japan's formulation of its Orient see Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley, 1993).

[33] 'Tōyōshigaku no kachi', *Shigaku zasshi*, 3 (1892), 10.

example, Joshua Fogel describes Naitō's dismay about the reform movement around the May Fourth incident: 'the Chinese had turned on him not only as a Japanese, but on *his* Chinese culture, too'.[34] This rendering of Asia into an Orient of Japan rationalized Japan's leadership (imperialism) in Asia, but it separated them further from the places the experts (historians) claimed to know, just as the Japanese claimed that their position as part of the Orient, the 'not yet', was inaccurate.

Thus far we have focused on the emergence of the principal, academic discipline of history. These historians made claims to know and describe the past accurately, using science and the prestige of the university; in their hands, history was a critical tool to unify the heterogeneous places of the archipelago, to define Japan and Japanese. But despite their claim to speak for the whole, their history centred around the state, and the nation as defined by the state. Moreover, as the renewed Historiographical Institute, as well as the history department led by Mikami, suggests, history hewed closely to the ancient myths.

To continue along this path of dealing with the problematic past, the segmentation of the past into history and literature did not address the place where history and myth combine as 'crucial issues in the history of the community'.[35] The specific place where myth and history overlapped was in the centrality of the imperial idea to the new government. The state used the imperial system (from Emperor Jimmu) as the present, conflating the contemporary with myth and history. This connection was evident in the early desires for the new history to continue from the *Rikkokushi*. The government also worked hard to bring this imperium to the public: the Meiji *ishin* celebrated a 'return' to rule by emperors; it synchronized era name with reign as if it were 'traditional'; it reordered the counting of years beginning with the accession of Jimmu (in this way 1869, or Meiji 2, became 2529); when it adopted the Gregorian calendar and changed time reckoning to the twenty-four-hour clock, it changed holidays from being connections to the lunar and agricultural cycles to commemorations of former and present emperors; and it sent the Meiji emperor on a number of progresses to all parts of the land so that the people could 'see' and know the emperor. Like the drift of history much later from the Taisho period, the line between history and what Jean Comaroff calls the 'ritualized commemorations of the past' was blurred, at best.[36]

The claim of being a nation has made this history public and applicable to all its members. The 1890s witnessed a rise of public interest in the past, a 'history

[34] Joshua Fogel, *Politics and Sinology: The Case of Naitō Konan (1866–1934)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 273 (italics in the original).

[35] Joseph Mali, *Mythistory: The Making of a Modern Historiography* (Chicago, 2003), 4.

[36] Jean Comaroff, 'The End of History, Again? Pursuing the Past in the Postcolony', in Ania Loomba *et al.* (eds.), *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond* (Durham, NC, 2005), 125–44.

boom'.[37] Public discussion of the past, both recent and old, proliferated. For example, two public intellectuals who tried to counter the growing hegemony of the university over history were Miyake Setsurei and Yamaji Aizan. Miyake did not write historical monographs, but instead essays that argued that history should be located in the masses. In his famous 1890 essay, 'Shinzenbi nihonjin' (Japanese: Truth, Goodness, Beauty) and the companion essay 'Giakushū nihonjin' (Japanese: Lies, Evil, Vulgarity),[38] he argued that Japan and Japanese culture should be seen as an accumulation of time-spaces within the archipelago; it was the accumulation of habits and sensibilities of a people in interaction with sites and objects. Yamaji, too, was not an academic historian; he wrote for important journals such as *Kokumin no Tomo*, *Chūō Kōron*, and *Taiyō*, and later in his career wrote historical biographies of great Japanese men. Yamaji argued that the history written by university historians was a dead history (*shinda rekishi*) that established a national identity that was a mask for power—it glorified the imperial system, emphasized ethics of submission, and directly served the state. Instead, he put forward that '[h]istory is not talk about the past. It is talk about the living present'.[39] In a statement of 1897 that recalls Fukuzawa's lament but illustrates the very different historical foundation in just twenty years, Yamaji wrote: 'Two thousand five hundred years of Japanese history is a record of hell in which the sacrifice of people's lives and blood for the government should make one shudder.'[40]

Such alternatives clearly show the centrality of history to the public and efforts to transform history into a history *of* Japanese, rather than a history *for* Japanese. Yet a different aspect of that public role is the emergence of iconic pasts as a part of these public rituals, rather than the veracity of the past. Early hints of this contestation could be seen in the work of Shigeno, and earned him the nickname Dr Obliterator. In 1891 Kume published an essay in *Shigaku zasshi* that argued that Shinto was not a religion but an accumulation of rituals for the worship of heaven which could be found in many other cultures throughout the world.[41] Kume was accused of besmirching the imperial institution after the essay was reprinted in the popular journal *Shikai*. Ultimately, political pressure led to Kume's resignation from the department of history at the Imperial University in 1892 and to the closing of the Office of Historiography in 1893.

[37] Margaret Mehl, 'The Mid-Meiji "History Boom": Professionalization of Historical Scholarship and Growing Pains of an Emerging Academic Discipline', *Japan Forum*, 10 (1998), 67–83.

[38] These essays are available in Miyake Setsurei (ed.), *Miyake Setsurei shū, Gendai nihon bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo, 1931), p. v.

[39] Yamaji Aizan, 'Rekishi no hanashi', *Kokumin shimbun*, 29 April 1894, in *Meiji bunka zenshū* (Tokyo, 1965), xxxv. 264.

[40] Id., 'Nihon no rekishi ni okeru jinken hattatsu no konseki', *Kokumin no tomo*, 9, 16, 23 January 1897, ibid., 314.

[41] Kume Kunitake, 'Shinto wa saiten no kozoku', *Shigaku zasshi* 2.23–25 (October–December, 1891).

Though pasts that gained iconic status were present throughout the Meiji era, this was one of the early incidents that limited the extent to which historians contested popular ideas, especially those concerning the imperial household. The reaction to Kume's essay contrasts with Naka's revised chronology (published in 1897), a potentially devastating argument that the imperium did not date back to Emperor Jimmu (now known to be a mythical figure) and that the record of the first eighteen emperors was unreliable. Yoshida Tōgō attempted to explain the difference. He wrote: '*Nihon shoki* chronology is a public one for general use by all imperial subjects. The revised [Naka] chronology is a private one to be used for reference purpose only.'[42] One could use this statement to suggest the separation of historians from the public. Indeed, this is the standard interpretation, where these positivistic historians are described as apolitical and 'without an axe to grind', an interpretation that overlooks the centrality of history in describing the becoming and future of the nation-state.[43] There are two other noteworthy incidents that also occurred during periods of heightened public concern about the imperium. First, in 1911, Kida Teikichi, a graduate of the Imperial University and employee at the Ministry of Education, revised his 1904 textbook, which continued the previous edition's narrative that the imperial line split into Northern and Southern Courts during the fourteenth century. This event potentially contradicted the claim of an unbroken imperial rule since Jimmu, but more germane, it followed the Great Treason Incident in which twenty-four individuals were convicted of conspiracy to assassinate the emperor. Second, in 1940, Tsuda Sōkichi, a historian at Waseda University, was accused of *lèse-majesté* for his 1913 monograph in which he argued that the first thirteen emperors were invented to bolster the Yamato clan claim to its suzerainty over rival clans.[44] Tsuda argued that Japan was not unified until the fifth century AD, not 660 BC when Jimmu is claimed to have begun his rule. He was convicted of *lèse-majesté* in 1942.

The defence of these historians was that they were merely reiterating the facts. But this distinction depends on a belief that historical narrative itself is not political. It overlooks the successful merging of modern history with these new myths, in what recent historians have called the emperor system. Similar issues continue to operate in Japan today.

The final major development of the pre-war period was the introduction of the ideas of Marx and Marxism into history. Early twentieth-century Japan provided a rich field for systematic ideas that sought redress to exploitation and rising inequality. The focus on the institutions of the state and nation-building, rather than on the people, was paralleled by the emphasis on industrial development rather than on the well-being of citizens. From the 1890s a number of activists, politicians, and intellectuals sought to address these social problems, especially

[42] John Young, *The Location of Yamatai: A Case Study in Japanese Historiography* (Baltimore, 1958), 95.
[43] Duus, 'Whig History, Japanese Style', 419–20.
[44] Tsuda Sōkichi, *Shindaishi no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1913).

the rising poverty and growing slums. Conditions did not improve, however, and during the 1910s economists began introducing Marxist ideas into their analyses; in 1922 the Japanese Communist Party was founded (and immediately outlawed). In the second half of the 1920s two schools of Marxist history, the Lecture school (*kōza-ha*) and the Farmer-Labourer school (*rōnō-ha*) emerged. The *kōza-ha*, led by scholars such as Noro Eitarō, Hani Gorō, Yamada Moritarō, and Hirano Yoshitarō, followed the platform of the Communist International. They argued that the Meiji *ishin* was an aborted revolution where feudal remnants (the emperor, samurai, and landlords) allied with progressive forces to create a peculiar 'absolutist' state. The *rōnō-ha*, led by scholars such as Ōuchi Hyōe and Tsuchiya Takao, argued that the *ishin* was a successful, bourgeois revolution. In the *kōza-ha*, the predominant interpretation, the problem was located in feudal remnants, while in the *rōnō-ha* interpretation it was located in monopoly capitalism. Like their orthodox counterparts, these historians operated within a linear and materialistic view of history and marshalled detailed empirical research to sustain their arguments; indeed, there are many similarities between the *kōza-ha* and the US-led modernization theory which came to dominate from the 1960s. Both interpretations made economics a central component of modern history, solidified the significance of common people (though primarily as labourers and farmers) in history, and exposed the Meiji *ishin* as an originary moment in the history of modern Japan. Marxist historians dominated historical scholarship in Japan in the first decades after the Second World War.

CHINA

Around the time of the first Opium War (1839–42), the geographic horizon of Chinese historiographers expanded beyond its original confines to include the geography of the West through publications such as Wei Yuan's *Haiguo tuzhi* [Illustrated Gazetteer on the Maritime Kingdoms] (1843). Subsequently, Western concepts of science, progress, and linear, abstract time began to have an impact on Chinese thought.[45] Historiography (*shixue*), which traditionally was closely linked to the study of the classics (*jingxue*), now underwent a process of professionalization and institutionalization along the lines of the modern West. Departing from a close connection between cognitive, normative, and political aspects, which as such were not always clearly differentiated, historiography turned into the academic discipline of history, standing next to and separate from philosophy and politics. As an academic discipline, it was expected to focus on

[45] On the reception of linear time in China see Wang Fansen, 'Jindai Zhongguo de xianxing lishiguan—yi shehui jinhualun wei zhongxin de taolun', *Xin shixue*, 19:2 (2008), 1–46; and Luke S. K. Kwong, 'The Rise of the Linear Perspective on History and Time in Late Qing China *c*.1860–1911', *Past and Present*, 173 (2001), 157–90.

questions of methodology, objective truth claims based on verifiable evidence, issues of new forms and genres of professional publication, and new tasks in education.

In this process the challenges and new tasks Chinese historians were facing were manifold. In the context of Western views of history based on notions of universal teleological progress and centred on the nation as the subject of history, Chinese historians had to develop an understanding of Chinese history as national and as part of progressive world history, thus integrating China as an equal member into the new world of nation-states. This had to be achieved by avoiding the pitfalls of progressivist history which, for late-developing countries, entailed the risk of being locked in a state of eternal backwardness, always chasing the advanced West but never being able to catch up with it.

Although this new vision of national, progressive history necessitated a break with traditional views of history and historiography, Chinese historians nevertheless had to safeguard some sort of historical continuity in order to provide a basis for Chinese identity, to foster national consciousness, and thus make a contribution to building a modern Chinese nation-state.

Tensions similar to those between adopting a new view of history and having to safeguard continuity became manifest on the meta-level of theories and methods of historical research and the tasks assigned to historians. New concepts of writing history and the organization of the academic discipline of history had to be devised in line with the new understanding of history. At the same time, the position of the historian still bore the imprint of the traditional centrality of Chinese historiography, putting him and the new discipline under great pressure to meet and fulfil the new challenges and tasks. Many modern Chinese historians were torn between conflicting commitments to modern, disinterested historical research and the responsibility to save the Chinese nation.

Around the beginning of the twentieth century first signs of a progressivist and teleological understanding of history became manifest in the writings of Kang Youwei, one of the intellectual leaders of the reform movement of 1898.[46] He propagated a view of history based on late Qing New Text Confucianism. Old Text Confucianism, long the dominant school, saw Confucius as an historian who recorded the facts of the past. In contrast, the school of New Text Confucianism stood for an understanding of Confucius as a prophet who expressed in the classics, in subtle words, his blueprint for an ideal future society. In his famous book *Datongshu* [The Great Commonwealth] (1935) Kang Youwei propagated a theory of universal historical development in three epochs leading from a stage of Great Chaos, through a stage of Rising Peace to the goal of history, the final stage of Great Peace. He projected a uniform process towards an ideal, nearly utopian global society, levelling the differences between the West

[46] Hsiao Kung-chuan, *A Modern China and a New World: K'ang Yu-wei, Reformer and Utopian, 1958–1927* (Seattle and London, 1975).

and China, locating the blueprint for the future ideal society in ancient Chinese texts, and thereby integrating China into a global historical scheme and reclaiming leadership for China.

In the aftermath of this reform movement in 1898 many Chinese reform-minded intellectuals left China to study in Japan. From then until around the First World War, they were influenced by the most advanced Japanese intellectual trends and adopted new views of, and approaches to, history that had shaped Japanese historiography since the 1880s. Liang Qichao, a prolific writer and leading modern Chinese journalist and intellectual, exerted the most profound impact on the development of Chinese writing of history.[47] Under the influence of evolutionary concepts of history, he and many others, such as Xia Cengyou and Liu Yizheng,[48] adopted the Western tripartite periodization of ancient, medieval, and modern history, envisaging history as a process with nation-states as its subject. China thus became one among many nations, joining a global world of competing nation-states in which it had to fight for survival and hence prove itself.

In his seminal work, *Xin shixue* [New Historiography] (1902), Liang portrayed history as progressive and governed by laws of causality accessible to human understanding; this enabled Liang to incorporate China into the universal course of history and hence to anticipate the future, providing him and his contemporaries with clear guidelines for political action. However, before long the downside of this progressivist view became clear. Incorporating China into a universal and deterministic course of history created manifold problems. If all nations were proceeding along the same, more or less deterministic historical lines, some more advanced, some lagging behind, and if this course of history was governed by universally uniform causality, how then could China ever overcome its backwardness and catch up? Wasn't it condemned to eternal backwardness? Besides, the national identity of a China that now had become part of a universal process of history was hard to pin down. References to national heroes representing this universal course of history were not sufficient to provide a ground for a particular Chinese identity.[49] The questions as to what constituted Chineseness and what political form the new nation should adopt were difficult to answer.[50]

In line with his new view of history, Liang criticized traditional Chinese historiography as focusing too much on the imperial court and the ruling family, and being unable to write more than a record of imperial words and deeds, a sort of

[47] Chang Hao, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890–1907* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); and Joseph R. Levenson, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953).

[48] Tze-ki Hon, 'Cultural Identity and Local Self-Government: A Study of Liu Yizheng's *History of Chinese Culture*', *Modern China*, 30:4 (2004), 506–42.

[49] Tang Xiaobing, *Global Space and the Nationalist Discourse of Modernity: The Historical Thinking of Liang Qichao* (Stanford, 1996).

[50] Axel Schneider, *Wahrheit und Geschichte: Zwei chinesische Historiker auf der Suche nach einer modernen Identität für China* (Wiesbaden, 1997).

imperial genealogy but not a modern national history. The traditional writing of history thus could not instigate feelings of national pride in the populace. Along with many intellectuals of that period, Liang advocated a new national history based on universal ideas such as citizenship, popular sovereignty, and constitutional monarchy, rather than on criteria of a particular race or culture.[51] In other words, he envisaged the Chinese nation as racially inclusive, defined by politics and the inherited territory of the Qing dynasty; in essence, Liang's vision of the Chinese nation was predominantly that of a state-nation.

During the first years of the twentieth century Zhang Taiyan, a contemporary of Liang Qichao, presented a radically different approach, one influenced by Old Text Confucianism.[52] Around the time that Liang published his *Xin shixue*, Zhang saw history not as a universally uniform process governed by causality and progress, but as a realm of human activity that could not be subsumed under universal laws, a process that was characterized by contingent events and was ultimately unique. History was distinctive for each nation, and could not be researched by applying universal laws or be integrated into world historical schemes.[53] The study of history, in contrast to the study of social sciences, therefore, could not provide clear guidelines for future political action.[54]

Rather than applying general schemes of universal historical development, Zhang demanded to use the evidential methodology of the early Qing Han Studies and apply it to history. Yet, in doing so, he went far beyond the aims of the Han Studies. Quite an iconoclast, his aim was not to restore the classics to their original state, but to historicize them thoroughly, treating them as sources for history rather than as sources of normativity, and he broadened the scope of Chinese culture beyond orthodox Confucianism so as to include hitherto heterodox trends as, for example, the Masters of the Zhou Dynasty.

However, Zhang underwent a fundamental shift just a few years later. He was one of the first Chinese historians who radically doubted the modern Western views of linear, progressive history. Under the influence of Yogacārā Buddhism, he relied on the notion of 'suchness' or 'true thusness' (Chinese: *zhēnrú*; Sanskrit: *tathatā*). 'Thusness' indicates the absolute 'reality', which transcends the multitude of forms in the phenomenal world. All phenomena are viewed as empty and thus without substance, movement, or evolution. From this perspective, history as a karmic process is characterized by suffering caused by deluded impulses and afflictions, and has to be overcome. In 1906 Zhang thus ultimately negated history.[55]

[51] Chang, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China*.

[52] Wang Young-tsu, *Search for Modern Nationalism: Zhang Binglin and Revolutionary China, 1869–1936* (Hong Kong, 1989).

[53] Zhang Taiyan, *Yinduren zhi lun guocui* (1908), reprinted in *Zhang Taiyan quanji*, 6 vols. (Shanghai, 1982–86), iv. 366–7.

[54] Id., *Zhongguo tongshi lüelie* (1902), reprinted ibid., iii. 328–32.

[55] Viren Murthy, 'The Myriad Things Stem from Confusion: Nationalism, Ontology and Resistance in the Philosophy of Zhang Taiyan', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2007.

Based on this understanding of the nature of history, Zhang Taiyan's Chinese nation was defined by racial traits and rooted in its particular, historically grown culture. Zhang opposed the Qing dynasty and accused the Manchus of having suppressed the Chinese nation, eliminated the memory of its history, and thus deprived it of its vitality. For some time his notion of revolution resembled much more the traditional concept of a change of Mandate of Heaven as he was asking for the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty and the restoration of the Ming Dynasty, that is a Han Chinese dynasty.[56]

Parallel to these early systematic engagements with, and refutations of, Western theories of history and historiography, the first modern histories of China were written. Mostly adaptations from Japanese publications, these textbooks were the first attempts at a general history of China, written in a new style and structurally modelled along the lines of the typical Western tripartite periodization. Liu Yizheng's *Lidai shilüe* [A Brief Historical Account of Different Periods] of 1902, which was an adaptation of Naka Michiyo's *Shina tsūshi* [A General History of China] of 1899, and Xia Cengyou's *Zhongxue Zhongguo lishi jiaokeshu* [History Textbook for Middle Schools] of 1906–7,[57] were both widely used as textbooks at the new schools and in history departments at the modern universities in China which were established in the wake of the reform movement of 1898.

During and immediately after the First World War, domestic and international, academic and political developments triggered a new phase of change in Chinese concepts and practice of historiography. The discovery of new historical sources, the New Culture Movement in China (from *c.*1915 until 1922/3), with its increasing reception of recent Western ideas, the partial disillusionment with the West as a consequence of the First World War, and the growing importance of the social question in the wake of the revolutionary movements of the 1920s, transformed the historiographical landscape profoundly.

Since the late nineteenth century many new types of textual and material sources had been discovered and thus new avenues of research had been opened. The reception of the discipline of archaeology further strengthened these developments in the 1920s and led to far-reaching reinterpretations, especially in the field of ancient Chinese history.[58] New written sources included material such as oracle bone inscriptions dating back to the Shang dynasty (eighteenth–eleventh century BC); bamboo and wooden slips, mostly from the Han dynasty; the script rolls from Dunhuang; and the materials from the Ming and Qing inner cabinet, as well as many historical sources in the languages of north and central Asian people which had hitherto gone unnoticed. These new materials enabled Chinese

[56] Wang Fansen, *Zhang Taiyan de sixiang ji qi dui ruxue chuantong de chongji* (Taibei, 1985).

[57] Xia Cengyou's, *Zhongxue Zhongguo lishi jiaokeshu* was later published as *Zhongguo gudaishi* (Shanghai, 1933).

[58] Philip L. Kohl, 'Nationalism and Archaeology: On the Constructions of Nations and the Reconstructions of the Remote Past', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 27 (1998), 223–46.

historians to take up important questions such as the issue of the exact chronology of the kings of the Yin-Shang dynasty, deciphered by the famous Wang Guowei on the basis of oracle bone inscriptions,[59] or the reconstruction of the geographic movement of the Yin capitals by Fu Sinian.[60]

Encouraged by the previous generation of critical historians such as Zhang Taiyan, and the iconoclasm of the May Fourth Movement, young historians started to question Chinese history, as it had hitherto been understood, to an unprecedented extent. This movement under the leadership of Gu Jiegang, which soon came to be known as the School of the Doubters of Antiquity, deconstructed the inherited vision of China's ancient history as a fabrication.[61] Claiming that later historiographers had faked documents, Gu developed his theory of ancient history in layers, arguing that tier after tier of faked history had been piled up. Later generations of historiographers added new, seemingly older versions of history to previous fabrications to serve their master's political needs, thus leading to a constant extension of Chinese history into an ever more remote past. By deconstructing these falsifications, the doubters of antiquity continued the work of their predecessors in demythologizing the once highly normative Golden Age that for two millennia had served as the historical point of reference for the political and social ideals of state Confucianism.

Although immediately criticized for irresponsible use of sources and for building his theory largely based on conjectures, Gu soon went beyond the level of a textual critique of historical sources. He developed his theory by linking it to the political interests of the social groups involved, arguing that it was the scholar-officials who defended their and the court's interests. In line with this anti-elitist view of history, Gu became one of the founders of ethnographic studies of folk culture, collecting, for instance, songs of the common people. His Chinese nation was to be rooted in history, as had been the case with many of his predecessors; however, it was a very different history, as Gu largely referred to the masses and the positive influence of barbarian tribes that, time and again, had conquered China and made important contributions to its history. Although not a communist, Gu nevertheless sympathized with leftist historians and remained on the mainland after the communist takeover in 1949.[62]

Originally iconoclastic comrades-in-arms of the May Fourth Movement, Hu Shi and his student Fu Sinian departed ways with Gu Jiegang, putting more

[59] Joey Bonner, *Wang Kuo-wei: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 177–90.

[60] Fu Sinian, 'Yixia dongxi shuo', *Waipian 1, qingzhu Cai Yuanpei xiansheng liushiwu sui lunwenji* (1935), 1093–134. For Fu Sinian see Wang Fan-sen, *Fu Ssu-nien: A Life in Chinese History and Politics* (Cambridge, 2000); and Schneider, *Wahrheit und Geschichte*.

[61] Lawrence A. Schneider, *Ku Chieh-kang and China's New History: Nationalism and the Quest for Alternative Traditions* (Berkeley, 1971); and for these articles see Gu Jiegang, *Gushibian*, 7 vols. (Shanghai, 1926–40).

[62] Ursula Richter, *Zweifel am Altertum: Gu Jiegang und die Diskussion über Chinas alte Geschichte als Konsequenz der 'Neuen Kulturbewegung' ca. 1915–1923* (Frankfurt, 1992).

emphasis on the correct scientific methodology of historical research, demanding that historians should stay aloof from politics to safeguard their independence and objectivity. Hu Shi's National Studies Movement (*zhengli guogu*) set out to re-evaluate China's past with the help of modern scientific methods.[63] As a student of John Dewey, Hu Shi adopted the genetic method to study how things developed historically. Preferring the experimental method over other tenets of Dewey's pragmatism, such as the emphasis on the relativity and historicity of truth claims, Hu Shi related the methodology of modern historical research to the evidential scholarship (*kaozhengxue*) of the early Qing period and insisted that historians dare to formulate bold hypotheses and then carefully search for evidence. He himself applied the genetic method to the study of the history of Chinese philosophy, excluding large parts of what had hitherto been considered essential elements of early Chinese philosophy because of the absence of reliable evidence.[64]

One of Hu Shi's students, Fu Sinian, who became a very influential historian and academic administrator, propagated an approach to historical studies that is known as the School of Historical Material. This school dominated Chinese historiography on the mainland until 1949 and on Taiwan until the early 1970s. Fu was influenced by positivism and posited a theory of history that limited research to the collection and quantitative analysis of historical sources.[65] He opposed any kind of philosophical speculation or interpretative conclusion, and insisted on a research approach that focused purely on historical sources. Deriving this methodology from Western examples such as the German historical scholarship of Ranke or Heinrich von Treitschke,[66] from Henry Thomas Buckle's geographic-climatic approach to history, and from early Qing evidential scholarship, Fu demanded that the historian let the sources speak for themselves, which later earned him the reputation of being the Chinese Ranke.[67] Inheriting Zhang Taiyan's ideals, Fu strongly opposed any connection between scholarship and politics.

For Fu Sinian, as for Hu Shi, objective science and democracy represented the right values and the trends of the time. Only by adopting both could China hope to modernize and become an equal member of the family of nations. Yet, Fu and Hu were both nevertheless ardent nationalists, as can be seen from Fu's repeated

[63] Hu Shi, 'Yanjiu guogu de fangfa', *Dongfang zazhi*, 18:16 (1921); and id., 'Zhengli guogu yu "dagui" ', *Xiandai pinglun*, 119 (1927), 13–15.

[64] Id., *Zhongguo zhexueshi dagang* (Shanghai, 1919).

[65] Fu Sinian, *Xingming guxun bianzheng* (1940), reprinted in *Fu Sinian quanji*, ii. 491–736.

[66] Id., 'Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo gongzuo zhi zhiqu', *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan*, 1:1 (1928); and id., '"Shiliao yu shixue" fakanci' (1945), in *Fu Sinian quanji*, iv. 1402–4.

[67] Two monographs were especially important for the reception of Western theories of history: Ernst Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie* (Leipzig, 1908); and Charles Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques* (Paris, 1898). On Buckle's influence see Li Xiaoqian, *Xifang shixue zai Zhongguo de chuanbo, 1882–1949* (Shanghai, 2007), ch. 2.

engagement in nationalist politics, despite his call for objectivity. The tension between the new ideals and the inherited centrality of the historian manifested itself on the occasion of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Wanting to refute Japanese claims to legitimate rule over Manchuria, the nationalist Fu Sinian hastily edited a history of Manchuria in which he set out to prove that this area had been part of the Chinese Empire for centuries.[68] However, he immediately came under attack for relying on spurious sources and for jumping to conclusions on the basis of thin evidence.[69] He had been carried away by his nationalist feelings. The project had to be terminated prematurely and Fu never again ventured into larger historiographical projects.

Fu also played an important role in the further institutionalization and professionalization of historical research during the 1920s and 1930s. In 1928 he became the founding director of the Institute for History and Philology of the Academia Sinica, a national research institution modelled along the lines of French and German examples. In this position he oversaw the groundbreaking excavations of the Yin capital near Anyang that proved the historicity of the Shang dynasty, and initiated many other archaeological and historiographical projects.

During the 1920s many academic journals were founded and, in addition to existing departments of history, research institutes for Chinese history and culture were established at many universities such as at Beijing University, Tsinghua University, and Sun Yatsen University. Increasingly, historians with modern training returned to China from Japan, the United States, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, and the output of research articles and graduate students reached impressive proportions during the 1930s.

Yet, these developments did not lead to a uniform historiographical field. In the wake of the May Fourth Movement and in the context of growing Chinese disillusionment with Western powers during and after the First World War, historiographical trends with a 'conservative' and a leftist orientation gained ground and influenced the writing of history after the 1920s.

Between 1922 and the early 1940s several historians started to write histories of China that relied on varying aspects of China's traditional culture to define the core of the Chinese nation. Liu Yizheng published the first instalment of his *Zhongguo wenhuashi* [History of Chinese Culture] in 1926, Qian Mu published his *Guoshi dagang* [Outline of Chinese History] in 1940, followed by Chen Yinque and his publications on the history of the Sui and Tang dynasties.[70] All three differed in the way they referred to aspects of China's traditional culture. Liu Yizheng broadened the scope of Confucian culture to include other aspects

[68] Fu Sinian, *Dongbei shigang* (Beijing, 1932).

[69] Miao Fenglin, 'Ping Fu Sinian jun dongbei shigang juanshou', *Zhongyang daxue wenyi congkan*, 1:2 (1934), 131–63.

[70] Chen Yinque, *Sui Tang zhidu yuanyuan lüelungao* (place unknown, 1942); and id., *Tangdai zhengzhishi shulungao* (n.p., 1943).

and made it the product of the creativity of the Chinese people rather than just of a few sages; Qian Mu relied heavily on orthodox Confucianism to circumscribe the Chinese nation; while Chen Yinque related to the Confucian social ethics of the Three Bonds and Five Relationships to identify the spirit of the Chinese nation.

None of the three can be called conservative in the sense of wanting to conserve or even restore a bygone socio-political order. All were aware that China had changed and aimed at defining the Chinese nation in terms different from the mainstream modernizers who primarily focused on political (modern, in some cases also democratic nation-state) and territorial aspects (i.e. boundaries of the Qing dynasty). And all three emphasized the particularity of Chinese history and culture as the basis for a modern Chinese national identity, and subsequently developed hermeneutic methodologies of historical research that resembled in some aspects the theory and methodology of European historicism of the late nineteenth century.[71] Positing a shared human nature (Liu Yizheng) or the need for empathetic understanding and shared existential experiences (Chen Yinque), these historians attempted to rescue cherished elements of Chinese traditional culture and integrate them into their vision of the Chinese nation, present and future.

Tormented by a desire to protect some elements of traditional culture and the imminent threat of their destruction by the progressive march of history, some of these historians were also the first to develop a fundamental critique of the modern Western progressivist view of linear history. Already at the beginning of the twentieth century, Zhang Taiyan, based on Yogācāra Buddhist tenets, had expressed a thorough critique of linear history debunking it as illusionary. Historians could hardly work with that. In the 1920s Liang Qichao, influenced by neo-Kantianism and Buddhism, rejected his earlier views and propagated a view of history denying determinism and limiting progress to the development of a world of free and equal nations. In all other areas of human activity he doubted progress and causality, and emphasized instead free will.[72] However, he was still a nationalist firmly committed to building a strong and modern nation-state with its particular Chinese culture.

It was Liu Yizheng's critique of progressivism that went far beyond the reconfiguration of history into a non-progressive, non-linear history of particular cultures and nations, as was the case with Liang Qichao. He went back to traditional Confucian sources and the *Yijing* [Classic of Changes], not only questioning the modern Western notion of history as a linear, progressive process but even under-

[71] For Chen's methodological statements see his 'Feng Youlan Zhongguo zhexueshi shangce shencha baogao' (1930), in *Chen Yinque xiansheng wenji*, 5 vols. (Taibei, 1982), ii. 247–9, 250–2. For Qian Mu see his *Guoshi dagang* (Changsha, 1940). For Liu Yizheng see his *Guoshi yaoyi* (Shanghai, 1948).

[72] Liang Qichao, 'Zhongguo lishi yanjiufa bubian' (1926–27), in *Yinbingshi zhuanji*, 10 vols. (Taibei, 1972), i. 1–176.

mining its very nature as an impersonal process determining—or at least confining—the fate of mankind. He replaced modern history understood as a collective singular (History) with the pre-modern notion of history as the manifestation of a moral cosmic order. The realization of this order in actual human society belonged to the tasks to which the historian had to make a contribution through a process of self-cultivation and appropriate recording of history.[73] Liu was a rare and marginal case of fundamental opposition against the modern view of history; however, his book influenced later Chinese engagement with Western philosophy of history, especially that of G. W. F. Hegel.

