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# Lives Beyond Borders: A Social History, 1880–1950

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**Madeleine Herren und Isabella Löhr**

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# Inhaltsverzeichnis

## Aufsätze

*Isabella Löhr*
Lives Beyond Borders, or: How to Trace Global Biographies, 1880–1950 7

*Cornelia Knab*
Civil Society Diplomacy? W. T. Stead, World Peace, and Transgressive Journalism 22

*Frank Grüner*
"The Chicago of the East": The Cross-Border Activities and Transnational Biographies of Adventurers, Shady Characters, and Criminals in the Cosmopolitan City of Harbin 52

*Benjamin Auberer*
"The Ultimate Backroom-Boy": The Border-Crossing Career of Joseph Vivian Wilson in the League of Nations Secretariat 76

*Madeleine Herren*
Between Territoriality, Performativity, and Transcultural Entanglement (1920–1939): A Typology of Transboundary Lives 100

## Bericht

*Hans-Heinrich Nolte*
Das Globalisierungsparadox. Sammelrezension 125

## Buchbesprechungen

Ulrich van der Heyden (Hrsg): Missionsgeschichte als Geschichte der Globalisierung von Wissen. Transkulturelle Wissensaneignung und -vermittlung durch christliche Missionare in Afrika und Asien im 17., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert (= Missionsgeschichtliches Archiv, Bd. 19), Stuttgart 2012
*Felicity Jensz* 135

Peter Hayes / Jean El Gammal (Hrsg.): Universitätskulturen. L'Université en perspective. The Future of the University (= Jahrbuch des Frankreichzentrums der Universität des Saarlandes Bd. 11), Bielefeld 2012
*Kathleen Schlütter* 137

Manfred Hettling / Jörg Echternkamp (Hrsg.): Gefallenengedenken im globalen Vergleich. Nationale Tradition, politische Legitimation und Individualisierung der Erinnerung, München 2013
*Marcel Siepmann* 139

Inhaltsverzeichnis des 23. Jahrgangs 2013 144

Autorinnen und Autoren 152

# Lives Beyond Borders, or: How to Trace Global Biographies, 1880–1950

**Isabella Löhr**

In November 1956, in the midst of the Suez and Hungarian crises, the German weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* published a piece on the role played by Dag Hammarskjöld, the well-known second UN General Secretary, in settling the conflict. The author was full of praise for Hammarskjöld and for his unexpected capacity to shift the balance of power by taking the political lead and setting up the first UN peace-keeping mission. The journalist also introduced the notion of the "cosmopolitician" to describe Hammarskjöld. This term referred to a new sort of internationalist, located somewhere between the well-known national statesman and the cosmopolitan, who influences the course of politics and societies in a world supposedly dominated by veto-powers, and whose next step is difficult to predict because he lacks a distinct image.[1] The articles in this volume seek to demonstrate that the notion of the "cosmopolitician" captures a type of international actor that was particular to the twentieth century; that is, a national citizen who operated beyond the national and thus questioned and redefined established visions of political, social, and cultural agency. However, these articles are not intended as heroic tales recounting the achievements of some individuals and of their efforts to transform societies or the international order. In examining "lives beyond borders," the authors in this volume aim to shed light on a particular social practice that is characterized by the individual capacity to translate limited scopes of action into a political practice adapted

1 Gösta von Uexküll, „Kosmopolitiker Hammarskjöld," *Die Zeit*, November 15, 1956, http://www.zeit.de/1956/46/kosmopolitiker-hammarskjoeld (accessed December 15, 2013).

**Comparativ |** Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung 23 (2013) Heft 6, S. 7–21.

to the language and rules of emerging transnational scopes of action. These unfolded beyond the culturally constructed entity of the nation and beyond its instituted logics of rule, practice, and representation. The case studies here serve as a potential conduit through which further avenues of research may be opened, avenues centring on the role of individuals in larger struggles over sovereignty and global agenda-setting.

There are admittedly plenty of reasons why the writing of biographies might not seem, at first glance, to be the most thrilling and up-to-date intellectual project. Since the 1960s the biographical genre has been criticized for privileging single persons as key figures who determine 'the course of history' and for narrowing down the understanding of complex historical processes to the role played by particular persons. Recently, though, the genre has witnessed substantial reconfigurations with the arrival of transnational perspectives and global approaches to historiography. As a result, the biographical genre has not only received fresh attention but has also undergone a transformation stemming from historians' increased interest in the importance of mobility and cultural transfers for the emergence of the modern world.[2] By presenting an actor-centred approach and by assuming the position of the (moving) historical subject, the articles assembled in this volume pick up the thread of recent interest in the 'global individual.' They explore the set of meaning-producing practices used by historical actors who tried to make sense of and profit from living outside their country of origin, in-between distant places, or *in situ* (as soon as we take institutions or cities as sites of global entanglements into consideration). The articles' intention is to dive into the very fundamental relationship between the individual and its social environment in a world that is not, or only temporarily, delineated by space, institutions, borders, or by territorially defined identity politics. Furthermore, focusing on the first half of the twentieth century, and thus on a period of intense political turmoil, fragility, and (failed) global challenges, the authors share a vital interest in the profile strategies used by historical actors who were exposed to and actively engaged in the shaping of this turmoil. How were they able to link their individual fate to the paramount reorganisation and / or rupture of politics and society? And how did they benefit from windows of opportunity and initiate slight and sometimes barely visible shifts in established institutional hierarchies and social orders? By paying attention to single historical actors, the articles in this issue pay tribute to the decreasing importance of national histories and explore alternative frames of reference that refer to the way the historical actors made sense of a world that was experienced as both liberating and unsettling.

2 For an overview see Thomas Etzemüller, *Biographien* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 2012); Christian Klein ed., *Handbuch Biographie. Methoden, Traditionen, Theorien* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2009); Volker R. Berghahn and Simone Lässig eds., *Biography Between Structure and Agency. Central European Lives in International Historiography* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008).

## Lives Beyond Borders: A Survey

For obvious reasons, the mobility of groups and individuals forms part of the history of global circulation and interactions. Global commodity chains, the social, commercial and institutional construction of imperial spaces, or the emergence of colonial disciplines like botany, ethnography, and geography are unthinkable without people travelling from one place to the other. In the modern era, migration history has dealt in large part with mass migrations. The history of the transatlantic slave trade is paradigmatic for one strand of research that deals with forced migration and labour recruitment systems as a crucial component in power struggles and in the formation of competing transregional commodity chains.[3] At the same time, diaspora studies have seized on the cultural impact of forced migration and have pointed to the role African diaspora communities played in the construction of transnational consciousness beyond ethnicity.[4] Mass migrations that took place between the 1830s and the middle of the twentieth century constitute the second main emphasis of migration history. Meanwhile, it has become the consensus that mass mobility was a key feature of globalization processes, in combination with new technologies of transportation and communication that accelerated the movement of people, goods, and information during the nineteenth century. Therefore, sociologists and historians have begun to explore the different facets in the history of the gradual and steady mobilisation of societies.[5] As Dirk Hoerder argues, migration was multi-directional and took place within various migration systems, which covered the globe without being necessarily connected to one another. Migration in the Atlantic economies and within the Black Atlantic were complemented by Russian settlements in Siberia, the Chinese migration to Manchuria, and the contract labour systems around the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific.[6] Many studies have argued convincingly that moving in space does not necessarily entail the spanning of regions or continents. Narrow passages, such as imperial metropoles or port cities, can also serve as focal points for a global history of mobility, as soon as different forms of mobility and regimes of regulating the moving subject become visible and crystallize on site.[7]

3 Kevin O'Rourke and Jeffrey G. Williamson, *The Evolution of a Nineteenth-Century Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2001).

4 Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993); J. Lorand Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (London: Verso, 2007).

5 For a programmatic outline see John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007); Claude Markovits, Jacques Pouchepadass, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam eds., *Society and Circulation: Mobile People and Itinerant Cultures in South Asia, 1750–1950* (London: Anthem Press, 2006).

6 Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 306–403; Donna R. Gabaccia and Dirk Hoerder eds., *Connecting Seas and Connected Ocean Rims. Indian, Atlantic, and Pacific Oceans and China Seas Migrations from the 1830s to the 1930s* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

7 Valeska Huber, *Channelling Mobilities: Migration and Globalization in the Suez Canal Region and Beyond, 1869–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

While research on mass migration and forced labour systems focuses on large groups and is oftentimes dedicated to quantitative approaches or the carving out of the social and economic patterns underlying mass mobility,[8] a third strand has attended to what has been subsumed under the rubric of global subjects or transnational lives. Unlike research agendas which give priority to the emergence and implementation of technologies to prevent movement, like border control systems or mobility regimes,[9] it is the mobile individual or identifiable groups of migrants who are the pivot of this particular research interest. But why should we position unknown individuals, or persons known only by a select few, as prime examples of the close connection between migration and a culturally, socially, and economically entangled world? In what respect can these professional careers and individual trajectories unfold a broader picture that gives us information about the mechanics of global interdependence, cultural exchange, and the still fundamental relationship between territorially based societies and their integration in global exchange processes? And how can they support the analytical challenge of studying the plurality of actors, places, and decision-making levels that appear when attention is increasingly directed towards the border-crossing or border-ignoring movements of people?

