

work as a moralizing agent, prisons were literally transformed into factories, producing for a market, distributing wages, and profit-oriented. Through work the prisoner would, at least in theory, internalize the dominant bourgeois values of self-control, punctuality, and frugality. Although early moral reformers believed that the prison and school shared common goals, they were surprisingly ambivalent about the role of education in the modern penitentiary. When rising literacy rates had little effect on crime, many theorists and politicians claimed that education actually contributed to the rise of certain crimes and the growing rate of recidivism. As a result, very little was done to educate prisoners beyond basic skills.

The recognized inability of the prison to attain its goals also led to various efforts to institute and enforce stricter controls over released prisoners. The result, of course, was the stigmatization of former inmates and the effective prevention of their reintegration into society. Not surprisingly, they reverted to a life of crime, raising the rate of recidivism to alarming levels. In response, the authorities called for the deportation of recidivists to New Caledonia and Guyana, where excessively high mortality rates prompted prisoners to refer to deportation as "the dry guillotine". Furthermore, by the late nineteenth century social scientists had come to deny that poverty and other environmental factors were crucial in the generation of crime. They increasingly argued that delinquency derived from personality flaws and agreed that penal reforms had not only failed to rehabilitate but had actually created a hardened criminal class, almost a separate race, which would have to be purged from the mother country. By then the true promise of punishment was a recognized failure and prisons were acknowledged to be what they had, in practice, been all along: "centers of contained disorder and chaos" (p. 304).

Overall, O'Brien's work is consistently provocative and revealing. Her well-reasoned periodization makes sense of successive trends in penology and criminology by relating them to the recurrent political upheavals of the century. More importantly, she has sensitively shown how prisoners reacted to their environment and how, in turn, the institution and all of society reacted to them. Punishment, she has demonstrated, must be viewed as a process. Some readers may object to her reliance on Foucault's "dominance and control" model of human relationships, which tends to divide all actors in history into controllers and controlled. Admittedly, no society can exist without educating its youth and socializing its members to observe conventions in behaviour and thought. When, one must ask, does socialization become "repression and control"? But it is to Professor O'Brien's credit that her complex study raises such vital questions. Moreover, it would be unjust to characterize this work as primarily derivative in nature. Although following in Foucault's footsteps, O'Brien fleshes out the bare framework that his essay suggested. In the process, she has done more than tell the story of another of history's forgotten people; she has influenced our perception of historical reality. Despite the pessimistic implications of her findings, social scientists must surely reckon with this important work.

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BERND MARTIN and ERNST SCHULIN, eds—*Die Juden als Minderheit in der Geschichte*. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1981.

This collection of essays, *Die Juden als Minderheit in der Geschichte* (The Jews as a Minority in History), began as a lecture series given by the faculty

of the University of Freiburg im Breisgau in 1980-81. The lectures were designed not for specialists, but rather for the broad student audience and for the local community as well; the authors are for the most part specialists in the time periods and regions they cover, and not in Jewish history. This is not inappropriate, for the aim of the lectures and the book is to give a chronological selection of instances that describe not the history of the Jews in Europe, but Christian-Jewish relations — which is to say, anti-Semitism.

There is in West Germany today a sizeable portion of the reading public interested in reading about Jews in pre-Nazi Germany, and in Europe generally. There is also a large portion of the German public which is vastly ignorant and indifferent — and the expressed pleasure of the editors at the interested and positive reaction of their initial audience reflects both of these factors. This book is presumably aimed at the first group, but it is qualified to deal with the requirements of the second as well. *Juden als Minderheit* is designed for a non-specialist readership, but it is not what is sometimes called popular history, if by that we mean light history, or history as entertainment. None of the essays in this collection calls for a background in the period or topic it covers, but each assumes a broad general knowledge and intelligent application on the part of the reader. This is serious social-intellectual history for an interested public that is usually fed too exclusively on biographies and political-military history.

The fifteen pieces in this book include two on the question of anti-Semitism in classical and post-classical antiquity, six on medieval and pre-industrial Europe, and six on the period from the nineteenth century through 1945, with one concluding analytical essay by Gottfried Schramm. They are not based on original research, but rather they provide succinct and highly readable expositions of the main lines of historical knowledge in the area they treat.