The Marxists represented a third strand of views of history and historiography during that period. Marxist views of history were received in China during the New Culture Movement, without at that time having a relevant impact on political action. It was only during the 1920s, in the wake of the first cooperation between the Nationalists and the Communists, and the acceleration of the revolution during the Northern Expedition, that Marxist views of history started to acquire more political relevance. Society and the masses, as categories of historical analysis, acquired a new urgency when questions of the correct path to revolution became more pressing.[74]

Initially, the Marxist view of history in five stages, each characterized by a different mode of production, was adopted and applied rather rigidly to Chinese history. Marxist historians attempted to fit Chinese history into the universal scheme as expressed by historical materialism, which stipulated that history is driven by the development of the forces of production and characterized by a causal, linear progress towards the next mode of production. This view empowered Chinese Marxists since it provided a comprehensive understanding of history (covering economy, society, politics, and ideology) that seemed to allow them to recognize the revolutionary potential of the current phase of development and to anticipate the future. Marxist historians thus worked with an explicit aim to serve politics by means of the theory of history they expounded.

The concrete application of this view to China was carried out during the debate on China's social history, starting in the mid-1920s. Leading the Marxist interpretation was Guo Moruo, who conducted research on ancient Chinese history with the aim of identifying the correct phase of historical development that China underwent during high antiquity. In his *Zhongguo gudai shehui yanjiu* [Research on China's Ancient Society] (1930), he wanted to prove that the society of the Shang and early Zhou period was one of slave-holders and followed by the

[73] See Liu Yizheng, *Guoshi yaoyi* (Shanghai, 1948). For an analysis of Liu's historiography see Axel Schneider, 'Nation, History and Ethics: The Choices of Post-Imperial Chinese Historiography', in Brian Moloughney and Peter Zarrow (eds.), *Transforming History: The Making of a Modern Academic Discipline in Twentieth-Century China* (Hong Kong, forthcoming).

[74] Arif Dirlik, *Revolution and History: the Origins of Marxist Historiography in China, 1919–1937* (Berkeley, 1978).

feudalistic late Zhou period. Criticized for misreading the sources, he had to revise this interpretation, now stipulating that the beginning of feudalism in China had to be identified with the early Han dynasty. A rather trivial shift at first glance, these interpretative details were important as they had implications for the continuing debate on the nature of current Chinese society. While Stalin insisted that China was still in the feudal phase and hence first had to undergo a phase of United Front policy to fight imperialism, Leon Trotsky argued that China was a society already in the capitalist stage and in need of a communist revolution by overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

Less deterministic in their understanding of Chinese history but equally influenced by Marxist ideas and categories, were historians who were associated with the left wing of the Nationalists. Tao Xisheng, in his *Zhongguo shehui zhi shi de fenxi* [Analysis of the History of Chinese Society] (1929), and others were more flexible in their understanding of Chinese history and saw it as deviating significantly from the Marxist orthodoxy's five stages of history. Rather than arguing for a rigidly class-based analysis, they saw Chinese society, past and present, as a mixture of different modes of production and characterized by complicated alliances of different social forces. They interpreted Chinese society of their own time as a coalition of trade capital, landowners, and scholar-officials, which had formed an alliance with imperialism. It was—from a Marxist point of view—this odd alliance that they believed should become the target of Nationalist revolution.[75]

The differences between orthodox Marxists and these leftist historians also became manifest in their respective views of the role of theory and the historian. Guo represented a rather deterministic model of historical development and assigned to the historian the principal task of bringing about social change via his anticipatory capacities, based on the correct theory and thorough research of the past. Tao, in contrast, stood much more for an understanding of Marxist theory as a source of interpretative and methodological inspiration and was much less willing to subordinate China's particular history to abstract models that, from his point of view, obviously did not fit.

However, before long the issue of the sinicization of Marxism—that is, its adaption to particular Chinese historical, social, and political conditions—was of central concern to Mao Zedong, who intended to establish himself not only as leader of the Chinese Communist Revolution, but also wanted to rebuff Soviet claims to theoretical leadership and political dominance. Fan Wenlan's influential *Zhongguo jindaishi* [History of Modern China], published in its authoritative 1949 version but written mostly during the early 1940s, was part of this process of sinicization driven by theoretical concerns over the applicability of universal

[75] Tao Xisheng, *Zhongguo shehui yu Zhongguo geming* (Shanghai, 1931).

Marxist theory to China and the political interests of a revolutionary party aiming to grasp power.[76]

With the successful Communist Revolution of 1949 the historiographical landscape of China again changed fundamentally. Most of the figureheads of liberal and positivist historiography left the mainland for either the United States or Taiwan decades before their mainland colleagues came under the direct influence of recent Western historical scholarship. Marxist historians continued the debates on the relationship between universal Marxist theory and particular Chinese history, most of the time directly involved in, and victims of, the political struggles of the first three decades of the People's Republic of China. The camp of culturally more conservative historians and the leftists associated with the left wing of the Nationalists became scattered. Some stayed on the mainland to find themselves suffering during the Cultural Revolution; others left sooner or later for Hong Kong, Taiwan, or the West.[77]

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

China

1839–42	Opium Wars
1895	First Sino-Japanese War
1898	100 Day Reforms
1900	Boxer Uprising
1905	Revolutionary Alliance established, precursor of the Nationalists
1911	Revolution of 1911
1919	May Fourth Incident
1921	Establishment of the Chinese Communist Party
1924–7	First Cooperation between the Nationalists and the Chinese Communists
1927/8	Northern Expedition
1931	Mukden Incident
1937–45	Second Sino-Japanese War

Japan

1868	Meiji *ishin*
1881–4	Freedom and Popular Rights Movement
1889	Promulgation of the Meiji Constitution

[76] Li Huaiyin, 'Between Tradition and Revolution: Fan Wenlan and the Origins of the Marxist Historiography of Modern China', *Modern China*, 36:3 (2010), 269–301.

[77] See Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, 'Chinese Historical Writing Since 1949', in Axel Schneider and Daniel Woolf (eds.), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 5: *Historical Writing Since 1945* (Oxford, 2011), 615–36.

1904–5	Russo-Japanese War
1910	Korea annexed
1912	Taisho era begins
1922	Japan Communist Party founded (and immediately outlawed)
1925	Universal Manhood Suffrage
1925	Peace Preservation Law
1926	Showa era begins
1932	Manchukuo founded

KEY HISTORICAL SOURCES

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Guo Moruo, *Zhongguo gudai shehui yanjiu* (Shanghai, 1930).

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Chapter 25

The Birth of Academic Historical Writing in India

Dipesh Chakrabarty

COLONIAL AND POPULAR ORIGINS OF 'INDIAN' HISTORY

The origins of modern historical writing in India have deeply to do with the ease with which authors, both European and Indian, blended different genres from the very beginning of colonial rule. It was, however, in the first part of the twentieth century that the academic historian may be said to have made his (I say 'his' advisedly) appearance, challenging the reign of the amateur. The relationship between academic and popular histories in India has been marked by both closeness and tension.

Early East India Company officials who wrote up histories of particular regions of India out of a combination of curiosity and a desire for fair governance often depended on already-existing genres of narratives about the past and absorbed these into their own narratives. Consider the case of the eighteenth-century legendary queen of Indore, Ahalya Bai, on whom John Malcolm spent about thirty-eight pages in the first volume of his *Memoirs of Central India* (1823). Malcolm found that, like the proverbial peasant in modern historiography, the queen was more remembered than documented.[1] This fact forced Malcolm to become one of the earliest students of modern Indian history to use as sources what he knew to be 'legends' and 'anecdotes', the stuff of 'oral history', or, even better, 'memory'.[2] Similarly, James Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas* (1826) was based, in part, on information supplied by one Abdool Hoosain Qazee, 'a venerable and sensible old man, the most respectable person now in Beejapore'. Duff wrote: 'He is full

[1] I should qualify my statement by saying that even within India, many different traditions of documentation reigned. Muslim rulers, for instance, were frequently well documented. Ahalya Bai was documented too but Malcolm appears not to have found the relevant documents.

[2] Major-General Sir John Malcolm, GCB, KLS, *A Memoir of Central India Including Malwa, and Adjoining Provinces, with the History and Copious Illustrations of the Past and Present Condition of That Country*, 2 vols. (1823; 3rd edn, London, 1832), i. 183 n., 192–3.

of legendary information, and on . . . conversing with him, in the midst of lofty domes and falling palaces, one fancies himself in company with the last of the inhabitants of that wonderful place.'[3] Similar comments have been made on James Tod, who, in his classic *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1884), borrowed equally from his knowledge of European medieval history and from the bardic poems and ballads about Rajput clans.[4]

The writings of these early colonial officials-cum-historians, and the general interest of many nineteenth-century British administrators in scholarly investigation into the country's past, led many Indians to write or compile, or at least to patronize the compilation and the writing of, histories of particular regions and localities. The tradition continued through the nineteenth century. Kaviraj Shyamaldas, the famous author of *Vir Vinod* (1886), a compilation of the history of Mewar in Rajasthan, found his inspirations in Tod's *Annals*. So did his twentieth-century successor-historian, Gaurishanker Hirachand Ojha.[5] Grant Duff's use of pre-British Maratha chronicles, *bakhars*, remains a point of reference for Maratha historians even today.[6] The Bengali antiquarian Rajendralal Mitra remained in conversation with colonial administrator-scholars throughout his career. Sita Ram Kohli of Punjab owed his inspiration to a visit to Lahore by the prominent British historian Ramsay Muir in 1913–14.[7] The administrator-scholar Edward Gait's 1906 publication, *History of Assam*, had a tremendous influence on the scholarship and imagination of young Assamese historians.[8] Examples could be multiplied.

In the twentieth century, however, nationalism divided British and Indian historians along predictable lines. Even the best among the nineteenth-century British administrator-scholars in India, Eric Stokes once wrote, had two aims: first, 'to discredit the Whig interpretation of Indian history which had taught that the founders of British rule were stained by greed, fraud, and innocent blood'; and second, to 'demonstrate that it [British dominion] was the result of long-working forces and was an inseparable part of the history of Europe and of Britain'.[9] This 'continued to be the mainspring of later administrator historians, of Vincent Smith and the archivists Foster, Forrest, Hill, or of Lovett and his

[3] James Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, 3 vols. (1826; Bombay, 1878), i. 82–4 n.

[4] See Sukumar Bhattacharya, 'James Tod', in S. P. Sen (ed.), *Historians and Historiography in Modern India* (Calcutta, 1973), 416–23.

[5] G. N. Sharma, 'Kaviraj Shaymaldas', in Sen (ed.), *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, 281–90; and M. S. Jain, 'Gaurishanker Hirachand Ojha', ibid., 291–304.

[6] See Sumit Guha, 'Speaking Historically: The Changing Voices of Historical Narration in Western India', *American Historical Review*, 109:4 (2004), 1084–103.

[7] Fauja Siingh, 'Sita Ram Kohli', in Sen (ed.), *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, 250–64. On Rajendralal Mitra see Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, *Indian Historiography and Rajendralal Mitra* (Calcutta, 1976), esp. ch. 2.

[8] Arupjyoti Saikia, 'History, *Buranjis*, and Nation: Suryya Kumar Bhuyan's Histories in Twentieth-Century Assam', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 45:4 (2008), 473–507.

[9] E. T. Stokes, 'The Administrators and Historical Writing in India', in C. H. Philips (ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (London, 1961), 403.

colleagues in the *Cambridge History of India*' in the twentieth century.[10] Thus Henry Dodwell's Preface to the fourth volume of the *Cambridge History of India*, published in the 1930s, could see the Great Rebellion of 1857—one that Indians had already come to see as their 'First War of Independence'—only as India's 'first [ungrateful] answer' to the 'benevolent changes' brought about by British rule. 'In the ultimate analysis that movement was a Brahminical reaction against influences which, given free play, would revolutionize the mental, moral, and social conditions of the country.'[11] Similarly, Sir Verney Lovett's popular book, *A History of the Indian Nationalist Movement* (1920), dismissed Gandhi's non-cooperation movement with the comment: 'It is directed by men who thoroughly understand how to play on the pathetic gullibility of the masses and the uncritical, easily aroused ardour of the youth of the educated classes... Their object is to subvert the central and provincial British-cum-Indian Governments and Councils recently established by law.'[12]

Indeed, Stokes saw this division around nationalism as somewhat inevitable: 'When the whole case against their [the British historians'] obvious bias and national prepossession has been made, it has yet to be shown that there is any adequate alternative to national pride and prejudice for keeping alive an active interest in Indian history in this country.'[13] T. G. P. Spear and A. L. Basham have made similar remarks in their essays on modern histories of India.[14] Basham cites the case of Vincent Smith, who had worked in the Indian Civil Service from 1869 to 1900 and whose books *Early History of India* (1904, with second and third editions in 1908 and 1914, and a fourth edition after his death, in 1924), *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (1911), and the *Oxford History of India* (1919) were popular texts in India. Smith admired objectivity as a value but remained 'a lamentable failure' at it as he had an undying faith that India's inherent tendency towards chaos could only be kept in check by a despotic force such as the imperial British.[15] By the same token, Basham also mentions, as examples of partisan histories, nationalist arguments claiming for India an ancient capacity for democratic self-rule made in texts such as K. P. Jayaswal's hugely successful *Hindu Polity* (1918) and *History of India, 150 to A.D. 350* (1933), or in R. K. Mukerjee's *Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity* (1912), *Fundamental Unity of India* (1914), *Local Government in Ancient India* (1919), and R. D. Banerji's *Age of the Imperial*

[10] Stokes, 'The Administrators and Historical Writing in India'.

[11] H. H. Dodwell (ed.), *Cambridge History of India*, vol. 6: *The Indian Empire, 1858–1918* (1932; Delhi, 1964), pp. v–vi.

[12] Sir Verney Lovett, *A History of the Indian Nationalist Movement* (1920; London, 1968); preface to the 3rd edn (1921), no page numbers given.

[13] Stokes, 'The Administrators and Historical Writing in India', 403.

[14] A. L. Basham, 'Modern Historians of Ancient India', in C. H. Philips (ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (London, 1961), 260–93; and T. G. P. Spear, 'British Historical Writing in the Era of the Nationalist Movement', ibid., 404–15.

[15] Basham, 'Modern Historians of Ancient India', 268, 271. See also R. C. Majumdar's essay, 'Nationalist Historians', in the same volume, 418, for a nationalist critique of Smith.

Guptas (1933).[16] Partisanship also often marked the varieties of caste, regional, or Hindu or Muslim histories that proliferated in the 1930s and 1940s.[17]

This twentieth-century historiography and its fault lines have been adequately discussed and analysed in several books and collections of essays.[18] I will not repeat the exercise here. I will instead ask another question: How did the writing of Indian history attain an academic status and distinguish itself from histories in the popular domain?

It has recently been said that 'the site of modern Indian socio-economic and political thinking and contestation was not the university' but public life in general because the colonial university, the argument runs, was an institution created primarily to 'attribute cognitive authority to western civilization exclusively' and to transmit, passively, knowledge produced in the West. Indian thought on society and the social sciences, it is said, was therefore moulded in the informality of public life.[19] While this statement is broadly true, it can also be seen with little reflection that no academic subject worth its name could emerge in the modern world without the blessings of the institution called the university. History was not a university subject in India at the postgraduate level until after the First World War. The first postgraduate department for the study of modern and medieval history was created by the University of Calcutta in 1919 and most graduate-level history departments in other universities were established in the 1920s and 1930s. The precarious nature of the profession in its early days may be seen in the fact that the sole journal representing the discipline in India, the *Journal of Indian History*, brought out initially in 1921–2 from the University of Allahabad, ran into trouble in the third year of its existence because of the 'lack of support' from the authorities and survived by being relocated to Madras, where it was edited and rescued by the archaeologist Dr S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar of the University of Madras.[20]

There were two other obstacles in the path of progress of the discipline. British universities did not take much of an interest in Indian history until the second half of the twentieth century. And the colonial government was reluctant to open up records for perusal by Indian students of Indian history.

[16] Basham, 'Modern Historians of Ancient India', 283–4.

[17] See, for instance, Peter Hardy, 'Modern Muslim Historical Writing on Medieval Muslim India', in Philips (ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, 295–309.

[18] See, for instance, Philips (ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*; S. P. Sen. (ed.), *Historians and Historiography in Modern India* (Calcutta, 1973); and A. R. Kulkarni (ed.), *History in Practice* (New Delhi, 1993).

[19] Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, 'Introduction: New Approaches to Indian Thought in Relation to the Social Sciences in Modern India', in Sabyasachi Bhattacharya (ed.), *Development of Modern Indian Thought and the Social Sciences*, vol. 10, part 5 of D. P. Chattopadhyyaya (gen. ed.), *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization* (Delhi, 2007), pp. xxvii–xxviii.

[20] 'Ourselves', *Journal of Indian History*, 4:1–3 (1926), 1.

POPULAR AND 'SCIENTIFIC' HISTORIES

The cult of 'scientific history' began in India in the 1880s and more seriously in the 1900s amidst what could only be described as enormous public 'enthusiasm for history'. The expression 'enthusiasm for history' is not mine. The poet Rabindranath Tagore used it in an essay he wrote in 1899 in the literary magazine *Bharati*, welcoming the decision of Akshaykumar Maitreya (a pioneering amateur historian) to bring out a journal called *Oitihashik chitra* [Historical Vignettes] from Rajshashi in northern Bengal (now in Bangladesh).[21] Tagore was right in describing his own times. A host of young Bengali scholars had begun to take an interest in the past and in debating ways of accessing it: Akshaykumar Maitreya, Dineshchandra Sen, Rajendralal Mitra, Rakhaldas Bandyopadhayay, Jadunath Sarkar, and others come to mind. There were, similarly, a bunch of 'amateur' scholars taking an active interest in regional history in western India: V. K. Rajwade, D. B. Parasnis, V. V. Khare, K. N. Sane, R. G. Bhandarkar, G. S. Sardesai, and others. They worked on and from a variety of sources ranging from old literature to family genealogies, sculptures, and coins; they debated among themselves 'scientific' ways of studying the past; but they were all votaries of the new science of history.[22] The idea that history could be a subject of 'research'—and the very conception of 'research' itself—was a new concept.[23] The English word 'research' was actually translated into Bengali and Marathi in the first decade of the twentieth century and incorporated into names of organizations such as the Varendra Anusandhan Samiti (Varendra Research Society) established in Rajshashi in 1910 and the Bharat Itiahas Samshodhak Mandal (Association of Researchers in Indian History), founded in Poona in the same year. The Bengali word '*anusandhan*' was a piece of neologism translating literally the English word 'research', while '*samshodhak*' in Marathi meant 'researcher'.[24] K. P. Jayaswal and others would set up the Bihar and Orissa Research Society—later Bihar Research Society—in 1914.[25] The

[21] Tagore cited in Prabodhchandra Sen, *Bangalir itihash shadhona* (Calcutta, 1953/4), 36.

[22] See Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories* (New York, 2004), chs. 4 and 5; Prachi Deshpande, *Creative Pasts: Historical Memory and Identity in Western India, 1700–1960* (New York, 2007); Shyamali Sur, *Itihash chintar shuchona o jatiyotabader unmesh: bangla 1870–1912* (Calcutta, 2002); Gautam Bhadra, *Jal rajar golpo* (Calcutta, 2002); and Kumkum Chatterjee, 'The King of Controversy: History and Nation-Making in Late Colonial India', *American Historical Review*, 110:5 (2005), 1454–75.

[23] Arjun Appadurai stoked my interest in the history of the idea of research.

[24] On the history of these two organizations see Nirmalchandra Choudhuri, *Akshaykumar Maitreya: jibon o shadhona* (Darjeeling, 1984?), ch. 1 on Varendra Research Society. For the Poona Mandal see the brief remarks of Jadunath Sarkar in his *Maratha Jaitya Bikash* (Calcutta, 1936/7), 44; and Deshpande, *Creative Pasts*, 117–19.

[25] B. P. Sinha, 'Kashi Prasad Jayaswal', in Sen (ed.), *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, 83.

Varendra Anusandhan Samiti inspired the foundation of a similar association for historical research in Assam—the Kamrup Anusandhan Samiti, which was set up in 1912.[26]

Recent research has proved beyond doubt that in their new-found enthusiasm for history, many of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writers often combined literary and other genres to produce romantic and affectionate accounts of the glories of the pasts of different groups in India.[27] Guha has shown how the Marathi tradition of writing historical chronicles called *bakhars*—narratives that mixed genealogical myths and dynastic pride with factual material and that originated in the context of 'judicial disputes over heritable property' in pre-British western India—was adapted in the nineteenth century to produce histories of the Maratha people and the region they lived in.[28] Saikia cites Suryya Kumar Bhuyan, the doyen of modern Assamese history, declaring in 1926—that is, almost a decade before he proceeded to London to do a Ph.D. in Indian history under Professor H. H. Dodwell (see below)—that 'the study of *buranji* [traditional Assamese court chronicles] should be aimed at to [*sic*] introduce our past glory before the civilised world'.[29] Chatterjee has documented for Bengal the struggle in the early twentieth century between scholars (such as R. C. Majumdar and Rakhaldas Bandyopadhyay) who denounced the available versified genealogies of well-known families as unreliable sources for writing history, and those—like Dineshchandra Sen, for instance—who continued to depend on emotions evoked by literary and other representations of the past for experiencing 'truly' nationalist ties to history.[30]

Academic history emerged out of such enthusiasm for history that expressed itself in an outburst of literary activity throughout the subcontinent, in genres that blended the new with the old, and out of intellectual debates they gave rise to in the first half of the twentieth century. My point is that academic history could never completely tear itself away from the popular, though the two remained in permanent tension with each other. In the last part of this chapter, I shall try to demonstrate this by focusing on the correspondence between a Bengali and a Marathi historian. But before turning to that story, I want briefly to touch on some larger constraints that affected the development of academic history in India.

[26] Saikia, 'History, *Buranjis*, and Nation', 481.

[27] See Guha, 'Speaking Historically'; Chatterjee, 'The King of Controversy'; Saikia, 'History, *Buranjis*, and Nation'; and Rosinka Chaudhuri, 'History in Poetry: Nabinchandra Sen's *Palashir Yudhha* and the Question of Truth', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 66:4 (2007), 897–918. Prachi Deshpande's *Creative Pasts* and Kumkum Chatterjee's *The Cultures of History in Early Modern India: Persianization and Mughal Culture in Bengal* (Delhi, 2009) are two book-length treatments of the subject.

[28] Guha, 'Speaking Historically', 1090, 1097–101.

[29] Saikia, 'History, *Buranjis*, and Nation', 490.

[30] Chatterjee, 'The King of Controversy', 1464. See also my 'Romantic Archives: Literature and the Politics of Identity in Bengal', *Critical Inquiry*, 30 (2004), 654–83.

BRITISH ACADEMIC NEGLECT OF INDIAN HISTORY

There were very few properly academic historians in Europe or Britain writing Indian history in the period 1900–50. The subject attained a certain degree of respectability with the publication of the five volumes—the projected second volume was never published—of the *Cambridge History of India* between 1922 and 1938. But these were produced mostly by old India-hands: British administrators who had served in India and who had turned scholars either on the side or on retirement.[31] The first volume on ancient history was not very historical in approach. E. J. Rapson, who edited it, was a Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Cambridge and much in the volume concerned questions of philology. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, who planned the fourth volume but died before it went to press and who edited and wrote seventeen of the twenty-three chapters in volume three on 'Turks and Afghans', was a retired army officer who later worked as Lecturer in Persian at the School of Oriental Studies at the University of London. Professor Henry Dodwell, the editor of volumes five and six, had worked in the Indian Education Service and was appointed, on retirement, the first Professor of the History and Culture of the British Dominions in Asia at the School of Oriental Studies. The only two historians to contribute from India were Sir Jadunath Sarkar in volume four and S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar, Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, and Fellow of the University of Madras, who wrote a chapter for volume three.[32]

The autobiography and other writings of Sir Cyril Philips, a pioneer among twentieth-century British academic historians of India who rose to be the Vice-Chancellor of the University of London after the Second World War, clearly conveys a sense of how marginal Indian history was in Britain between the two world wars. 'In England Chairs of Arabic had existed at Oxford and Cambridge since the seventeenth century', recounts Philips in his short history of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London.[33] Sanskrit and Chinese began to be taught from the middle of the nineteenth century. Indian history, however, was not taught at a British university until the formation of the School of Oriental (from 1938, 'Oriental and African') Studies in 1917 when Dr Denison Ross, 'who had served with distinction in the Indian Education Service', was appointed its first Director.[34] The first professor of Indian history there—and, it would seem, in Britain itself—was Henry H. Dodwell, who, again,

[31] For a history of why the volume was never published see British Library (BL), Mss. Eur. D 863/27, 863/19, and 863/20A.

[32] *Cambridge History of India*, vols. I, 3–6 (Cambridge, 1922–38).

[33] C. H. Philips, *The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London 1917–1967: An Introduction* (London, n.d.), 10.

[34] Ibid., 14.

had served in India as the Curator of the Madras Records Office and who had written a book on Dupleix and Clive and brought out selections of documents.

Oxford had a Readership in Indian history from at least the early part of the twentieth century.[35] But the position and the subject were both marginal. Besides, Indian history produced in Britain did not yet mean the history of Indian people. It was mostly about the British and their doings in India. William Holden Hutton held this position, for instance, between 1913 and 1920. Hutton's only original contribution to the subject, it would seem, was a volume on *Marquess Wellesley* (1893) in the Rulers of India series, apart from a couple of chapters on the late eighteenth century he contributed to the *Cambridge History*. He moved on to become a lecturer in Ecclesiastical History at Trinity College in Cambridge and published a number of volumes on subjects unrelated to India.[36]

Most of the research students in the 1920s and 1930s working at the School of Oriental Studies in London, says Philips, were Indians who were 'more often than not treated by the staff as second-class citizens'.[37] He offers a telling anecdote about the difficulties he faced when he once attempted to merge seminars in Asian and African histories with the series hosted by 'Professor Galbraith, director of the London Institute of Historical Research' and who, according to Philips, was 'one of its most influential figures'. Confronted against his wishes with Philips' proposal, the professor is said to have asked, 'How many students would you be bringing?' 'About 60,' answered Philips. And this is how the rest of the conversation went:

> 'Where from?' 'Mainly Asia and Africa', I said, upon which, with his face flaring red, he jumped to his feet shouting, 'You would drown us, and anyway I don't want any bloody niggers here!'

Philips left, 'accepting regretfully' that 'seminars on Asia and Africa for the time being at any rate would have to remain within the confines of my own college'.[38]

Later, in fact as late as 1950, Philips mobilized his 'young colleagues at… [SOAS] to join [him] in preparing a *Companion to Oriental History*' with a view to getting it published in the series of handbooks published by the prestigious Royal Historical Society—in order precisely to 'place Asian history firmly within the tradition of British framework of historical study', but his efforts 'came to nothing'.[39] This picture of the early 1950s is confirmed by the reminiscences of Tapan Raychaudhuri, who went to Oxford to pursue a doctoral degree in Indian history.[40]

[35] The Oxford-based historian Tapan Raychaudhuri tells me that this was originally a position in Indian studies.

[36] See the obituary notice in the *American Historical Review*, 36:2 (1931), 460.

[37] C. H. Philips, *Beyond the Ivory Tower: The Autobiography of Sir Cyril Philips* (London and New York, 1995), 45.

[38] Ibid., 163.

[39] Id. (ed.), *Handbook of Oriental History* (London, 1951), p. vii.

[40] Tapan Raychaudhuri, *An Obscure Don* (forthcoming), typescript, 124.

THE COLONIAL STATE AND THE PROBLEM OF SOURCES

The idea that 'scientific' history was based on original documents became increasingly popular in the twentieth century. Ishwari Prasad's D.Litt. thesis from the University of Allahabad was published in 1936 with thanks to *Cambridge History* authors—Dennison Ross, Wolseley Haig, Rushbrook Williams—and with the expression 'original sources' emphasized both in the preface—'I have primarily relied upon original sources'—and in the title: *A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India (Based on Original Sources)*.[41] When Shafaat Ahmad Khan succeeded Rushbrook Williams as professor and head of the newly formed Department of Modern History at the University of Allahabad in 1920, having obtained a D.Litt. from the University of Dublin, he established the first research journal devoted to Indian history, *Journal of Indian History*, which made its debut in 1921. All his life Ahmad understood the 'essential task' of the 'scientific' historian to be the 'collection of material and [its] vigorous examination'.[42] The first few issues of the journal contained regular reports on searches for historical manuscripts carried out by Khan himself, and by some of his colleagues: Pandit Ram Prasad Tripathi, Professor Beni Prasad, and Gurti Venkat Rao. In introducing these reports, Khan commented on the plight of the researcher in India: 'His main difficulties are not lessened by the confused and disorganised condition in which many of the most precious of our national collections are kept . . . He must wend his way circumspectly, if he is not to rouse the suspicions of the moody custodians, and indifferent owners, of historical documents.'[43]

But there were many problems to do with the availability of records, not least the resistance of the colonial government to setting up something like a public archive. Soon after they assumed the formal charge of India in 1858, the British formed a state that required a sense of historical documentation for its daily operation.[44] But the question of throwing open the records of the central and provincial governments in British India was not raised until 1914 when the Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records was published in Britain. The India Office now wanted the Government of India to take responsibility for the use by researchers of their own records.[45] Correspondence that passed in 1913 between the Marquess of Crewe, the Secretary of State for India at the India Office in London, and the Governor of Madras showed clearly that, in so far as the

[41] Ishwari Prasad, *A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India (Based on Original Sources)* (Allahabad, 1936), pp. v–vi.

[42] Shafaat Ahmad Khan cited in M. M. Rahman, *Encyclopedia of Historiography* (Delhi, 2004), 315–16. The biographical details about Khan are also taken from this book.

[43] Shafaat Ahmad Khan, 'Search for Historical Manuscripts in Indian Libraries', *Journal of Indian History*, 1:2, Serial No. 2 (1922), 345–70.

[44] *Indian Historical Records Commission* (hereafter *IHRC*) *Retrospect* (Delhi, 1950), 1

[45] Ibid., 2

administration in India was concerned, the very idea of letting researchers into colonial record-rooms had something unnerving about it.[46]

When Crewe wrote again in February 1914 to the Governor General of India, nudging him to open up records to researchers by pointing out that the records in London were 'largely duplicates of those in India' and that 'it [was] obviously undesirable that there should be any difference . . . between the practice adopted by . . . [the India] Office and that obtaining in India' with regard to researchers in history.[47] A. F. Scholfield, the officer in charge of records in the Imperial Record Department in Calcutta, disagreed strongly. In a note dated 28 April 1914 and addressed to his colleagues and superiors, Scholfield countered Crewe's letter by saying that 'the argument from the Records in the India Office is specious. If the Records in London are the same as those in Calcutta, the "public" is different.' For Indian scholars, in his opinion, had 'no knowledge of what is evidence and how to use it'. 'There is in India', he wrote, 'no Aristocracy of erudition, no school of history; historical research, scientific use of evidence[,] critical scholarship are rarely understood and seldom achieved.'[48] An official letter dated 4 February 1915, addressed to Lord Crewe and signed by the Governor-General and several provincial governors, clarified that there was no question of 'placing the whole [archives] in the hands of the public' as historical research was 'still in its infancy in India'.[49]

Eventually, and under pressure, the Government of India decided to constitute in 1919, not anything like the English Public Record Office in India but an 'Indian Historical Records Commissions' that would consist of both government officials, 'four historians . . . nominated to be "Ordinary Members" by the Government of India'.[50] And so the situation continued for decades. While the government in Delhi did relent a little around 1940 over the question of allowing Indian researchers to consult documents in its custody, the Imperial Records Department created in the 1890s was made into the National Archives of India *only* after Independence in 1947.

In the absence of public archives, both historians and amateur collectors of historical documents turned to the papers in the possession of old historical families in India, including those held by the Princely States. The first volume

[46] National Archives of India, Delhi (hereafter NAI), Imperial Record Department (hereafter IRD), Apr. 1914, Proceeding (hereafter Proc.) No. 53, Letter dated 5 December 1913 from the India Office to His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, Fort St. George [Madras].

[47] NAI, IRD, Apr. 1914, Proc. No. 53, letter dated 27 Feb. 1914 from the India Office to His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

[48] NAI, IRD, Apr. 1914, Proc. No. 53, Note by A. F. Scholfield dated 28 Apr. 1914. For more on Alwyn Faber Scholfield see *IHRC Retrospect*, 48–52.

[49] NAI, IRD, June 1915, Proc. No. 94, and IRD, April 1918, Proc. No. 47, Appendix.