Recent years have witnessed a considerable number of edited volumes and special issues on these questions, which present a manifold and colourful panorama of the travel and network activities of their protagonists.[10] Interestingly, historians of the early modern period and historians of empire and imperialism have made a significant contribution to the shaping of this field of study. In her seminal book, Natalie Zemon Davis portrays the life of a Muslim, born in Granada in the late fifteenth century, who travelled extensively in the Mediterranean, North Africa, and the Levant and who made his way from a prisoner on a pirate ship to a baptised scholar in the papal court in Rome. Zemon Davis presents Leo Africanus, as he was called, as the embodiment of a transitional, though limited, period of increasing dialogue between the Christian and Muslim worlds in the Mediterranean. In this context, Leo Africanus appears as a cultural broker, and she interprets him as representing paradigmatically a certain zeitgeist that favoured negotia-

8 Jan and Leo Lucassen, "From Mobility Transition to Comparative Global Migration History," *Journal of Global History* 6/2 (2011): 299–307. Additionally see the complete discussion on the relationship of quantitative versus qualitative approaches to migration history in this issue: "Discussion – Global Migration," *Journal of Global History* 6/2 (2011): 299–344.

9 Adam McKeown, *Melancholy Order. Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008); Andreas Fahrmeir, Oliver Faron, and Patrick Weil eds., *Migration Control in the North Atlantic World: The Evolution of State Practices in Europe and the United States from the French Revolution to the Inter-War Period* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003); Barbara Lüthi, *"Invading Bodies." Medizin und Immigration in den USA, 1880–1920* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 2009); Marylin Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Mens' Countries and the International Challenge of Race Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

10 Bernd Hausberger ed., *Globale Lebensläufe. Menschen als Akteure im weltgeschichtlichen Geschehen* (Wien: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2006); Desley Deacon, Penny Russell, and Angela Woollacott eds., *Transnational Lives: Biographies of Global Modernity, 1700–Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Barbara Lüthi and Miriam Rürup eds., *"Grenzgänge,"* WerkstattGeschichte 53 (2009): 3 (special issue); Glenda Sluga and Julia Horne eds., "Cosmopolitanism: Its Past and Practices," *Journal of World History* 21 (2010): 3 (special issue).

tion and the translation of religious difference.[11] Other studies have seized on the idea of the pioneering role of individuals in situations of cultural contact in the early modern period. Resuming the recent trend of completing the history of cultural transfers with the concept of cultural translation, this emerging field directs attention to particular efforts and outcomes in order to bridge cultural difference, to redraw cultural or symbolic borders, and to deal with changing perceptions of the self and the other.[12] In this context, increasing attention has been paid to the men on the spot – the cultural brokers, the cultural agents, or the go-betweens. Analysing their lives allows us to dig deeper into the complex relationship of structure and agency and to better understand the constant de- and re-stabilization of cultural, social, and political structures.[13] Yet for most studies on translation the actual lives of the cultural brokers are not of paramount importance since interest lies more in how cultures are translated and how regimes of translation impact perceptions of cultural difference.

In comparison, historians of empire and imperialism have gradually discovered lives beyond borders.[14] Emma Rothschild has used the connections between the Scottish Johnstone family and the British, French, Spanish, and Mughal Empires in the eighteenth century as a case study for how the histories of families, groups, or individuals were intertwined with enlightenment politics, economics, and the increasing role of information in the Atlantic economies and the new British Empire in India. She argues that the careers of the family members reflect larger historical processes and thus allow researchers to analyse closely the scope of action for individuals and groups in gradually expanding global interactions.[15] According to Miles Ogborn, the tracing of "global lives" allows the historian to draw nuanced historical geographies for fragile and/or routinized border-crossing connections formed by merchant trading over long distances or by imperial administrators, and thus replaces the much rougher dichotomy of centre and periphery.[16]

11 Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between the Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006).

12 Simone Lässig, "Übersetzungen in der Geschichte – Geschichte als Übersetzung? Überlegungen zu einem analytischen Konzept und Forschungsgegenstand für die Geschichtswissenschaft", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 38 (2012): 189–216; Doris Bachmann-Medick, "Introduction: The Translational Turn", *Translation Studies* 2/1 (2009): 2–16; Monica Juneja and Margrit Pernau, "Lost in Translation: Transcending Boundaries in Comparative History," *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, eds. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 105–29.

13 Peter Burke, "Translating Knowledge, Translating Cultures," in *Kultureller Austausch. Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*, ed. Michael North (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), 69–80; Simon Schaffer, Lissa Roberts, and Kapil Raj eds., *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770–1820* (Sagamore Beach, Mass: Science History Publishing, 2009); James H. Merell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1999); Mark Häberlein and Alexander Kneese eds., *Sprachgenzen, Sprachkontakte, kulturelle Vermittler: Kommunikation zwischen Europäern und Außereuropäern (16. bis 20. Jahrhundert)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010).

14 For the Russian and Habsburg Empires cf: Jörn Happel and Rolf Malte eds., "Grenzgänger in Vielvölkerreichen: Grenzziehungen und -überschreitungen in Russland und Österreich-Ungarn (1850–1919)," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 59 (2011): 5 (special issue).

15 Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

16 Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives. Britain and the World, 1550–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 6.

In her study on the integral role of family practices in the maintenance and reproduction of imperial rule over several generations, Elizabeth Buettner continued this line of argumentation and applied it to the nineteenth century by connecting the role of travel and migration cycles to the formation of social, cultural, and racial identities. What is important in this context is her observation that the formation of identity politics within these families was never shaped by a formal emigration and integration into British communities in India nor by full integration into British society. Instead, the self-perception of the empire families developed out of the permanent movement between India and the colonial metropolis. As a consequence, these families "indeed personify the difference, yet simultaneously the inseparability and blurring of boundaries, between Britain's domestic and imperial histories."[17] Likewise, David Lambert and Alan Lester have argued for a strong connection between biography, space, and the making of social order. Tracing the trajectories of what the authors call the imperial careers of individuals who moved across the empire during their life span allows them to grasp the mechanics of imperial rule. While the case studies present thoughtful reflections on the role of gender, class, race, and religion, the individual careers at stake shed light on the constant process of linking imperial places and thus on the overall process of the de- and reintegration of empire.[18] Taking up the relationship of power, space, and mobility, Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton highlight imperial space as a "territorialized mobility."[19] According to Ballantyne and Burton, imperial sites and localities were saturated with contestations of cultural hegemony and struggles over the boundaries of imperial rule that were renegotiated each time travellers, migrants, colonialists, and indigenous groups met. Consequently, to interpret the move beyond national borders merely as an individual or group decision without serious effects on the boundaries between the nation and the empire, the European and the non-European localities, does not go far enough. On the contrary, going beyond borders may be nothing more than an element of imperial politics. In this sense, moving in space transforms into a phenomenon that "itself is ever moving, and those operating on it find themselves routinely adjusting themselves."[20]

All these studies emphasized the close and inextricable entanglement of imperial biographies with the social and political hierarchies of their respective times. In this regard, they argue for the interpretation of individuals as embodiments of a particular aspect in the making or un-making of imperial societies. In so doing, they also question the well-established difference between the national and the imperial space. Sensitizing us to the fragility of order and to its constant state of contest and challenge, the studies suggest

17 Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 2; Tamson Pietsch, "A British Sea: Making Sense of Global Space in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Global History* 5 (2010): 423–46.

18 David Lambert and Alan Lester, "Introduction: Imperial Spaces, Imperial Subjects," in *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. David Lambert and Alan Lester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1–31.

19 Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton eds., *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire,* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 3.

20 Ibid., 3.

a micro-historical perspective on the social and political history of what Antje Flüchter and Susan Richter call "technologies of governance in transcultural encounters."[21]

## Contingency, Scale, and the Individual: Reordering the Writing of History

Writing a microhistory of mobile persons in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries raises several questions about the epistemological aims of such an endeavour. While the advance of biographical and cultural approaches in imperial history has been observed critically due to the moderating of force and power asymmetries inherent in these approaches,[22] the genre still provides a range of fundamental methodological challenges essential to all histories that attempt to transgress the nation as the dominant analytical unit. Global history itself is a field of research on the move. Although open for discussion on subjects, periodization, and methods,[23] unity prevails with regard to one central aspect. Research on subjects with a global reach usually builds on the notion that the modern world has been shaped by connections and interactions that not only crossed long distances but also crossed cultural and social borders in a way that cannot be grasped within the bi- or multilateral models that conventional histories on political or economic development propose.[24] This shared focus on global connections and interactions forms the core and the glue of the field. However, by inversing the argument many studies have emphasized the persistence of the nation state as a particular means of controlling the political, social, cultural, and economic life of a certain territory, as an instrument to enable or prevent global flows by opening or closing national borders, or as a certain spatial pattern that is influenced by and has to compete with alternative frames of reference.[25] It is within this particular dialectic of the national, of being an actor in and subject to processes of global integration and fragmentation all at the same time, that the historical actors gain in importance. Putting the historical actors into the centre of our research allows us to use these persons' ideas and actions, according to Bardo Fassbender and Anne

21 Antje Flüchter and Susan Richter eds., *Structures on the Move: Technologies of Governance in Transcultural Encounters*, (Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 2012); Angelika Epple, "Globale Mikrogeschichte. Auf dem Weg zu einer Geschichte der Relationen," in *Im Kleinen das Große suchen. Mikrogeschichte in Theorie und Praxis. Hans Haas zum 70. Geburtstag,* eds. Ewald Hiebl and Ernst Langthaler (Innsbruck, Wien, Bozen: Studien Verlag, 2012), 37–47; Rebekka Habermas, "Der Kolonialskandal Atakpame – ein Mikrogeschichte des Globalen," *Historische Anthropologie* 17/2 (2009): 295–319.

22 See, for example, Stephen Howe, "Introduction: New Imperial Histories," in *The New Imperial Histories Reader*, ed. Stephen Howe (London, New York: Routledge, 2010), 1–20, in particular 7–8.