Not surprisingly, for most of these German contributors the history of Christian-Jewish relations is to be considered in light of the holocaust, or rather, in light of the resurgent powerful hatred of Jews among twentieth-century Germans. This standpoint appears in the essays on the modern era, of course, but it also informs the essays on earlier periods. Walter Schmitthenner, in "Kennt die hellenistisch-römische Antike eine 'Judenfrage'?" (Did Hellenistic-Roman Antiquity have a "Jewish Question"?), casts the title as well as the substance of his essay in very German terms, for as he explains, the expression "Judenfrage" was coined in the nineteenth century, reflecting hostility to emancipated but incompletely assimilated Jews in central Europe. Similarly, Frantisek Graus begins his examination of the pogroms at the time of the Black Death with introductory reflections on twentieth-century German anti-Semitism, and a stated purpose of considering parallels between medieval and modern attacks on the Jews. Klaus Deppermann on Luther's hostility to Jews, Karl Suso Frank on that of the early Church, and many of the other contributors write looking over their shoulders at the Nazi era. Particularly because of this strong consciousness, it is regrettable that this collection on Jews in European history stops short in 1945. The German readership which these authors are particularly addressing is, to a large extent, only dimly aware that there continues to be a Jewish community in Europe at all. Indeed, several of the contributors say that a knowledge of the horrors of anti-Semitism should serve as an incentive to treat "current minorities" more justly. But the Jews themselves do remain as a minority in modern Europe, and some assessment of the postwar relations of Jews and non-Jews in western Europe, or perhaps the Soviet Union, would have been a corrective to this attitude and a more appropriate conclusion.

Nonetheless, this collection presents individual essays of high quality and intrinsic interest, and creates a cumulative impression of the deeply rooted character

of European anti-Semitism. The nature of anti-Semitism changed over time, but the ultimate message of this book is that there was more continuity than change. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries cast their anti-Semitism in economic and nationalistic terms, rather than the traditional religious ones. However, neither the upheavals of industrialization nor the conspicuous success of the highly assimilated German Jews sufficiently explains the deep hostility to Jews that was still there to be evoked after long periods of liberalism and spreading tolerance; as Hans-Günter Zmarzlik remarks in his essay on the period 1871-1918, the Jew as an individual had many opportunities, but as a Jew, no friends. Gottfried Schramm makes a convincing argument that the profound hostility of the Church to Judaism, and its continuing anger that a religion with so much in common with Christianity should reject its principal tenets, has so deeply informed all of European culture that its echoes have been strong enough, even in a secularized era, to produce ready acceptance of anti-Semitic calumnies.

Though not all of the contributors would necessarily share Schramm's conclusions, this collection does have a unity of purpose and method. This is, in short, an interesting and valuable book, not only for the German public for which it was written, but also for others seeking a lucid and coherent assessment of the dealings of Christian Europe with its Jews.

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KONRAD H. JARAUSCH—*Students, Society and Politics in Imperial Germany. The Rise of Academic Illiberalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982. Pp. 448.

This book examines German universities and their students during the Second Empire. The author, a recognized expert in the field, focuses on the social restructuring of the German academic community and the reversal of its political outlook in the years between the founding of the German nation-state and World War I. The problem is important for, in the late nineteenth century, German universities were at the height of their influence. Successful emphasis on the research imperative and innovations such as the research institute contributed to unprecedented international prestige. The universities also played an unusually large role in the life of their nation. Entrance into the liberal professions and the upper echelons of government service was dependent upon university training and passing of state examinations normally administered by university professors. For the middle class the university provided upward mobility, that is controlled admission to Germany's élites. The university—even more than the highly respected *Gymnasium*—bestowed the mystique of *Bildung* (cultivation-education). *Bildung* brought prestige and influence. It enabled the educated middle class (*Bildungsbürgertum*) to vie successfully with aristocrats, bankers, traders, and industrialists for leadership within German society. Furthermore, "as the last shared institution of their lifetime" (p. 10), the university significantly influenced the socio-political outlook of its graduates.

According to Jarausch the German university changed perceptibly during the course of the Second Empire. What had once been the bastion of German liberalism became an agency promoting nationalism, neo-conservatism and anti-democracy. Liberalism was deserted and one more door was opened to National