[50] Government of India, Department of Education, Resolution No. 77 (General) dated 21 March 1919, reproduced as Appendix A to *Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings of the Meetings*, vol.1, *First Held in Simla, June* 1919 (Calcutta, 1920).

of the *Journal of Indian History* had an article reporting on 'Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Tour', 'seven weeks in all', of the 'Records Offices of the Indian States'.[51] Historians associated with the Poona Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal (BISM; Association of Researchers in Indian History)—Rajwade, Parasnis, Khare, and others—all scoured the countryside in search of family papers. They collected and published them in their journals and in the journal of the BISM, but their editing and arranging of these documents were often unsatisfactory. While Khare was generally praised for his collections of primary sources, his own book of history, the history of the Ichalkaranji State in Maharashtra, was a text in which he 'forgot his rule as a historian and [wrote] like a poet'.[52] D. B. Parasnis's journal, *Itihas Sangraha* [Collections of History], in which he reprinted old historical documents, ran from 1907 to 1916.[53] Viswanath Kashinath Rajwade, who was perhaps the most remarkable collector of historical documents in early twentieth-century India, published twenty-two volumes of historical records between 1898 and 1921.[54] Yet, as a modern commentator writes, he would only sometimes give the full details of where his sources came from and at other times maintain 'complete silence'. 'For instance', he wrote 'practically not a word by way of introduction to his volumes 9, 12 and 15 to 22.'[55] Of his methods of collecting and preserving documents, Jadunath Sarkar wrote in an obituary: 'In his passion to save and publish the country's history, he disregarded the laws of ownership . . . He carried on his own shoulders the bundles of historical papers he could beg, borrow, or steal (or more correctly wheedle out of ignorant villagers),—and deposited them in secret refuges selected by him.'[56]

But this cult of secrecy was not Rajwade's alone. There was often an intense sense of rivalry between historians over sources available in the collections of historical families in the different Native States generally and in the Maharashtra region in particular. S. R. Tikekar reports that the Poona Mandal was so jealous of guarding its historical findings that 'when someone read a paper about it [documents in BISM's collection] in the Mandal, the practice [was] to allow no one to use the contents of the paper till the Mandal has published it . . . Students taking notes when papers were being read . . . were stopped from doing so.'[57] It is similarly striking how often in the letters they wrote to each other, Sarkar and

[51] *Journal of Indian History*, 1:2, Serial No. 2 (1922), 371–2.

[52] A. M. Vairat, 'Vasudeo Vamanshastri Khare', in Sen (ed.), *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, 218.

[53] V. G. Khobrekar, 'Dattatray Balwant Parasnis', ibid., 209.

[54] G. H. Khare, 'Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade', ibid., 201.

[55] Ibid., 203.

[56] Jadunath Sarkar, 'The Historian Rajwade', *Modern Review* (February 1927), 184.

[57] S. R. Tikekar, *On Historiography: A Study of Methods of Historical Research and Narration of J. N. Sarkar, G. S. Sardesai and P. K. Gode* (Bombay, 1964), 39.

Sardesai would emphasize the need for caution and secrecy to keep others off the scent of old documents.[58]

THE BIRTH OF THE PROSE OF ACADEMIC HISTORY

Out of such messiness and the overlaps between amateur historians writing to glorify some identity and historians like Jadunath Sarkar trying to give history the respectability of a knowledge-form, there gradually emerged the principles of objective, academic histories. The picture, however, was not clear-cut. In this regard, the Sarkar–Sardesai correspondence preserved at the National Library in Calcutta gives us a close-up view of the lines of tension that fractured early Indian debates about the nature of history. The older of the two scholars, Sardesai, remained, after all, an historian who identified with the pride of the Marathas. As he himself said in the last volume of his English work, *The New History of the Marathas*: 'The Marathas have long been misjudged by their rivals . . . as if they had no single good point to their credit.'[59] His relationship with Sarkar was close but not easy. Sarkar was the more influential scholar of the two. His insistence on objectivity and the sheer power of his personality sometimes overwhelmed the older friend. Yet Sardesai both courted and resisted that power; and Sarkar also pulled back sometimes without yielding on his principles of scholarship.

Reading today what Jadunath Sarkar and G. S. Sardesai said to each other in the 1,300 or so of their letters that have survived, one can see what the points of principle were that were at stake in their debates. My point is not to ascertain whether or not Sarkar or Sardesai was right in every pronouncement they made. But one can see how it was through debates like theirs—caught here in the intimate light of friendship—that rules of historical objectivity made their appearance in the history of historical writing in India.

Sarkar was famously against partisan reading of sources. He often found the amateur historian's treatment of sources motivated by all kinds of politics of identity, from nationalist boasts to regional pride, and he found all of these inimical to the true vocation of the historian. Thus he would write to Sardesai in 1940 against the excesses of nationalist historiography: 'The writings of K. P. Jaysawal, though containing a few original documents, are ninety-nine per cent pure

[58] National Library of India (hereafter NLI), Papers of Jadunath Sarkar (hereafter JSP), letter no. 168, from Sarkar, 14 August 1931, Darjeeling. See also my 'Bourgeois Categories Made Global: The Actual and Utopian Lives of Historical Documents in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 25 (2009), 69–75.

[59] Cited in Vasant D. Rao, 'Govind Sakharam Sardesai', in Sen (ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, 230.

nationalist brag and moonshine, and you would be well-advised to keep clear of his theories.'[60]

A good case in point in these debates is the history of the seventeenth-century Marathi king Shivaji, who became both a hero of Marathi nationalism and an icon of pride of the non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra in the early part of the twentieth century. The amateur historians of the BISM at Poona—Rajwade, Khare, and others—took pride in him and projected him as the builder of a Hindu empire (Hindu Pad Padshashi) in opposition to the Mughals ruling from Delhi. Much of their evidence came from eighteenth-century Marathi *bakhars*, ballads, and other documents. Sarkar, who himself published a biography of this king in 1919, was enormously critical, both in private and in public, of their use of such sources. Sarkar's criticisms also had to do with the problem of anachronism, and of inadequate interrogation of sources, of the lack of any attempts to compare and collate accounts given in different kinds of sources with different kinds of biases, and so on. In other words, he was arguing for the principles of source criticism. Consider his detailed criticism in 1927 of the Sanskrit text *Shivabharat* relating to the same king:

> The book is disappointing: it stops in 1661 and portions of it are undoubtedly imaginary . . . I am inclined to accept . . . those parts . . . on which we possess parallel light from Persian sources [and which] are found correct on comparison with the latter . . . The poem was professedly written (or dictated) by a Brahman pilgrim at Benares, shortly after 1670. From what sources could he have given correctly long lists of the captains ranged on the two sides in battles fought as long ago as the reign of Jahangir and the earlier years of Shah Jahan . . . [?] . . . he must have made his lists from his imagination or recollection of more recent battles—or the poem was composed in *Tanjore* in the late 18th century when Persian histories of the above Muhammadan dynasties were *all* available. It is not a contemporary record even in the narrative portion.[61]

Yet Sardesai turned to some of the same sources when it came to writing *The New History of the Marathas* and partly out of motivations similar to those of Rajwade, Parasnis, and the like. Thus he wanted to use the text *Shivadigvijay* that Sarkar had pronounced a forgery in 1917: 'I am now convinced that the *Shiva-Digvijay* is a modern forgery, probably based upon some old materials.'[62] Returning to this text in the 1940s, Sardesai wrote to Sarkar:

> You have summarily rejected *Shivadigvijaya* and Shivaji letters to Maloji Ghorpade. These letters have been fully translated in my Shivaji souvenir . . . I should request you to read it

[60] NLI, JSP, letter no. 632, from Sarkar to Sardesai, Calcutta, 30 July 1940. Sarkar made a similar point when approached in 1957 by the President of India about chairing a committee for writing a national history of the country. He said: 'the historian will not suppress any defects of the national character, but will add to his portraiture those higher qualities which, taken together with the former, help to constitute the entire individual'. Cited in Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, 'Thoughts on Acharya Jadunath Sarkar', *Indo-Iranica*, 25:1–2 (March–June 1971), 13.

[61] NLI, JSP, letter no. 71, Sarkar to Sardesai, Darjeeling, 3 October 1927.

[62] NLI, JSP, letter No. 14, Sarkar to Sardesai, Darjeeling, 12 June 1917.

carefully over again and tell me why you reject it . . . Of course, this *bakhar* has many worthless imaginary portions, but that must not prevent us from accepting what is palpably genuine.[63]

Sarkar's reply was unambiguous: 'It would be a fatal mistake for you to depend on any point on *Shivadigvijaya*. It is opposed to the principles of historical evidence. Borrow . . . George's *Historical Evidence* and read it through. The legal principle is "False in one, false in all" and such witnesses are totally rejected.'[64]

Throughout the 1940s, as the different volumes of *The New History of the Marathas* came out, their debates continued in private. Faced with Sarkar's insistent criticism of his use of sources, Sardesai sometimes took refuge in the thought that what he was writing was not scientific history, but a text in some other older genre, a *kaifiyat* or an apologia, for example. 'I have on purpose put in Shivaji's estimates by foreign writers,' he wrote in July 1944, 'The Marathas have long suffered from foreign attacks on all sides. My work is essentially the Maratha *kaifiyat*.'[65] Sarkar wrote back in December 1945 to say that he did not 'approve of [the] tone or style' of Sardesai's draft introduction. 'It is too much like modern political platform oration from some political aspirant, and does not breathe the calm judicial spirit of a true historian,' he admonished and offered to rewrite it 'wholesale'.[66] Sardesai politely refused: 'I did not wish to put you to so much labour.'[67]

Sarkar continued with his criticisms into the following two years. 'True interpretation', he wrote, 'must differ according to [the] writer's personality; but the basis of the conclusions must be unquestionable facts (as established by latest research) . . . Moreover, the interpretation must be such as to convince an impartial observer.' This in a letter that requested Sardesai to '[p]lease destroy this letter after reading it, it is from a sincere friend'.[68] He was filled with 'despair' on reading drafts of 'the last chapters of your volume III'—in particular to read Sardesai 'on the "heroic" role of the Pindharis' (groups that used to attach themselves to Maratha troops and engage in looting and plunder in the wake of their actions)—'and I have therefore made no attempt to modify or correct them from *my* point of view'.[69] Again in August 1947: 'What pained me most was your attitude to historical evidence and certain political theories.'[70]

[63] NLI, JSP, letter no. 804, Sardesai to Sarkar, Kamshet, 13 June 1944.
[64] NLI, JSP, letter no. 807, Sarkar to Sardesai, Calcutta, 4 July 1944; see also JSP, letter no. 938, Sarkar to Sardesai, Calcutta, 19 August 1947.
[65] NLI, JSP, letter no. 809, Sardesai to Sarkar, Kamshet, 22 July 1944.
[66] NLI, JSP, letter no. 864, Sarkar to Sardesai, Calcutta, 30 December 1945, night.
[67] NLI, JSP, letter no. 867, Sardesai to Sarkar, Kamshet, 13 January 1946.
[68] NLI, JSP, letter no. 882, Sarkar to Sardesai, Dehra Doon, 19 June 1946.
[69] NLI, JSP, letter no. 934, Sarkar to Sardesai, Calcutta, 27 July 1947.
[70] NLI, JSP, letter no. 938, Sarkar to Sardesai, Calcutta, 19 August 1947.

The conclusion to this story suggests how closely intertwined were the two modes of history-writing, one involving pride in a particular identity, and the other aspiring to some universal principles of objectivity. It is interesting to see that until the very end, Sardesai retained the wish to clothe his historical claims about the Marathas in some genre that resisted objective history—*kaifiyat*, table talk, and so on—even after Sarkar had explicitly warned him that an 'historical book meant for a permanent place on the library shelf is not . . . table talk'.[71] He sent Sarkar a draft 'farewell to [his] last volume' for the correction of a particular sentence he was unhappy with. He initially described his work as 'table-talk' and then deleted that word. It is a tribute to the quality of the friendship of these two men that Sarkar, who drastically revised that particular sentence at Sardesai's request, let the expression 'table-talk' stand. Sardesai had originally written: 'I do not claim to be a scholar or even a trained historian but an eager tireless student. Call this my final work, if you like it, the endless table-talk of a garrulous old man.' He then himself took out the expression 'table-talk' and changed it to read: 'I do not claim to be a scholar or even a trained historian but an eager tireless student. Call this my final work if you like it, the endless outpourings of an ardent heart.' Here is how Sarkar revised the sentence while restoring—perhaps with a mixture of feelings—the expression 'table-talk' to its original position:

I do not claim to be a scholar or even a trained historian but only an *eager* [circled by JS] ~~*tireless*~~ [crossed out by JS] *earnest* [inserted by JS] worker. Call *this* [circled by JS in pencil] my final work, *if you like it* [crossed out and then restored by JS], the ~~*long*~~ [inserted and then crossed out by JS] ~~*endless*~~ [crossed out by JS] table-talk of a ~~*garrulous*~~ [crossed out by JS] ~~*student*~~ [underlined by GSS, crossed out by JS] *lifelong seeker after knowledge* [inserted by JS].[72]

It is this version revised by Sarkar that now stands in Sardesai's book.

This mutual accommodation between Sarkar's objectivist position and Sardesai's stance that was partisan to Maratha national sentiments, I suggest, may be read as a compressed allegory of the process through which the principles of academic history were born in colonial India—always distinct from, and even opposed to, the popular, but also always in conversation with the latter. Popular struggles for historical recognition—whether it was for Indians as a nation or for the caste or religious identity of some group or other—left their birthmarks, as it were, even on the works of those committed to produce academic history.

[71] NLI, JSP, letter no. 925, Sarkar to Sardesai, Calcutta, 6 April 1947.

[72] NLI, JSP, letter no. 973, Sardesai, Kamshet, undated; Sarkar noted on the letter: 'posted Kamshet, 3 September '48; recd. 17 September 1948'.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1757	Battle of Plassey in Bengal
1765	East India Company becomes the Diwan (Revenue Collector) of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa in the old Mughal political structure
1818	Defeat of the Marathas
1843	British conquest of Sind
1848–9	Annexation of the Punjab
1858	India ruled by the Crown
1885	First meeting of the Indian National Congress
1892	Indian Councils Act
1906	Muslim League founded
1914	Gandhi comes back to India from South Africa
1919	Government of India Act
1920–2	Non-cooperation and Khilafat movements
1931–2	Civil disobedience movement
1935	Government of India Act amended
1937	Nationalist governments in the provinces
1947	Independence for India and Pakistan

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Chapter 26

Southeast Asian Historical Writing

Anthony Milner

In the period 1800–1945 in Southeast Asia, the past was written about in such a range of ways that the question 'what is history?' inevitably arises. Accounts of past events were not only composed for radically contrasting purposes—and from radically contrasting perspectives—but there was also sharp variation in assumptions about the nature of time and truth, and in the themes treated. The contrasts cannot be summed up simply as a clash between Western and local. In this time of extraordinary change in the region, different types of knowledge, including different approaches to the past—to 'history', if we allow the most open definition of the word—became deeply entangled. By 1945, in fact, there were influential scholars—both locals and Westerners, writing as modern historians and often drawing on other disciplines—whose foremost concern was to identify authentic Southeast Asian perspectives on historical change in the region.

Most of all, it was the advance of European colonial power that wrought such comprehensive change in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and in one way or another, the European expansion provided new imperatives for investigating the past. During the 1800s almost the entire region was brought under Western domination; in the following century, even those people who sought independence from the European powers and America had been shaped by the intellectual transformation that accompanied colonialism. The process of colonial administration itself demanded knowledge of the past—knowledge to judge when a claim to a throne or to some form of ownership deserved respect; or to determine issues of precedence between rulers, chiefs, or families—and this often required a European encounter (or entanglement) with local traditions of historical narrative.

For Europeans seeking to govern Southeast Asia, the task of making sense of a region so complex in chronological, cultural, social, and demographic terms was formidable. The British confronted this task on the Malay Peninsula and Borneo (where Islam was influential), and also in the case of Ava (a Theravada Buddhist kingdom which occupied much of the territory later defined as 'Burma'). The French extended their power over the Chinese-influenced peoples of what is



Map 7. Asia 1880 and Asia 1914


Poland
EUROPE
Ukraine
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
SAKHALIN
KURIL IS. (Jap.)
Vladivostok
OUTER MONGOLIA
Port Arthur
KOREA
JAPAN
Beijing
INNER MONGOLIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
EGYPT
Russian Sphere
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN British influence
REPUBLIC OF CHINA
Hangzhou
PACIFIC OCEAN
RYUKYU IS. (Jap.)
KUWAIT (BR.)
BAHRAIN (BR.)
British Sphere
TIBET
NEPAL
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
FORMOSA
AFRICA
NEID
OMAN
INDIA
Macao (Port.)
Hong Kong (Br.)
Calcutta
BURMA
TONKIN
YEMEN
(BR.)
ADEN (BR.)
Arabian Sea
Bombay
LAOS
South
PHILIPPINE IS. (USA)
Rangoon
SIAM
ANNAM
China
Goa (Port.)
CAM-BODIA
Sea
Mahé (Fr)
Pondicherry (Fr.)
COCHIN CHINA
BRUNEI
BR. NORTH BORNEO
CEYLON
SARAWAK
FEDERATED MALAY STATES
MALDIVE IS. (Br.)
Singapore (Br.)
INDIAN OCEAN
DUTCH EAST INDIES
TIMOR
British Colonies
Princely States
Dutch Colonies
USA
Japan
French
Ottoman Empire
Treaty Ports in China
Chinese cities are rendered with their modern names
0 500 1000 miles
0 800 1600 km

now Vietnam, and in the Theravada Buddhist kingdoms of Cambodia and Laos (together referred to as French Indo-China); the Dutch took over a large part of the predominantly Muslim Archipelago (now 'Indonesia'), and the Americans the largely Christian and formerly Spanish-ruled island group to the north ('The Philippines'). Theravada Siam (later renamed 'Thailand') retained its sovereignty, but lost territory to the French and British and was heavily influenced by Europe, including by European ideas about history.

During the three centuries before 1800, Europeans trading and establishing bases in the region had written about its kingdoms, customs, and products.[1] The creation of large colonial states after 1800 intensified the need for such data, and the histories produced, despite their practical objectives, were of course influenced by contemporary intellectual concerns. These concerns were fundamentally different from those of the local texts which Europeans sometimes used as sources for their investigations. The contrast between the European and local accounts was in part epistemological.

Many of the monarchies across the region—and there were vastly more monarchies (some very small) than there are nation-states today —possessed royal chronicles. In 1800 the Ava (Burma) court was said to have 'a more numerous library (including historical works) than any potentate from the banks of the Danube to the borders of China',[2] and chronicles continued to be compiled, even in the twentieth century. In 1829 the Ava king established a committee to write what became known as the 'Glass Palace Chronicle', and its task was to examine inscriptions written for administrative and religious purposes, as well as previous chronicles. The chronicle was expected not merely to cover the reigning dynasty but also to reach back to the illustrious Pagan period (eleventh to thirteenth century).

Like most historical writing, such chronicles helped to construct the present (and, in a sense, the future) and did so particularly in their focus on monarchy—not states, ethnicities, or societies. In a long-standing tradition of writing they located events within an ideology of kingship, and focused on the origins and activities of ruling families and the service rendered to them. They tended to exhibit the status of a ruler and to inscribe the hierarchy of status of his subjects, and often provided models of correct behaviour. A chronicle might almost seem to bring a kingdom into being—to be a world in itself. A specialist on Mon literature (from the present Thai and Burmese regions) has described chronicles in that language as incorporating a 'concept of the world as stasis' that is 'diametrically opposed' to what would later be 'regarded as the essential precondition of any "history" at all'.[3] Apart from this lack of a sense of developmental time—of time

[1] Francois Valentijn's eight-volume *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* (Dordrecht, 1724–6) was perhaps the most ambitious compilation.

[2] Michael Symes, *An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava* (London, 1800), 383.

[3] H. L. Shorto, 'A Mon Genealogy of Kings', in D. G. E. Hall (ed.), *Historians of South East Asia* (London, 1961), 71.

as progression, as linear process—the frequent inclusion of mythological material also distinguishes chronicles from European historiographical trends of 1800, and could arouse the contempt of Europeans searching for reliable data. John Crawfurd, for instance, called the 'Malay Annals' (the account of the Malacca-Johor sultanate) a 'wild tissue of fable often drawn from Hindu and Arabian mythology'.[4]

Certain features of the local chronicles—for example, tales of noble deeds designed to inspire the reader (or listener)—would have been familiar to Europeans, who had their own classical tradition of narrative history. But by 1800 elements of the Enlightenment discourse—the rejection of the supernatural, the concern with rational and evidential truth, the assumption of structural and progressive change over time, and the elaborating and ranking of specific categories of mankind—were increasingly embedded in European approaches to history in Southeast Asia. Such historian-officials as William Marsden, Thomas Stamford Raffles, and John Crawfurd, while establishing the chronological record of the kingdoms they had been sent to govern, were also testing the 'scientific' theories about human classification and development of Carolus Linnaeus, William Robertson, Adam Smith, and Alexander von Humboldt.

The chronicle tradition did not cease with the nineteenth-century expansion of European power, and European historians continued cautiously to draw upon such works. Dealing with the period since European settlement in the region—the Portuguese conquered Malacca in 1511—local texts could also be supplemented by and sometimes directly compared with Portuguese, Dutch, French, or English accounts. Towards the end of our period, however, there was an influential view (stated in particular by the Dutch linguist and historian C. C. Berg) that local chronicles ought to be read within their own cultural context and not assumed to have purposes analogous to those of contemporary European narratives. The author of a Javanese chronicle might, for instance, be compared with a high priest engaged in verbal magic on behalf of his royal master—in which case his text had to be treated as unreliable with respect to factual detail but rich as evidence of earlier thought worlds.[5]

Apart from the continued compilation of chronicles in Java and Siam (Thailand), in Cambodia an ambitious work was begun in 1903, with a preface stating that previous such works had included many mistakes, and that the dynasty would 'decline' if 'the dates are confused and the reigns are not in proper order'.[6] In Vietnam as well the chronicles focused on monarchs and their courts,

[4] John Crawfurd, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries* (London, 1856), 250.

[5] C. C. Berg, 'Javanese Historiography—A Synopsis of its Evolution', in Hall (ed.), *Historians of South East Asia*, 13–24.

[6] Michael Vickery, 'The Composition and Transmission of the Ayudhya and Cambodian Chronicles', in Anthony Reid and David Marr (eds.), *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia* (Singapore, 1979), 130–55.

the Nguyen dynasty ordering a new 'Complete History' (as it was called) in the 1850s. By the twentieth century some Malay royal *hikayat* were influenced by European methodology. The chronicle of the state of Johor (1908), for instance, is concerned with the Johore state, defined as a separate entity and not merely the monarch; and the text has a preface explaining that the narrative was 'gathered from various recollections and reports which have been proven to be true'. The author, it should be said, had been educated at the Raffles Institution in British-governed Singapore in the 1880s.[7] In Java, the nineteenth-century court poet Ranggawarsita also responded to Western scholarship and contributed to the 'decentering of writing away from styles and themes entirely concerned with kingship'.[8]

Buddhist religious narratives were another long-standing form of historical writing. Influenced by the *Mahavamsa* of Sri Lanka—the 'Great Chronicle of Ceylon'—they told the history of the Buddha, of the Buddhist religion, and of particular Buddhist relics—and, especially important, highlighted royal patronage for the faith. Such histories continued to be published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: a 1923 edition of a Thai text, written in the late 1700s, contains an introduction describing the chronicle as 'a history of Buddhism combined with the history of the kingdom'.[9] It was a chronicle set in Buddhist time, reaching back thousands of years to the Buddha and forward to Buddhas-to-be; and yet the events described are never remote. As Craig Reynolds has commented, 'the contemporaneity of the distant past is a hallmark of (local) Southeast Asian historiography'.[10]

The understanding of time was critical in the contrast between local writing and the emerging European approaches. The European dynamic view of time is evident, for instance, when Michael Symes writes in 1800 of the Burmese 'rising fast in the scale of Oriental nations', and of their 'feudal system' acting as 'a check to civilization and improvement'; Raffles saw Dutch commercial policy as having retarded efforts to 'promote the civilization and general improvement' in the Archipelago; Crawfurd favoured the phrase 'progress in civilization'. Apart from trying to determine where the people they were studying might be ranked in the specific scales of civilization fashionable in European writing of that time, these historians also contributed to philosophical debate about what factors advanced or retarded the progress of a people. Crawfurd cited Humboldt's study of New Spain in suggesting that absolute government—itself considered to be a relatively developed form of government—emerges where 'agriculture is the principal

[7] Anthony Milner, *The Invention of Politics in Colonial Malaya* (Cambridge, 2002), 199–201.

[8] Tony Day, 'Ranggawarsita's Prophesy of Mystery', in David K.Wyatt and Alexander Woodside (eds.), *Moral Order and the Question of Change: Essays on Southeast Asian Thought* (New Haven, 1982), 156.

[9] Craig J. Reynolds, 'Religious Historical Writing and the Legitimation of the First Bangkok Reign', in Reid and Marr (eds.), *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, 94.

[10] Ibid., 103.

pursuit', and also supported the view that diet was critical. 'Man never seems to have made progress in improvement', he wrote, 'when feeding on inferior grains.'[11]

At first glance, the 'histories' of Marsden, Raffles, and Crawfurd—and their books are called 'history'—appear to give surprisingly little attention to historical narrative. Raffles in his *History of Java* (1817) devoted only two of eleven chapters to a narrative of the Javanese past. As in the case of Marsden's *History of Sumatra* (1811) and Crawfurd's *History of the Indian Archipelago* (1822), the rest of the work discusses geography, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, warfare, and health, as well as the different categories, characteristics, religions, laws, and customs of the people. So comprehensive an inquiry—common in the 'scientific' literature of the period[12]—was vital to 'history', as the word was understood at that time. All such data could be considered to assist speculation on the different factors contributing to the progress of mankind—speculation which key historians of Southeast Asia believed they were assisting. Marsden, who was in communication with Sir Joseph Banks and other members of the Royal Society, wanted to 'furnish those philosophers, whose labours have been directed to the investigation of the history of Man, with facts to serve as *data* in their reasonings'.[13] Raffles investigated the 'intellectual and moral character' of the inhabitants of Java, as well as their institutions and government, to enable his readers 'to form some estimate' of those inhabitants' 'rank in the scale of civilized society'.[14] To understand just why these people had risen to their particular rank might well require knowledge of climate, diet, and the multiple other forms of data that Raffles and his colleagues offered.

As the nineteenth century proceeded, historians tended to be less concerned with formulating laws about human progress.[15] But the idea of time as movement and progress was certainly influential in the long term, underpinning both European and local historical writing, as well as the great 'Development' narrative that has been central in the twentieth-century building of postcolonial states. The ascertaining of 'facts', with the rejection of 'fable' and 'mythology' in favour of 'reason' and evidential proof, remained basic to the far-reaching project of establishing a reliable historical record for the region.

[11] Symes, *Kingdom of Ava*, 122–3; Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java*, 2 vols. (1817; Kuala Lumpur, 1965), i. 230; and John Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1820), ii. 286, 395, 24; iii. 9; i. 15. On the eighteenth-century historiographical context see also J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, vol. 2: *Narratives of Civil Government* (Cambridge, 2000); and Diana Carroll, 'William Marsden and his Malayo-Polynesian Legacy', Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 2005.

[12] Mary Quilty, *Textual Empires: A Reading of Early British Histories of Southeast Asia* (Clayton, 1998), 22–5.

[13] William Marsden, *The History of Sumatra* (1783; 3rd edn, London, 1811), p. vii.

[14] Raffles, *The History of Java*, i. 244.

[15] R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (1946; London, 1963), 131.

This project continued to be taken up by colonial officials—Symes noted that the 'patronage of the East-India Company is ever extended to those who can supply useful information on Oriental topics'[16]—and at one level seems prosaic. Arthur Phayre, the author of the first English-language history of Burma (1883), said he merely aimed to provide a 'continuous history' showing 'the rise and progress of the monarchy, and of the people', and to explain the relation between events.[17] Historians working on many other kingdoms and peoples—including Western-trained locals, such as the Indonesian specialist on Aceh, Husein Djajadiningrat, or the Burmese Pe Maung Tin, as well as Europeans—echoed these seemingly modest intentions, and would also have agreed that the task was not easy. To establish even an elementary chronology often required examining chronicles on palm leaf or paper and inscriptions on stone or copper, written in a wide variety of languages and scripts. Chinese histories and travellers' accounts could also be helpful, and were gradually published in translation. For the post-1500 period there was, in addition, a body of European documentation, largely Portuguese, Dutch, and English. All these sources, written of course for contemporary, practical purposes, not for the modern historian, tend to be riddled with problems of bias, perspective, and interpretation. There were sometimes cases of direct contradiction—for example, between the royal chronicles of Burma and the twelfth-century inscriptions relating to the rulers they describe. Non-written materials such as archaeological remains (including Chinese sherds and Indian religious statuary) and architectural monuments (Borobodur in Java, Angkor in Cambodia, Pagan in Burma) were also of crucial importance. French historians were able, for instance, to add to their understanding of the chronology of Angkor by analysing variations in the decorative styles of the temple carving.

Assisted by such learned societies as the Royal Batavian Society for the Arts (founded 1778), the Straits (later Malayan) Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1878), the École française d'Extreme-Orient (1900), and the Burma Research Society (1910)—all of which had scholarly journals[18]—a broad chronological structure that extended beyond reign lists was gradually elaborated for much of the region. First, there was the dominance of Indian influence apparent in the structural remains, language, scripts, and literature of the early period. The great temples or shrines so impressed European explorers and historians, that they often assumed them to have been the work of Indian colonists rather than locals. Except for Vietnam, which had come heavily under Chinese influence, most of the region was considered to have experienced an Indian age, beginning in the early centuries AD and reaching perhaps to the fifteenth century. In time some historians began to identify a specific Theravada Buddhist period in the mainland

[16] Symes, *Kingdom of Ava*, p. xiv.
[17] Arthur P. Phayre, *History of Burma* (London, 1883), p. vi.
[18] J. D. Legge, 'The Writing of Southeast Asian History', in Nicholas Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia* (Cambridge, 1992), i. 12–13.

region from present-day Burma to Laos, commencing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—what the French historian George Coedes called 'a new contribution from India in the form of Singhalese Buddhism'. This was a form of religion, Coedes argued, that was not restricted to an elite but penetrated 'to the masses'.[19] The adoption of Islam in the Archipelago (a century or two later) was very early recognized as ushering in a new era. Of the two chapters that Raffles's *History of Java* devotes to a narrative history of Java, the first reaches up to the 'establishment of Mahometanism', and the second carries the story forth from that point. In the Dutch East Indies, N. J. Krom's major text, the *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* (1926), ends with the emergence of Muslim rulers on Java.[20] Moving to the sixteenth-century, historians highlighted the arrival of the Portuguese and the Spanish, and then the Dutch, English, French, and Americans—the advance guard of the Europeans who would establish a regional hegemony.

The analysis of these historic shifts—Indianization, the coming of Theravada Buddhism and Islam, and the expansion of Europe into Southeast Asia—differed over the period 1800–1945, and in ways that are politically as well as intellectually significant. Southeast Asian communities tended, for a long time, to be treated as passive actors in their own history, a convenient construction for Europeans who were themselves taking charge of these people. Raffles suggested that Borobodur might have been constructed by the same people who had built the stupa at Bodhgaya in India.[21] Dutch scholarship—for instance, that of Hendrik Kern, whose writings commence in the 1870s—also stressed the role of 'Hindu colonizers' in such civilizational achievements.[22] Looking across the entire region in a landmark survey (first published in 1944), George Coedes, whose primary fields of research had been Cambodia and Indonesia, wrote of the 'purely receptive character' of Southeast Asia's interaction with India. The region had 'not entered world history except to the extent that it was civilized by India'.[23]

Where European scholars focused on local societies in this period, they often contrasted them favourably with Southeast Asian societies of the nineteenth century. In island Southeast Asia such denigration of people in the process of being subjected to colonial rule was sometimes combined with the suggestion that the perceived degeneration was due to Islamic influence. Here foreigners were cast as importing inferior doctrines that undermined progress and tended as well to be hostile toward Europeans. Thus Raffles wrote of a 'higher civilization'

[19] George Coedes, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (Honolulu, 1968); orig. pub as *Histoire ancienne des etats hindouises d'Extreme-Orient* (Hanoi, 1944), 253.