23 For a recent overview see Sebastian Conrad, *Globalgeschichte. Eine Einführung* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2013); Maxine Berg ed., *Writing the History of the Global: Challenges for the 21st Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

24 See, for example, John R. and William H. McNeill, *The Human Web: A Bird's Eye View of World History* (New York: Norton, 2003); Emily Rosenberg ed., *A World Connecting, 1870–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

25 Isabella Löhr and Roland Wenzlhuemer eds., *The Nation State and Beyond: Governing Globalization Processes in the 19th and Early 20th Century* (Berlin: Springer Verlag, 2013); Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

Peters, as "'keyholes' through which we can see an entire 'room' or historical space."[26] But how can we describe this space of historical practice? In what respect does it differ from a structural and national approach to history, and how can we include the varying access to power, resources, and competences for the persons studied?

The historical space opened up by the transnational lives describes the difficulties of being transnational, the need to create new bonds of solidarity, and its repercussions on the ruling order. Most instructive in this regard are studies on anarchism and anti-colonial movements. In his recent book, Benedict Anderson enquires into the tense relationship between anarchism, militant nationalism, imperialist competition, and transoceanic migration and thus maps the role that individual anarchists played in the formation of anti-colonial movements.[27] Instead of referring to the well-known stereotype of the uprooted cosmopolitan,[28] the creation of new social means of communication and interaction alludes to the political and social impact of persons or groups living and acting within several contexts, to the transformation of these very contexts, including institutions, concepts or structures of (national) governance, and to the understanding of belonging and exclusion. Stephen Greenblatt points out that the "microhistories of 'displaced' things and persons […] represent cultural connections between unexpected times and places." In so doing, they invoke contingency as a principle, though oftentimes underestimated, historical category and present it as major challenge for the prevailing perception of territorially organized societies as something comparatively stable and fixed.[29] On the other hand, focusing on transformation with a preference for biographical evidence over the description of institutions and territorial orders clearly establishes the growing awareness of the fragility of societies and the very fundamental influence that lives beyond borders wield over the way larger social entities are constituted.[30]

Consequently, transnational biographies shed light on the formation and reformation of societies in what Michael Geyer and Charles Bright have called the "global age": The global condition is the paramount horizon within which we live and act, and which continuously and irrevocably creates path dependencies with a global reach.[31] To approach the global condition from the perspective and scope of action of the individual means to prioritise the exception to the rule; it ascribes the power to unravel the (contingent) me-

26 Bardo Fassbender and Anne Peters, "Introduction: Towards a Global History of International Law," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of International Law,* eds. Bardo Fassbender and Anne Peters (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 14.

27 Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (London: Verso, 2007); see also Tanja Bührer, Markus Pohlmann, and Daniel Marc Segesser eds., "Globale Akteue an den Randzonen von Souveränität und Legitimität," *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 23 (2013): 2 (special issue).

28 Nicolas Berg, *Luftmensch. Zur Geschichte einer Metapher* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008).

29 Stephen Greenblatt, "Cultural Mobility: An Introduction," in *Cultural Mobility. A Manifesto,* ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 16.

30 Rudolf Stichweh,„Die klassische Soziologie des Fremden und die Genese der Disziplin Soziologie," in *Der Fremde. Studien zu Soziologie und Sozialgeschichte,* Rudolf Stichweh (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2010), 19.

31 Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, "World History in a Global Age," *American Historical Review* 97 (1995): 1034–60.

chanics of social transformation in the dialectical interplay of global entanglements and the constitution of the national to the margins. Interpreting the non-compliant individual as an indicator of social change is to reread the relationship between territoriality, human order, and global social processes. In this regard, Madeleine Herren has argued for a re-evaluation of the forms of subjectivity that have been previously marginalized in historical research because of the prevalence of clear-cut categories of the national, the transnational, and the international and a focus on larger groups, structures, or institutions. In lieu of opposing the mobile individual with a settled society, she suggests conceiving of mobility as an end in itself. Consequently, the need to establish new social relationships beyond national solidarity can be seen as a set of elaborate techniques that not only create new transnational spaces of action but also violate existing social norms and transgress the ruling order.[32]

All the papers in this special issue refer to a core issue in studies on cosmopolitanism – that is, the constant rearrangement of political, social, and cultural borders. Our use of the term cosmopolitan does not aim at reinstating the traditional understanding of cosmopolitanism as a description of citizens of the world who are protected by laws of hospitality and by their unalienable rights in a Kantian tradition.[33] Rather, the conceptual approaches related to the term *new cosmopolitanism* allow us to think ahead to the consequences of the spatial turn and the corresponding methodological challenges global history poses to empirical research on border-crossing exchanges.[34] Building on the research of the sociologists Magdalena Nowicka and Gerard Delanty, a cosmopolitan perspective focuses on the problems that cultural difference entails and on the networks that do not correspond any longer with the vision of a territorial fixation of politics, culture, and society. Taking the permanent transgression of purportedly stable entities as a starting point, the acknowledgement of exchange processes as more than an ephemeral moment emphasizes actor-centred approaches and stresses the on-going process of reformulation and the creation of borders, which have been described by Nowicka as "(b)ordering."[35] It includes the moment that sanctions and control are established, but it also copes with the changing rules on a structural and individual level. Continuing with this line of argumentation, Delanty sets out a "cosmopolitan condition of living in translation": With reference to postcolonial theory, he describes the "re-codification of culture" in interaction as the crucial moment when "new meanings and structures" are

32 Madeleine Herren, „Inszenierungen des globalen Subjekts. Vorschläge zur Typologie einer transgressiven Biographie," *Historische Anthropologie* 13/3 (2005): 2; see also Franziska Rogger and Madeleine Herren, *Inszeniertes Leben. Die entzauberte Biographie des Selbstdarstellers Dr. Tomarkin* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2012).

33 See, for example, Carol A. Breckenridge ed., *Cosmopolitanism (*Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

34 Sugata Bose and Kris Manjapra eds., *Cosmopolitan Thought Zones: South Asia and the Global Circulation of Ideas* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Gerard Delanty ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitan Studies* (London: Routledge, 2012); Maria Rovisco and Magdalena Nowicka eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Cosmopolitanism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

35 Magdalena Nowicka, *Transnational Professionals and Their Cosmopolitan Universe* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 2006), 224.

created and social and institutional change is initiated.[36] As soon as we conceive of cosmopolitanism not in political or philosophical terms but as a methodological approach "that is not confined to identifiable transnational processes as such, but pervades the very nature of social relations and institutions more generally,"[37] a cosmopolitan perspective becomes a tool to write the history of the global from the perspective of the individual. Crossing borders, therefore, is not necessarily limited to individual mobility but strongly encompasses the transgression of structures and of travelling networks.

As developed in the chapter by Madeleine Herren, this approach goes hand in hand with a historiography that is described as transcultural. Transcultural history introduces a global view of the past by focusing on the processes of border-crossing. Instead of attaching the past to clearly defined entities like eras, territories, nations, classes, and states, transcultural history focuses on the incompatibilities, tensions, and disputes that develop whenever people, objects, concepts, and ideas cross the ruling orders of their respective time. The reaction to crossing borders reflects the acceptance or rejection of entanglements in the respective society. According to this definition, transcultural history is first of all an analytical tool that helps to overcome methodological nationalism even in cases where 'foreign' cultures are not involved.[38]

Bringing cosmopolitanism and transcultural history into the equation, the authors in this issue remodel certain assumptions of transnational and global history. First of all, this approach allows researchers to work closely with the primary sources and helps bypass the often-heard concern that narratives of global interaction are in danger of losing sight of empirical realities. Yet, as Desley Deacon, Penny Russell, and Angela Wollacott correctly remark, tracing lives beyond the holdings of national archives raises many new practical problems for the historian in how to track down people who moved across and how to deal with multilingual papers spread over several archives on several continents.[39] Second, the papers in this issue combine the spatial dimensions of global history with social mobility and a qualitative analysis of how individuals and societies change themselves in view of border-crossing interrelations. We argue that the lives beyond borders do more than just illuminate social structures; rather, the authors suggest questioning analytical dichotomies of fixity and precariousness in principle. According to Johannes Paulmann, social and political structures are shaped in the interaction of people and ideas with these very structures. Departing from the concept of translocality, as put forward by Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, he argues for understanding translocal empirical realities as the result of interaction, mobility, and circulation.[40] Consequently, the individual

36 Gerard Delanty, *The Cosmopolitan Imagination: The Renewal of Critical Social Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 196.

37 Ibid., 5.

38 Madeleine Herren, Martin Rüesch, and Christiane Sibille, *Transcultural History* (Berlin: Springer, 2012).

39 Desley Deacon, Penny Russell, and Angela Woollacott eds., *Transnational Lives*, 9; for a detailed account of archival pitfalls see Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

40 Johannes Paulmann, „Regionen und Welten. Arenen und Akteure regionaler Weltbeziehungen seit dem 19. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift* 296 (2013): 669, 683; Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, „Introduction.

agency – that is, the capacity and autonomy of the individual to act – develops into a core category for the writing of a micro-social history of global entanglements. The articles emphasize the general instability of structures and highlight the contested as well as constant shifting of borders. In so doing, they assert the role of the individual in the mobility of social, cultural, and geographical borders. Stressing the transformative impact of individuals on society, the case studies reach beyond an analytical understanding of the historical individual and present them as more than merely a lens through which features of the interaction between national societies and global forces can be disclosed. Using the scope of action and experiences of particular individuals as a starting point is not a misguided attempt to romanticise the cases presented but a means of giving preference to a nuanced analysis of the effects of connectedness on the making and institutionalisation of social, cultural, and political structures in a global perspective.

