

durchaus quellennah — suggeriert, daß die Armen sich aus »arbeitsscheuen Elementen« rekrutierten, denen die entehrende öffentliche Unterstützung lieber war als eine subsistenzsichernde Arbeit. An diesem Punkt wünschte man sich, Tennstedt hätte seine zu Anfang angekündigte Absicht, die »Erniedrigten und Beleidigten« konsequent in die Darstellung einzubeziehen« (S. 10), mit etwas größerer Genauigkeit verfolgt und dem Leser einige statistische Daten über das Sozialprofil der »wirklichen Armen« zugänglich gemacht.

Detaillkritik wäre auch an anderen Punkten zu üben, z. B. an der Bewertung der Fabrikindustrie als Arbeitsplatzvernichter in Handwerk und Hausindustrie (S. 39, 56). Ein Blick auf die Beschäftigtenstatistik zeigt nämlich, daß die Zahl der im Handwerk Beschäftigten zwischen 1835 und 1873 sogar noch um eine Million anstieg, während die Zahl der Verlagsarbeiter nur relativ geringfügig sank. Daß das freie Kassenwesen an der Armut seiner potentiellen Klienten scheiterte (S. 166 f.), ist auch nicht ganz überzeugend; mentalitätsmäßige Widerstände waren mindestens im gleichen Maße dafür verantwortlich. Schließlich erscheint die Effizienz und Zielgerichtetheit merkantilistischer Politik extrem überbetont. Schon Gerhard Oestreich hat darauf hingewiesen, daß von einem totalen Zugriff des absolutistischen Staates ganz und gar nicht die Rede sein konnte und daß zwischen polizeiwissenschaftlicher Programmatik und politischer Wirklichkeit eine große Differenz lag.

Abgesehen von solchen (und anderen) Unstimmigkeiten, die bei der Fülle des verarbeiteten Materials nicht ausbleiben können, liegt mit Tennstedts Buch eine gelungene, äußerst informative »Zusammenschau elementarer Tatsachen und Probleme« aus der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Sozialpolitik in Deutschland vor. Der Text liest sich gut und flüssig, wozu sicherlich auch die langen Quellen- und Literaturzitate beitragen, die — in ganz unorthodoxer Manier — nicht dem Beleg, sondern der Anschaulichkeit dienen sollen. Etwas zu bedauern ist die Politiklastigkeit der Untersuchung, die die »Betroffenen« zwar mit Sympathie bedenkt, ihnen aber keinen wirklich aktiven Raum zugesteht. Andererseits ist es gerade auf diesem Gebiet der »elementaren Existenz« ungeheuer schwierig, eine »Betroffenenperspektive« zu rekonstruieren, so daß das Bedauern nur sehr vorsichtig geäußert werden soll. Ein Desiderat sei allerdings noch genannt: Es hätte gewiß auch im Interesse des anvisierten »weiteren Leserkreises« gelegen, die wichtigsten Ergebnisse und Thesen des Buches in einem knappen Schlußwort zusammenzufassen.

Ute Frevert

Gerhard Huck (ed.), Sozialgeschichte der Freizeit. Untersuchungen zum Wandel der Alltagskultur in Deutschland, Peter Hammer Verlag, Wuppertal 1980, 352 S., kart., 38 DM.

It is always difficult to review a collection of essays, particularly when, as in this case, the central theme is a broad one and the editor has not sought to impose a particular focus upon the contributions. The fifteen essays range from early modern to contemporary times and cover education, festivals, sport, drinking, breaks during work, subcultures, and attitudes towards leisure. Broadly there are three sorts of essays: those concerned with a very specific issue; those summarising a rather broader field of investigation; and more general »think-pieces«.

Of the specific subjects, those essays work best which bring out the meaning of that subject by setting it in its broader social context. Hausen shows how the development of Mothers Day in Weimar was related to commercial interests (above all, florists) and various political-cum-moral organisations. The idealisation of motherhood intensified as the pressures upon women as mothers, housewives and workers increased. The sacrifice that Mothers Day both celebrated and sought to encourage is thus linked to a broader set of problems and

conflicts. Peukert describes some working and middle class youth groups in the Third Reich which deliberately rejected Nazi values, particularly as expressed by the Hitler Youth. The significance of these attempts to construct alternative life-styles is related to the continuation of class differences in the »Volksgemeinschaft« and the psychologically as well as politically repressive nature of Nazi values. Brand describes the dense texture of Catholic associational life in a parish in Gelsenkirchen-Schalke in the Wilhelmine and Weimar periods. This is then connected to the emphasis Catholicism placed upon welfare-cum-leisure activity. This leads to the conclusion that activity of this sort, rather than strictly religious activity, played the major role in integrating the inhabitants into a community.

Other essays dealing with specific subjects work in rather different ways. Medick describes the »Spinnstuben«, social gatherings in villages where frequently spinning or other sorts of work was carried out. He brings out well the different judgements made about the Spinnstuben and the different roles played by men and women and by single and married people. But the time span is so wide that it becomes difficult to grasp the significance of any particular detail. Friedemann considers workers' festivals in Wilhelmine Germany in the Rhineland-Westphalia region and tries to assess their role in communicating SPD ideology to workers. The essay is marred by the use of the notion of »proletarian cultural practice« as a standard by which to evaluate what actually happened. Inevitably one ends up »explaining« why workers failed to live up to this ideal standard. Reulecke looks at some conferences held in the early 1890s which were concerned that workers and youths spent their increasing amount of free time »properly«. As an account of some middle class fears and hopes this is useful. But the evaluation of the practical effect of these conferences is slight and the attempt to relate these concerns to a broader context such as the development of »organised capitalism« very tentative.