[20] Fruin Mees's *Geschiedenis van Java* (1922) is in two volumes. The first focuses on the Hindu period, the second on the Muslim one.

[21] Raffles, *The History of Java*, ii. 62–3; see also Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, ii. 224.

[22] J. G. de Casparis, 'Historical Writing on Indonesia (Early Period)', in Hall (ed.), *Historians of South East Asia*, 124.

[23] Coedes, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, 252.

before the establishing of Islam, and of 'Mahometan institutions' obstructing the 'improvement' of the people. It was in the British interest, he said, to 'prevent the increase of Arab influence': 'Arabs' and 'Mahometanism', as he (and quite a few Dutch scholars) saw the situation, were competing with European influence.[24]

In the final decades of our period, political concerns of a different type influenced scholarship on early Southeast Asia—concerns of those modern Indian historians who sometimes called the region 'Greater India' and created a Greater India Society in 1926. Majumdar, Chhabra, Nilakanta Sastri, and others made substantial contributions to the research on early kingdoms (including Champa in present-day Vietnam), translating inscriptions and analysing religious sculpture. But their work tended to be coloured by Indian nationalism, often portraying Indians as political and cultural colonizers, and giving little recognition to Southeast Asian agency. Subject to colonial masters themselves, some of these Indian scholars claimed the prestige of an Indian colonial empire for their ancestors. In Majumdar's words, 'the rise of a New India far away from the motherland has an epic grandeur of its own'.[25]

The foregrounding of the role of external actors in Southeast Asia is all the more apparent in writings on the period of European penetration, commencing in the sixteenth century. The great theme of this period was usually identified as the rise of Europe in Asia. Elisa Netscher's *De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak* [The Dutch in Johor and Siak] (1870) and J. K. J. de Jonge's multi-volume *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie* [The Rise of Dutch Power in the East Indies] (1862–5) contain much information on the Archipelago polities from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, but their real focus is the advance and achievements of Dutch power. In Indochina there was the French author Prosper Cultru's *Histoire de la Cochinchine française des origines à 1883* [The History of Cochin China from its Origins until 1883] (1910), examining the origins and development of French rule in Cochin China (in the South).

Some saw the expansion of Europe in Asia as the acting out of historic destiny, furthering 'improvement' or 'progress': Raffles portrayed Britain in the East as 'the gale of spring reviving the slumbering seeds of mind, and calling them to life from the winter of ignorance and oppression'.[26] Horace St John, in his *The Indian Archipelago: Its History and Present State* (1853), developed this theme, arguing that it was 'the destiny of the West to spread its dominion over the East',[27] and

[24] Raffles, *The History of Java*, i. 57, 235; Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied, *Raffles and Religion* (Kuala Lumpur, 2004); and Casparis, 'Historical Writing on Indonesia', 124.

[25] R. C. Majumdar, *India and South East Asia* (1940; Delhi, 1979), 16; see also, R. C. Majumdar, *Champa: History and Culture of an Indian Colonial Kingdom in the Far East 2nd–16th Century A.D.* (1927; Delhi, 1985).

[26] Sophia Raffles, *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* (1830; Singapore, 1991), appendix, 38.

[27] Horace St John, *The Indian Archipelago: Its History and Present State* (London, 1853), i. 274.

conveying that sense of inevitability in the details of his account. In the case of the Philippines, the American David Barrows, in a text written for the local school system (1905), insisted that the Spanish had lost power there because they had tried to lock up the 'further progress of the native population'. The Americans who replaced them, he said, were well equipped to bring to the Filipino race such Enlightenment values as liberty, equality, fraternity, and democracy. In portraying historical development in Southeast Asia—invoking economic and social progress over time—there was sometimes the suggestion of history repeating itself, of Barrows's Filipinos or even Raffles's Javanese moving along (or having the potential to move along) essentially the same path of development that Europeans of the past had followed.[28] In their latest historical phase, Southeast Asians were moving out of a 'Dark Age' as Europeans once had, and would do so under the tutelage of Western colonial powers.

Apart from this sense of progress through time (fine-tuned to colonial requirements), and an increasingly professional approach to establishing historical fact (naive as this approach often was), nineteenth-century European historians also propagated new categories of analysis, including units of social organization. The growing stress on 'race' is an important example, entailing a transition more radical than is often acknowledged today. When Raffles constructed his historical narrative he quoted at length from royal chronicles, examining such polities as Kediri, Majapahit, and Gresik. But unlike royal chroniclers he did not write in the idiom of kings and kingdoms, but of the wider concepts of 'Java' and 'Javanese': he described his 'history' chapters as dealing with 'The History of Java' and, in general, his book deals with people—'Javans'—not specific kingdoms and their subjects. His concern was with race, and he wrote of the Javanese as a 'race separate and distinct', an 'agricultural race' generally 'darker than the tribes of the neighbouring islands', and in their bodies 'well shaped, though less remarkably so' than Malays.[29]

Just as local chroniclers had long engaged in constituting a world of monarchies, Raffles was contributing to the race-based 'mapping of mankind' that was taking place in European scholarship at the opening of the nineteenth century.[30] Marsden's *Sumatra*, which was much admired by Raffles, had also promoted the category 'race'. Marsden said it would be 'useless' to concentrate on 'distinguishing the variety, almost endless, of petty sovereigns and nations' into which Sumatra was divided; rather, he decided to treat the people under such 'summary distinctions' as 'Menangkabau', 'Malays', 'Achinese', and 'Battas'. Writing of the 'origin of the Malays' and their migration, Marsden helped give the race historical substance.[31] Many of the people whom Marsden and Raffles included as 'Malay'

[28] Reynaldo C. Ileto, *Knowing America's Colony* (Hawaii, 1999), 3–7, quote at p. 3; and Quilty, *Textual Empires*, 47, 63.

[29] Raffles, *The History of Java*, 56–9.

[30] C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914* (Oxford, 2004), 110.

[31] Marsden, *The History of Sumatra*, 40–1, 325, 327.

would only have thought of themselves in this manner in later years. The idea of a pan-archipelago 'Malay race' was in many ways a construct. It has been suggested, for instance, that in the case of Sarawak in Borneo, the term 'Malay' became widely used only because in 1841 James Brooke—the future White Rajah of Sarawak—'brought it with him from (Raffles's) Singapore'.[32]

Following Raffles and Marsden, European accounts of many of the polities of the Archipelago—often drawing on monarchy-focused local chronicles—continued to be cast within the inclusive history of the 'Malay race'. Apart from books written specifically for a foreign, European audience—often including overview chapters on 'Malay' customs, laws, and literature—such research was increasingly published in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (later known as the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*). Histories were written of the different sultanates, and a new degree of professionalism was evident in the use of colonial government archives as well as Malay-language material. R. J. Wilkinson brought different state narratives together as 'A History' of what he called the 'Peninsular Malays' (1908);[33] and Richard Winstedt (together with a local collaborator, Daing Abdul Hamid) published the first, modern Malay-language 'Malay History' in 1918.[34]

In the case of Ava (Burma), Europeans again recast the material they drew from local sources. Symes, writing of Ava's last (Konbaung) dynasty, focused on the rivalry between 'Birmans' and 'Peguers' (usually called 'Mons') rather than mere prince-versus-prince disputes.[35] Phayre's *History of Burma* (1883) continued to follow the racial theme while using royal chronicles, written from a fundamentally different perspective, as its 'chief authorities'. The dynastic story was narrated in terms of race—primarily Burmese, Mons, and Shan—rather than monarchy, though Phayre admitted the chronicles themselves deal with kings, and 'know not this kinship'. The book opens with an account of what is called the formation of the Burmese people, and the potency of racial sentiment is often insisted upon: the founder of the Konbaung dynasty could 'never swear allegiance to a (Mon) king', and 'the whole Burmese people' rallied to him. Even in describing the British conquest in 1852 of what was termed Lower Burma, the book provides a form of racial justification. The monarchy, Phayre explains, was now left ruling only the dry zone in the north, the 'land which history shows was the ancient home of the Burmese race'.[36]

The concepts, preoccupations, and the theory of knowledge of the nineteenth-century European historians were communicated in various ways to

[32] Robert Pringle, *Rajahs and Rebels: The Ibans of Sarawak under Brooke Rule, 1841–1941* (Ithaca, 1970), p. xix; and Anthony Milner, *The Malays* (Oxford, 2008).

[33] R. J. Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects* (1907–16; Kuala Lumpur, 1971), 11.

[34] Richard Winstedt and Daing Abdul Hamid bin Tengku Muhammad Salleh, *Kitab Tawarikh Melayu* (Singapore, 1918).

[35] Symes, *Kingdom of Ava*, 487, 3, 5.

[36] Arthur P. Phayre, *History of Burma* (1883; London, 1967), pp. vii, 150, 153, 104–5, 260.

local authors, and began to influence the manner in which they wrote about the past. Consider the case of British Malaya. In early nineteenth-century Malacca and Singapore, Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir (often referred to as Munshi Abdullah) knew both Raffles and Crawfurd, and was familiar with the new knowledge available in these two colonial cities. Encouraged by a European friend, Abdullah wrote the story of his own life, and in it recorded the important events that he himself had witnessed. In his writing the authorial voice is constantly present: he projects himself to the reader as an individual—itself a radical departure in Malay writing—vouching personally for the truth of the events he describes. By contrast, the old Malay chronicles (*hikayat*) are narrated in an impersonal manner: it is only in the raja that the seemingly diverse tales and legends appear to gain unity and authenticity. Abdullah's autobiography also conveys a sense of time that conflicts with the 'world as stasis' encountered in the *hikayat*. Abdullah refers to the 'great changes in the world'; and warns his own people that other races are 'on the move', and have 'become great and clever'. The way Abdullah describes his own community, and the audience he conceptualizes for his writings, is once again innovatory. He writes not for a royal court but for Europeans and what he calls a 'new generation'—presumably those 'Malays' influenced by the lifestyle and education encountered in British settlements.[37]

For Abdullah and others influenced by the new learning, the narrative productions of the old kingdoms—with their acceptance of the miraculous, preoccupation with monarchs not people, and lack of linear progression—increasingly lost any aura of authority. In the new world brought about by the colonial powers, 'the remnants of the ancient stories were presented more and more as beliefs and superstitions rather than as knowledge'.[38] A British-trained Malay historian, for instance, condemned one royal chronicle for having 'dressed up' old 'confused stories' in a 'language unsuitable for them', only to 'please the ear of (its) readers'.[39] John Crawfurd would have applauded such dismissing of a 'wild tissue of fable'.

New, local historians—like the author of the early twentieth-century chronicle of Johor, cited earlier in this chapter—were concerned to use only sources that had been 'proven to be true'. They also appropriated old material, even semi-legendary in character, to fresh purposes—in particular, to writing the history of races rather than kingdoms. Thus, the Melaka hero, Hang Tuah, celebrated in old chronicles as a loyal servant of monarchy, was now portrayed as a hero of the 'Malay race'; and it suited the historians of 'race' that the *hikayat* of the Melaka sultanate, once called 'The Genealogy of the Rajas', was renamed the 'Malay Annals'.[40] In this new era, even the pioneer newspapers were expressing a novel, dynamic understanding of history. 'The West', it was sometimes pointed out,

[37] Milner, *Invention of Politics*, chs. 2–3.
[38] H. M. J. Maier, *In the Center of Authority* (Ithaca, 1988), 128.
[39] Abdul Hadi, ibid., 127.
[40] Milner, *The Malays*, 159, 12.

had risen as 'the East' had declined, but the latter as well was now engaged in a march toward modernity. Such views emerged not only in dialogue with the historical schemes propagated by colonial education regimes, but also as a result of new influence from the Middle East, long a source of religious and cultural ideas for Islamic Southeast Asia. Such innovatory thinkers as the Egyptian Muhammad Abduh were reading François Guizot's *Histoire générale de la civilisation en Europe* [*History of Civilization in Europe*] (1828; translated into Arabic in 1877) and conveying to their fellow Muslims the sense of progress, of people 'pressing forward…to change…their condition' encountered in such works. Particularly in Singapore and Penang, religious scholars began to use the Arabic word '*tarikh*'—once suggesting merely 'dates'—to suggest the idea of human movement and innovation.[41]

In the twentieth century, developments also occurred in European writing on Southeast Asia, partly influenced by a faltering in the colonial momentum. In the 1800s the European colonial project was generally portrayed in positive terms,[42] but by the following century criticism was more common, including in accounts by Americans. Virginia Thompson's *French Indochina* (1937) and Rupert Emerson's *Malaysia: A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule* (1937)—which includes analysis of the Dutch East Indies as well as British Malaya—are two examples, both written by academics. 'No imperialist government, being by definition alien, can possess this intimate association with a people,' concluded Emerson: it is the 'possession of the power of self-government' that is vital in the 'struggle for both economic and cultural survival'.[43]

One critique of colonial rule written by a former colonial official but exercising a far-reaching impact in the academy is the Englishman J. S. Furnivall's *Netherlands India* (1939). A Fabian socialist, influenced also by the Dutch 'tropical economist' J. H. Boeke, Furnivall engaged with the philosophical history that inspired Raffles and others in the early 1800s. While Raffles had leant heavily on Adam Smith, Furnivall cited Boeke's opinion that 'Western economic principles are, at best, of limited application in a tropical dependency', and his book presents a sympathetic analysis of the way Dutch colonial administration attended to 'the whole of social life'. In communities under British control, by contrast, the dominance of Western economic assumptions about 'the free working of the economic process' had tended to have a destructive influence.[44]

[41] Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939* (Cambridge, 1983), 114–15; and Milner, *Invention of Politics*, 173.

[42] An important exception is the debate about Dutch colonial policy: apart from Raffles's criticism, some Dutch writers (including the novelist Eduard Douwes Dekker) were vigorous in their condemnation.

[43] Rupert Emerson, *Malaysia: A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule* (1937; Kuala Lumpur, 1964), 521.

[44] J. S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India* (1939; Cambridge, 1967), 261, 460, 462. See also Adrian Vickers, 'The Classics in Indonesia: J. S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India*' (Paper presented to the 15th conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, August 2004), coombs.anu.edu.au/SpecialProj/ASAA/biennial-conference/2004/Vickers-A-ASAA2004.pdf, accessed 27 April 2009.

One historiographical feature slow to develop was the exploring of cultural and mental frameworks of an earlier era. Many scholar-officials were familiar with Walter Scott's Romantic investigations into changing human experience in Scotland and England. But while Scott was concerned to identify, for instance, the 'feelings and prejudices' of the feudal period,[45] European writers on Southeast Asia focused little on possible transformations in human consciousness over the ten centuries and more that preceded European colonial rule.[46] It was perhaps only in the early twentieth century, with the consolidation of modernized societies fashioned by colonialism, that European historians—some of whom were now writing in a professional, academic environment—believed they had a context for reflecting on such transformations. By this time also, anthropology was developing as a discipline, and its preoccupations with *mentalité* as well as social organization were beginning to influence the Annales School and others writing European history. In his *History of Burma* (1925), G. E. Harvey, who became President of the Oxford University Anthropological Society in the 1940s, was well aware that he wrote about a passing era. He understood that disciplined historical imagination was necessary to reconstruct the 'religious enthusiasm' which sustained the great temple-building of Pagan or to appreciate the significance of sumptuary laws in the 'daily life of the people'.[47] Among Dutch scholars, as has been noted, C. C. Berg sought to understand exactly why Javanese texts were written, and why their authors 'write [them] thus'—a quest influenced by the Swedish philosopher Ernst Cassirer's reflections on the mental perspectives of earlier eras.[48] In Indochina, Paul Mus aimed to unravel the animist logic of the culture of 'monsoon Asia' that in his opinion operated beneath the imported Indian belief system.[49] This type of investigation was taken up in various ways in the post-1945 period, and in a manner that possessed a political significance.

In writing of historians implicitly structuring the future as well as the past, I have noted the European role in elaborating a history of 'race'; but particularly in the twentieth century they also helped to shape the idea of a Southeast Asian 'region'—a geographical sphere reaching beyond individual monarchies and races. One concept that had long influenced local thinking about Southeast Asia was that of 'the people beneath the wind', as distinct from people 'above' the south-west monsoon, living in India and Arabia. Raffles referred to a 'field' situated between the 'rich and populous' continents of China and India, 'washed by the smoothest seas of the world' and including Cochin China and Tonkin (Vietnam),

[45] Walter Scott, *The History of Scotland*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1830), 75.

[46] B. J. O. Schrieke insisted that 'the structure of the Java of around 1700 was not appreciably different from that of the Java of around 700', in *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1957), ii. 4.

[47] G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma* (New York, 1925), 331–2, 170.

[48] C. C. Berg, 'Javanese Historiography', 18; and personal communication from Peter Worsley, 28 May 2009, regarding the influence of Cassirer.

[49] Paul Mus, *India Seen from the East* (1933; Clayton, 1975).

Ava, Siam, and Cambodia, as well as the Archipelago.[50] Mus's use of 'Monsoon Asia'—including India, 'a Pacific islands fringe', and southern China as well as Indonesia and Indochina—invoked what he called a 'cultural unity', and he was thinking of the religious beliefs encountered across 'Monsoon Asia' prior to the period when there was 'Indian religion' and 'Chinese religion'.[51]

The use of 'Greater India' by Indian scholars carried an obvious insistence on culture as a unifying force, and much other scholarship added to the characterizing of Southeast Asia as an 'Indianized' region. French, Dutch, and British historians cross-referenced one another's work to demonstrate cultural and other relationships—evident in inscriptions, chronicles, and artwork—between kingdoms in Cambodia, Java, Burma, and Thailand. Summing up this research at the end of the 1800–1945 period, George Coedes suggested that 'underneath the diversity of the civilizations of Farther India…lies the imprint of the Indian genius'—an imprint which gives these countries 'a family likeness'.[52] The first edition (1944) of Coedes's overview volume, covering polities from Srivijaya (based in South Sumatra) and Mataram (Java), to Pagan (Burma), and across to Angkor and the Indianized Champa (in present-day Vietnam), was entitled *Histoire ancienne des etats hindouises d'Extreme-Orient* [The Ancient History of the Hindu States of the Far East], emphasizing the religious and civilizational unity.[53] After the Pacific War, such cross-regional historical research was of assistance in the several processes of region building (including the 1967 founding of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations [ASEAN]) in which the postcolonial nations engaged—processes that sought to foster a sense of common identity and community.

More significant than the formulation of a regional concept was the assistance both European and local historians gave to constructing the postcolonial nation-states. Phayre's *History of Burma* (1883), Harvey's *History of Burma* (1925), and also Barrows's *A History of the Philippines* (1905) are examples. Other works such as Swettenham's *British Malaya* (1907), Stapel's *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indie* [History of Netherlands India] (1930), Boulanger's *Histoire du Laos Française* [History of French Laos] (1930), and Blair and Robertson's massive *The Philippine Islands* (1903–19) were structured around the colonial state, but in a way that would eventually help to constitute the idea of a territorially defined nation-state.

The generation of local Southeast Asian scholars who began to produce national histories in the twentieth century followed European writers in

[50] John Bastin, *The First Printing of Sir Stamford Raffles's Minute on the Establishment of a Malay College at Singapore* (Eastbourne, 1999).

[51] Mus, *India Seen from the East*.

[52] Coedes, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, 256.

[53] See also Paul H. Kratoska, Remco Raben, and Henk Schulte Nordholt (eds.), *Locating Southeast Asia: Geographies of Knowledge and Politics of Space* (Singapore, 2005).

highlighting race, and continued to invoke new standards of evidential proof. In Vietnam in the early 1900s, Phan Boi Chau—educated in Confucianism but influenced by Japanese interpretations of Social Darwinism—put aside the old chronicle style of dynastic history and focused on Vietnamese ethnic history and the business of constituting a state based not on ruler–subject relations but on citizenry and territory.[54] In what was still called Siam, the development of a new history was one aspect of the comprehensive reform carried out to keep the country independent of European rule, a status that made it unique in regional terms in the 1800–1945 period. The scholar-official Prince Damrong, while continuing to celebrate monarchy, began to construct a national history that would be comparable with contemporary European histories. His 1917 book, *Our Wars with the Burmese*—designed to promote a sense of unity among the people of Siam—presented the wars as being fought between peoples, Thais and Burmese, rather than mere kingdoms. The stress on the Thai race in formulating the nation is more explicit in the work of a later historian, Luang Wichitwathakan, who wrote in the years when the shift to an ethnic definition was encapsulated in the new name for the country, 'Thailand'. Monarchy is downplayed in his writing, and French imperialism condemned—always from the perspective of the Thai race.[55]

As Southeast Asia moved into the last stages of colonial domination, both European and local historians, not surprisingly, began to highlight dynamic forces within the societies themselves, and here again we see them reaching out to social science disciplines. B. J. O. Schrieke, writing on Sumatra in 1927, made use of sociological insights (for instance, from Max Weber) to explain the way the arrival of capitalism was creating a 'revolution in spirit'.[56] Dutch scholars in particular now began to write against the discourse of a passive Southeast Asia—a region characterized by the hegemony of civilizations imposed from the outside. Even in examining early history, they attributed greater agency to Southeast Asians. In the reinterpretations of F. D. K. Bosch, who led the Archaeological Service of Netherlands India from 1916 to 1936, it was now the people of the region—the locals not people from the subcontinent—who initiated the Indianization of the Archipelago. They sought supernatural powers, and sent pilgrims to India to obtain them.[57]

The University of Leiden-trained official J. C. van Leur also insisted that members of local elites took the initiative to bring Indian religious ideas to Southeast

[54] David G. Marr, *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial, 1920–1945* (Berkeley, 1981), 255–6.

[55] Charnvit Kasetsiri, 'Thai Historiography from Ancient Times to the Modern Period', in Reid and Marr (eds.), *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, 166–7.

[56] Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, i. 99; see also the comments of the Australian historian Stephen Roberts in his *History of French Colonial Policy* (London, 1929) on the way economic change in Indochina was promoting individualism and the 'concept of the nation': discussed in Anthony Milner, 'Southeast Asian Studies in Australia', in Anthony Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asian Studies: Pacific Perspectives* (Tempe, 2003), 119–40.

[57] F. D. K. Bosch, *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology* (The Hague, 1961), 18–19; and Casparis, 'Historical Writing on Indonesia', 156–7.

Asia, and did so in an attempt to give unity and continuity to the history of Indonesia. He was attracted to the argument that 'foreign elements' brought from India were 'adapted' and 'amalgamated' to a 'national Javanese character'. In the case of the adoption of Islam, he admitted that every Muslim is 'a propagandist of the Faith' but insisted that on Java the 'political motives and tactical considerations of the aristocracy brought about Islamization'. Islam did not bring a 'higher civilization'; in fact, 'much of the Hindu-Indonesian cultural tradition' was preserved. What seemed to irritate van Leur most was the treatment by previous historians of the European arrival in the region: again there was the preoccupation with the outsider, particularly as the driver of change. Van Leur condemned history written from a European point of view—written, as it were, from 'the deck of the (European) ship, the ramparts of the fortress'. Wary of overestimating even the Dutch impact on Indonesia, and influenced by Max Weber and ethnographic research on Indonesian customary law, he highlighted 'the autonomous, indigenous order of things', stressing 'processes of long-lasting independent historical "development" among "Indonesian peoples"'.[58] There are reflections here of Paul Mus's concern to uncover the animist base of 'Monsoon Asia'.

A focus on local society, including on the capacity of Southeast Asians to make their own history, was bound to attract local historians, some of whom were being trained in tertiary institutions or were coming into close personal contact with Western intellectuals like van Leur, or Furnivall in Burma. In Burma it was possible by the 1920s to study at the University of Rangoon with G. H. Luce (the specialist on the Pagan period) and D. G. E. Hall, who had researched English colonial archives for his doctorate (and would become in 1949 the first Professor of Southeast Asian History at the University of London). The French upgraded the University of Hanoi in the 1930s, partly to discourage students from going to France where they would encounter radical doctrines. In the 1920s the French-language Tonkin Mutual Instruction Society promoted the study of Vietnamese history.[59] Historical research was also facilitated, and professionalized, through the systematic development of official archives—for instance, for the British, Dutch, and French colonial services—and by the collecting and cataloguing of large numbers of Southeast Asian manuscript materials at the major libraries of Paris, London, and Leiden (as well as in the colonies themselves).

With the new historiographical stress on local dynamism, Luang Wichitwathakan's 'Thai people' could now be perceived as fulfilling their destiny; Conrado Benitez's *History of the Philippines* (1926)—certainly cast in the discourse of 'race' and 'progress'—viewed the Filipinos as having a capacity for 'absorbing and assimilating the useful elements of foreign cultures', and for 'growing into

[58] J. C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society* (The Hague, 1955), 261, 114–15, 95–6; and Legge, 'Southeast Asian History', 7–9.

[59] Marr, *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial*, 40–1.

social and political maturity'.[60] In Indonesia the nationalist leader Sukarno, who actually taught Indonesian history for a short period, determined to inspire his people with allusions to their glorious past. In the 1940s the Indonesian historian Muhammad Yamin—trained at the Rechtshogeschool (the precursor of the Faculty of Law of the future University of Indonesia)—wrote of Gadjah Mada, the chief minister of the fourteenth-century Majapahit Empire, pointing to his achievements toward unifying the Archipelago. He also celebrated the nineteenth-century struggle against the Dutch of the Javanese prince Diponegoro. In Vietnam, where the publishing of history was particularly active, biographies of those who campaigned against foreign rule—both Chinese and French—were also popular, offering models for the future. There was here as well a strong emphasis on history as process, and as dialectic. Đào Duy Anh's *Việt Nam văn hóa sự cươ'ng* [An Outline History of Vietnamese Culture] (1938) (as David Marr has explained) treated that culture 'as something constantly developing, rather than as a timeless repository of things either liked or disliked'.[61]

Some local historians wrote in support of nation-states based on specific colonial territories (e.g. Benitez's Philippines' history); others aspired to promote alternative communities, usually influenced by a version of the 'race' idea. Java and Sumatra were both the subject of study and celebration,[62] and a 1925 book written in British Malaya—Abdul Hadi's *Sejarah Alam Melayu* [History of the Malay World]—promoted an Archipelago-wide, 'Malay' vision, treating even Java as 'Malay'. Here was a history for a future ethnicity-based state—written by a lecturer at a teachers' training college (established by an Englishman willing to promote both history and the modernization of the Malay community)—which would transcend the European-made division between the then British Malaya and Netherlands India.[63] 'Class' also became a unit of analysis, especially for those influenced by Marxist ideology. The Indonesian Tan Malaka condemned the earlier monarchies as feudal, and anticipated the creation of an Indonesian nation freed from slavery of all types. As in much Vietnamese historical writing, the Marxist interpretation of historical process not only provided an explanation of the rise of European imperialism but also carried a sense of optimism for the future anti-colonial struggle.

Although 'nationalism', 'race', and 'progress' (and 'class' as well) were largely imported concepts, and histories of peoples of the region—even those written by local historians—were often structured in ways that suggested a rerun of European histories, the prospects for 'Thai-ness' or for 'Indonesia' (or for a broad 'Malay'

[60] Ileto, *Knowing America's Colony*, 8.

[61] Marr, *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial*, 275.

[62] Anthony Reid, 'The Nationalist Quest for an Indonesian Past', in Reid and Marr (eds.), *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, 281–98.

[63] Anthony Milner, 'Historians Writing Nations: Malaysian Contests', in Wang Gungwu (ed.), *Nation Building: Five Southeast Asian Histories* (Singapore, 2005), 140–1; and Soda Naoki, 'Indigenizing Colonial Knowledge: The Formation of Pan-Malay Identity in British Malaya', Ph.D. thesis, Kyoto University, 2008.

unity) could invoke a sense of Southeast Asian agency and autonomy. Establishing exactly what was 'the autonomous, indigenous order of things' demanded a good deal of speculation as well as research; but the mere aspiration suggested the possibility that the peoples of the region might attain not just a political but also a cultural independence. In the post-1945 period, outsiders and local historians—both now increasingly university-based, and writing as the new nation-states were being consolidated—took up with determination the ideal of what began to be called the 'autonomous history' of Southeast Asian societies.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1786	British establish a base on Penang
1816	The restoration of Dutch power on Java (after British occupation during the Napoleonic wars); Dutch expansion in the Archipelago continues into the early twentieth century
1824	British attack Burma
1862–7	Southern provinces of Vietnam ceded to the French
1863	French protection established over Cambodia
1868–1910	Reign of reformist King of Siam, Chulalongkorn
1874	Pangkor agreement with Perak: the beginning of the British Forward Movement on the Malay Peninsula
1884	French protectorate established in Annam and Tonkin (Vietnam)
1885	British conquer Upper Burma and end the Konbaung dynasty (1752–1885)
1886–1907	Siam cedes territory to the French
1896–1902	The Philippine Revolution (against the Spanish) and the conquest of the Philippines by the United States
1908	Founding of the first influential political organization in Indonesia (Boedi Oetama)
1909	British take control of Malay states which had been tributary to Siam
1930	Uprisings against the French in Vietnam
1935	A measure of self-rule given to Burma in response to nationalist demands
1941–2	Japanese victories over the European colonial powers in Southeast Asia

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Chapter 27

Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing[1]

Cemal Kafadar and Hakan T. Karateke

The Ottomans had a long tradition of composing biographical dictionaries, the scope of which ranged from poets to scholars and from statesmen to florists. A biographical dictionary for historians was compiled only in 1843, however. Mehmed Cemaleddin, an editor and proofreader at the Ottoman official gazette, *Taqvim-i veqayi* [Calendar of Events], who was commissioned with the task, admits that it proved unfeasible for him to examine all the unpublished works of history in the manuscript libraries and gather information on their lesser-known authors. Thus he decided simply to include those authors whose works were commonly in circulation and came up with some forty-six history-writers for his dictionary, which covers a broad period from the sixteenth century to the 1840s.[2] He makes only one obvious classification, treating the historians who occupied the imperial post of annals-writer as one group (*vaqanüvis*), and the rest of the historians as another (*müverrih*). If the historians in the biographer's first group collected wages from the imperial treasury, the individuals in the second group were also certainly no freelance historians. The *majority* of Ottoman history-writing up to the nineteenth century was either directly commissioned by the court, or submitted to the statesmen from within the court circles in the hope of monetary or professional recognition—or, alternatively, the authors were actually court affiliates or members of the central bureaucracy. Before the nineteenth century, there was little scope for an historian to write professionally and survive financially other than by writing under the patronage of a court member in Istanbul.

[1] 'Ottoman' historical writing necessarily includes any historical work, written in any language, ranging from Arabic to Armenian and Persian to Serbian, by any Ottoman subject. While a comparative survey of all history-writing in the Ottoman lands would be the desired treatment of this subject, this chapter aims, for practical reasons, to include only historians who wrote in Turkish.

[2] Mehmed Cemaleddin, *Osmanlı tarih ve müverrihleri: Âyine-i zurefa* (Istanbul, 1314/1896–97), 4; new edn by M. Arslan (Istanbul, 2003), 25.

This circumstance had two clear consequences. First, imperial ideology came to constitute the general framework for history-writing from the fifteenth century. The most prominent characteristic was the avoidance of an unfavourable stance towards the embraced pillars of the state, such as the Ottoman ruling doctrine of securing 'world order' (*nizam-ı alem*), or current or recent policies, which could possibly jeopardize the greater good of 'religion and state' (*din ü devlet*) in the common rhetoric, that is the contemporary government. There are a few known instances of a court historian submitting a work to the court and being advised to rewrite parts of it, especially those concerning events that had a direct bearing on contemporary politics.[3] However, critical remarks on the government's policies did find their way into many works, either originating from the critical mind of the historian (Naima, early eighteenth century), or stemming from frustration about unrealized prospects (Âli, late sixteenth century), or a personal conflict or discontent with members of the ruling apparatus (Kuşmani, early nineteenth century). Especially after the late sixteenth century, those with a critical viewpoint interpreted many developments as signs of disorder and decline compared with the age of the great sultans from Mehmed II to Süleyman I; this decline-and-reform discourse, which hovered between the analytical and the polemical, found great resonance. Even the imperial annalists could make critical remarks about former sultans in a direct or indirect manner, when the current political and intellectual climate rendered the policies of these rulers passé. This strategy was also employed by historians to obliquely criticize the current government. The second consequence of the fact that the majority of historians were writing at and for the court was that the works were invariably Istanbul-centred and written from the perspective of the imperial throne city. Istanbul was the centre of the world and all events in the provinces were mentioned only insofar as they had relevance to events in Istanbul.