## Living beyond the Nation: Civil Society, International Organisations, and a Cosmopolitan City

The essays assembled in this issue cover the time period stretching from the late nineteenth century to the late 1940s and, accordingly, the authors build on recent attempts to moderate the perception of the Great War as a break in the historiography. Instead, priority is given to the perspective that interprets the new regimes of border controls, government regulation, and nongovernmental and intergovernmental institutions as a reaction to and principal acknowledgement of the fact that societies were irreversibly connected and that extended instruments were needed to control mobility, economic interdependency and the impact of civil society on global policy issues.[41] By examining the twofold way in which individuals formed part of larger historical settings and processes and, simultaneously, tried to exert influence on broader changes in the formation of public and institutional arenas of governance, the authors in this issue explore the transcultural history of (b)ordering the ruling order on a structural and individual level. In so doing, the case studies pay explicit attention to the double role played by historical actors as the visible as well as invisible forces behind shifting balances of power in urban governance, a globalized public sphere, or in the League of Nations. However, the chapters do not forget to accentuate failure or unintended consequences and to portray the historical individuals as subject to structural limitations and unexpected turns in in-

Translocality: An Approach to Connection and Transfer in Area Studies," in *Translocality: The Study of Globalisation Processes from a Southern Perspective,* eds. Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1–21; for a global history from below see Gopalan Balachandran, "Claiming Histories Beyond Nations: Situating Global History," *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 49/2 (2012): 247–72.

41 Christoph Dejung, Niels P. Petersson, "Introduction. Power, Institutions, and Global Markets: Actors, Mechanisms, and Foundations of Worldwide Economic Integration, 1850–1930," in *The Foundations of Worldwide Economic Integration: Power, Institutions, and Global Markets, 1850–1930*, eds. Christoph Dejung and Niels P. Petersson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1–17; Adam McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846–1940," *Journal of World History* 15/2 (2004): 155–89, here 172–7; Emily Rosenberg ed., *A World Connecting*, 11–3.

ternational endeavours. The essays all conceptualize lives beyond borders as an analytical perspective that guides historical research on a global past by acknowledging the historical actors as the interface between a global, national, and local frame of reference. Only when we combine these different frames of reference can we depict the social, cultural, and political horizons of the historical actors and assess the degree to which existing political, social, and institutional orders have been contested.

The contributions collected here explore three different aspects of lives beyond borders: civil society movements, a cosmopolitan city, and international organisations. From these angles the authors use their case studies as a magnifying glass through which to examine both the pitfalls and the loopholes that globalized societies offer for individual actors or groups. The chapters offer a precise description of the lives, aims, and interest of the biographies at stake, their (institutional) affiliations, their networks, and their social, political, or professional requirements. The authors thus shine a spotlight on the way in which the journalist William T. Stead, the shady characters in the city of Harbin, and the League of Nations officials profited from opportunities to expand their scope of action beyond the political, social, and cultural norms and rules of their respective time. The topics brought together here mirror some of the core fields that have come to the attention of historians during the last decade: the emergence of a global public sphere due to the expansion of media companies, optimized information technologies, the merging of a professionalized journalism with nongovernmental social movements and their increasing attempts to influence global policy agendas and diplomatic negotiations; the cosmopolitan city of Harbin in Northeast China demonstrates the entanglement of border-crossing with the unambiguity of administrative rules and territorial order; and the governance structures of the League of Nations is an example of the opening of new opportunities for individual actors both to accelerate and redefine career patterns and institutional frameworks. Highlighting both the differences and the similarities in the biographies under investigation, the essays provide a thorough analysis. They manage to present transnational biographies both as exceptions to the rule and as crucial components in the analytical efforts to retrace the shifting of social norms, political arenas, and cultural perceptions of territorial belonging and transcultural entanglement in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries.

In her contribution, *Cornelia Knab* delves into the life of the well-known British journalist William T. Stead. Although his life and career have been subject to extensive research, the chapter shifts attention to a less considered aspect of his life by unravelling the societal impact of his transnational journalistic and peace-keeping ventures. By explicitly departing from an approach that uses Stead as a lens to uncover multiple aspects of the history of Victorian Britain, *Knab* turns our gaze onto the so-called transgressive dimensions of his biography"; that is, the idea of overstepping social norms to establish a genuinely transnational sphere of influence. Concentrating on Stead's peace work at the two Hague peace conferences in 1899 and 1907, the article argues that Stead developed and applied strategies to conquer a globalized public space, to challenge the legitimation of state-centric diplomatic negotiations, and to install transnational structures of civil

society activism that would have a long-term impact. To classify Stead's transgressive working method, *Knab* suggests connecting his engagement with public campaigning and his use of new technological opportunities to liberalize the transfer of information. However, the chapter carefully avoids blundering into the trap of narrating the constant and unbroken emergence of a global public sphere with Stead as its hero. Instead, *Knab* draws our attention to how firmly Stead's worldview was rooted in notions of the British Empire. In so doing, the article explores Stead's role in the transformation of information politics and diplomacy before World War I and reveals the interplay between transgressing established rules and creating new borderlines by pointing to the relatedness of transnational civil society movements to imperial notions of civilization and moral supremacy.

*Frank Grüner*, on the other hand, scouts out the transnational biographies of adventurers, criminals, gamblers, and drug dealers and sheds light on lives beyond borders from below. Dealing with the city of Harbin in Northeast China, *Grüner* has chosen a particular case study that places issues of territoriality, legal-administrative spaces, and transnational (criminal) networks within a cultural contact zone. As *Grüner* argues, border-crossing in Harbin collapsed territorial and social spaces; it was enacted at the edges of several grey zones and played off the special characteristics of a border region, of overlapping regulations, and an ambiguous status of sovereignty – Harbin was a concession area of the Russian-Chinese Eastern Railway and a treaty port – against the local authorities. This complex situation eludes comprehension when explained only within the framework of a criminal history of drug trade, human trafficking, or gambling. *Grüner* conceptualizes the shady characters of Harbin as professional border-crossers who displayed a comprehensive knowledge of languages, of legal-administrative regulations, extraterritorial rights, and had sophisticated cultural competencies in the running of transnational criminal networks. Seen through the eyes of the lives beyond borders, Harbin serves as a case in point for the porosity and (temporary) collapse of analytical and political core categories such as territory, sovereignty, and governance.

*Benjamin Auberer* presents the biography of a New Zealand second-tier civil servant at the League of Nations to introduce the reader to the transformations that took place in diplomacy and international organisations during the interwar period. The characterless and career-minded official, Joseph Vivian Wilson, gains profile in his enduring attempts to climb a diplomatic career ladder foreclosed to him because he originated from a British dominion. Although Wilson concluded his professional career as the first ambassador of New Zealand in Paris in the 1950s, the instructive moments of his professional career can be found in his work as a League official behind the scenes where he constantly advanced his competencies and thus rebalanced the politically contested relationship between ranks, influence, and citizenship within the League Secretariat. Consequently, *Auberer* makes us aware of the individual capacity not only to escape the well-established social and political path-dependencies in an elitist professional environment but also of the particular scopes of action that emerged in a time that saw the development of competing interpretations of how to organize and administrate international politics.

Continuing in this line of enquiry, *Madeleine Herren* opens up the field by presenting international organisations as a starting point from which to identify patterns of what she calls "the traveling stranger." *Herren* provides the reader with a thorough methodological reflection on the adequate analytical tools needed to grasp lives beyond borders beyond clear-cut and pejorative categories of the Other, the outsider, or the stateless person. Instead, the article probes current research on new cosmopolitanism and transcultural history, which concentrates on the transgression of social, cultural, and political orders. *Herren* points us to the methodological presumptions of setting borders and develops an analytical grid that emphasizes incompatibilities, tensions, and disputes. The chapter directs our attention to both the volatility of transcultural entanglements and the instability of the historically well-consolidated appearance of the national. As *Herren* argues, this approach allows for a crystallization of different categories of border-crossing lives – the elite cosmopolitans, experts creating global topics, cumulative internationalists, and global illusionists. By suggesting this typology, the chapter avoids the stereotype of internationalism as something linked with pacifist attitudes but includes those who (mis-)used the opportunity presented by being outside of national or territorial control.

The example of the League of Nations officials shows us two essential components of border-crossing activities that run through the contributions and hold them together. Border-crossing entanglements followed a political and social rationale of their own, which took shape in the overlapping and concurrence of competing visions, arenas, and means to challenge, redefine, and change the ruling order. Therefore, as the articles reveal, it is less the single biography that can explain the increasing complexity of global agendas, but rather the multiplication of institutional, informal or non-governmental venues with a transnational reach and social and cultural tensions about how to represent difference, belonging and order. The chapters point out the similarities between groups and actors that obviously did not live in same time period and did not belong to the same region or social group. Yet, the examples highlight the structural correlations between individual agency and the rebalancing of order and thus direct our attention to a type of historical actor in the second tier that has escaped scholarly attention until now.

The papers in this issue are the result of an international conference held in February 2010 in Heidelberg jointly organized by Madeleine Herren and Ines Prodöhl. Both the workshop and the resulting publication have been made possible by the generous funding from the German Historical Institute, Washington D.C. and the Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context" at the University of Heidelberg. During the presentations and the lively session discussions, in the coffee breaks and at the dinner table, the value of transnational paths of lives as a lens for research into the history of global integration and fragmentation became evident and the conference encouraged us to further explore such 'lives beyond borders'. Our heartfelt thanks go to Tomoko Akami, Gopalan Balachandran, Nicolas Berg, Tibor Frank, Michael Geyer, Frank Grüner, Cornelia Knab, Yoshiya Makita, Erez Manela, Rudolph Ng, Miriam Rürup, Amy Sayward, Christiane Sibille, Rudolf Stichweh, Jing Yuen Tsu, Raphael Utz, and Rudolf Wagner. But first and foremost our thanks go to Ines Prodöhl who initiated our continued work

on the topic and who has, in her many discussions and comments, assisted and supported us throughout the writing and publication of this special issue.