Lüdtke has opened up a new and interesting area — that of breaks during work. The subject can be used to reveal conflicts between workers and employers (on the number and duration of such breaks, the rules regulating those breaks, the role of supervisors in enforcing those rules) and the value workers placed upon such breaks (what they did during those breaks, how prepared they were to give them up in exchange for shorter hours). However, the essay becomes impressionistic and speculative as it moves beyond the Krupp works in the period up to 1914. Rather than widening the subject in this way more could be learnt by relating it to other features of the Krupp factories such as the impact of technology on the rhythm of work and any intervals in that work.

Becher's essay is based upon a questionnaire survey of the membership of an historical association. She finds that most members have some higher education and that the main motives for joining the association appear to be a desire to escape from the concerns of the present and from personal isolation and boredom. Becher is also concerned to argue the merits of a more critical approach to history than that taken by most of the members of this association, and this produces a »critical« account of the members themselves.

The essays which summarise and/or interpret work in a broader field are those by Herre, Langewiesche, Roberts and Spode. Herre describes the development of workers' sports organisations in Wilhelmine Germany and brings out in particular the importance of state action in shaping those organisations. Roberts summarises much of his own research into drink and social democracy and shows how vital was the role played by the pub in the development of the SPD, something of which both social democrats and their opponents were well aware.

Langewiesche provides a balanced, economical interpretation of the ideology and practice of workers' education in Weimar, particularly in relation to the SPD and the Free Trade Unions. He brings out the dilemma of the SPD undecided between an oppositional class position and a positive democratic position and between the vocational, »cultural«, and »consciousness-raising« purposes of education. Spode corrects some earlier interpretations of

the impact of Nazi organisations upon workers' leisure, in particular the extent to which holidays organised by the »Strength through Joy« body altered the pattern of workers' holidays. The plausible conclusion is that the change was modest but significant. What clearly remains to be looked at is the impact on the lower middle classes, the major beneficiaries of these holiday schemes.

Three essays are rather more general. In his introduction Huck provides a useful discussion of various ways of defining and approaching the subject of leisure and considers those that might be of particular importance to the historian. The essay is rather open-ended and concedes that many of the contributions which follow cover subjects not really taken up in this introduction. The essay by Engelsing is rather peculiar. It consists principally of details on the timetables of various school or private tutors from the 17th century onwards. But I could not see what the point of collecting these details was. Finally Eichberg provides an interesting essay on the problems of regarding the development of sport as a response to industrialisation, urbanisation and sedentary work. He shows that no easy trends can be established in relation to these major developments. But the speculations he offers as to sport-society connections seem rather weak and difficult to prove (e. g. a connection between the move from outdoors to indoors gymnastics after 1815 and the blocking of the democratic movement).

So there is great variety in this collection. To a reader such as myself who knows so little of the subject generally this is a virtue. It serves to show just how diverse are the types of work which can be undertaken under the heading of the history of leisure. Some general themes and trends emerge: the importance of the shortening of hours of work, the increasing separation of work from non-work and the perception of leisure as both a sphere of activity and a problem, the relationship of patterns of leisure to social differences and hence to the formation of subcultures. At the same time it is clear that there is no obvious trend in the content of leisure activity or in any division of »non-work« into separate spheres such as home, education and recreation. The most valuable contributions are those which reveal »leisure« or »culture« to be areas of conflict between different interests, rather than treating it as some autonomous realm of freedom or eternal values or escape from »reality«. It is for this reason that I thought there was more to be learnt from those historians who tried to connect a particular free time activity (such as Mothers Day or youth gangs) to its broader social context than from those who tried to plot the development of a particular free time activity over a long period of time, though this was a matter of emphasis rather than of distinct alternatives. Leisure as an aspect of the history of a society rather than as a separate branch of historical study seems to have much to offer.

John Breuilly

Günther Lottes, *Politische Aufklärung und plebejisches Publikum. Zur Theorie und Praxis des englischen Radikalismus im späten 18. Jahrhundert* (= *Ancien Régime, Aufklärung und Revolution*, Bd. 1), R. Oldenbourg Verlag, München/Wien 1979, X, 409 pp., clothbound, 98 DM.

Discussion of the English Jacobinism of the 1790s is still surprisingly under-developed. As Günther Lottes notes in his discussion of existing approaches, this is not for the want of an extensive introductory literature. The shape, organization and narrative history of the radical movement have been known for some time from works going back to the start of the century, while more recently a number of major studies have laid out the general ideological context of late-18th century politics, casting into potential relief the democratic departures of the 1790s. Moreover, Edward Thompson's magnificent odyssey of historical reclamation, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London 1963), placed the Jacobin movement into a challenging framework of general argument and spawned a fascinating array of particular questions. This makes the paucity of sophisticated scholarship all the more disappointing.