Poetry had always been a more prestigious genre than prose in Ottoman literature. In line with the extensive Middle Eastern tradition, it was seen as a fertile ground for original imagery (*bikr-i mana*) and, indeed, creativity was one of the primary prerequisites of an accomplished poet. That is also why only poets among the literati were deemed worthy of having separate biographical dictionaries devoted to them, not on account of some professional identity but solely by virtue of the genre they were writing in. Thus the fact that a separate biographical dictionary for historians was compiled only in the nineteenth century does not necessarily indicate a lack of interest in historical writing *per* se. Nevertheless, Ottoman poetry declined as a medium for historical narrative from the seventeenth century, and lost out by the nineteenth century to the more 'rational' writing style of prose.

Ottoman historical writing was governed by clear expectations. Empiricism, be it accurate coverage of narrative sources or interviews with witnesses of events,

[3] Cf. Bekir Kütükoğlu, 'Vekâyinüvis', *İslam ansiklopedisi*, 13 (1982), 282.

and especially the use of archival resources, was vital. However, the systematic use of hard evidence, such as dedicatory inscriptions or coinage, was not a familiar method. Many works, and especially those by imperial annalists, transcribed significant documents *in extenso*, clearly as a claim to excellence. A critical evaluation of official state documents, however, was not a common practice. Whereas poetry had protective mechanisms against plagiarism of imagery, historians freely transcribed long passages without any reference to their source. However, there was obviously some awareness of the issue, as several historians were careful to identify their sources. An author's style, analytical skills, and organization of the work, not to mention wittiness, were the decisive determinants of quality, and hardly anyone was concerned with originality. Since events could not possibly be a product of a creative imagination, but were either witnessed or recorded, it was assumed that once they were recorded, such accounts were common property.

IMPERIAL ANNALS

The Ottoman court had regularly employed an imperial annalist since the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the coverage of the annals begins in the seventeenth century, with a gap of a few years caused by unrest in the city, and apart from the records from most of the reign of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909), which have yet to turn up.[4] The established practice was that, once appointed to his post, an annalist would continue to cover events from the time when his predecessor left off. This might require him to treat events before his time—ideally with the documentation he received from his predecessor and through access to the state archives. He was also expected to keep a record of current events, which he might find opportunity to work into a coherent narrative and submit to the court, or else leave as source material for his successor.

The annalists were often chosen from the central bureaucracy, more specifically from the prestigious group of court scribes, the *hacegân*, or else they were members of the *ulema* class (from either a juridical or professorial background). They would be scholars with a sound education in philology, and religious and other sciences, but not necessarily in history. In fact, the annalists' philological and epistolary skills were often the primary qualification for their appointment. An additional pattern can be discerned in the nineteenth century: although still

[4] For example, the years 1142/1729–30 and 1201–2/1787–9 are missing. Cf. Mehmed Ârif, 'Silsile-i vukuat-ı Devlet-i aliyyeden zabt edilmeyen 1142 senesi hadisatı', *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni mecmuası*, 1 (1328/1910), 53–64; Christoph K. Neumann, *Das indirekte Argument: ein Plädoyer für die Tanẓīmāt vermittels der Historie: die geschichtliche Bedeutung von Aḥmed Cevdet Paşas Taʾrīḫ* (Münster, 1994), 32; and cf. Kütükoğlu, 'Vekâyinüvis', 271–87.

Table 27.1. The nineteenth-century imperial annalists and the periods covered by their works

Annalist	Dates in office	Period covered
Ahmed Vasıf (4th time; d. 1806)	1799–1806	1800–4
Mehmed Pertev (d. 1807)	1807 (5 months)	Left scattered notes
Ömer Âmir (d. 1815)	1807–8 (3 months)	Left scattered notes
Ahmed Asım (d. 1819)	1808–19	1805–July 1808
Şanizade (d. 1826)	1819–25	July 1808–August 1821
Mehmed Esad (d. 1848)	1825–48	September 1821–July 1825
Recai Mehmed (d. 1874)	1848–53	No known work
Nail Mehmed (d. 1855)	1853–5	No known work
Ahmed Cevdet (d. 1895)	1855–66	[1774–1826]*
Ahmed Lutfi (d. 1907)	1866–1907	August 1825–May 1876 [1876–1908 missing]
Abdurrahman Şeref (d. 1925)	1909–19	July 1908–August 1909**

* Not a sequel to the foregoing imperial annals.

** Further work by this historian is likely to surface.

being selected for their philological skills, the imperial annalists were now chosen from among the writers and editors of the official gazette, the *Taqvim-i veqayi* (first issue 1831). All the imperial annalists of the nineteenth century, with the exception of Ahmed Cevdet, held a position at the gazette. (See Table 27.1 for a list of nineteenth-century imperial annalists.)

The common designation for an annalist in the nineteenth century was a *vaqanüvis*, which literally meant an 'event-writer'. Certain kinds of incidents typically qualified as an event, such as courtly, diplomatic, and military affairs, appointments, and the biographies of deceased persons of note. Some historians clearly knew how to enliven the narrative with additional details. Ahmed Cevdet's biographical excursions, masterfully interwoven with more serious accounts of political events, possess entertaining qualities. It was not unusual to discuss the philosophy and methodology of historical writing in the introduction. Events were recounted chronologically in a linear, one-dimensional fashion, and were organized into months and years, although flashbacks were not uncommon features in the narrative. Occasionally, the narrative of a record would be interrupted when the events stretched over to the following year, and would be resumed under the heading for the next year.

The influence of the majority of the annalists has been restricted. Their works still remain unedited, and the essential qualities of their historical writing have not attracted sustained scholarly attention. One remarkable exception is Ahmed Cevdet, who wrote a twelve-volume history covering the years 1774–1826, which, because of its early publication and the author's fluid style, had an enormous effect

on later scholarship on this era.[5] However, Cevdet was unusual in that he did not write his history as a sequel to the foregoing imperial annals. He was initially commissioned by the Academy of Sciences (*Encümen-i daniş*) to undertake a re-evaluation of this age of reforms, and only later appointed annalist. Furthermore, he probably owes his fame more to his witty and gossipy journals (*Tezâkir*), which he kept during his tenure as imperial annalist, than to his history-writing.

Although Ahmed Lutfi, imperial annalist for more than forty years (1866–1907), was harshly criticized for having used the *Taqvim-i veqayi* as his main source,[6] given the nature of this official gazette the criticism is not totally justified. *Taqvim* emerged more or less as a 'blog' of events, not so different from the *ceride-i yevmiyye*s (daily journals), which the annalists were accustomed to keep in order to pass on to their successors as source material. As we have seen, several of the writers and editors of the gazette were imperial annalists. Hence there is reason to believe that the *Taqvim* was regarded almost as a contemporaneous chronicle. It was inevitably viewed as a new medium of historical writing, with its tacitly accepted role of expressing the state's position on events. The publishers mentioned in the first issue that it sometimes took twenty to thirty years until people had access to history books written about recent events, and that one of the purposes of the gazette would be to provide immediate access to historiography. What qualified as 'news' in the gazette was not very different from what would be included in an Ottoman annal.

Ahmed Lutfi had his own complaints. Apparently, he did not receive an abundance of source material for the period with which he was charged, and ready access to the archives was not provided to him. The main reason for his dissatisfaction, however, seems to be the waning importance and prestige of the office of imperial annalist. A critical approach to the conventions of annal-writing had emerged by the mid-nineteenth century. A revealing petition submitted to the grand vizier by Recai Mehmed just after his appointment to the post of imperial annalist in 1848 indicates that even he found the tradition problematic at this point.[7] In his petition to the grand vizier requesting assistants, Recai Mehmed suggested that the traditional practices had inevitably produced a one-sided historiography. The use of primary sources written from the perspective of the political entities with which the Ottoman state was in conflict would bring about a more balanced view. Recai Mehmed thus considered the unilateral nature of the sources to be the main shortcoming of the annals written by his predecessors.[8]

[5] Ahmed Cevdet, *Tarih-i Devlet-i aliyye*, 12 vols. (Istanbul, 1854–84).

[6] For example A. Şeref in his introduction to vol. 8 of Ahmed Lutfi's *Tarih* (Istanbul, 1906), 3; Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, 'Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete kadar bizde tarihçilik', in *Tanzimat I* (Istanbul, 1940), 575; and Ercüment Kuran, 'Ottoman Historiography of the Tanzimat Period', in Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1962), 423.

[7] Recorded in Mehmed Cemaleddin, *Osmanlı tarih ve müverrihleri*, 105–11; Arslan edn, 99–103.

[8] Criticisms along the same line were also expressed in Hayrullah Efendi's *Veqayi-i Devlet-i aliyye Osmaniyye* (Istanbul, 1856–75).

A similarly disapproving approach towards earlier historiography became almost a standard thread in later discussions on historical writing, and it became increasingly harsh and dismissive in tone. The annalists were again the target of reproach, but the main points of criticism were different. The primary critiques were that the annalists recorded events in chronological order without seeking to elucidate any causal relationship between them; and that they were writing to justify the actions of the powerful statesmen. In the 1910s, when Mehmed Murad, a Daghestani émigré, accused the popular historian Ahmed Refik of, among other things, unduly justifying a former grand vizier's political actions, he declared that Refik's attitude resembled that of an 'old annalist's'. In his response, Refik dissociated himself from any tradition of annalistic historical writing. In comparing his two sources for the event under discussion, Refik was clearly dismissive of the eighteenth-century annalist Raşid and praised the German historian Wilhelm Bigge.[9]

As historical writing evolved into a scholarly and investigative discipline, many historians of the new generation lamented that the earlier Ottoman historians and annalists had not written analytical monographs. The controversy surrounding the value of the annals has left its mark on Turkish historical scholarship. Modern historiography has a contradictory relationship with these accounts. On the one hand, it regrets that little information other than on battles, official appointments, or sultans' activities can be found in the annals. On the other hand, probably due to their almost uninterrupted coverage and easy accessibility, it makes extensive use of some of the annals, so that they continue to shape the modern historiography on the Ottoman Empire.

INDEPENDENT HISTORIES

Until the nineteenth century, the model historical narrative was a well-disseminated, lengthy, and prestigious history produced by the court or for some courtly person. Even then, it could be further disseminated through copies and extracts. One can even speak of a certain kind of uniformity in narrative techniques and historical methodology. Thereafter, and especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a rapid growth in the number of histories, the variety of subjects they covered, and the methodologies they utilized. With the democratization of historical writing, the court and the central bureaucracy ceased to be the sole centres of production of historical works and the time-honoured histories became less attractive as paradigm-setters. There were several reasons for this development.

[9] For details of this debate see Christoph Herzog, *Geschichte und Ideologie: Mehmed Murad und Celal Nuri über die historischen Ursachen des osmanischen Niedergangs* (Berlin, 1996), 83–7.

As a result of the educational policies of the nineteenth century, the percentage of educated people—in addition to those who received training at the palace, as an official scribe, or in the medreses—rose considerably. The new school system produced a new generation of history-writers, and increased the readership. With this shift in the educational background of the historians, fewer historians from the *ulema* composed historical works in the traditional format of Persian and Arabic historical writing. There was also an influx of émigrés of Turkic origin from the Russian Empire. Several of the prominent historians of the late Ottoman and early republican period were educated under the tsarist system. Finally, while the spread of newspapers towards the mid-nineteenth century provided new opportunities for political discussion, Sultan Abdülhamid II's (r. 1876–1909) ruled with an iron hand and censorship drove many public intellectuals to resort to historical writing as a safe haven for political commentary.[10] The theoretical foundations of the major political ideologies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, namely Ottomanism and Turkish nationalism, were established primarily through the medium of historical writing.

An accomplished Ottoman author was ordinarily expected to use at least three classical Islamic languages, Turkish, Arabic, and Persian (*elsine-i selase*). Moreover, some had access to works written in Greek and Latin, others to works in German, and an increasing number to works in French. There was a growing desire to appropriate contemporary Western European methods of reasoning and scholarship, which in turn shaped historical writing along with other literary and scientific output. An even greater impetus for this appropriation was the gradual break from the Persian and Arabic historical traditions.

The translation of European historical works into Turkish, or their use as untranslated source materials, was one of the ways in which new historical methods were introduced. Turkish historical writing in this period made no original contribution to non-Ottoman historical writing: all works on non-Ottoman history were either direct translations of European works or else compilations. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's colossal *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* [History of the Ottoman Empire] (10 vols., 1827–35) was one of the major works that exerted a wide influence. Hammer's history was embraced without any hesitation, unlike Johann Zinkeisen's similarly impressive seven-volume history of the Ottoman State (1840–63), which used solely European sources and found little or no reception.[11] Hammer's command of the Turkish language and his extensive use of Ottoman sources (some even before they began to be appreciated by Turkish historical writers) must have played a role in this. Hayrullah's *Veqayi-i Devlet-i aliyye Osmaniyye* [History of the Ottoman State] (1856–75), quite an

[10] Neumann, *Das indirekte Argument*, 5.

[11] Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, 7 vols. (Hamburg, 1840–63).

admired work during the years it was in print, was apparently also influenced by the French translation of Hammer's oeuvre. Other renowned historians, both serious and popular, such as Namık Kemal, Kamil Paşa, and Abdurrahman Şeref, were also influenced by Hammer's history, appropriating ideas and paraphrasing passages from his work.[12]

Ottoman historical writing had traditionally seen itself, and its main subject the Ottoman dynasty, as a chapter within Islamic history. No groundbreaking Islamic history based on unusual sources seems to have been composed in the nineteenth century. *Qısas-ı enbiya ve tevarih-i hulefa* [The Tales of Prophets and Histories of Caliphs] (1874–86), by Ahmed Cevdet, achieved great popularity, mostly due to its articulate and uncomplicated language. The narratives of many pre-nineteenth-century 'universal' histories, some beginning with the creation of the world, traditionally flowed into the rise of Islam and developed into a considerably more detailed story of Ottoman history. History was considered to be advancing (although not necessarily 'progressing') towards its inevitable destination, the end of the world or the Judgment Day, and the eternal Ottoman State (*devlet-i ebed-müddet*), as it was called, was considered the last major phase in Islamic history. Separate treatments of Western and Eastern calendar systems, titulature of sovereigns or imperial genealogies do exist, but non-Islamic history did not feature in any Ottoman universal history, or figured only modestly. Yet, the nineteenth century witnessed the advent of a totally new notion of universalism. The earlier tradition was now dismissed by a new generation of historians, who switched to the dominant Western European-centred historical writing. In the hope of earning a place for Turks among historical nations with a 'true' history, nationalistic historians such as Mustafa Celaleddin attempted to prove that the Turks were members of the white Aryan race. Even before the rise of outright nationalistic discourse, Ahmed Cevdet's *History* treated Ottoman history as part and parcel of a world history which had Europe as its centre. Hayrullah, too, took a similar approach in his *History of the Ottoman State*, which began publication in 1856. In the introduction to his *Mufassal tarih-i qurun-ı cedide* [Complete History of the Modern Ages] (1886) Ahmed Midhat, a prolific journalist and popular historian, forthrightly criticized earlier Ottoman historians because of their failure to deal with civilizations other than Islamic ones. Earlier, Midhat had undertaken the initiative of first printing in his newspaper, and then publishing in more than a dozen volumes, a historical series titled 'The Universe'. The first part (Europe) included histories of modern European nations, whereas only one volume of the second part (Asia) was produced and it was devoted to the Ottoman Empire. Midhat's volumes did not perhaps set for themselves the ambition of being fine pieces of historical writing, since they were in effect translations from French, but they initiated the rise of a new concept of universalism.

[12] Yinanç, 'Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete kadar bizde tarihçilik', 577.

Through translated works, a periodization of history that was unfamiliar to the Ottomans came to the fore. Ahmed Hilmi, an assistant clerk in the Translation Office, referred to a discrepancy in historical periodization in the preface to his adapted translation of William Chambers's work (the first translated 'universal history' in Ottoman Turkish, published 1866–78).[13] The first volume, which contains numerous illustrations of the remains of ancient cultures, starts with the ancient Egyptians and continues with the Phoenicians, Assyrians, and other civilizations. Ahmed Hilmi mentions that one variant of periodization (conceivably the Ottoman one) divides the three eras of history as follows: the Ancient Ages (*ezmine-i müteqaddime*) from the creation of Adam to the departure of Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina (that is, the Hejira); the Middle Ages (*ezmine-i mütevassıta*), from the Hejira to the conquest of Constantinople; and the Modern Ages (*ezmine-i müteahhire*), from the conquest of the city to the translator's lifetime. However, as the translator indicated, Chambers's work used somewhat different events to mark the same divisions: from the creation of Adam to the fall of the Roman Empire; from then to the discovery of the New World; and from the discovery of the New World to the author's lifetime. Ahmed Hilmi did not discuss this difference in detail, and the alternative periodization continued even into the twentieth century, when the Eurocentric view of world history came to dominate Turkish historiography.

Many smaller tracts, some written in the provinces, the majority of which would otherwise probably have vanished as manuscripts, were disseminated by means of the printing process. An even easier way to get published was to bring out a work in instalments in a newspaper or a journal: a representative example is by a certain Atıf Mehmed of Crete, whose *Üssü'l-esas hükmü'l-hukûme* [The Origin of Principles], insignificant as an historical work, appeared in the local newspaper *İntibah* [The Awakening].[14] There were many pamphlets and monographs on remarkable events or military expeditions. Due to their being written near in time to the actual events, modern scholarship would probably regard these writings as investigative reporting (often written with considerable partiality). The Ottoman mind classified such works under the rubric of history. In addition there were eyewitness accounts of civil disturbances, some of which were composed in the provinces either by locals or officials on duty, for example the *Mora ihtilali tarihçesi* [History of the Morean Revolt] (1769) written by Süleyman Penah, a chief accountant of the Morea, or the *Tarih-i vaqa-i hayretnüma[-yı] Belgrad ve Sırbistan* [History of the Astounding Incident of

[13] *Tarih-i Umumi*, 6 vols. (Istanbul, 1866–78). The Scottish publisher William Chambers and his brother Robert produced a number of popular reference works, including *Chambers's Encyclopedia* (1859–68). Our attempt to identify which of their publications was used was unsuccessful, but the introduction to the translation indicates that Chambers was the source.

[14] We could not locate a complete collection of the newspaper *İntibah*. The information above is based on Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, 3 (1925), 110.

Belgrade and Serbia] (1874) by another local bureaucrat, Raşid. Other works considered to be historical writing included those justifying a political position, glorifying campaigns, or eulogizing statesmen. Among notable examples are the tracts written after the deposition and murder of Sultan Selim III in 1808; works dealing with the Crimean War (1853–6); and the annihilation of the Janissary corps in 1826. One of the several eulogistic monographs composed for the latter incident by the imperial annalist Mehmed Esad, the *Üss-i zafer* [Essence of Victory], was published at the imperial printing house within the same year as the corps' destruction.

Some nineteenth-century works, especially those on Ottoman Arab lands, came close to ethnography. The authors' approach at times represented an extension of European Orientalism, particularly since their main purpose was to put an end to the unrest in these regions and discredit those causing the disturbance. Eyyub Sabri, who spent several years in the Hejaz as a high-ranking military officer, wrote a history of the Wahhabi movement containing several sections alluding to the 'strange customs' of the native people who later came to belong to this sect.[15] Yemen also figured as an exotic far frontier in several historical accounts, which, at times, leaned heavily towards a colonial perspective. Ahmed Raşid, another military officer, composed an informative *Tarih-i Yemen ve Sana* [History of Yemen and San'a] (1874), at the end of which he describes, rather earnestly, some customs of the indigenous people as resulting from ignorance and a lack of education, while another 'illustrated' treatise, by Mustafa Hami, also an officer, remains unpublished. The text as well as the illustrations in the latter work concern local curiosities in addition to military matters.

The history of institutions was always fashionable as a genre, even though it tended to be primarily in the form of compilations of rules and regulations. However, the nineteenth century witnessed a different approach to this subject. With the familiarity of an insider who was brought up in the Inner Palace, Mehmed Atâ composed a five-volume history, part biographical dictionary, part anthology, and part institutional and anecdotal history.[16] The focus of the whole work, however, is clearly the palace, and the sections on palace life and protocol are based on his own experiences. In addition, a number of histories of military institutions were composed during this period. Using a variety of narratives and archival documents, the first volume of Ahmed Cevad's *Tarih-i askeri-i Osmani* [Ottoman Military History] (1882) skilfully deals with the institution, organization, and history of the Janissary corps. Two more of the ten proposed volumes remain as manuscripts in the Istanbul University Library.

Local urban histories are surprisingly rare in Ottoman historiography. Some earlier descriptions of Istanbul, for instance, told with a certain historical

[15] Eyyub Sabri, *Tarih-i Vehhabiyyan* (Istanbul, 1878).
[16] Tayyarzade Ataullah, *Tarih-i Ata*, 5 vols. (Istanbul, 1876).

perspective (Evliya Çelebi, Kömürcüyan),[17] or those in the form of a compilation of legends such as *Tarih-i Qonstantiniyye ve Ayasofya* [History of Constantinople and Hagia Sophia], do not constitute urban history proper. A few works dealt with monumental buildings and inscriptions, notably Ayvansarayi's late eighteenth-century *Hadiqatü'l-cevami* [Garden of the Mosques], which compiled information mainly about mosques, but also about other buildings in the neighbourhoods around them. The work was expanded considerably and reorganized during the nineteenth century by Satı Bey. Mustafa Vazıh's work *Belabilü'r-râsiye fi riyazi mesa'ili'l-Amasiyye* [Immovable Nightingales in the Garden of Affairs of Amasya], completed in 1824, on the provincial city of Amasya has still not been edited to date. While this is, in fact, in the form of a catechism rather than a history, the questions are relevant to life in Amasya, and the book provides miscellaneous information about the city, for example on the mineral springs, the city walls, the games played, and legends about the city. Other examples of local urban history come from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, some thirty years before the flourishing of the genre after the turn of the century, notably in works such as Hüseyin Hüsameddin's *Amasya tarihi* [History of Amasya] (1914) and Halil Edhem's *Kayseri şehri* [The City of Kayseri] (1915). Şakir Şevket published his *Trabzon tarihi* [History of Trabzon] in 1877. The impetus to write a history of Trabzon, which is located in the historical Pontus region of the Black Sea coast, apparently came as a reaction to a history book that was written and published in 1870 by another native of the city, Savvas Iōannidēs. The book, which was basically a plea for the rights of local Greeks to this contested region, came to be taught at schools for Ottoman citizens of Greek origin.[18] Although the information that the *Trabzon tarihi* contains on the city's pre-Ottoman past is mostly gathered from Greek and Armenian sources, the legends and hearsay included in the book make it worthy of note. This is probably also the first historiographical work to use Ottoman court registers as a source.

The discourse of a modern Ottoman identity, as it emerged in the late nineteenth century, inevitably extended the fields of interest for historical thinking and also produced works that engaged with modern techniques of scholarship. *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* [Ottoman Architecture], a handsome volume with numerous high-quality illustrations authorized by an imperial order and prepared by an ethnically cosmopolitan committee for the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna, displayed not only Ottoman, but also Seljuk and Byzantine motifs in the framework of Ottoman architectural tradition. Also as a result of the evolving historical consciousness, a novel interest in archaeological remains developed.

[17] Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan, *İstanbul tarihi: XVII. asırda İstanbul*, trans. Hrand Andreasyan (Istanbul, 1952); and *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının transkripsiyonu, dizini*, 10 vols. (Istanbul, 1996–2007).

[18] Savvas Iōannidēs, *Historia kai statistikē Trapezountos* (Constantinople, 1870); and cf. Şâkir Şevket, *Trabzon tarihi*, ed. İsmail Hacıfettahoğlu (Trabzon, 2001), 130.

Osman Hamdi Bey, painter, archaeologist, and savant from an elite family, founded the Imperial Museum in the gardens of the Topkapı Palace. The museum's collection consisted of artefacts not only from the Ottoman period but also from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. A noteworthy piece on display is the 'sarcophagus of Alexander the Great' discovered at the ancient site of Sidon (Lebanon) in 1887.

A remarkable example of family history, of which only a few have been discovered to date, was written in 1861 by Menemencioğlu Ahmed. While the author acknowledges the benefits of historical writing in general, he does not deem the 'trivialities' happening in a province or concerning a local dynasty as worthy of being considered historical knowledge. Thus the work contains a justification of why such a narrative could nevertheless be beneficial, albeit only for the offspring of that family. Ahmed's first draft was apparently polished up into more ornate language by his son, who was an accomplished civil servant in the central bureaucracy. It covers three generations of the Menemencioğlu family, established in the southern Anatolian region of Çukurova from the 1750s through the mid-nineteenth century, and becomes more detailed as it approaches the author's lifetime. The *Menemencioğulları tarihi* [History of Menemencioğulları] contains a narrative of, and perspective on, contemporary events that no other Ottoman source can provide. It recounts the relationship of government officials with the locals, details the implementation of Tanzimat regulations from a local perspective, and furthermore judges the eight-year rule of İbrahim Pasha of Egypt from 1832 to 1840 in the region favourably, since the family were obviously supporters of the Pasha's advance in Anatolia at the expense of the Ottomans. Not surprisingly, the manuscripts of the work did not find a wide circulation and it remained unpublished until recently.

At least two of the scholarly societies founded during the last seventy years of the Ottoman Empire were primarily concerned with the translation of historical works into Turkish and the composition of scholarly historical studies using novel approaches. The short-lived Academy of Sciences, founded in 1851, commissioned schoolbooks for history classes and new approaches to writing history, such as the histories of Ahmed Cevdet and Hayrullah. Among the writings of the members was a *Tarih-i Napoleon Bonapart'e, Imparator-u ahali-yi Fransa* [History of Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of the French People] (1855), compiled from French and English studies by Hovsep Vartanyan, also known as Vartan Paşa, and published in Turkish with Armenian script. There is evidence that some Turkish-speaking Muslim intellectuals, too, were following the Armeno-Turkish publications.

The Institute for Ottoman History (*Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni*) was founded in 1909, the year that the constitution was established on the initiative of Sultan Mehmed V, at a time when the government's strategy for holding back the empire from dissolution was still the integration of national elements through the concept of Ottomanism. The Institute announced its objective as publishing

documents, pamphlets, and accounts pertaining to Ottoman history and, most importantly, composing a comprehensive Ottoman history written with the goal of creating a consciousness of an Ottoman nation. The publication of the outline of the proposed history (*Osmanlı Tarihi Programı*) stirred up a heated discussion among historians outside the Institute (1913). The criticism was directed mainly towards the fact that the conceived work would chiefly be a political narrative, neglecting the social and economic aspects of events, and that Ottoman history would *not* be treated as part of the general Turkish history.

The first volume of the history, which was thought to be an introduction to the main work and covered predominantly the pre-Anatolian Turkish, Byzantine, and Seljuk periods, appeared in 1917, eight years after the Institute was founded. This delay was caused largely by the members' inability to work together in a coordinated and harmonious manner; however, there was another contributing factor to the ineffective performance of the Institute. After the substantial territorial losses during the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, the policy of Ottomanism came to be seen as unworkable, and the government's approach shifted drastically to a Turkish nationalist discourse. Therefore the driving principles behind the Institute's existence changed during this period. Controversy about the content of the proposed history also raged continuously within the Institute. Among its members were Turkish nationalists, such as Necib Asım, but also documentary-minded historians such as Ahmed Refik. Unable to agree on a workable approach, members of the Institute reformulated the article in its constitution regarding its mission of composing a history and aborted the project altogether. While this initiative did not reach completion or yield a comprehensive Ottoman history, the endeavour had important outcomes for the Turkish historiographical tradition. The bimonthly journal of the Institute, *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası*, the first issue of which appeared in April 1910, continued for thirteen years, at which point the title of the journal was changed to the *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası* [Journal of the Institute for Turkish History] and continued for another ten years. The journal included numerous invaluable scholarly articles, editions of documents and source materials, and became a school in its own right. It was instrumental in spreading the methodology of working with hard evidence; hence it was influential in the establishment of the new form of Turkish scholarly historical writing.

The Ottomans designated historical writing as a 'science' ('*ilm-i tarih*' or '*fenn-i tarih*'), though the separation of scholarly professional and popular forms of historical writing occurred only after the start of the twentieth century. The rejection of old-fashioned, dynasty-centred historiography by the new generation of historians was part of the larger development of a positivist, disenchanted, and anti-monarchical worldview that crystallized over the course of the nineteenth century. The modern historical writing that emerged from this change in worldview had various political tones, but its defining trait was a demystification of earlier concerns and models of explanation. It no longer tolerated, for instance, a predestinarian historical approach or astrological explanations for events.

EARLY REPUBLICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Turkish historiography in the early republican period (1923–46) needs to be understood in the context of a cultural revolution, the seeds of which were sown during the late imperial era. It was not as cataclysmic a revolution as the Russian or the Chinese, nor as momentous in terms of its impact on the rest of the world, but it had its own radical solutions, such as the change from an Arabic to a Latin alphabet (1928). This was one of the many steps taken to distance the new regime and its citizens, particularly the new generations, from the Ottoman and Islamic past, but it was not a complete rupture as some have portrayed it. On the one hand, the republican cultural revolution, operating at a distance from or even irreverence towards the ancient regime, had an emancipatory function: it brought about a release from the '*Nachteil der Geschichte*' in the sense of the oppressive weight of 'our past'. On the other hand, and at its worst, it made history the tool of ideological manipulation in the service of competing visions of a nation-state, with varying degrees of attachment to or detachment from Ottoman and Islamic traditions. Most academic historians practised their craft in the space between these extremes but not necessarily or immune from their magnetism.

Notwithstanding the ideological imbroglios, the republican era witnessed the consolidation and institutionalization of modern history-writing practices which produced numerous publications of original research, including many studies, some of them seminal, on Ottoman and Turkish-Islamic history. And notwithstanding sharp political differences, republican intellectuals were united in their perception of and opposition to a hegemonic European historiography that questioned, particularly during the decade before the foundation of the republic, the legitimacy of Turkish claims to a respectable place among modern nations. This defiance of the barbarian's role often assigned to Turks in Western historiography, and the exigencies of constructing national consciousness among a population that included millions of Muslim (but not necessarily Turkish-speaking) refugees from distant parts of an empire now lost, fostered an eagerness to prove that Turks were an ancient and civilized people.

The fecund intellectual environment of the late empire, particularly after the reinstitution of constitutional monarchy in 1908, had already inspired various accomplished and influential studies, including some that paved the way for an appreciation and appropriation of the pre-Ottoman and pre-Islamic history of Turks. But the newly founded republic had to steer its own nation-building project in a disciplined manner. John Dewey was invited from the United States in 1923 to conduct research and write a report on the educational policies of the fledgling state; Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the hero of the Turkish war of independence (1919–22) and the president of the new republic until his death in 1938, held conversations with Dewey during the latter's two-month residence and enquired about the pedagogy of history education in particular. From 1925, students were

sent to Europe to study not only natural sciences but also history, archaeology, art history, and related disciplines. Some of them, and their professors in different European universities, were handpicked by Atatürk. Afet İnan, for instance, was sent to Switzerland twice (1925–7 and 1935–8), the second time to work with Eugene Pittard. She was a pivotal member of a committee that in 1930, in close collaboration with Atatürk, produced *Türk tarihinin ana hatları* [Outline of Turkish History] that constituted the basis of new textbooks and of an official history thesis to be propounded in the 1930s.

Several institutions were created to experiment with new ideas, train historians and history teachers, and forge a new historical consciousness among the public. A Turkish Historical Society (THS) was instituted in 1930 under the patronage of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Many of the new historical ideas had been debated at his fabled dinner table, which regularly included intellectuals eager to shape the new regime and its ethos. The foundation of THS implied a gradual but unmistakable institutionalization, as engendered by congresses and academic publications (such as the quarterly *Belleten* from 1937). The first two congresses met in the presence of Atatürk and under his auspices. The venue for the first of these, held in 1932, was Ankara's newly established People's House, an appropriate site for 'the aim of explaining the new approach to history and teaching of history to teachers and the public'.[19] People's Houses were created across the country to perform social and educational functions and serve the goal of mobilizing public opinion towards the ideals and ideological tenets of the republic, including its new perspectives on history; several brought out their own publications with many new findings on local history and relevant selections from sources. The second congress, held in 1937 at the Dolmabahçe Palace, with an international character, hailed a more academic turn. The main theme of the congress was the classification and documentation of Turkish history. Thereafter, congresses have been held with some regularity on three- to five-year intervals until today (2011).