# Civil Society Diplomacy? W. T. Stead, World Peace, and Transgressive Journalism

**Cornelia Knab**

**RESÜMEE**

Anhand des britischen Journalisten William T. Stead analysiert der Artikel grenzübergreifende Strategien der Einflussnahme auf diplomatische Praktiken vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Stead ist heute vor allem wegen seiner Enthüllungen sozialer und politischer Skandale im viktorianischen England bekannt. Er selbst stellte aber seit den 1890er Jahren zunehmend die Lobbyarbeit für Friedensthemen und Internationalismus ins Zentrum seiner Aktivitäten. Mit lautstarken öffentlichen Aktionen versuchte der überzeugte Imperialist und Pazifist, weltweite Aufmerksamkeit auf das Problem der Friedenssicherung und Völkerverständigung zu lenken. Der Artikel schlägt vor, Steads Friedensaktivitäten im Rahmen seiner „transgressiven" Arbeitsweise zu interpretieren. Auf diese Weise wird der Blick auf Steads kontinuierliche und öffentliche Übertretung sozialer Normen gerichtet. Seine verschiedenartigen Grenzüberschreitungen werden als Strategie interpretiert, um möglichst große internationale Aufmerksamkeit auf transnationale Einflusssphären zu lenken und die staatenzentrierten, öffentlichkeitsfernen Verfahrensweisen der internationalen Beziehungen zu delegitimieren. Der Artikel rückt insbesondere Steads publizistische Aktivitäten anlässlich der beiden Haager Friedenskonferenzen 1899 und 1907 in den Mittelpunkt. Die Analyse der inoffiziellen Konferenzzeitung *Courrier de la Conférence de la Paix* wirft hierbei ein Schlaglicht nicht nur auf Versuche zivilgesellschaftlicher Einflussnahmen auf internationale Verhandlungen, sondern auch auf die Transformation einer Diplomatie, die zunehmend unter dem Druck technischer Neuerungen und öffentlicher Interessen stand.

The British journalist, editor, publisher, and author William Thomas Stead (1849–1912) was a controversial public figure in the English-speaking world throughout his career. Stead's investigative press campaigns against what he saw as moral and social evils made him a well-known British personality of his time, though not at all a generally well-re-

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spected one. His reputation for creating dramatic newspaper headlines was confirmed even in his death, which attracted more attention worldwide than most of his activities during his lifetime. In April 1912, Stead was scheduled to deliver a speech on world peace at Carnegie Hall in New York; he died in the Titanic tragedy.[1] In spite of the celebrity status that he had enjoyed in his own lifetime, Stead was not a prominent figure in scholarship through much of the twentieth century.[2] In the last decade, however, researchers have rediscovered W. T. Stead, primarily emphasizing two strands of enquiry: First, they have highlighted Stead's influence on the British press as a "newspaper revolutionary," analysing his efforts as a modernizer of mass media, an arduous editor, and a social campaigner; second, researchers have used Stead's work as a lens through which to uncover multiple aspects of the social, political, and cultural history of Victorian Britain.[3] Recently, a third strand of inquiries has begun to investigate his impact on numerous societal and political discourses in both a national and a transnational way and

1 About Stead's voyage to New York in April 1912: James A. Macdonald, *William T. Stead and his Peace Message*, World Peace Foundation, Pamphlet Series (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1912); "The Sinking of the Titanic. Some Notable Victims: Mr. W. T. Stead's Career," *The Times*, April 18, 1912, 12. Stead's own edited journal published a collection of encomia: Review of Reviews Office, "The World Pays Its Tribute," *Review of Reviews* 45 (May 1912): 473–94.

2 Earlier publications on Stead include a biography of Stead by his long-time assistant: Frederic Whyte, *The Life of W. T. Stead* (London; New York; Boston: J. Cape; Houghton Mifflin, 1925). In the 1920s and 1930s, short biographical sketches of Stead were included in a number of essay works about the Victorian period and the influence of certain persons on their contemporaries, see: Ernest T. Raymond, *Portraits of the Nineties* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1921), 174–82; Hugh Kingsmill, *After Puritanism* (London: Duckworth, 1929), 171–222. An overview of the first part of Stead's career is given in Raymond L. Schults, *Crusader in Babylon: W. T. Stead and the Pall Mall Gazette* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972). Numerous articles dealing with Stead's different projects as well as with his large number of influences and contacts have been published since the 1960s by Joseph O. Baylen; they will be cited in the respective sections of this article. Since 2001 Owen Mulpetre's website *Attacking the Devil* has provided profound information on as well as some digitized excerpts from Stead's works: "W. T. Stead Resource Site," http://www.attackingthedevil.co.uk (accessed August 1, 2013).

3 For a summarizing overview of newer research approaches see the conference *Stead2012* held at the British Library on occasion of the centenary of his death: "Stead 2012 – W. T. Stead. Centenary Conference for a Newspaper Revolutionary," https://sites.google.com/site/stead2012 (accessed August 1, 2013). The conference volume demonstrates the multiple facets of Stead's activities in the context of the history of British journalism and Victorian societal debates: Laurel Brake et al. eds., *W. T. Stead: Newspaper Revolutionary* (London: British Library Board / The University of Chicago Press, 2012). See in addition, with a focus on Stead's role in British journalism: Kate Campbell, "W. E. Gladstone, W. T. Stead, Matthew Arnold and a New Journalism: Cultural Politics in the 1880s," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 36/1 (2003): 20–40; Frank Bösch, "Volkstribune und Intellektuelle. W. T. Stead, Maximilian Harden und die Transformation des politischen Journalismus in Deutschland und Großbritanien," in *Politischer Journalismus, Öffentlichkeiten und Medien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Clemens Zimmermann (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2006), 99–120; Laurel Brake, "Journalism and Modernism, Continued: The Case of W. T. Stead," in *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880–1940. Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms*, ed. Ann L. Ardis and Patrick Collier (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008), 149–66; Frank Bösch, *Öffentliche Geheimnisse: Skandale, Politik und Medien in Deutschland und Grossbritannien 1880–1914* (München: Oldenbourg, 2009). About Stead's peace work see, Madeleine Herren and Cornelia Knab, "Die Zweite Haager Friedenskonferenz und die Liberalisierung des politischen Informationsmarktes," *Die Friedens-Warte* 82/4 (2007): 51–64. Recently, two biographies for a broader readership have appeared: Grace Eckley, *Maiden Tribute: A Life of W. T. Stead* (Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2007); W. Sydney Robinson, *Muckraker: The Scandalous Life and Times of W. T. Stead, Britain's First Investigative Journalist* (London: Robson Press, 2012).

has characterized Stead's work and personality as a "mass of contradictions" made up by a curious blend of commercialization and missionary campaigning.[4]

Taking its cue from this latter assessment, this article will highlight W. T. Stead as a historical actor who deliberately used these contradictions and challenged established categories and borders as a professional technique. I argue that Stead provides an empirical example of what can be called a transgressive biography, which indicates that Stead actively and self-consciously overstepped a multiplicity of borderlines – societal, national, and political – in order to focus attention on his own agenda and aims. While I will place special emphasis on Stead's activities for world peace, this article does not aim at producing a linear biographical account. Rather, I intend to reflect on the dilemma of grasping the impact of a person who attempted to operate within and beyond the criteria of both nationally oriented and socially acceptable categories of action. Building on Madeleine Herren's work, I will draw on the concept of the transgressive biography ("transgressive Biographie") to outline the opportunities that a globalized environment provided for Stead's scope of action.[5] The concept discloses that border-crossing ways of life are often marginalized in historical memory precisely because of their tendency to defy clear-cut categories of order. Hence, the perspective of transgression helps us to outline neglected forms of subjectivity or of transboundary action. The approach therefore underscores the ways in which an individual tried to create a transnational space of action, focusing on techniques of public and professional representation, expansion of personal networks, and aspects of transboundary visibility. More than most concepts of transnational activism – which as a conceptually broad term includes a whole variety of transboundary elements and directions[6] – the idea points to individual transgressions of different borders that define a person's lifestyle or career.[7] The tensions and contestations between individualized transgression and the impact of underlying social frameworks are thereby disclosed in their manifold complexities. In turn, this provides an alternative to the structural perspectives of transnationalism (with its focus on organizations, institutions, or networks). Linguistically, the approach of describing a transgressive profile includes the idea of overstepping norms, resulting in a conglomerate of simultaneous and hybrid national, territorial, social, political, and cultural border-crossing activities.[8] This is not to deny, in Stead's case, the British imperial, national, and Christian-civilizational

4 Laurel Brake and James Mussell, "Introduction," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 16 (2013), http://19.bbk.ac.uk, citation: 1.

5 Madeleine Herren, "Inszenierung des globalen Subjekts. Vorschläge zur Typologie einer transgressiven Biographie," *Historische Anthropologie* 13/3 (2005): 1–18.

6 For the usages of transnational concepts and their differentiation see Ian Tyrrell, "Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History: Theory and Practice," *Journal of Global History* 4/3 (2009): 453–74. For empirical examples on the variety and dynamics of transnational civil society movements see Karin Fischer and Susan Zimmermann eds., *Internationalismen: Transformation weltweiter Ungleichheit im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Promedia, 2008).