Closely related was the keen interest taken in archaeology, art history, and historical linguistics. The first excavation under the auspices of THS was launched in 1935 at Alacahöyük, a site associated with the Hittites, as part of the project to prove that Anatolia was an ancient homeland of the Turks. At the 1932 congress of THS, Afet İnan had declared: 'And this too must be well recognized that our ancient Hittites, our ancestors, were the first and autochthonous settlers and owners of this country of ours today.'[20] The historical, archaeological, and linguistic studies executed under the patronage of republican institutions after the 1930s eventually turned more sober, but not necessarily free of involvement in

[19] Our translation. Official website of THS: http://www.ttk.org.tr/index.php?Page=Sayfa&No=1. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 2-11 Temmuz 1932 yılında Ankara Halkevi'nde yapılmıştır. Amacı yeni tarih görüşünün ve tarih öğretiminde tutulacak yolun öğretmenlere ve kamuoyuna anlatılmasıdır, accessed 6 September 2009.

[20] 'Tarihten evel [!] ve tarih fecrinde', *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi*, 2 July 1932, 41 (authors' translation).

national 'causes'. A much deeper chord was struck by variants of Anatolianism and Turkism. The romance of a Turkish homeland in Inner Asia continues to be appealing, while that of a Hittite ancestry waned, except in some small circles; but the story of Turks after their Islamization and migration into Anatolia remains the overwhelming concern of historians and the public as 'our story'. As expressed by Remzi Oğuz Arık, an archeologist, 'the Byzantines, the Hellenes, the Assyrians, even the Hittites only exploited Anatolia according to their needs, they colonized it, while the Turks are the only nation that made Anatolia into a patria' after the battle of Mantzikert (1071).[21] This understanding implied the bourgeoning of a deep and abiding interest in research on the Seljuks of Anatolia, pioneered by Mükrimin Halil Yınanç as an autonomous field.

Conflicts after the October Revolution led to a new wave of emigration of scholars from former imperial Russia and brought some of the best-trained Turcologists to Turkey. Zeki Velidi Togan, for instance, brought a broad Eurasian perspective to Turkish history; while his critique of the Turkish history thesis rendered him controversial and forced him to take refuge in Vienna, he returned to Turkey in 1939 and produced several influential studies, including a monumental *Umumi Türk tarihine giriş* [Introduction to General Turkish History] (1946). Another influx of émigrés came from Germany in the 1930s, just as institutions of higher education were reconfigured toward the creation of universities on a European model in 1933. Many new fields were established in the new universities, including some that were seen to contribute directly to the broader historical investigations of Turkicity, such as Sinology and Sumerology, as represented by renowned professors W. Eberhard and H. G. Guterbock, respectively. Some of these German scholars took an active part in the scholarly life of the country, training students such as Bahaeddin Ögel, the first Turkish Sinologist, for whom, as for almost all of his peers, use of the non-Turcological fields remained by and large limited to what they offered with respect to the history of the Turks.

Universal standards of historical scholarship became part of regular training at universities during the inter-war years. Togan launched a course on method in 1929, which made use of English, French, German, and Russian works on the subject, and eventually compiled his lecture notes in a book that remains part of the curriculum in many history faculties.[22] It provides scientific introductions to such basics of historical practice as critical editions, source criticism, analysis, synthesis, and interpretation. Footnotes and bibliographies as well as a distinction between primary and secondary sources became standard, particularly under the rigorous editorship of various university journals from the 1930s onwards. The study of major European languages became a regular part of history education, even if the practice was far from perfect, but Arabic and Persian were

[21] *Coğrafyadan vatana* (1956; Ankara, 1969), 6.
[22] *Tarihde usul* (Istanbul, 1950).

dropped from the curricula, implying an eventual loosening of the ties between Ottoman historical studies and their medieval Islamic context. The number of translations from European languages increased by leaps and bounds, and some Turkish scholars started publishing in those languages, especially French. Fuad Köprülü's *Les origines de l'Empire ottoman* [The Origins of the Ottoman Empire] (1935), for example, was the outcome of his lectures at the Sorbonne, but the Turkish version did not appear until 1950. The modern organization of the Ottoman state archives, which can be traced back to 1846 when the Public Record Office (London) was a source of inspiration, accelerated during the late imperial and early republican era, and made the catalogued documents, at first small in number, available to researchers.

The use of the archives became an integral, perhaps even dominant, part of Ottoman historical studies from the 1940s onwards. Economic history, in particular, came into its own, thanks to an increasingly systematic exploitation of archival documents of a fiscal and demographic nature. Ömer Lutfi Barkan, the most prolific and influential scholar of Ottoman economic history, was appointed to the chair of History and Geography of Economics when it was founded in 1937 within the Faculty of Economics headed by Alexander Rüstow. The recognition of his work by Fernand Braudel in the 1950s fostered significant links with the Annales School, but even the earlier phase of Turkish historiography had not been oblivious to French social science.

In the realm of the social sciences, sociology reigned supreme and made an indelible impact on historical writing. Durkheimian ideas were introduced in the 1910s by Ziya Gökalp and some of his associates and students, for example Köprülü, and inspired the efflorescence of social history in a broad sense. A literary historian, Köprülü pioneered a sociologically informed cultural history of literary and political traditions with the goal, among other things, of establishing that Turkish traditions, rather than Byzantine or Arabo-Persian influences, could account for the accomplishments of the Seljuks and the Ottomans. Two of his students, Osman Turan and Halil İnalcık, eventually became the most accomplished scholars of Seljuk and Ottoman history, respectively. The history of folklore turned into a vibrant field in its own right in the hands of Pertev Naili Boratav, who applied rigorous historical methodology, partly inspired by Marxian approaches, to investigate medieval Turkish epics, proverbs, and the like, only to pursue his remarkable career outside Turkey after 1948 when he was dismissed from the university 'for spreading communism'. The early impact of German sociology can be traced to the arrival of émigré scholars, but the first mature application of questions and ideas deriving from Max Weber and Werner Sombart to Turkish history came in 1951 in the form of a brilliant study of 'medieval Turkish guild mentality' by Sabri Ülgener.[23]

[23] Sabri Ülgener, *İktisadî inhitat tarihimizin ahlâk ve zihniyet meseleleri* (Istanbul, 1951).

By 1945, the main trends and perspectives of a republican Turkish historiography had emerged, only to be reshaped in the new global order after the Second World War. The opening up of the political arena to a competitive, multiparty regime and the eventual loss of power by the party that enjoyed a quasi-monopoly over the government until 1950 brought a calibration of the critique of the Ottoman past, or an opportunity for a more appreciative attitude towards the empire to surface. In the early 1950s popular journals were launched with a high dose of content on 'our Ottoman past', and films were made with Ottoman themes, but none of this implied a restorationist or monarchist historical movement. At the institutional level, some of the policies of the early republic were reversed. People's Houses were shut down in 1951, the same year that saw the revival of public celebrations of 'inherited traditions'. In Manisa, for instance, the new government reintroduced annual festivities that had been held 'for hundreds of years' in honour of a sixteenth-century sufi and an aphrodisiac concocted by him—a local celebration that had been abolished by the young republic in 1926 because it was 'a remnant of the dynastic regime'.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1821	Greece gains independence from the Ottoman State
1851	Academy of Sciences (*Encümen-i daniş*) founded
1854–6	Crimean War
1876	Proclamation of the First Ottoman Constitution
1908	Proclamation of the Second Ottoman Constitution
1909	The Institute for Ottoman History founded
1912–13	Balkan Wars
1919–22	Turkish War of Independence
1923	Foundation of Turkish Republic

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Chapter 28

Historical Writing in the Arab World

Youssef M. Choueiri

This chapter covers the emergence of modern Arab historiography against the background of the advent of modernity in the Arab world and the responses it elicited at the level of its educated elites. These responses encompassed the idea of reform and the adoption of new institutions and concepts in order to make up for lost time and catch up with the progress of European societies. Historical writing was part of this wider endeavour, which saw the articulation of clear notions of national allegiance as a political prerequisite for building a viable state and regenerating the nation.

Broadly speaking, this period can be divided into two phases: pre-modern and modern, with the modern phase subdivided into an amateur stage and a second one in which professional historiography began to take root. Arab historiography was still pre-modern between 1800 and 1850, both in its methodology and organization of data. In some cases it was proto-national in that historical writings were produced based on events unfolding within a particular country, but the annalistic arrangement of events, the hallmark of classical Muslim historiography, was still the norm. These writings were essentially chronicles rather than histories. It was not until after 1850 that a new school of Arab historiography emerged, whereby listing events chronologically by year or month gave way to clear periodization based on an overarching scheme of narration. This modern school often had as its unit of study the fatherland as a territorial entity with its own mode of national characteristics and distinct field of political and social events. Since the pre-modern, proto-national era overlaps in some of its features with the modern one, the treatment here is largely confined to the early decades of the nineteenth century on the eve of the birth of Arab national historiography.

Historians of this proto-national phase were found in a number of Arab countries such as Lebanon, Egypt, and Tunisia.[1] The rise of such historical writing in these countries was facilitated by a number of factors. These included the

[1] In Lebanon there were the Shihabis in 1697–1840; in Egypt the Mamluk regime followed by the dynasty of Muhammad ʿAli in the nineteenth century; and in Tunisia the Husaynid dynasty in 1705–1957.

countries' relatively developed social structures and the continuing presence of well-established local autonomous rulers, anxious to promote their legitimacy, coupled with trading and other connections with the outside world. Such factors within the constellation of Arab countries were conducive to an indigenous school of historiography. Although Morocco might have been expected to be in the same position, with its indigenous dynasties and independence, its less developed social structure and limited openness to the outside world militated against the emergence of similar historical writings.[2] Moreover, Morocco was never conquered or incorporated by the Ottoman state, as was the case with most of the Arab world. Hence, as the Ottoman movement for reform got under way by the end of the eighteenth century, Morocco was largely left behind and did not attempt to catch up until much later. This was also the case in the Arabian Peninsula, particularly its core area known today as Saudi Arabia. Thus the emergence of historical writing did not occur in all Arab countries at the same time or pace. One could cite uneven development as an explanation of the exceptional Moroccan case. In other words, one or two factors of the equation mentioned above were missing, accounting for the early or belated appearance of proto-national histories.

Hence the texts of the Egyptian historian al-Jabarti, as well as those of the Lebanese Amir Haydar Shihabi, and the Tunisian Ibn Abi al-Diyaf are representative examples of being autonomous with relatively developed social structures. However, the Moroccan chronicler Ahmad al-Nasiri should also be included, despite the late composition of his chronicle. His multi-volume history of Morocco, produced towards the end of the nineteenth century, *Kitab al-Istiqsa li-Akhbar Duwwal al-Maghrib al-Aqsa* [Explorations of the History of Moroccan Dynasties], gives a clear indication of a nascent Moroccan identity.

ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jabarti was a religious scholar with strong connections to the Mamluk establishment as it was moving towards its final days. More importantly, from his Cairo base he was a direct witness of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and the subsequent French occupation, 1798–1801, as well as the rise of a new autonomous Ottoman ruler, Muhammad ʿAli (1805–48). His major work, *Ajaʾib al-athar fi al-tarajim wa al-akhbar* [Wondrous Legacies of Men and their Deeds] (1958), is a four-volume chronicle dealing with Egyptian historical events and the biographies of its famous men between 1688 and 1821.[3] Two other short chronicles of al-Jabarti dealt solely with the subject of the French occupation. These are *Muzhir al-taqdis bi dhahab dawlat al-faransis* [The Demonstration of Divine Will in the Demise of the French State] (written *c.*1802) and *Tʾarikh muddat al-faransis bi misr* [History of the French Presence in Egypt] (written in 1798, published in

[2] On Morocco in the nineteenth century see Abdallah Laroui, *Les origines sociales et culturelles du nationalisme Marocain, 1830–1912* (Paris, 1980).

[3] This has been translated into English as *ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Jabarti's History of Egypt*, trans. Thomas Philipp and Moshe Perlmann, 4 vols. (Stuttgart, 1994).

1838).[4] In these three works, al-Jabarti is mainly concerned with Egyptian events, which are chronicled according to the time-honoured chronological methodology, with events timed to coincide with particular months of the Islamic calendar. He demonstrates throughout his chronological scheme a heightened degree of attention to detail and a desire to reproduce original documents, such as the Arabic version of Napoleon's Proclamation to the Egyptians towards the beginning of his campaign. Moreover, unlike classical Muslim historians, who tended to reproduce almost all available accounts of the same events, despite their contradictions and without venturing to support one version or another, al-Jabarti goes out of his way to pass judgement, state his preferences as to the best representatives of Egypt's interests, and does not flinch from mocking or showing his disapproval of certain individuals or turn of events. In this sense, his heroes were his religious colleagues: the fraternity of Sunni 'ulama'. These 'ulama' are explicitly designated in the introduction to his first work as 'the heirs of the prophets, the elite of the elite and the followers of the true divine laws'.[5] In other words, al-Jabarti was battling a new trend that gathered momentum after Muhammad 'Ali's coming to power: the gradual erosion of the influence and autonomy of the religious establishment. It could be said that Napoleon's reliance on Egypt's religious leaders as his intermediaries with the population at large had sharpened al-Jabarti's awareness of the power and valued knowledge of the 'ulama' as a social group. However, this trend did not survive beyond a few years after the French occupation. It is also in this context that one should understand al-Jabarti's vehement enmity towards the new Ottoman ruler of Egypt who was bent on centralizing political power and asserting his authority as the supreme reformist ruler.

Both Haydar Shihabi and Ibn Abi al-Diyaf were less vehement in their appraisal of contemporary rulers, as they were less anxious about the fate of their social group or personal status.[6] However, both followed the annalistic formula and based their narratives on dynastic events. The former was primarily interested in the history of his family and consequently that of Mount Lebanon, while the latter made Tunisia, with its autonomous status under the Husaynid dynasty, the focus of his historical reports.[7] Other local histories of various Arab countries did not diverge from this formula until a new configuration of social and cultural changes made their appearance.

The initiation of a modern notion of history-writing coincided with intensive Ottoman efforts at reform and a heightened drive by European powers to expand

[4] See Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, *Napoleon in Egypt: Al-Jabarti's Chronicle of the French Occupation, 1798*, trans. Shmuel Moreh (Princeton, NJ, 1993).

[5] Youssef M. Choueiri, *Modern Arab Historiography* (London, 2003), 32.

[6] See Haydar Ahmad al-Shihabi, *Lubnan fi 'ahd al-umara' al-shihabiyyin*, ed. Asad Rustum and Fouad E. Boustany, 3 vols. (Beirut, 1984).

[7] On the political views of Ibn Abi al-Diyaf as elaborated in the introduction to his chronicle see C. L. Brown's excellent translation: *Consult Them in the Matter: A Nineteenth-Century Islamic Argument for Constitutional Government* (Fayetteville, Ark., 2005).

their varied interests into the Arab world. This phase extended from about 1850 until the end of the First World War. Not all Arab countries obeyed this time frame, but Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and Tunisia blazed a trail.

It was in this period that Arab historiography became associated with national regeneration, acquiring as a result a clear territorial dimension whereby a particular country, rather than a dynasty or a religious community, became the subject of the narrative that revealed a linear sequence of events. The historians of this period include, among others, al-Tahtawi (Egypt), Ilyas Matar, Jurji Yanni (Syria), Boulus Nujaym (Lebanon), Hasan H. ʿAbd al-Wahhab (Tunisia), Kurd ʿAli (Syria), Ahmad al-Madani, and Mubarak al-Mili (Algeria). Almost all of these authors, perhaps with the exception of Boulus Nujaym, who in 1908 published *La Question du Liban* [The Question of Lebanon] under the pseudonym M. Jouplain, were amateur historians who dabbled in history while performing other duties or pursuing different careers in journalism, medicine, and government service. Although they were pioneers in many ways, their particular style and reliance on secondary sources did not establish history as a separate discipline with its own associations, journals, and conferences. However, this amateur historiography was a significant hallmark that set the stage for the development of professional historiography. For apart from doing away with the chronological format and basing its narratives on a well-defined fatherland, instead of arranging events and data around the activities of a succession of rulers, it widened the scope of its subject by rediscovering the pre-Islamic past of various Arab countries. Whereas previous Arab historians took notice of some pre-Islamic sequences, they did so mainly to show the contrast between an age of ignorance or mythological occurrences and one of true religion and reliable accounts. In the new historiography we find al-Tahtawi narrating, in a history published in 1868–9, a connected historical account of ancient Egypt with genuine pride and patriotic allegiance to a territorial unit labelled 'Egypt, the mother of the world'.[8] Both Matar in 1874 and Yanni in 1881 did the same for Greater Syria.[9] They engaged in a similar exercise by highlighting historical episodes related to the Canaanites, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, and the Persians, as well as the Greeks and the Romans. Various Maghrebi historians, albeit at a later stage beginning in the 1920s, performed a similar operation by embedding their modern Arab and Muslim national histories within a novel framework, whereby the Berbers and the Phoenicians were reclaimed as indigenous nationals, whereas the Romans and the Byzantines were treated as foreign invaders. Anastase al-Karmali was perhaps the first Iraqi to publish a national history of his country, in 1919.[10] Composed in response to British policies to govern Iraq as one single state, he accorded equal importance

[8] Choueiri, *Modern Arab Historiography*, 24–9.

[9] Ilyas Matar, *al-ʿUqud al-Durriyya fi tarikh al-mamlaka al-suriyya* (Beirut, 1874); and Jurji Yanni, *Tarikh Suriyya* (Beirut, 1881).

[10] Anastase al-Karmali, *Khulasat tarikh al-ʿIraq* (Basra, 1919).

to the ancient as well as to the medieval periods of this new political unit, reserving ample space for the achievements of the British imperial system.

PROFESSIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

In this sense, the end of the First World War constitutes a turning point in the development of Arab historiography. After 1919 we begin to notice a new type of historian: professionally trained, Western-educated, and highly conscious of the need to use primary sources. Moreover, whereas the unit of study remained almost the same, centring on an existing or potential nation-state, the methodology of these professional historians became more openly nationalistic or patriotic, coinciding with the struggle for Arab independence and self-determination. It also marked clear awareness of the different significance of secondary and primary sources for reconstructing historical episodes or the entire modern history of a particular country.

This phase thus marked the emergence and consolidation of professional history-writing in various Arab countries. The growth of this historiography is consequently related to the introduction of a novel discipline intimately associated with the rise of local and pan-Arab nationalist loyalties and other ideological movements. It was under these conditions that the chronological or classificatory methodology of the amateur historians gave way to a new paradigm closely linked to theories of evolution, organic development, and biological growth. As the struggle for independence gathered momentum, historical writing became a nationalist enterprise, with the new national universities acting as its site and forum. Furthermore, it was in this context that professional history-writing became equated with the use of primary sources. Representative historians of this period include ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Rafiʿi, Shafiq Ghurbal, Asad Rustum, Muhammad Sabri, Darwish Miqdadi, Qustantin Zurayq or Costi Zurayk, and others.[11]

ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Rafiʿi is known as the historian of the Egyptian nationalist movement. His monumental project consisting of over fifteen volumes,[12] launched in the 1920s, was intended to remap the modern history of Egypt in the aftermath of the popular revolt against British rule in 1919. His significance resides in his fiercely guarded independence and his implacable opposition to the character and policies of the Egyptian monarchy as revamped by the British after the First World War. Trained as a lawyer, elected to the Egyptian parliament on several occasions, and affiliated to the National Party of Mustafa

[11] ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Rafiʿi was the only one of this cluster who did not hold an academic post. Nevertheless, his output, despite its technical shortcomings, falls into the same category.

[12] For further information on this project see Anthony Gorman, *Historians, State and Politics in Twentieth-Century Egypt: Contesting the Nation* (London, 2003), 84–7.

Kamil, his writings embodied the spirit of his party in its struggle to achieve independence and endow Egypt with a developed system of constitutional government. Between 1929 and 1952 ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Rafiʿi published a series of popular, but well-documented history books, pinpointing the French occupation of his country in 1798, and the 'popular' resistance it elicited, as the inauguration of the modern history of Egypt and the Arab East. His history books were sometimes banned by the monarchist regime or excluded as textbooks from schools and universities. Apart from publishing a three-volume study on the history of the nationalist movement in Egypt, he composed three volumes on the era of Muhammad ʿAli (1805–48) and his successors, in addition to histories of the ʿUrabi Revolt in 1881–2 and the 1919 Revolution.[13] These were followed in 1939 by a biography of Mustafa Kamil, the founder of the National Party, who was considered the one who brought back to life the nationalist movement after the failures of ʿUrabi and surrender to the British in 1882, and another biography of Kamil's successor, Muhammad Farid, who was depicted as the one who picked up the nationalist torch until his death in exile.[14] Although shunned by the handful of academic historians, al-Rafiʿi's depiction of modern Egyptian history as the saga of the masses and their popular leaders, rather than that of a dynasty or a group of reformers, struck a chord with his middle-class audience still struggling to achieve political representation or the full independence of the country.[15]

In this sense, professional Arab historiography in the first half of the twentieth century was largely the product of a patronage relationship between the new Arab states and the historians of their universities. The relationship can be seen at work in both Lebanon and Egypt, the first Arab countries to foster this trend of professionalism. The two founders of professional modern Arab historiography, the Lebanese Asad Rustum and the Egyptian Shafiq Ghurbal, were closely associated with the endeavours of the Egyptian monarchy, or the dynasty of Muhammad ʿAli, as it sought to establish its political and cultural legitimacy. Moreover, as early as 1917 the newly installed Sultan of Egypt (rebranded king after Egypt achieved semi-independence in 1922) invited historians to compete for a prize by writing a history of the reign of his father, Khedive Ismaʿil (r. 1863–79). The Palestinian Ilyas al-Ayyubi won the prize, published his book a few years later, and went on to compose other volumes on various rulers of the dynasty, including its founder.[16] A more concerted effort was made in the early 1920s to rewrite

[13] For a list of his works see ibid., 250.

[14] See Farid's memoirs: *Muhammad Farid: The Memoirs and Diaries of Muhammad Farid, an Egyptian Nationalist Leader (1868–1919)*, ed. and trans. Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr. (San Francisco, 1992).

[15] On al-Rafiʿi see Yoav Di-Capua, '"Jabarti of the 20th Century": The National Epic of ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Rafii and other Egyptian Histories', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 36 (2004), 429–50.

[16] Ilyas al-Ayyubi, *Tarikh Misr fi ʿAhd al-Khidyawi Ismaʿil* (Cairo, 1923).

the new history of Egypt as part of an academic policy, with the Egyptian University acting as its hub.[17]

King Fu'ad of Egypt (r. 1917–36) inaugurated his ambitious historiographical endeavour in 1920. This project, whereby native and European specialists were hired to create the Royal Archives of Egypt at ʿAbdin Palace in Cairo, lasted until the end of the Second World War. Its publication record, appearing under the auspices of the Egyptian Royal Geographical Society (originally founded in 1875) and spanning more than eighty volumes on the modern history of the country, in addition to its impressive collection of documents and primary sources, could be said to have launched the idea of the archive as a national treasure and the prerequisite tool of a new school of historiography.[18] Foreign scholars such as Eugenio Griffini, Jean Deny, Georges Douin, Angelo Sammarco, and Pierre Crabitès were thus recruited to turn all foreign documents dealing with Muhammad ʿAli and his dynasty into a working archive for students and researchers. Moreover, Egyptian students were sent abroad to be trained as historians. Shafiq Ghurbal was the product of such an undertaking, studying in 1922 with Arnold Toynbee for his MA degree at the London Institute of Historical Studies. His thesis was titled 'The Beginnings of the Egyptian Question and the Rise of Mehemet Ali'. Its subtitle sums up its novel character: 'A Study in the Diplomacy of the Napoleonic Era based on Researches in the British and French Archives'.[19]

It is in this context that Ghurbal began to exercise his authority as a representative of a new methodology of history-writing on the one hand, and a close associate of those who determined how and why the newly catalogued primary sources would be used on the other. By the end of the 1930s Ghurbal had metamorphosed into the leading historian in his country. His students were directed to make use of the royal archives by choosing subjects and topics directly linked to Muhammad ʿAli.[20]

Some of his students, such as Ahmad ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karim,[21] ʿAbd al-Hamid al-Batriq, and ʿAhmad ʿAbd al-Rahim Mustafa became, in their turn, the new torch bearers of this genre of professional historiography. ʿAbd al-Karim, for

[17] The first Egyptian university was founded in 1908 as a private institution and became a state institution in 1925. It changed its name in 1940 to become Fu'ad I University. After the revolution in 1953, it adopted its present name: University of Cairo. Today there are more than twenty Egyptian universities, such as Alexandria, ʿAyn Shams, and Helwan.

[18] Gorman, *Historians, State and Politics in Twentieth-Century Egypt*, 15–23; and Yoav Di-Capua, 'The Thought and Practice of Modern Egyptian Historiography, 1890–1970', Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2004, 67–110.

[19] See Choueiri, *Modern Arab Historiography*, 77, for the significance of using primary sources.

[20] Assem El-Dessouki, 'The Making of a Modern Hero', *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, 12–18 May 2005, Issue No. 742 (Special). Available at http://www.weekly.ahram.org.eg, accessed 3 June 2009.

[21] See his two books on the history of education in Egypt: Ahmad Izzat Abd al-Karim, *Tarikh al-taʿlim fi ʿasr Muhammad ʿAli* (Cairo, 1938); and id., *Tarikh al-taʿlim fi Misr: 1848–1882*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1945).

example, became another 'Ghurbal' upon the foundation of Ibrahim Pasha University in 1950 (but renamed ʿAyn Shams after the 1952 Revolution). In the same way that Ghurbal thought Muhammad ʿAli made modern Egypt, ʿAbd al-Karim highlighted the role of the same hero in willing the establishment of education out of nothing but remnants of medieval systems of rote learning.[22] One of his students, Yunan Labib Rizq, is one of the most prominent contemporary historians in Egypt and the Arab world.

Another pioneering professional historian, Muhammad Sabri (Sabry), published in 1930 a more detailed study on what he called the 'Egyptian Empire under Muhammad ʿAli' and spelt out in the subtitle its equally novel composition by stressing that it was derived from 'private sources and unpublished documents collected from the archives of Cairo, Paris, London and Vienna'.[23] In 1933 he published another book on Ismaʿil with a similar claim.[24] Sabri had already published, in 1919–21, a two-volume study on the 1919 Egyptian Revolution and, in 1920, a monograph that was intended to represent the views of the Egyptian delegation under the leadership of Saʿd Zaghlul, the head of the Wafd Party and the 1919 Revolution.[25] Sabri was French-trained, studying history at the Sorbonne under the supervision of the historians Albert Aulard and Emile Bourgeois. He was also one of the secretaries to the Egyptian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. His espousal of the ideas of the French Revolution and open support of Zaghlul, who was the main political rival of King Fuʾad, excluded him from the direct patronage that Ghurbal and his circle were to enjoy. His precarious position was made worse upon the death of Zaghlul in 1927, two years before the appointment of Ghurbal as assistant professor of modern history in the Faculty of Arts at the Egyptian University. Although Sabri had published, in 1924, a study dealing with the reign of Ismaʿil,[26] when a sort of mania of publishing on the King's father had gripped Egypt, his contribution did not fit into an official policy, which sanctioned treatments highlighting the modern history of Egypt and the Arab East as the direct creation of the wise policies of Muhammad ʿAli and his dynasty. Sabri's book, covering the years between 1863 and 1882, concentrated instead on the emergence of new institutions and social groups and how both contributed to the birth of a new national spirit. Sabri began his exposition with Ismaʿil's assumption of power, but went on to describe the implications of these developments beyond his rule, which ended in 1879. By demarcating 1882 as the apogee of his narrative, Sabri underlined the legitimate nature of the ʿUrabi revolt

[22] Ghurbal, the supervisor of both works in their MA and Ph.D. stages, introduced both with apt prefaces.

[23] Mohammed Sabry, *L'empire égyptien sous Mohamed-Ali et la question d'Orient (1811–1849): Égypte—Arabie—Soudan—Morée—Crète—Syrie—Palestine* (Paris, 1930).

[24] Id., *Episode de la question d'Afrique: l'empire égyptien sous Ismail et l'ingérence anglo-française* (Paris, 1933).

[25] Id., *La révolution égyptienne*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1919–21); and id., *La question d'egypte* (Paris, 1919).

[26] Id., *La genèse de l'esprit national égyptien, 1863–1882* (Paris, 1924).

as the logical and inevitable expression of a national awakening. But as is well known, Britain invaded Egypt in the same year and aborted this burgeoning movement. It is for this reason that Sabri was more in tune with a revolutionary mood and an earnest desire to go beyond seeing Egypt achieving mere formal independence. It was also in 1924 that he translated and annotated ʿUrabi's affidavit to his lawyer upon his incarceration.[27]

In this context professional historiography was coloured by the hybridity of the political allegiances of its exponents and the wider struggles for power by different social groups and elites. Nevertheless, Ghurbal and Sabri shared much in common despite their divergent political views. Both were meticulous historians who took their discipline seriously and strove throughout their professional careers to adhere to its methodological rules and technical requirements. More importantly, there was a general intellectual consensus in this period about a number of core values, starting with the idea of citizenship and ending with the necessity of achieving full national sovereignty in all areas, including the patrimony of history and its national direction.

Ghurbal, for example, and notwithstanding his royalist connections, was fully in tune with the spirit of the age and supported full equality for both men and women. This is amply demonstrated by a report in *al-Ahram* newspaper on a conference organized in July 1925 in Cairo to discuss elementary education in Egypt:

> Ghurbal, as usual, was clear and to the point. He criticised the prevalent attitude which maintained that women's education should be restricted to the daughters of the rich and that its aim should be to form 'meek, docile wives whose sole purpose in conjugal life is to content the hearts of their husbands'. Instead he stressed that elementary schooling should provide the same education for girls as for boys and that a new concept of schooling should be devised scientifically 'without delving into religious debate'. He criticised education officials for being overly sensitive to current social attitudes regarding women, pointing to 'methodical psychological studies' which proved that there was no disparity in how boys and girls below the age of 12 learn. In addition, he observed that the customary approach—teaching young men to become productive bread-earners and young women efficient housewives and child-rearers—was no longer appropriate as year after year more women were seeking employment before marriage.[28]

This secular stance could be said to have pervaded most historical writings in the Arab world after 1920. However, the ascendancy of one particular group in the academic sphere was still largely determined by patronage and marked by effusions of loyalty in writings as well as in the classrooms of universities and public halls. This was manifestly the case in Egypt, both before and after the revolution.

[27] *Mémoire d'Arabi-Pacha a ses avocats*, ed. and trans. Mohammed Sabry (Paris, 1924).

[28] *Al-Ahram Weekly On-line*, 7 March 2001, Issue No. 523. Available at http://www.weekly.ahram.org.eg, accessed 31 March 2009. Compiled by Yunan Labib Rizk, with slight modifications by the author.

Such a manifestation was soon to rear its head across the Arab world as the Egyptian experiment acted as a model for other countries to follow after achieving their independence after the First World War.

GHURBAL'S STEWARDSHIP

In his book on Muhammad ʿAli, Ghurbal considered him as the only statesman who knew how to turn Egypt into a nation-state, or, as the English historian of British India was to dub him, 'the founder of modern Egypt'.[29] Three years later, in 1932, Ghurbal revisited his subject with a new approach.[30] This approach seems to have been adopted to account for the rise of modern Egypt in a more nationally grounded analysis. Thus instead of attributing this development to the sole genius of one man, he went out of his way to show how it had become inevitable as a result of Napoleon's invasion. Using French and British archival documents, as well as al-Jabarti's chronicle, as he did in his first work, but writing in Arabic, he announced his discovery of a well-coordinated project for the independence of Egypt. Not only did the project pre-date Muhammad ʿAli's rise to power by four years, it was also a home-grown idea put forward by an Egyptian Copt, General Yaʿqub, who was initially a close ally of the Mamluks but saw fit, upon the French occupation of his country, to cooperate with its new masters as the Commander of the Coptic Legion. Ghurbal proudly declared, 'Reading al-Jabarti's chronicle or other accounts, one does not find that Yaʿqub in 1801, upon the end of the French occupation, decided to emigrate and follow the French army to France in order to achieve a momentous project, i.e., his plan to obtain the recognition of Egypt's independence by [European] Powers.'[31]

This momentous scheme, moreover, was not only a significant historical event but one made all the more important for the national memory by the manner in which the historian discharged his task in pursuit of its factual occurrence. 'I found the papers relating to this in the diplomatic records (archives) of the English and French foreign ministries, having given up almost all hope of coming across any Egyptian or non-Egyptian proposal to resolve the Egyptian question by way of recognizing Egypt's independence.'[32]

Ghurbal also informed his compatriots that another historian, Georges Douin, had already published these documents 'with an analytical introduction under the auspices of the Royal Egyptian Geographical Society' and 'the courtesy of his Majesty', king Fuʾad I.[33] However, he offered his own interpretation of this

[29] See Henry Dodwell, *The Founder of Modern Egypt: A Study of Muhammad ʿAli* (Cambridge, 1931); and Shafiq Ghurbal, *Muhammad ʿAli al-Kabir* (Cairo, 1944).

[30] Shafiq Ghurbal, *al-Jeneral Yaʿqub wa al-Faris Lascaris wa Mashruʿ Istiqlal Misr fi 1801* (Cairo, 1932).

[31] Ibid., 21. [32] Ibid., 22.

[33] Ibid. See also Georges Douin, *L'Egypte Independente Projet de 1801* (Cairo, 1924), esp. pp. i–xvi.

particular episode, despite the fact that Douin had already singled out the implications of the project as a purely Egyptian endeavour. In other words, Ghurbal went out of his way to tie the project to an emerging pattern which, sooner or later, would assert itself in Egypt's drive for independence, irrespective of the particular identity of the individuals concerned. Suffice it to say that Ya'qub died in August 1801 while still at sea. This sealed the fate of his bold plan and doomed all the overtures which his companion and interpreter, Lascaris, made to both the French and British governments. Furthermore, Ghurbal was anxious in this particular instance to underline the importance of diplomatic negotiations as the best way of advancing Egypt's quest for full independence. This last lesson was fully explored in a more detailed study of Anglo-Egyptian negotiations, shortly before the collapse of the monarchy.[34] In this new study, when both Britain and Egypt were engaged in a new round of negotiations, Ghurbal went a step further by emphasizing the influence of moral as well as long-standing grievances as the pivotal factor in deciding the outcome of such negotiations.

In the meantime, he never wavered in his loyalty to the monarchy, describing the new king, Faruq (r. 1936–52), as the saviour of both Egypt and Palestine. Moreover, Egypt began to play a crucial regional role in the early 1940s, emerging by 1945 as the centre and hub of a new League of Arab states, in addition to its connections across the Muslim world. It seems that Ghurbal chose to concentrate on the Islamic dimension, judging it to be the determining dimension of Faruq's policy, in opposition to his prime minister, Mustafa al-Nahhas, who was more in tune with a pan-Arab policy. It was in this context that he composed a biography of Muhammad 'Ali in 1944.[35] In it he elevated 'the founder of modern Egypt' to the status of an Ottoman, and consequently Muslim statesman, whose sole purpose was to rescue the Ottoman Empire by reforming its institutions and overhauling its agricultural and manufacturing systems. Hence Egypt was no longer his main concern, but a mere launching-pad for a daring programme conceived to renew Islam and turn its Ottoman centre into a world power. It was during Ghurbal's stewardship of professional Egyptian historiography that other Arab countries began to turn history into an academic pursuit. But such a generalization should not obscure the important contributions to Arab historiography by another cluster of historians who were based at the American University in Beirut after 1920.

HISTORIOGRAPHY IN BEIRUT

The American University in Beirut (AUB) was established in 1866 as the Syrian Protestant College by American missionaries. In 1920 its present name was

[34] Shafiq Ghurbal, *Tarikh al-mufawadat al-misriyyah-al-britaniyyah*, vol. 1, (Cairo, 1952).
[35] *Muhammad 'Ali al-Kabir* (1944; Cairo, 1986).

officially adopted to denote its secular rather than religious character and curriculum. Its history department was destined to play a significant role in the professionalization of the discipline in a number of Arab countries. This was either as a result of the efforts of its faculty members or by its sheer recruitment drive to attract students from around the Arab world. Three of its historians made their mark in this period: Philip Hitti, Asad Rustum, and Qustantin Zurayq. Hitti graduated from the Syrian Protestant College and taught history there until 1913. He obtained his doctoral degree on the history of the Arabs from Columbia University in 1916. Upon his return to Beirut in 1918, he was appointed to teach Oriental history at his Alma Mater until he was offered a position in Semitic languages by Princeton University in 1926.[36] Hitti is credited by a number of scholars with founding Arabic Studies in the United States. His publications included *History of the Arabs*, first published in 1937, then reprinted and revised more than ten times until his death. He published at least eleven other books on Arab history.

Asad Rustum, a student of Hitti, provided a bridge to the professional standards of academic history after joining the AUB in 1924 as professor of Oriental history. He trained as an historian at the University of Chicago, where he wrote a Ph.D. thesis on 'Syria under Mehemet 'Ali'. Upon Hitti's move to Princeton, Rustum convinced one of his students, Zurayq, who was studying mathematics, to switch to history and write a doctoral dissertation at an American university. Zurayq duly did so and studied at Columbia, Chicago, and Princeton. When he returned in 1930, he taught history as a lively subject and part of renewing Arab culture in order to make Arab students aware of the glories of their past in a more rigorous manner. Other historians included Nabih Amin Faris, a student and colleague of Hitti. He left Princeton in 1945 to join the history department at the AUB. His contribution consisted in introducing the study of Islam and Muslim philosophy and theology, in addition to the history of the Arabs. In 1949 another historian, Nicola Ziadeh, with a Ph.D. from London University on 'Damascus under the Mamluks', joined the AUB, injecting new blood into the historical traditions being fostered in Beirut through its printing presses and other media. Ziadeh was a committed Arab nationalist, but equally conscious of his responsibilities as a historian and an academic. Perhaps his main contribution after 1945 was to introduce the study of North African countries into the curriculum, in the process writing studies on Libya and Tunisia, as well as translating textbooks on the subject.[37] According to his account: 'Throughout my life, I have written 45 books in Arabic and six in English, translated 14 books from English to Arabic, and published more than 100 papers. I also conducted more than 2,000 interviews

[36] See John R. Starkey, 'A Talk with Philip Hitti', *Saudi Aramco World*, 22:4 (July–August 1971), 23–31.

[37] 'An Interview with Professor Nicola Ziadeh', *MainGate*, 3:4 (2003), 1.

on television and radio.'[38] Ziadeh had a late start in academic life, receiving his BA from London University at the age of thirty-two. His nationalist ideas were imbibed during his study at the Arab College in Jerusalem between 1921 and 1924, with Darwish Miqdadi acting as one of his mentors and history teachers. Miqdadi studied history and other subjects at the AUB and graduated in 1922. According to Mahmud ʿAbidi, Miqdadi was 'an inspiring teacher, and his extra-curricular activities were as extensive and stimulating as his teaching. His talks at the Debating Society were very popular, and his organized tours of historic sites in and around the city were most exciting and illuminated by his well prepared expositions.'[39] Miqdadi is best known for his *History of the Arab Nation*, first published in 1931, and used as a school textbook in Iraq as well as Syria and Palestine. Another future historian who was a product of the same institutions was Abdul-Latif Tibawi. After studying in Jerusalem between 1922 and 1925, he was awarded a scholarship in 1926 to study history and education at the AUB. His publications span a wide range of topics, with education in its broad sense constituting his main interest. This was largely due to his employment first in Palestine under the British Mandate as education inspector, and after 1952 as lecturer at the Institute of Education in London.

The last notable member of this cluster, who played a crucial role in introducing professional history-writing into the Sudan, is Makki Shubykah (Mekki Shebeikah). He was educated at Gordon College in Khartoum, where he also taught history. In 1931 he joined the AUB, studying history and graduating in 1935. While at the AUB, he became an active member of a pan-Arab student society, al-ʿUrwa al-Wuthqa, with the historian Zurayq acting as its adviser on behalf of the university and faculty.[40] Upon his return to his country, he rejoined Gordon College as a specialist in history. In 1947 the British Council awarded him a scholarship to study for a Ph.D. at Bedford College, University of London. By 1955 he became a full professor at Khartoum University College, soon to become the University of Khartoum after independence. Shebeikah, together with Ahmad Ibrahim Abu Salim, inaugurated the professional study of Sudanese history in the 1950s.[41]

More relevant for our period is the way research into modern Sudanese history, originated in Beirut with Shebeikah, was made more feasible by the Royal Archives of ʿAbdin Palace in Cairo, and paved the way for new approaches by indigenous Sudanese historians. It was Asad Rustum who introduced Shebeikah

[38] Ibid.

[39] Mahmud Abidi, 'The Arab College, Jerusalem', in Mohamed Taher (ed.), *Encyclopedic Survey of Islamic Culture* (New Delhi, 1997), iii. 204–13; quoted in Rochelle Davis, 'Commemorating Education: Recollections of the Arab College in Jerusalem, 1918–1948', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 23:1–2 (2003), 190–204, at 191.

[40] Amjad Dhib Ghunma, *Jamʿiyat al-ʿUrwa al-Wuthqa* (Beirut, 2002), 14, 89.

[41] Shebeikah's publications include *British Policy in the Sudan, 1882–1902* (Oxford, 1952); *The Independent Sudan* (New York, 1959); and numerous books in Arabic on the modern history of the Sudan and the Arab world.

to these archives as he himself had been using them for his own research on Ibrahim Pasha's campaigns in Syria in the 1830s. Asad alerted his Sudanese student to the existence of countless documents on the Sudan in these archives. The reason is not hard to see. Muhammad ʿAli conquered the Sudan in the 1820s and his dynasty continued to claim it as part of its dominions, even after its conquest by the British in 1898. By 1943, Shebeikah began to conduct research at ʿAbdin Palace on his own. In some of the private papers he stumbled upon, he found a reference by General Gordon of Khartoum to a book in Arabic entitled *Tarikh Muluk al-Sudan* [A History of the Kings of Sudan], covering the history of parts of the country from 1504 to 1871.This prompted him to look for the original manuscript or its recension. He obtained two manuscripts, compared and edited them, and published an annotated version in 1947.[42]

It is in this context that we begin to grasp the two complementary roles of the new Arab historians based in Cairo and Beirut. While the first were more interested in mining foreign archives, the second concentrated on editing, translating, and annotating both historical manuscripts and works of Muslim thinkers. Thus, on the one hand, Hitti translated from Arabic into English Usamah Ibn Munqidh's memoirs, while Asad Rustum edited and translated for his doctoral dissertation a chronicle written in the nineteenth century by Nawfal Nawfal (Naufal Naufal Tarabulsi) on the Egyptian occupation of Syria. On the other hand, Zurayq translated from Arabic into English a philosophical work by Miskawayh on ethics,[43] and Nabih Amin Faris rendered into English a number of works by one of the most celebrated philosophical and theological thinkers in Islam, Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali.[44]

TEXTUAL CRITICISM AND THE ARAB HERITAGE

Both Hitti and Rustum imparted a new element of textual criticism in dealing with various episodes of Arab history. This was perhaps the result of their training at Columbia and Chicago universities respectively. In 1924, for example, Rustum published the epilogue to his doctoral dissertation in an American journal.[45] His opening paragraph reads as follows:

> The manuscript from which this Epilogue is now published was bequeathed by its author to the American University of Beirut, Syria, in 1887. Several facts argue its authenticity: First it

[42] See P. M. Holt, *The Sudan of the Three Niles: The Funj Chronicle* (Leiden, 1999), pp. vii–viii.

[43] See the published version, Costi Zurayk, *The Refinement of Character* (Beirut, 1968). He is also listed under Ibn Miskawayh.

[44] *The Mysteries of Purity: Being a Translation with Notes of the Kitab Asrar al-Taharah of Al-Ghazzali Ihya Ulum al-Din*, trans. Nabih Amin Faris (Beirut, *c.*1966).

[45] Asad Jibrail Rustum, 'Syria under Mehemet Ali', *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 41:1 (1924), 34–57. See also his translation and annotation of the manuscript, 'Syria under Mehemet Ali—A Translation', *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 41:3 (1925), 183–91.

came to the library of the American University of Beirut as one of the author's books and manuscripts which have since made up the Naufal Naufal Collection. Second, its penship is strikingly similar in every way to the author's handwriting in other well-authenticated manuscripts. Third, and most conclusive, Professor Jurjus Khuri, of the aforesaid university, who on more than one occasion acted as amanuensis for the author and wrote several of its pages, on examining the manuscript after it came into the possession of the university, made positive recognition of his own handwriting.[46]

Rustum continued his collecting and editing of documents through privileged access to the ʿAbdin Royal Archives and his scholarly Egyptian contacts and connections, such as ʿAbd al-Rahman Zaki and Shafiq Ghurbal. He was perhaps the first to mine and catalogue all documents relating to the Syrian campaign of 1831–41.[47] He also published a number of historical monographs on particular episodes by using these documents in combination with original Lebanese chronicles.

One of Rustum's pioneering contributions, in addition to his textual criticism and publication of primary sources, was his composition on the methodology of history.[48] This work, published in 1939 and reprinted several times, is considered the first modern study in Arabic of historical method and its techniques. Although Rustum relied on Western manuals of highlight the main requirements for, and problems associated with, historical research, he added two contributions. One of these was to posit a direct link between his new methodology and that of the Islamic discipline of *ʿilm al-hadith*, or the science of narrating sayings attributed to the Prophet. Bearing in mind that this Islamic methodology was based on the idea of ascertaining the trustworthiness of the chain of transmitters, it amounted to no more than probing the good character or otherwise of a particular narrator, in addition to determining the possibility of the narrator hearing the saying by being a contemporary witness. Thus, on the basis of this approach, certain sayings were deemed to be either sound or false, with other intermediate rankings. In this sense, scrutinizing the content of the report itself to weigh its veracity did not form an integral part of this procedure. Nevertheless, Rustum tried to convince his readers or students that the principles underlying historical research were already there as part of their classical heritage; all they needed now was to update their techniques in order to master its latest incarnations.

The second innovation was to illustrate his methodology by drawing on local examples, largely derived from his own experience as a practising historian. For his general framework, he used *Introduction aux études historiques* by Charles V. Langlois and Charles Seignobos (1897) and translated into English in the next year as *Introduction to the Study of History* by G. G. Berry with a preface by the

[46] Rustum, 'Syria under Mehemet Ali', 34

[47] Id., *The Royal Archives of Egypt and the Origins of the Egyptian Expedition to Syria, 1831–1841* (Beirut, 1936).

[48] Id., *Mustalah al-Tarikh* (Sidon, 1939).

English historian F. York Powell.[49] Rustum employed the same arrangement in devising the chapters of his manual, while striving to formulate authentic Arabic terms for his titles. Thus we have 'The Search for Documents' (*taqmish*), 'Auxiliary Sciences' ('*ulum musila*), 'Textual Criticism' (*naqd al-usul*), 'Critical Investigation of Authorship' (*al-ta*'), and so on, reproducing in this way what was considered in some American and European universities to be one of the most cogent works on the subject. Moreover, by grounding his manual in Islamic precedents and quoting Muslim scholars to back up his contentions, in addition to discussing concrete examples derived from his own extensive research in the Egyptian archives, he succeeded in turning the only available manual in Arabic into an indispensable tool for history students. It was not superseded for at least two decades, even when the Egyptian historian Hasan 'Uthman published his own manual in 1943.[50] Both have been reprinted several times.

A former student of Ghurbal and a specialist in Italian history, 'Uthman made clear his debt to Rustum in the preface by thanking him for leading the way in introducing historical methodology to the Arab world. However, his manual is less encumbered with Islamic methods of investigation and is written with an eye to students who may have found Rustum's examples somewhat parochial, especially with his long quotations from medieval texts. 'Uthman's text is more forceful in its emphasis on the historian's search for the truth on the basis of documentary evidence and diligent research, but more inclined to highlight the role of the imagination and the need for the historian to recreate historical events by re-enacting their entire context in both its emotional and social aspects. In other words, while adhering to Rustum's rigorous positivism, 'Uthman wanted his students to offer dense descriptions of particular episodes by reproducing all the minute details surrounding their unfoldings, including gestures, types of clothing, psychological dispositions, as well as the physical environment, be it natural or man-made. This was perhaps the result of his Italian education and echoes Benedetto Croce's dictum that 'all history is contemporary history'.[51]

POLITICS AND HISTORY

All of these historians were partisans of a particular point of view, a political party, faction, or personality, but in a tenuous and sometimes flexible way. However, Zurayq and Miqdadi exhibited, in their adherence to historical studies, an open commitment to the past as well as the future of their 'Arab nation'. Moreover, both

[49] For a general evaluation of Rustum's contribution to Arab historiography see Ilyas al-Qattar and Lamya Rustum Shihadah (eds.), *Asad Rustum al-insan wa al-mu'arikh, 1897–1965* (Beirut, 1984).

[50] *Manhaj al-Bahth al-Tarikhi* (Cairo, 1943).

[51] 'Uthman was well versed in Italian culture and literature. He was the first Arab scholar to translate Dante's *Divina Commedia* from Italian into Arabic. See *Kumidiya Dante*, trans. Hasan 'Uthman (Cairo, 1959).

belonged to an underground movement set up in 1935 to bring about the liberation of the Arab countries and their unification into one nation-state. It was in this sense an Arab nationalist organization with a clear cultural and political programme. Although it did not adopt a particular name, it is normally referred to as 'the Arab Nationalist Group'. Its clandestine character allowed it to function without being detected until its dissolution in the wake of the British reoccupation of Iraq in 1941. By acting in this way it aimed to penetrate established political parties, civil associations, and cultural clubs in order to steer their policies and activities. Zurayq was its first president until 1939, when Miqdadi succeeded him for a brief period.[52] Miqdadi took over the presidency when the group decided to use Iraq as its main theatre of operations. Miqdadi had settled in Iraq in 1927 at the invitation of the veteran Arab nationalist Satiʿ al-Husri, who was in charge of Iraqi education. During this period he composed his widely acclaimed textbook on the history of the Arab nation.[53] The British did not become aware of the full implications of the new ideological thrust within such history books until their reconquest of Iraq in 1941. The *History of the Arab Nation* was consequently banned and its author thrown into prison for four years.[54] In 1948 we find him in Damascus, teaching history at its university. It was shortly after this period that Zurayq, having been on unpaid leave from the American university in order to set up the first Syrian embassy in Washington and act as its first ambassador, was appointed president of Damascus University (1949–52). During his tenure Zurayq was keen to reorganize all departments, while paying particular attention to the discipline of history, both Arab and European.

By way of conclusion, this survey demonstrates how Arab historiography between 1800 and 1945 was transformed beyond recognition in its methodology, organization of data, and unit of analysis. The transformation, culminating in professionalization, was in line with other cultural, political, and economic changes in the region. These changes, sometimes subsumed under the rubric of modernity, heralded the emergence of a new world order, with the Industrial and French revolutions acting as its main dynamic engines, coupled with colonialism, and the rise of national movements of liberation.

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1798	Napoleon invades Egypt
1805–48	Muhammad ʿAli rules Egypt
1830	French invasion of Algeria
1839	Britain occupies Aden in South Yemen

[52] ʿAziz al-ʿAzmeh, *Qustantin Zurayq: ʿArabi li l-qarn al-ʿishrin* (Beirut, 2003), 48–56.

[53] For further details see Youssef Choueiri, *Arab Nationalism* (Oxford, 2000), 33–40.

[54] Reeva S. Simon, 'The Teaching of History in Iraq before the Rashid Ali Coup of 1941', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 22:1 (1986), 37–51.

1866	Foundation of the Syrian Protestant College
1881	France occupies Tunisia
1882	Britain occupies Egypt
1908	The Young Turk Revolution
1911	Italy occupies Libya
1916	Arab Revolt against Ottomans
1919	Palestinians resume their struggle against Zionism and British occupation; Egyptian Revolution against British occupation
1920	French Mandates in Syria and Lebanon; British Mandates in Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan; Iraqi Rebellion against British military occupation
1923	Egypt gains semi-independence
1925–27	Syrian revolt against France
1931	Iraq joins the League of Nations
1930–45	Beginnings of organized protests against French colonialism in North Africa
1948	Foundation of Israel

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Chapter 29

History in Sub-Saharan Africa

Toyin Falola

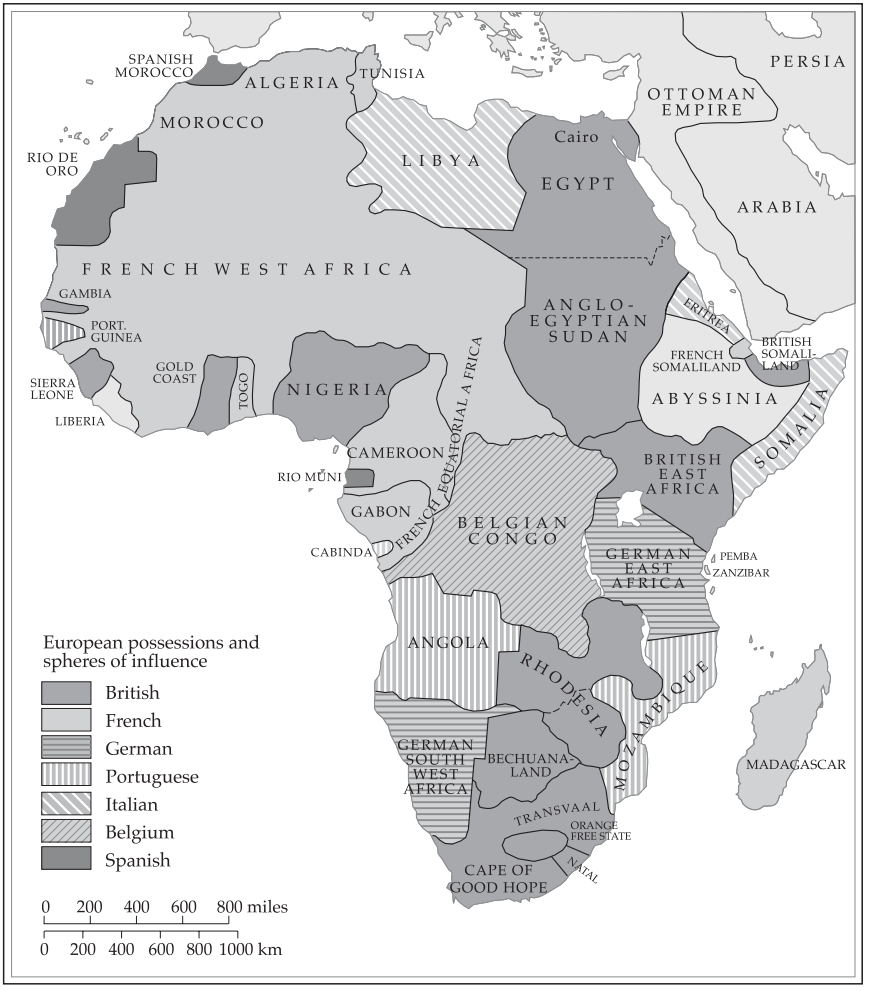
This chapter analyses four dominant themes in historiography: the established tradition of oral histories; early written histories of Africa; the emergence of indigenous historical works; and the creation of historical knowledge in the first half of the twentieth century when Africa was under European rule. These types of historiography did not conform to modern techniques and methodologies, and not all of them included the systematic collection and evaluation of multiple sources as is done today. In totality, however, these types of African historiography constitute a distinctive body of knowledge that allows us to understand the African past and the image of Africa before the mid-twentieth century, while they also provide the sources that led to a revolution in academic historical writing on Africa.

ORAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

Africa, like all continents, has always had a large body of organic traditions expressed in myths, drama, songs, proverbs, and other genres that represents a credible intellectual history in its own right. Oral histories, in various forms and practices, tell us about the past and the present, about persons and places, and about institutions and the worldviews of those who created them.[1]

Traditional historical accounts were transmitted orally from one generation to another through memory. Some polities had professional historians whose main task was to transmit knowledge. In the palace of Oyo, the major Yoruba kingdom, the *arokin* were professional historians who were custodians of palace history, including information on each king and his achievements, on wars and intergroup relations, and many other details. Individuals, notably elders, were also repositories of history. In addition to providing narrative histories, elders, professionals, and cultural performers had extensive resources of legends, songs, and proverbs with which to create mnemonic devices and communicate messages.

[1] Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, Wis., 1985).



Map 8. Africa, 1880–1914

Traditional history took many forms, and each form might have multiple variants. It could be presented as the poetry or songs of a god or goddess, individuals, families, or communities. It could be in the form of chants, songs, and proverbs, presented as evidence or as mnemonic devices that could shed light on historical events. Divination poems were rich in references to places, people, and philosophies, and they offered a window into peoples' values in a particular age. Praise poems described aspirations and characters and the achievements and failures of individuals, in addition to providing information about places and times.

The origin of peoples, nations, dynasties, and institutions occupied a preeminent place in traditional history. In most places, origin stories attempted to create the beginning of history, a storyline that could link the physical reality with the supernatural, with complicated migration stories, or even with the identification of a spot where the first human was created. Creation and migration legends could be combined to reveal deep historical foundations, provide a definitive claim to autochthonous status in a region, or reveal the intermingling of waves of different immigrants. Reading such origin stories as inconsistent, or ignoring them because they portray miraculous incidents, misses the point. Their purpose was to explain why identity and nations were what they were, how people came to occupy their locations, and how political arrangements were formulated. A traditional story could take a speculative turn where answers were difficult to formulate. A variety of stories or multiple variants of a story could also attempt to rationalize practices such as the control of power by some families or the exclusion of women from power. Claims to power, authority, land, and other key resources had to be justified through the creation of traditions that many had to accept as authentic. Patriotism could colour the way a story was presented. History could be used to justify certain claims or situations, and distortions could thus become a deliberate device. Where a history had a propaganda value, it created biases for effects.

The format of traditional history poses a challenge to those who want to record the past in the light of present methodologies. Chronology in traditional history is different from that in written history. Traditional history did not operate on the basis of absolute dates. Rather, an event was dated in relation to another event or attributed to the reign of a king. A sequence of events could be woven into the storyline. In states with kings, some traditions could record lengths of time for successive reigns, but the narration was not the same as that employed by modern historians. Change and continuity, human agencies, and supernatural forces were embedded in the worldview and meta-narrative about the past, and the link between the past and the present.

There was certainly an idea of history, sometimes defined to make sense of the past and sometimes as a reference point to understand the present. Thus history was seen as a long process that connected the past with the present, and both of these to a future. The place of the ancestors (similar to the symbolism of the pyramid in ancient Egypt in keeping the past alive) connected the dead to the living,

represented in masquerades, ancestor veneration, and memorabilia. In privileging the wisdom of the elders, the idea was to affirm the relevance of the past, and to insist that the socialization process must involve learning from those elders in a way that kept alive acquired knowledge and heritage. A deep historical consciousness found expression in ceremonies and rituals that were common and widespread. Thus festivals in celebration of gods and goddesses or the veneration of ancestors reminded participants of their past, mythical time, and sense, as well as their responsibility to both the past and the future. Festivals allowed mass participation in the historical process and the use of memory in social production.

History was usable: it played a crucial role in defining the identity of the present.[2] There was no nation without the ability to locate its creation; and there was no lineage without an ancestor. The recognition of humanity was connected with the ability to point to evidence of creation, of birth with connection to a past. Survival was linked to an affiliation to a community and a lineage through which access to land was granted. A history of one's location in space and time was not acquired as a luxury but as a necessity.

EARLY HISTORICAL WRITING: CLASSICAL, ARABIC, AND EUROPEAN

There is a body of knowledge about Africa generated by non-Africans (Arabic writers, missionaries, explorers, and others) that constitutes the initial history that shaped the understanding of the continent by outsiders, and later by historians who make use of them as sources to talk about Africa's past. This body of knowledge falls into three categories: 'classical', Islamic, and European.

Classical writers such as Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy had a few things to say about Egypt, the Maghrib, and Ethiopia that allow us to understand some aspects of early African civilization. Herodotus, for instance, spoke about Egypt in *The Histories* (*c.*455 BC), a first-hand account based on his visit and the collection of oral testimonies. Not only does Herodotus point to the antiquity of Egypt, he also makes important statements on oral traditions that modern-day historians celebrate. About AD 100, an anonymous Alexandrian Greek wrote *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a trader's handbook on how to operate on the Red Sea and Indian Ocean coastlands, which offered by far the most extensive account of the East African coastal states before the seventh century.

The hope that many more early writings of this kind would be discovered has not been realized. We have very few of them and the greater part of Africa is not represented. The African hinterland was presented as mysterious, and its people

[2] See, for instance, Isidore Okpewho, *Once Upon a Kingdom: Myth, Hegemony and Identity* (Bloomington, 1998).

regarded it with apprehension. There are no additional sources to validate many of the statements in the works of these ancient historians. Nevertheless, they have been useful on a variety of issues, such as providing evidence on the antiquity of some parts of Africa, the established nature of an extensive trading network over a long period, and interactions among Africans and others in what is now known as the Middle East and Asia.

The rise of Islam after the seventh century introduced far-reaching changes to various parts of Africa where the religion was able to spread, notably in West and North Africa and in North East Africa. By the nineteenth century, Islam had reached many parts of Africa, due in part to the activities of traders and missionaries, and a series of small and large jihads. The agents of religious transmission were very much connected to the production of knowledge. The use of Arabic contributed to the spread of literacy and inaugurated an extensive and enduring tradition of historical scholarship. Through Islam and literacy, different social and cultural meanings were introduced to analyse past and contemporary events, and it became possible to preserve oral traditions and history in writing. In Muslim states Arabic also became the official language for legal documents, personal correspondence, political and diplomatic correspondence, business records, family histories, and other types of document, thereby generating an enormous amount of materials now scattered in a range of archives.[3] In various parts of the continent, Arabic and African languages combined in hybrids, such as Swahili in East Africa and Ajami script in West Africa. Such languages were used for a variety of writings, many of which have been lost, that include chronicles (e.g. the Kilwa Chronicle, written *c*.1520 on the Swahili city state), biographies, annals, political correspondence, proclamations, juristic responses (e.g. *fatāwî*), poetry, and religious polemics.

Historical writing was influenced in various degrees by the penetration of Islam. North Africa became a region of Arab nations. South of this area became what Arabs called Bilad al-Sudan, where degrees of acculturation to Arabic influence and the spread of Islam produced different kinds of Islamic historiography. Arab interest in Ethiopia and Nubia produced useful early texts between the seventh and sixteenth centuries.[4] Arab geographical works also appeared, creating ideas about skin colours and mental characteristics. The tendency to venerate established authorities encouraged the transmission of knowledge, although prior assumptions and errors were also carried forward.[5] What can be characterized as

[3] A useful but not exhaustive list can be found as an appendix, 'African Archival Collections', in the ch. by John Hunwick, 'Arabic Sources from African History', in John Edward Philips (ed.), *Writing African History* (Rochester, NY, 2006), 239–44.

[4] For accessible materials see Akbar Muhammad, 'The Image of Africans in Arabic Literature: Some Unpublished Manuscripts', in John Ralph Willis (ed.), *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, vol. 1: *Islam and the Ideology of Slavery* (London, 1985), 47–74; and G. Vantini, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia* (Heidelberg and Warsaw, 1975).

[5] André Miquel, *La géographie du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du IIe siécle*, 4 vols. (Paris and La Haye, 1967–88).

an Islamic writing and historical consciousness took root in various parts of the continent. Oral reports (*akhbār*), supplied by first-hand witnesses and later transmitted through a chain of reliable couriers (*ismād*), were legitimate sources to create narrative accounts of an event. Data could be organized in multiple ways, two of which were very common. First, it could take the form of a *sîra*, that is, the biography of a major figure, as long as there was no competition with that of the most revered, the Prophet Muhammad. Second, it could be a *ta'rîkh*, the most common, which was essentially a chronological narrative covering a length of time, but with elements of religious and moral admonitions. Classical Islamic writings, such as the work of the renowned Egyptian author 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Suyiuti (d. 1505), notably his *Ta'rikh al-khulafã* [History of the Caliphs], spread through Africa, supplying a model that was adopted by local writers.