7 Herren, "Inszenierung des globalen Subjekts," 1–2, 17.

8 For a closer look into the etymological and conceptual dimensions of the term see Herren, "Inszenierung des globalen Subjekts," 2.

spaces through which he legitimated his work, but rather to highlight the conversations, tensions, and limitations of imperial-transnational endeavours. Imperial societies, the British Empire in particular, seemed to offer frameworks and infrastructures that suggested the establishment of multiple spaces of activities, zones of contacts, and regular exchange of influences.[9] For a transgressive profile of a career, these intersections of national, imperial, international, and local frameworks and their global contexts are important structural conditions. Stead made it a professional tactic to provoke the established standards of his environment in order to attract as much attention as possible. These included: his intrepid challenging of societal barriers and his questioning of claims of exclusivity in diplomacy, his efforts at liberalizing the transfer of information[10], his realized, planned, or utopian projects and movements around the world, his efforts at influencing others by demanding that they publicly join him in his cause, as well as his bold schemes of worldwide civil society activism and projects intended for a globalized public sphere. His aim, eventually, was to influence political and societal circles in order to initiate the reforms that he regarded as essential for the "progress of the world" (the title of Stead's regular editorial in his monthly magazine *Review of Reviews*).

Recent research has elaborated on a variety of facets of border-crossing flows, and biographical aspects have in this context come increasingly into focus as a means of capturing some specific characteristics of transboundary activities beyond structural approaches. Reflections on transnational or "global ways of life" ("globale Lebensläufe") underline a rather flexible space of individual activity and the significance of the biographical subject's global awareness.[11] "Transnational lives" are interpreted as being marked by the modern contexts of increasing mobility, commerce, exchange, and the new opportunities that emerged as a result.[12] On a more abstract level, ideas of cosmopolitanism and transcultural hybridity have recently been used analytically to describe the dynamic varieties of border-crossings in a global context. The notion of cosmopolitanism, in this sense, has developed from a normative Westernized-universal attitude of world citizenship to include a plurality of analytical levels where the global and local dynamics and affinities of various social actors interact.[13] All these approaches struggle with the problem of how to grasp the elements of individual biographical profiles that do not fit into conventional clear-cut categories of national, social, or cultural identities but acquire their individual

9 Kevin Grant, Frank Trentmann, and Philippa Levine eds., *Beyond Sovereignty: Britain, Empire, and Transnationalism, C. 1880–1950* (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, C. 1850–1914* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

10 Herren and Knab, "Liberalisierung des politischen Informationsmarktes", especially 58–61.

11 Bernd Hausberger, "Globalgeschichte als Lebensgeschichte(n)," in *Globale Lebensläufe. Menschen als Akteure im weltgeschichtlichen Geschehen*, ed. Bernd Hausberger (Wien: Mandelbaum-Verlag, 2006), 9–27.

12 Desley Deacon, Penny Russell, and Angela Woollacott eds., *Transnational Lives: Biographies of Global Modernity, 1700–Present* (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

13 For the new diversity of discussion about the concept of cosmopolitanism within and beyond Western normative usages see: Gerard Delanty, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies* (Abingdon, New York: Routledge, 2012).

frames of action and identification through the characteristic of challenging established categories and criss-crossing between several identities.

For the analytical focus on an individual's work and life, such as in the case of W. T. Stead, these recent efforts have contributed a number of perspectives that methodologically move beyond the traditional focuses of historiographies: their scepticism towards clear-cut and dominating categorizations of identities and spaces of activity, their openness towards alternative discursive zones and plurality of affinities, their sensitivity towards globalized phenomena of societal change, as well as their illustration of complex hybrid formations of international activities. Therefore, when interpreting the projects and writings of a person like Stead the decisive question is not the (often rather limited) amount of direct influence of his projects on governmental international negotiations. As this article will show, Stead tried to communicate his agenda of reforming the world with his own schemes by constantly overstepping borders and thereby striving for attention; however, he did not (as other transgressive subjects did) focus on mimicry or adaptation in his border-crossing lifestyle.[14] On the contrary, Stead's active use of transgression as a professional tool contrasted from other individual strategies that used transgression as a means to conceal identity (or multiple identities) through a globalized lifestyle, which in times of national categories of order was sometimes difficult.[15] Stead formed a very different type of transgressive figure. He concentrated instead on being noticeable on several societal and professional levels and on both national and international platforms. His border-crossing activities, however individualized in focus, had a broader societal impact and potential for transformative power. I argue that Stead demonstrated strategies of acquiring forms of globalized influence, of conquering and controlling public space, of challenging the legitimation of state-centric diplomatic negotiations, and of installing transnational structures of civil society activism that would have long-term relevance. Eventually, this focus of action proved to be relevant for shaping differentiated elements of global governance in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries; the formation of an individual transnational sphere of activity was thus complicit with broader changes in the formation of public arenas of globalized power.[16]

To approach Stead's "life beyond borders," I suggest using an analytical grid made up of two entwined features in order to capture the complexity of his transgressive methods: First, I suggest that Stead's 'software' was his engagement with public campaigning, a key method used to attract and include a public sphere that could dynamically change in globalized contexts but could also maintain certain characteristics. These campaigns were

14 For an empirical example of this type of transgressive lifestyle, using mimicry and border-crossings in order to produce a transnational and non-traceable subjectivity, see Madeleine Herren and Franziska Rogger's research about the impostor Leander Tomarkin: Herren, "Inszenierung des globalen Subjekts"; Franziska Rogger and Madeleine Herren, *Inszeniertes Leben. Die entzauberte Biografie des Selbstdarstellers Dr. Tomarkin* (Wien: Böhlau, 2012).

15 About similar strategies see Herren, "Inszenierung des globalen Subjekts", especially 15–7.

16 Bob Reinalda, *Routledge History of International Organizations: From 1815 to the Present Day* (Abingdon, New York: Routledge, 2009), 67, 78–9.

substantiated by his efforts at personal networking, by which he aimed to create a culture of interaction that hybridized agendas of civil society, public sphere, and diplomacy. This was, second, combined with Stead's 'hardware,' his methods of liberalizing the transfer of information and his use of new technological opportunities, which as a media man he mastered brilliantly.[17] To follow up on Stead's use of professional transboundary methods, I will focus on Stead's activities with a particular emphasis on his peace work, which reflected his aim of a systematic and substantial inclusion of transnational civil society activism into world politics. Thereby the article will delineate the tensions as well as dialogues that existed between bordered state diplomacy as well as transborder civil society formations, even as these formations and borders were integrated into, and transgressed by, Stead's activism. The first part of this article introduces the major border-crossing events of Stead's journalistic biography chronologically in order to empirically explain the genealogy of his transgressive method of breaking established taboos. The second part analyses his peace work and internationalist activism, focusing on autobiographical accounts as well as on his journalistic projects in the context of the two Hague Peace conferences, in particular the newspaper *Courrier de la Conférence de la Paix* of 1907. Through such projects he presented himself as a new and singular type of media manager who held a unique position between civil society, journalistic, and diplomatic circles. Studying Stead's globally oriented activism by way of analysing his border-crossing methods helps us critique the state-oriented hegemonic assumptions that underlie the work of diplomats. Stead offered a counter-pole of non-official communication about 'diplomacy' which challenged the exclusionary parameters of official diplomatic internationalism. Stead's work, I argue, offered additional as well as alternative forms of transnational diplomacy and tried to provoke the official minds to reflect on their construction of diplomatic exclusivity. However, Stead's own mind and projects were, in their own way, as limited by exclusionary paradigms as was the work of diplomats; shared assumptions of cultural imperialism and elite attitudes linked his worldview with those of the official diplomatic world. The analysis of Stead's peace work, therefore, offers an example of the complex intersections between dynamic civil society calls for new forms of integrative and transparent international relations on the one hand and the entrenched inequalities and power hierarchies produced by internationalist endeavours on the other. Even as peace projects (such as Stead's) helped to challenge some of the exclusionary frontiers of official diplomacy, these endeavours reproduced asymmetries of power and reinforced other or similar types of borders. An analysis of Stead thus challenges teleological narratives of progression from bordered diplomacy to border-less and democratic 'global' civil society activism; instead it provokes us to think about the shifting nature of borders and exclusions that create divergences as well as ambiguous connections between official diplomatic work and civil society internationalism.

17 For the heuristic image of "software and hardware," here in relation to assessing interconnections within the British Empire, see Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*, 16–7.

## W. T. Stead's Proselytizing Career as Professional Taboo Breaker

In Stead's case, what actually constituted the transgression of borderlines? During the first three decades of his journalistic work until the 1890s, Stead became known as one of the most influential journalists of Britain. Above all, he advanced his prominent position in journalism through his involvement in a series of political-public scandals. Stead contributed to a form of exponentiated scandalization: He publicly exposed what he thought to be major moral or political taboos such as adultery of politicians or child prostitution. However, in the eyes of many of his contemporaries it was Stead's way of reporting and the propagation of his purposes that produced the actual scandal and contributed to moral decay.[18] This paper uses this interplay with scandalization as a starting point from which to interpret Stead's actions as those of an entrepreneur figure who undertook different versions of border-crossing ventures. As a journalist and editor-in-chief, he sought to increase the circulation of his media products, which he needed to expand his personal impact and promote his ideas about political and societal change. But he did not always act in accordance with economic foresight, nor were his projects always very popular ones. Stead was a sort of professional missionary activist who advertised and sold self-designed schemes, political advice, moral ideas, and the offer of participation in his projects, all with the aim of reforming not only Britain but preferably improving the whole world according to his own convictions. Stead's transgressive working method, in the sense that it overturned societal expectations of the journalistic vocation, combined innovative investigative journalistic work (which kept a controlling eye on society) with societal networking, public activism, and reporting frequently on the brink of public scandal. Certain features were characteristic of most of his enterprises. Stead canvassed for the attention of the public and of prominent celebrities by initiating both new agendas and new public platforms for himself. His interplay with societal or political taboos served as a constant appetizer and provocation in order to raise and keep public attention. For most of his projects, his transgressive journalistic taboo-breaking materialized as a combination of sensational exposures through his own journalistic investigations and dramatic press campaigns to mobilize public outrage. Sometimes this was followed by a 'crusade' in the form of a public campaign, where Stead rallied his vast networks of civil society associations, church institutions, and influential people of all shades and ranks to help raise attention and financial support. Conveniently, these campaigns and their networks often provided the headlines for his papers; the journalist was himself in the role of producing the breaking news. Stead's early transgressive work, therefore, consisted of his professionalization of breaking taboos, both in the issues he approached as well as in his working method. He trespassed the societal position of journalists in order

18 About Stead's method of public and political exponentiated scandalization in British journalism see, with several examples: Bösch, *Öffentliche Geheimnisse*, 167–69, 178–90, 201–02, 330–31, 391–92. About definitions and usages of the term 'scandal' in Victorian Britain see: Bösch, *Öffentliche Geheimnisse*, 7–11.

to create new platforms of visibility, publicity hype around his person and his topics, and interpretational power for himself.

Stead's motivation for his projects was rooted in both his British political-societal context as well as in his personal background. Two major concerns ran as a common thread through most of his projects: He demanded radical social reforms in Britain (and if possible abroad) and was famous as a fervent supporter of British imperial claims around the world. Both issues came together in his long-term advocacy for 'Anglo-Saxon' expansion in the world. In his book *The Americanisation of the World* of 1902, Stead presented not only a vision of the American political, ideological, and economic superpower as "the trend of the twentieth century"[19] but also his scheme for a reunion of predominantly English-speaking societies and states, which would act as the future global spearhead of moral and material progress.[20] Stead's transnational schemes for world peace and international understanding, which he had been advancing since the 1890s, clearly promoted the idea of British-American civilizational supremacy in the world. Stead combined this idea of a benevolent and peacekeeping transatlantic-imperial force with the fantasy of his own quasi-religious sense of personal mission. It was this personal moral force that his early biographer, the British writer and journalist Hugh Kingsmill, described as a form of Puritanism under pressure of modernity: "His impressionable nature responded to every aspect of the multifarious modern world, while at the same time his inherited Puritanism sought incessantly for some formula which should unify the age without impairing its heterogeneity."[21] The proselytizing motivation for Stead's performance – to fight for his own evangelical vision of a world shaped by his ideas of social virtue and moral purity – was already regarded by his contemporaries as the central incentive for his activities.[22] Kingsmill, who searched for explanations in Stead's nonconformist family background, described Stead's intentions as wanting "to simplify the outward world"[23] through his visions and projects in order to construct a close emotional bond and support between himself, his readers, and his personal networks of contacts.[24] Combining his constructed ideas of national-racial supremacy with his proselytizing Puritan inspiration, Stead became a resourceful missionary entrepreneur who forced his environment into confrontations with his reformist agenda. With this form of evangelical crusading, Stead's civil society activism was part of the contemporaneous surge of Victorian reformist networks and associations, which in the field of peace work he expanded to a

19 W. T. Stead, *The Americanization of the World. The Trend of the Twentieth Century* (New York, London: Horace Markley, 1902).

20 For schemes of reunion between Britain and her former American colonies see Stead, *Americanization of the World*, especially 13–26, 418–38.

21 Kingsmill, *After Puritanism*, 172; about Kingsmill's essay see also: Roger Luckhurst, *The Invention of Telepathy, 1870–1901* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 128–29.

22 The missionary elements of Stead's character and his struggle with his personal visions of moral integrity were emphasized in almost all of the obituaries collected by the *Review of Reviews*. See Review of Reviews Office, "The World Pays Its Tribute," *Review of Reviews* (May 1912): 45 473–94.

23 Kingsmill, *After Puritanism*, 206.

24 Ibid., 178–82.

transnational level.[25] Stead's idea of campaigning is therefore an example of civil society activism at work within a specific historical setting. Civil society is here understood not as a normative ideal but as a form of public reality, as civil society in action, describing movements of individuals and groups with procedural visions of improving society with a set of distinct moral objectives.[26] As the closer look into his publications will reveal, Stead's own concept of civil society activism included different and sometimes contradictory imageries in the tension between ideals and practice. Claims of global plurality or of universal egalitarianism clashed with demands of adaptation to Stead's expansionist imperial-evangelical viewpoints.[27] Stead did not imagine anti-authoritarian or anti-state positions for his activities; his religiously motivated activism in contrast tended to integrate both the political-imperial as well as the economic sphere as essential players on the public stage for his reformist agenda.[28] For Stead, his civil society work meant above all initiating discourses and dialogues, with himself situated in a central position as a moral watchdog and organizing mediator between the state system, the public, and other associations and interest groups.

Above all, Stead is today remembered for his role in transforming nineteenth-century Victorian journalism, both in his investigative-scandalous working methods as well as his innovative newspaper style.[29] Stead was one of the main proponents of a modernist surge in journalism, which emphasized a form of personal style where the activities of the journalist were part of the news. The so-called 'new journalism' included interviews, gossip and society columns, expert opinions, illustrations, graphics and maps, and of course his own sensational findings.[30] Stead canvassed for attention in a populist manner by using modern advertising strategies including subscription models, campaign leaflets, and layouts with bold headlines, all of which became important elements of the nascent tabloid press. His aim was to broaden his readership beyond elite circles by appealing for a broader circulation among the literate middle-classes. But Stead's own objectives were never merely commercial ones. Kingsmill noted that "his stunts were never designed in order to make money," and he never became a media tycoon.[31] In her recent assessment of

25 About the problems of defining the meanings civil society for historical work, with a particular emphasis on Britain and Germany, see Frank Trentmann, "Introduction: Paradoxes of Civil Society," in *Paradoxes of Civil Society. New Perspectives on Modern German and British History*, ed. Frank Trentmann, 2nd ed. (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2003), 3–46.

26 Trentmann, "Introduction: Paradoxes of Civil Society," 3–4, 7.

27 About the tensions between plurality and conformity in civil society movements: Trentmann, "Introduction: Paradoxes of Civil Society," 23.

28 About religion as a central motivation in civil society history: Trentmann, "Introduction: Paradoxes of Civil Society," 34.

29 For example: Bösch, "Volkstribune und Intellektuelle"; Brake, "Journalism and Modernism, Continued"; Brake et al., *W. T. Stead: Newspaper Revolutionary*.

30 Brake, "Journalism and Modernism, Continued," 152.

31 Kingsmill, *After Puritanism*, 182. Stead closely followed and in parts admired the work of media businessmen like William Randolph Hearst and their influence in shaping American politics through mass papers, see: W. T. Stead, "Character Sketch: W. Randolph Hearst," *Review of Reviews* 38 (October 1908): 327–38. For a comparative overview of the transatlantic developments in nineteenth-century press history see Ross F. Collins and E. M. Palmegiano eds., *The Rise of Western Journalism, 1815–1914: Essays on the Press in Australia, Canada, France, Ger-*

the relations between journalism and Victorian modernisms, Laurel Brake points out the ambiguities and shifts within Stead's understanding of journalism and highlights Stead's gradually developing conception of an alternative press environment. During the 1880s, the zenith of his populist and sensational journalism, Stead emphasized the role of the press in ongoing processes of democratization by appealing to new circles of readers and potential future electorates.[32] In two essays from the mid-1880s, written under considerable societal pressure in a period of scandal-instigated marginalization, Stead substantiated his ideas about the present and future tasks of the press.[33] His idea of "government by journalism," the title of the first essay, substantiated the role of the press in democracy as a formalized counter-parliament, the famous fourth estate "which is becoming more powerful than all the other estates of the realm."[34] In his concept, Stead insisted on the legitimate role of the journalist as a champion of the oppressed and an indispensable mediator of politics in a tribune of the people: Technical and societal modernization generated new forms and structures of democratic power, which gave the journalist a daily mandate to correct social evils by establishing new discourses. This utopian scheme also served, theoretically, as a proper legitimation of his press campaigns and therefore of his constant method of transgressing borders. However, as Brake outlines, Stead's view of his market position in journalism shifted, especially during the 1890s.[35] Stead now mainly addressed an active circle of readership ideally from all classes, including women, who were interested in societal responsibility as well as in comprehensive non-mainstream information rather than in mere entertaining commonplace consumption.[36] This shifting position in the market, as will be seen in the example of his peace projects, did not limit Stead's ambition for transgressive and transnational public enterprises, and it also provided him with a readership that seemed ideal for his activist purposes.

Stead had been practising his form of active-transgressive journalistic interference from the very beginnings of his career. He was a self-made man, the son of a Congregationalist minister from rural Northumberland of modest social standing, who was shaped by traditions of evangelical austerity. Though he was without a university education, in a short time he promoted an enormous rise in the journalism sector. Working as a young editor

*many, Great Britain and the United States* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2007).

32 Brake, "Journalism and Modernism, Continued", especially 153–54.

33 W. T. Stead, "Government by Journalism," *The Contemporary Review* 49 (1886): 653–74. See also W. T. Stead, "The Future of Journalism," *The Contemporary Review* 50 (1886): 663–79. About the two essays and their particular context in Stead's journalistic career and his production of scandals see James Mussell, "'Characters of Blood and Flame': Stead and the Tabloid Campaign," in *W. T. Stead: Newspaper Revolutionary*, ed. Laurel Brake et al. (London: British Library Board / The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 22–36; Graham Law and Matthew Sterenberg, "Old v. New Journalism and the Public Sphere, or: Habermas Encounters Dallas and Stead," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 16 (2013): 7–9, http://19.bbk.ac.uk; particularly in context of the "Maiden Tribute" scandal: Gretchen Soderlund, *Sex Trafficking, Scandal, and the Transformation of Journalism, 1885–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), especially 60–2; Bösch, "Volkstribune und Intellektuelle," 111–13.