In western and central Sudan, with Islamization but no Arab immigration, there were texts whose narration was influenced by Islam, as in the example of 'Song of Bagauda'.[6] The better known sources are those generated by Arab or Berber Islamic scholars and missionaries from the Maghrib. Al-Bakri (eleventh century AD), Al-Idrisi (twelfth century), Ibn Said (thirteenth century), Ibn Battuta (fourteenth century), and Leo Africanus (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), to cite some examples, left important sources. Leo Africanus, a Moroccan traveller and writer with a mythical character, claimed to have visited Timbuktu in 1509–10, and he later completed an unrivalled source on African geography published in 1550, the *Delle desrittione dell' Africa* [Description of Africa], which proved valuable until the early nineteenth century. Leo's text yields more on Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya but reveals a limited knowledge of Sudanic Africa. His characterization of Timbuktu as rich in gold partly instigated the desire for the exploration of West Africa in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Knowledge of the Sudanese empires reached the outside world through the works of these writers, along with that by the Imam Ibn Fartua, the *Tarikh Mai Idris* [History of the First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Alooma] (*c.*1576),[7] during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When they reported on contemporary events or reported what they saw first hand, their accounts often rested on more solid ground than those of the past. A few based their accounts on the observations of others, by relying on conversations with African pilgrims or Arab traders. They did not always provide sources or references that we can authenticate, which means that we must pay attention to how they gathered their information as well as to their assumptions on geography and their historical framework. We do have a sense of what the society was like at the time they were writing. Their preoccupation with Islam enables us to extrapolate on the nature

[6] M. Hiskett, 'The "Song of Bagauda": A Hausa King List and Homily in Verse', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 27 (1964), 540–67; 28 (1965), 112–35, 363–85.

[7] Ahmad Ibn Fartua, *History of the First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Alooma of Bornu 1571–1583*, ed. and trans. H. R. Palmer (Lagos, 1928).

of pre-Islamic societies, the enduring consequences of Islam,[8] or conflicts between Islam and Christianity as in the case of Ethiopia and its neighbours during the sixteenth century.[9] The various Arabic histories of the period have been put to good use as sources, and their critical evaluation now forms a distinctive category in recent scholarship.[10]

Following the conquest of the Middle Niger region by Morocco in 1591, a new body of knowledge in Arabic and Turkish opened up discussion of West Africa, linking the region to North Africa as well. Some of these works, for example those by Al-Fishtali and Al-Ilfrani, justified the invasion, while others revealed histories of race relations between blacks and Moors, the Ottomans' interests in Africa, the trans-Saharan trade, slavery, and trade in slaves.[11]

From the late sixteenth century onwards, Sudan saw the production of various books based on oral histories and traditions that adopted an Islamic model. Multiple centres of production emerged in such places as Kano, Katsina, Ngarzagamo, and Borno (central Sudan), and in Sankore at Timbuktu, Gao, and Jenne (western Sudan). Two major achievements of this era are *Tarikh al-Sudan* [History of Sudan] by Al-Sadi of Timbuktu, completed in 1655, and *Tarikh al-Fattash* [Chronicle of the Researcher], a compilation of texts in about 1664 by the Ka'ti family in Tindirma, near Timbuktu. Both books presented histories of the Middle Niger region in the annalistic style of Al-Sadi; they provided a list of major events and the obituaries of notables, and were adopted by a subsequent generation of writers. A series of works presented as biographical dictionaries and as annals flourished until the twentieth century.[12] In central Sudan, writing about cities took a popular form, as in the case of the Kano Chronicle. Songs were composed in *Ajami* (Hausa text in Arabic script) and provided information on kings and nobles. The recorded songs were passed down from one generation to another, and new lines were added to enrich historical representation.

Up to the mid-eighteenth century, a pattern emerged whereby groups of scholars (the '*ulama*') based in such notable centres as Kilwa, Timbuktu, and Katsina created strong intellectual traditions. They promoted the cause of Islam, criticized paganism, and called for a stronger Muslim identity. These scholars tended to write as 'outsiders', detached from the corrupting influences of non-Islamic

[8] See, for instance, John Ralph Willis (ed.), *Studies in West African Islamic History*, vol. 1: *The Cultivators of Islam* (London, 1979); Joseph Cuoq, *L'Islam en ethiopie des origins au Xvle siècle* (Paris, 1981); and Khair Haseeb El-Din (ed.), *The Arabs and Africa* (London, 1985).

[9] Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History, 1570–1860* (Cambridge, 1990).

[10] See, for instance, Tadeusz Lewicki, *Arabic External Sources for the History of Africa to the South of the Sahara*, trans. Marianne Abrahamowicz (Wroclaw, 1969); and Chouki El Hamel, *La vie intellectuelle islamique dans le Sahel Ouest-Africain (XVIe–XIX siècles)* (Paris, 2002).

[11] John O. Hunwick, *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire* (Leiden, 1999).

[12] Id., *Arabic Literature of Africa*, vol. 4: *Writings of Western Sudanic Africa* (Leiden, 2003); and P. F. de Moraes Farias, *Arabic Medieval Inscriptions from the Republic of Mali: Epigraphy, Chronicles and Songhay-Tuareg History* (Oxford, 2003).

practices. They covered dynastic, political and local histories, biographies, and obituaries, all elements of Islamic historiography. As promoters of Islam, they denounced those who did not agree with the views of learned imams and also rulers who did not grant them as much privilege as they sought.

The jihads of the nineteenth century led to a prolific production of historical writings which continued until the twentieth century. The leader of the Sokoto jihad that began in 1804, Uthman dan Fodio, was a notable scholar, as was his son Mohammad Bello and his brother Abdallah. The three together accounted for more than 200 works. One of the most frequently cited of these was by Bello, who gave accounts of the jihad and the circumstances leading to it in *Infâq al-maysûr fi ta'rîkh bilād al-Takrûr*, completed in 1812. Other eminent Islamic scholars produced poetry and chronicles, with local chronicles becoming widespread. In the Volta Basin, Manding Dyula tradition was combined with Hausa traditions to produce local chronicles on different areas between the rivers Gambia and Volta. In the Sengambia, the Fulfulde-speaking people produced their own histories, with the works of Musa Kamara being the most celebrated. In the Nilotic Sudan, the Funj Chronicle (eighteenth century) covered the history of the Funj period from 1504 to 1821 as well as the Turco-Egyptian era until 1871. The Mahdist period generated its own extensive historical works, most notably the biography of Mahdi Muhammad Ahmad by Al-Qadir.[13] In East Africa chronicles published during the nineteenth century revealed the tensions and conflicts of the time. All the writings were reformist in nature, based on the political idea that informed them: the necessity to reform the religion of Islam and confront 'pagan' practices. The chronicles regarded Islamic leaders as pious reformers who had the blessing of God to change the world. An enemy—whether a pagan leader, a bad Muslim, or a Christian imposter—must be destroyed. Where Islamic leaders were successful in destroying such enemies, biographies were generated around them which extolled their virtues as great religious leaders, messiahs, and even as men blessed with supernatural power.

In general, scholarship generated in the twentieth century was reformist in nature as there was a desire to see the expansion of Islam. Indeed, the writings spread far more widely and included various areas, in part to elaborate on the Islamic conquest of so-called pagan subjects. During the twentieth century, there was an increased expansion in Islamic chronicles, many relating the unpleasant encounters with European domination and resistance to encroachment by Christian infidels. As Muslims were forced to live under colonial rule, scholars praised the heroes of resistance and diplomacy who sought clever ways to live under European domination while keeping the values of Islam; many continued to oppose foreign rule.

[13] For its translation see Haim Shaked, *The Life of the Sudanese Mahdi: A Historical Study of Kitāb Sa'ādat al-mustahdî fî sîrat al-imām al-Mahdî* (New York, 1978).

A third body of writing emerged with the European contacts with Africa beginning in the fifteenth century. Since commerce was the main motive, areas that attracted European merchants became part of historical writings by a long list of trader-authors. Thus the places of significance included the Niger Delta, the Gold Coast, Senegal coast, South Africa, and various coastal areas in East Africa. The accounts were enriched with contemporary dates, names of places and people, and a host of other details. The range and interests of the authors widened on the eve of the nineteenth century, as Europeans went to Africa in various roles such as traders, missionaries, explorers, sailors, and colonizers.

The quality and interest of these accounts varied widely.[14] In the initial stages of encounter in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, reports on the African hinterlands were based on legends and second-hand information. Those who visited the coastal areas were only able to report on what they observed or what they were told by local informants. Commerce was the dominant concern, but many accounts also included aspects of relations between African states and European trading companies and explorers.[15] A concentration on slaves distorted views on Africans. After the seventeenth century, historiography expanded as more histories of various areas and places were written, including collections on local events.[16]

If the accounts by traders were less interested in religious and cultural issues, the official reports, travelogues, memoirs, and diaries written by travellers provided analysis of politics and people. During the nineteenth century the abolition of the slave trade led to a new body of writing on 'legitimate commerce', conversion to Christianity, and political control. The historiography reflected the shifts in ambitions.[17] Africans became the 'objects' of history, the 'white man's burden' waiting to receive civilization. A pathetic face of Africa was presented, as a people without a worthy past and always unable to transform themselves without the assistance of outsiders.

Missionary activities during and after the nineteenth century led to a massive expansion in knowledge production. Both Protestant and Catholic missionaries established Western-style schools, printing presses, and even bookshops, all of which encouraged the expansion of knowledge and the production of history

[14] Beatrix Heintze and Adam Jones (eds.), *European Sources for Sub-Saharan Africa before 1900: Use and Abuse*, special edition of *Paideuma*, 33 (1987).

[15] See, for instance, Lidwien Kapteijins and Jay Spaulding, *After the Millennium: Diplomatic Correspondence from Wadai and Dar Fur on the Eve of Colonial Conquest, 1885–1916* (East Lansing, Mich., 1988).

[16] On a list of important writings see Adam Jones, *Raw, Medium, Well Done: A Critical Review of Editorial and Quasi-Editorial Work on Pre-1885 European Sources for Sub-Saharan Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1987); and John D. Fage, *A Guide to Original Sources for Precolonial Western Africa Published in European Languages*, 2nd edn (Madison, Wis., 1994).

[17] See, for instance, Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780–1850* (Madison, Wis., 1964); and Anthony Disney (ed.), *Historiography of Europeans in Asia and Africa* (Brookfield, Vt., 1995).

books. Using a variety of genres—reports, letters, sermons, official correspondence, travelogues, and newspapers[18]—they covered African religions and lifestyles, conditions to promote Christianity, and the reception of white missions. Missionaries contributed to the definitions of several nations by popularizing their names and identities, such as Yoruba (ethnic) or Malawi (nation-state).[19]

As contemporary eyewitnesses, missionaries offered accounts of various African institutions. In the quest to advance the project of evangelization, however, they often displayed great bias and hostility towards indigenous religions, characterizing them as devil worship. In the process of presenting themselves as different and more enlightened, they spoke at great length about African cultures and traditions. Our knowledge of the Congo in that period, for instance, has been made possible by extensive accounts written by the Capuchin and Jesuit missionaries. Residing among the people, they learned indigenous languages and contributed to pioneer work on linguistics and the creation of alphabets for a number of African languages.

The European sources have been put to good use by writers on various aspects of pre-colonial Africa, and in this process many of them have been analysed and various texts reproduced, giving greater accessibility. The availability of these European documents enabled works to be written on a number of coastal societies and states, notably Angola, Benin, Dahomey, Asante, Lagos, and the Senegal valley. The weaknesses revealed in the historiography of important states and societies located far away from the coast (e.g. the Benue Valley, the Lozi) can, in part, be explained by the absence of documentation. Almost 80 per cent of the continent was uncovered in the European accounts.[20]

The limitations of this European-derived historiography are obvious. As outsiders, its writers reveal a limited understanding of the people and their institutions; they lacked the access to language and culture to be able to comprehend much of what they described. The writings are now scattered in numerous locations, and the various languages in which they were written (Portuguese, English, French, German, Danish, Dutch, and Swedish) have constituted significant barriers to their use. The totality of this historiography reveals multiple facets of an African past, indeed many 'pasts', presented primarily for an audience outside of Africa.

The most serious problem with these accounts was prejudice, creating a host of biases against an entire continent. The intellectual basis of what modern African historiography had to respond to after the Second World War was established around the issues of race and change, as well as the sources to reconstruct

[18] For some examples, among others, see Robert Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa* (London, 1842); and T. J. Bowen, *Adventures and Missionary Labour in Central Africa* (Charleston, 1857).

[19] A. C. Ross, *Blantyre Mission and the Making of Modern Malawi* (Blantyre, 1996).

[20] Adam Jones, 'The Dark Continent: A Preliminary Study of the Geographical Coverage in European Sources, 1400–1880', *Paideuma*, 33 (1987), 19–26.

the past. By the eighteenth century, Africa was already being talked about in many parts of Europe, and was included in a leading work, Immanuel Kant's *Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgericher Absicht* [Idea for a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View] (1784). Thus the problem was no longer whether the place was known, but rather its representation as being backward. The transatlantic slave trade had led to the consolidation of racial hierarchies' dangerous notions on race, with blacks being regarded as inferior to whites. The dominance of Europe created its own intellectual arrogance, reflected in the oft-cited work of G. W. F. Hegel in the *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte* [*Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*] (1837), where he dismissed Africa as not being 'a historical continent' since it provided no evidence of change in development, and its inhabitants were incapable of education and development. The missionaries who had the most intimate experience with Africans told stories of evangelization and heroic deeds that were connected to a widespread notion of a 'dark continent'.

INDIGENOUS HISTORICAL WRITING

Where literacy developed in Africa, it facilitated historical scholarship, as in the case of Arabic historiography in the Sudanic belt and the use of Arabic script in various places (including Kiswahili, Hausa, and Malagasy). Ge'ez and Amharic languages also made possible a literacy tradition of close to two millennia. When European missionaries encountered this region, they were able to contribute new accounts, most notably in 1681 when Job Ludolf published *Historia Aethiopia* [History of Ethiopia]. A number of important texts are now available in print.[21]

A new and vigorous indigenous written historiography emerged during the nineteenth century, following the introduction of Western education and Christianity, and the use of the Latin alphabet. Some of the works, such as those by Edward Blyden, connected the traffic in Atlantic ideas with talk about uplifting Africa. Others, such as those by Samuel Johnson and Carl Reindorf, revived local histories and added a new ideology of progress defined in Western terms. The indigenous writings continued well into the twentieth century, leading to an extensive production of town and local histories. There was clearly a patriotic desire among the indigenous population to provide the first written historical accounts of their people, and also a desire to use writing to call for change. The elaboration of what defined local identities merged with new ideas on how to generate progress. Not only do these writings tell us about the history of Africa, they also reveal the social and cultural context of the era in which the works were produced, thus giving us the sources to reconstruct the past as well as the contemporary voices of the historical moment.

[21] Constance B. Hilliard, *Intellectual Traditions of Pre-Colonial Africa* (New York, 1998).

The first generation of these writers emerged in the aftermath of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade. Many had resettled in Sierra Leone and Liberia, either as captives in the last years of the trade or as resettled migrants from the Americas. A number had received elementary education from mission schools, and immigrants carried with them ideas about plantation economies and societies. Members of a tiny middle class in such locations as South Africa, Bight of Benin, Liberia, and Benin, they created a vision of a new society. They sought the spread of Christianity and Western education, while showing a fascination with European institutions and values. Until the 1870s, before the scramble to partition Africa, this class regarded itself as positioned to play a leadership role to attain 'civilization'. When it became clear after the 1880s that European political domination was imminent, the class became embittered that their continent and people were being ridiculed and condemned in European writing and that their anticipated leadership role would not materialize. Historical writings became a means to express cultural nationalism, as in the works by Abbe Boilat, James Africanus Beale Horton, J. M. Sarbah, J. E. Casely-Hayford, J. B. Danquah, and E. W. Blyden.[22]

A leading representative is Edward Wilmot Blyden, who excelled in his various roles as a scholar and politician in advocating ideas of Black Nationalism.[23] Blyden revealed the influence of a cosmopolitan heritage. Born in the Virgin Islands, his family lived in Venezuela; he visited the United States in 1850 and relocated in the same year to Liberia after receiving his early education, apprenticeship with his father as a tailor, and converting to Christianity. His lifelong intellectual passion was shaped by his early experience: observation of the use of black labour on plantations; his rejection by an American theology school because he was black; and his relocation to Africa through the activities of the American Colonization Society, which encouraged the emigration of blacks out of the United States. Between 1885 and 1905, Blyden visited Sierra Leone and Lagos, Nigeria, on several occasions.

Blyden's contributions fall into three main areas that were common among members of his generation.[24] First, he was proud of his African heritage, and pointed to the achievements of such African kingdoms as Oyo, Mali, Ghana, Abyssinia, and Egypt. The historical data were used to affirm the quality of leadership in Africa and the survival of indigenous practices.

As with many Westernized blacks of his generation, he needed to explain the growing disparity between Africa and the West. This was the second area, an attempt to answer the question: what went wrong with Africa? Blyden was not alone in seeing the Africa of his generation as backward, thereby buying into the

[22] Toyin Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals* (Rochester, NY, 2001).

[23] Hollis R. Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot, 1832–1912* (London, 1970).

[24] For his notable books see *African Life and Customs* (London, 1908); *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (1887; Edinburgh, 1967); and *Liberia's Offering* (New York, 1862).

nineteenth-century Atlantic narrative of the 'dark continent'.[25] The life histories of those who combined experience in the Americas and subsequent migrations allowed them to look at Africa from both an external and internal worldview, and reach contradictory positions which they had to reconcile.

The third area was a responsibility to change Africa. Blyden, again like the Western-educated elite of his generation, advocated a group of Africans whom he believed had the answers: the Westernized ones who had the power of education and the gift of enlightenment. Their writings often reveal the tensions between settler elites and indigenous populations, the competition for power, and the manifestations of arrogance that shaped politics in Liberia and Sierra Leone until the end of the twentieth century. Blyden's works, for instance, show his concerns with assimilating indigenous values into the framework of ideas borrowed from the West, with building political institutions along Western lines, and with the complicated management of race relations between Muslims and Christians. He was not disrespectful of African values—indeed, he praised polygamy and communal living—but he still desired the spread of American values and welcomed British imperialism, regarding both as transformative.

Between 1897 and 1901 three books were published which reveal the relevance and power of the indigenous written tradition: *A History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (1895) by Carl Christian Reindorf, *History of the Yorubas* (1897) by Samuel Johnson, and *Basekabaka be Buganda* [*The Kings of Buganda*] (1901) by Apolo Kagwa. The three were to serve as a prelude to hundreds of other books written by 'amateur' historians on various parts of Africa. Such works contain rich oral traditions, especially creation stories, activities of major kings, wars, and important local events that were of little or no interest to foreign writers at the time. Their emphasis on local histories differed from colonial accounts.

The turning of oral traditions into histories gave the former respectability, even to this day. The books tapped into well-established indigenous notions of the past as well as an idea of history. Serving as knowledge of the past and of the present, their narratives reveal a continuum from a mythical past to a known present to yield tangible wisdom for understanding the future. The knowledge must be usable: the past becomes a source of identity formation and of maintaining the continuity of traditions to socialize new members into a heritage and to define interpersonal and inter-group relations. Humans, plants, and animals could demonstrate the same story of creation; victories in wars combined spiritual with physical power. Events, occurring and reoccurring, must be preserved in oral traditions and transmitted from one generation to another in order to provide a utilitarian resource. Such histories were also a means of cultural transmission, dealing with poetry, proverbs, ceremonies, songs, and legends. Indigenous historiographies initiated the process of reducing these various genres to the written word.

[25] Tunde Adeleke, *UnAfrican Americans: Nineteenth Century Black Nationalists and the Civilizing Mission* (Lexington, Ky., 1998).

The books of Reindorf, Johnson, and Kagwa, and the others that followed, reveal the benefits of Western education. They were often written in European languages, although a number were also written in African languages, as is the case with the many books on the Yoruba of West Africa,[26] and those by notable authors such as Jacob Egharevba on Benin,[27] John Nyakatura on Uganda, and Akiga Sai on the Tiv.[28] Furthermore, some works originally written in African languages were translated into European languages to make them accessible to larger audiences.

Many of the pioneers of historical writing attended missionary schools and became Christian converts, some rising in privilege and status to become clergymen, as in the case of Samuel Johnson and Carl Reindorf. Their religious orientation supplied the moral tone in their work, in addition to their advocacy of Christianity as a better religion than Islam and the African religions. Both Christianity and Western education suggested new ideas for progress, a project for modernity that was seen in the demands for more schools, hospitals, roads, houses, and other amenities. Some of these converts even regarded European colonial conquest as necessary to provide access to Western technology and philosophy; and the evangelists among them saw an opportunity to abolish elements in African religions that they dubbed as 'pagan' and to halt the spread of Islam.

Historical imaginations of the past blended with expectations of the future. Not only did these books successfully present in-depth histories, thus proving that the African people had a long past before their encounter with Europeans, they also offered concrete evidence of achievements, an ideological revolt against the idea of a static Africa. The books also presented African institutions as developed and suitable to their eras and peoples, with a few even presenting specialized descriptions of specific areas.[29]

Patriotism was the core inspiration that generated these writings. The past of the people must not be forgotten, and an argument was made for its historical preservation. But the authors also argued that they needed to correct the distortions in the history and institutions of Africans, thereby using their books as a corrective to the Euro-Christian ideas about Africa. They needed to talk to themselves to fulfil the self-imposed task of an educated elite to educate others. As Samuel Johnson put it: 'Educated natives of Yoruba were well acquainted with the history of England and with that of Rome and Greece, but of the history of their own country they know nothing. This reproach is one of the author's objects to remove.'[30]

[26] Toyin Falola, *Yoruba Gurus: Indigenous Production of Knowledge in Africa* (Trenton, NJ, 2000).

[27] Jacob U. Egharevba, *A Short History of Benin* (1934; 3rd edn, Ibadan, 1960).

[28] John Nyakutura, *Anatomy of an African Kingdom: A History of Bunyoro-Kitara* (n.p., 1947); and Akiga Sai, *Akiga's Story: The Tiv Tribe as Seen by One of its Members* (London, 1939).

[29] John Mensah Sarbah, *Fanti Customary Laws* (London, 1904).

[30] Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate* (London, 1921), preface.

In writing for their colleagues, they used sources that had validation in the indigenous meaning of history, and convincingly linked the past to the need to create a better future. They operated as researchers, interviewing many knowledgeable people in order to collect oral traditions, and they separated myths from contemporary oral accounts. Many of the traditions they recorded are now extinct or have been transformed, so their writings are often cited as sources of oral traditions. While the oral traditions gave writers access to sources, they were also used deliberately to preserve their cultures and traditional knowledge. The hope was to use history to educate a younger generation in order to develop a collective pride in their pre-colonial nations. As cultural brokers, they used indigenous historiography as a resource to invent African nations and ethnicities.

They were also writing for the Europeans, however, demonstrating in no uncertain terms that their 'ethnographies' were well grounded in their ability to collect traditions in local languages, and understand the cultures and the people they were writing about. What they claimed was intellectual power: Europeans would not have been able to do the same and produce the same kind of histories. In speaking for their people, these writers positioned themselves as the true representatives of a new generation of Africans. Historical writing enabled them to become cultural brokers, the new agents of change.

ENCOUNTERS WITH THE 'COLONIAL LIBRARY'

The final phase in the development of African historiography was the creation of a 'colonial library' on Africa, works by European officers and a new generation of amateurs who began preliminary studies on African societies and institutions. The 'colonial library' provoked a response that ultimately led to the creation of an academic enterprise in African history after 1945.

The motivation to write was driven by two concerns. First, there was a need to justify political domination and the instrumentalities of change being applied to transform 'natives'. If, as the colonialists argued, political domination was the primary source of change, they needed to document those changes and set them against the intellectual background of a so-called primitive era. A new historiography of 'modernity' had to be created as a celebration of colonial conquest. As part of the intellectual prelude to the colonization of Africa, European scholarship had denied the contributions of Africa to human progress. As it argued, Africa was not touched by civilization and it did not contribute to it either. Defined as out of history, its people needed to be saved from themselves. The second half of the nineteenth century saw the rise of 'scientific racism', a kind of dubious empirical research that regarded the darker-skinned races as inferior to whites. Evidence of

cultural difference observed by the European writers was regarded as backwardness, as in the typical account by Henry Morton Stanley,[31] or in private correspondence, as in Lord Chesterfield's 'letter to his sons', published in 1901, where he expressed a common contemporary view: 'The Africans are the most ignorant and unpolished people in the world, little better than the lions, tigers [*sic*], and leopards and other wild beasts, which that country produces in good numbers'.[32]

Saving Africa was presented as an intellectual and practical necessity—destitution and dismal conditions, it was argued, led to the drive to colonize. European values were presented as superior to African ones.[33] Pre-colonial Africa was presented as backward, a long era that saw limited changes, full of wars fought for useless reasons, and societies led by leaders with limited vision. In contrast, colonial Africa, as presented in various writings, saw an orderly period of movement away from political and economic backwardness. Missionaries, through various writings and journal entries, affirmed the success of their missions and the possibility of a new civilization overriding a history of barbarism. Colonial officers added similar voices, portraying the triumph of change over static traditions.

The second motivation for these writers was the need to understand the people being governed, which meant the collection of data and historical writing to facilitate political domination. The strategies to minimize opposition to various reforms, and the politics of divide and rule, instigated the need to conduct research on colonial subjects. In some instances, as in the case of British colonies, officers were instructed to compile local histories, which shifted the focus away from the dominance of European activities in Africa. Colonial officers became active agents in history-writing, stressing the nature of so-called superstitious people and their acts of barbarism, highlighting the achievements of the 'civilizing mission' associated with their governance, criticizing Africans opposed to them, and praising Africans who embraced the new changes. Work based on serious data collections emerged in the 1920s and 1930s, exploring various nationalities with emphasis on their formation and institutions. Indeed, information on some places was printed for the first time, as in the case of groups in northern Nigeria.[34]

In sum, the dominant view in the European characterization of Africa was consistent between the eighteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries:

[31] Henry Morton Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent* (London, 1899).

[32] Quoted in Robin Hallet, *The Penetration of Africa: European Enterprise and Exploration Principally in Northern and Western Africa up to 1870* (London, 1965), i. 37.

[33] Henri Brunschwig, *Le partage de l'Afrique noire* (Paris, 1971).

[34] Charles Kingsley Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom: An Ethnographic Study of the Jukun-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria* (1931; rept. London, 1968); J. M. Fremantle, *Gazetteer of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, vol. 2: *The Eastern Kingdoms* (1920; repr. London, 1972); and H. R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs*, 3 vols. (Lagos, 1928).

the relentless portrayal of Africa as a 'dark continent'. Where they documented evidence of achievements, judged in Western terms as in the case of the pyramids in Egypt and the stone architecture in Zimbabwe, they attributed their creation to some strange figures from the outside. C. G. Seligman's book, *Races of Africa*, published in 1930, made the argument that the 'civilizations of Africa are civilizations of the Hamites, its history the record of these peoples and of their interaction with the two other African stocks, the Negro and Bushman'.[35] The Hamites were invented by the 'colonial library' to support a misleading theory.

An assault on this 'colonial library' came from two sources: externally, mainly among an emerging school of black activists in the United States, and internally, that is, within Africa. The external school falls outside the scope of this chapter, but consisted of emerging and contrary views in the United States that led to the creation of an Africa-centred perspective of historical writing. At the centre of this vibrant tradition were political activists such as Carter G. Woodson, W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Claude MacKay, Langston Hughes, and Countee Cullen.[36] Woodson, now proclaimed as the 'Father of Black History', pioneered the study of black and African history in the first two decades of the twentieth century and he established, in 1915, the *Journal of Negro History*, which served as a major publishing venue for a new generation of activists and scholars. In 1933 he published what is now one of the best-cited books, *The Mis-Educaton of the Negro*, where he pointed to the racialized knowledge of the black experience.

Internally, the tradition of indigenous history-writing that began in previous years continued during the colonial era. Islamic historiography continued to re-centre the arguments towards a value-oriented analysis that contrasted Islam with the West and searched for alternatives to colonial secularist development. Indigenous historical writing challenged this view, and it was successful in offering evidence of change and progress. Histories of cities and communities were published to detail the origins of people and dynasties, political changes, and various aspirations. Associations were formed to talk about progress and record the past in published chronicles. Some works identified new nations (such as the Gold Coast) or even Africa in general, as in the books by J. W. de Graft Johnson.[37]

The recording of local traditions was a huge achievement, for example Jacob Egharevba's books on Benin.[38] Nevertheless, if it were not for many of these small

[35] Charles Gabriel Seligman, *Races of Africa* (London, 1930), 96.

[36] John T. McCartney, *Black Power Ideologies: An Essay in African-American Political Thought* (Philadelphia, 1992); and William M. Banks, *Black Intellectuals: Race and Responsibility in American Life* (New York, 1996).

[37] J. W. de Graft Johnson, *Towards Nationhood in West Africa* (London, 1928); *Historical Geography of the Gold Coast* (London, 1929); and *African Glory* (New York, 1954).

[38] Egharevba, *A Short History of Benin*.

pamphlets written during the colonial era, contemporary oral histories and oral traditions pre-dating 1900 would have been lost. The purpose, however, was not simply to reclaim and restore but to elevate the local into a recognized space, to challenge the new Western-educated elite to realign themselves with indigenous traditions, and to celebrate builders and achievers.

A powerful subtext in the writings was concerned with the rejection of the colonizers' claim to superiority. Eulogizing the 'glories' of Africa, as many did, was one approach. Yet another was to connect some African institutions to a superior origin. When J. O. Lucas began collecting data for his *The Religion of the Yoruba*, which appeared in 1948, the intellectual underpinning of his generation of writers on Africa was to trace the roots of many ideas to the Middle East and the Mediterranean in order to argue that the sources of European and African ideas were actually united.

In the 1930s Negritude emerged as a philosophical movement in francophone Africa and spread to other places, where it became appropriated to define blackness as a race and culture. Negritude was created by a class of educated Africans who wanted to reconcile the cultural contradictions of being denied complete assimilation to European culture and who felt a sense of alienation from their roots. Arguably the most important intellectual idea of the era, it asserted that African culture was in fact superior to the European-derived one, and instigated a compelling and urgent desire to understand traditional African values. Calling for a return to an ancestral source, Negritude encouraged the search for a kind of authentic Africa; a retreat to a proud past as a way of rehabilitating modern Africa; the grafting of what was regarded as black intuitive and emotional knowledge with Western rationalism; the promotion of an identity that was necessary to define development; and a vindication of indigenous leadership. These ideas, expressed in creative and historical writings by such leading figures as Léopold Sédar Senghor,[39] became the manifesto that shaped African historiography for most of the twentieth century.

Whether within or outside of Africa, two key features emerged that became the preface to the post-1945 era: first, the use of non-written sources and methodologies to talk about the past; and second, the focus on nationalism as the defining ideology to write history expressed in creating African voices, stressing the contributions of Africans to the creation of their own civilizations, and asserting that the knowledge of the past was necessary to create a better future. In combination, they emphasized issues of pride of race, and the rights of Africans to self-determination to control their own destiny. The nationalist project of responding to colonial domination, and the pan-Africanist project of creating a global black political network, fused into the emergence of an academic historiography after 1945.

[39] Léopold Sédar Senghor, *The Collected Poetry*, trans. Melvin Dixon (Charlottesville, 1991).

TIMELINE/KEY DATES

1750	Islamic revivalist movement spreads in West Africa
1765	The British establish a colony in Senegambia that lasts until 1783
1791	Freetown (Sierra Leone) is founded
1804	The jihad of Uthman dan Fodio begins; the Church Missionary Society establishes a mission in Sierra Leone
1822	The foundation of Liberia
1855	Emperor Tewedros founds modern Ethiopia
1861	The British annex the colony of Lagos
1881	The beginning of the Mahdist revolt in Sudan
1884–5	The Berlin Conference takes place and the 'Scramble for Africa' begins
1896	Ethiopia defeats Italy at the Battle of Adowa
1898	Samori Toure's gallant resistance against the French ends in defeat
1900	British colonists begin to settle in the highlands of Kenya
1914	Blaise Diagne is elected the first African in the French National Assembly
1921	Simon Kimbangu founds the Kimbangu Church (The Church of Jesus Christ on Earth), Africa's largest independent church
1929	The 'Women's War' (also known as the Aba Women's riots) organizes to protest the taxation of women
1935	The Italian invasion of Ethiopia instigates a widespread anti-colonial nationalism
1945	Post–Second World War ideas of liberation and self-determination put colonialism in crisis

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