34 Stead, "Government by Journalism," 657. About the earlier history of the term 'fourth estate' and its use by Stead see Bösch, "Volkstribune und Intellektuelle," 100–02.

35 Brake, "Journalism and Modernism, Continued," 154–55, 163–64.

36 Ibid., 154–55.

of the daily *Northern Echo* of Darlington, Stead catapulted the provincial paper to public attention as an energetic voice of liberal support for then-opposition leader Gladstone against the Near Eastern policy of the Disraeli government. The "Bulgarian Horrors Agitation,"[37] which Stead promoted in 1876, was the test case for his intention to incite the public to action against the social and political evils of his time. Organizing a public campaign of protest against Turkish atrocities in the Balkans, Stead appealed to Christian-civilian conscience by playing with a number of imperial-religious-racial arguments that would become the central elements of most of his later 'agitations.' He highlighted the duty of the civilized British nation – and of journalists like himself – to take up God's call within and beyond the United Kingdom, in this case to fight for Christian Slavs in the Balkans rather than in opposition to the Russians. As a self-appointed agitator in the name of Christian humanity, Stead argued that the grip of oriental Turkish rule not only abused Bulgarian virgins but also the honour of British democracy.[38] The episode introduced what would become Stead's ongoing attention to Ottoman questions as well as his lifelong public advocacy for Russia; in the mid-1890s, when he took up a similar agitation against Ottoman harassments against minorities in his pamphlet *The Haunting Horrors in Armenia*, he amplified his argument with an outline of the destructive Ottoman policies against the remnants of the Christian past in the region.[39]

The campaign against the "Bulgarian horrors" significantly contributed to foster Stead's career and confirmed him in his transgressive working method. In 1881, with the support of liberal politicians, he became editor-in-chief of the influential London daily *Pall Mall Gazette*. This was an even greater realization of his "opportunity for attacking the devil,"[40] as he had already commented was his motivation for pursuing a journalistic career. Stead underlined the position of the *Pall Mall Gazette* as one of the dominant press organs of Britain through a number of sensationalist campaigns that interfered in interior and exterior governmental policies. In 1884 he contributed to a haunting episode in British imperial policy with his press campaign to send 'Chinese Gordon' to the Sudan against the Mahdi uprisings. The actual impact of Stead's public pressure remains disputed,[41] but his involvement in the Gordon drama certainly contributed to his reputation as

37 The term originated in the title of a pamphlet by William E. Gladstone, which made the question a matter of British discussion: William E. Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (London: J. Murray, 1876). About Stead and the British Eastern policies in the late 1870s and beyond see: Stéphanie Prévost, "W. T. Stead and the Eastern Question (1875–1911), or, How to Rouse England and Why?," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 16 (2013), http://www.19.bbk.ac.uk/index.php/19/article/view/654 (accessed November 18, 2013); Simon Goldsworthy, "English Nonconformity and the Pioneering of the Modern Newspaper Campaign," *Journalism Studies* 7/3 (2006): 387–402. More generally about Stead's relations to liberal politics and politicians in the 1870s and 1880s see, Campbell, "W. E. Gladstone, W. T. Stead, Matthew Arnold and a New Journalism."

38 Prévost, "W. T. Stead and the Eastern Question," 10 and note 51.

39 W. T. Stead, ed., *The Haunting Horrors in Armenia*, Political Papers for the People 1 (London: Review of Reviews Office, 1896); Prévost, "W. T. Stead and the Eastern Question," 3–5.

40 Citation in: W. T. Stead to Rev. Henry Kendall, April 11, 1871, http://www.attackingthedevil.co.uk/letters/kendall.php (accessed November 18, 2013). See also Prévost, "W. T. Stead and the Eastern Question," 1.

41 The role of the press campaign in the British anti-Mahdist expedition, and Stead's part in particular, were much debated after Gordon's disastrous death at Khartoum but remain contested. For an overview on the affair see esp. Schults, *Crusader in Babylon*, 66–87. Lytton Strachey's popular and influential 1918 essay on the drama of

an iron-fisted promoter of Britishness and of imperial work. The same year he confirmed this status with the article series entitled "The Truth about the Navy," which lobbied for an increase of British spending on sea power, playing with anxieties about a decline of naval supremacy because of unwillingness to follow the increasing tendencies of technical-military modernization.[42] These initial activities were already shaped by a potentially global vision oriented along what Stead interpreted to be British imperial needs.

Stead's biggest transgressive coup, which finally established his contemporary reputation as a martyr-hero for some and a vulgar villain for others, was his campaign against child prostitution in 1885 with the affair of the "Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" (Stead's headline in the *Pall Mall Gazette*).[43] In a series of sensationalist-emotional lead stories, Stead used the *Pall Mall Gazette* to expose negligent legislation and sexual exploitation in the slums of London. This method of overstepping the borders of bourgeois morality by confronting society directly and emotionally with the scandalous taboo of child prostitution and the narrative of 'white slave trade' resulted in a public outrage and in several months of prison for Stead. During the 1880s he continued in this self-proclaimed position as a watchdog of societal purity by publicly indicting important public and political figures for what he regarded as sexual-moral failures in their private life.[44] In 1889, after an eventful decade of impassionate intervening into British society and politics, Stead left the *Pall Mall Gazette* and founded his own periodical, the *Review of Reviews*. He was now in a singularly independent position as proprietor, editor, and publisher, as well as author of most leading articles in this new monthly.[45]

In the following two decades, the *Review of Reviews* was Stead's mouthpiece for numerous projects, missions, guidelines, and visions that sought to improve the world and educate his readership.[46] In his first editorial, Stead highlighted the combined imperial-international framework of the new journal and its potentially broad transnational readership by dedicating it "to all English-speaking folk" and outlining its aim to be a tool "for the

Gordon's death attributed a significant role to Stead and his campaigning in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, while Lytton Strachey regarded Gordon, and not Stead, as an exemplary "eminent Victorian." Lytton Strachey, "The End of General Gordon," in *Eminent Victorians* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1918), 250–61.

42 Harvey Blumenthal, "W. T. Stead's Role in Shaping Official Policy: The Navy Campaign of 1884" (PhD Thesis, George Washington University, 1984).

43 The 'Maiden Tribute' affair, which initiated a legal reform about the age of consent, has produced by far the most attention to Stead's missions and personality. See especially: Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), especially 81–120; Soderlund, *Sex Trafficking, Scandal, and the Transformation of Journalism, 1885–1917*, 24–66.

44 Most famous were Stead's contributions to the downfall of the politicians Sir Charles Dilke and Charles Stewart Parnell because of their extra-marital scandals; see Bösch, *Öffentliche Geheimnisse*, 177–209.

45 About Stead and the *Review of Reviews*: Joseph O. Baylen, "W. T. Stead as Publisher and Editor of the 'Review of Reviews,'" *Victorian Periodicals Review* 12/2 (1979): 70–84; Gowan Dawson, "The Review of Reviews and the New Journalism in Late-Victorian Britain," in *Science in the Nineteenth Century Periodical. Reading the Magazine of Nature*, ed. Geoffrey Cantor et al. (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 172–95; Laurel Brake, "Stead Alone: Journalist, Proprietor and Publisher, 1890–1903," in *Newspaper Revolutionary*, ed. Laurel Brake et al. (London: The British Library, 2012), 77–97.

46 Brake, "Stead Alone: Journalist, Proprietor and Publisher, 1890–1903," 80.

Empire."[47] The globe on the front cover symbolized the *Review of Reviews*' international ambition and reach, a focus that was not yet commonplace. Stead developed the journal as a sort of international information organ about a conglomeration of different but connected topics. The *Review of Reviews* imported articles from numerous international periodicals and presented them in a condensed form as abstracts, often supplied with the editor's comments, in order to enable "busy men and also women" to receive "the best thoughts of our time," together with original articles written by Stead or his collaborators.[48] This method of abstraction – building on the models of mass commercial magazines – selected and prepared an enormous quantity of information into digestible pieces and occasionally imbued it with a distinctly 'Steadist' flavour. As usual, Stead's work did not remain uncontested; the abstraction and translation into a particular contextual setting raised fears in the original authors that their original arguments might be obscured.[49] For Stead, the *Review of Reviews* and occasionally also its branch journals (the Australasian and American editions[50]) were now the most important platforms for advancing his projects of social democracy, Christian liability, and stabilization of imperial expansion as well as of pacific international relations. Stead demanded the active commitment of the readers of the *Review of Reviews* for numerous movements, associations, or pleas, and it was not always easy to keep track of the manifold overlapping crusades and the shifting personal networks involved. For several years, the *Review of Reviews* was quite a successful enterprise, but Stead's increasing fascination with telepathy and psychic issues during the 1890s seems to have alienated an increasing section of the readership. Nevertheless, Stead enhanced this special form of transgressive work by founding his new journal *Borderland* (1893–1897), a documentation platform for spiritualists to investigate the world beyond death. Indeed, for the rest of his life, the preoccupation with 'border-crossing' spiritualist questions formed a significant factor within his work and his efforts of interaction with the public.[51]

In the early 1890s, Stead began to enlarge his horizon of activities towards transnational frameworks. A first opportunity came in 1893 with the Chicago World's Fair. Stead considered the worldwide spotlight on the city to be ideal for focusing attention on

47 W. T. Stead, "To all English-speaking Folk," *Review of Reviews* 1 (January 1890): 15–20. About Stead's imperialism in the Review of Review's programme see also Luckhurst, *The Invention of Telepathy, 1870–1901*, 124–25.

48 Advertisement for the *Review of Reviews*, printed in: Dawson, "The Review of Reviews and the New Journalism," 186. For Stead's principles of text abstraction see: W. T. Stead, "Programme," *Review of Reviews* 1 (January 1890): 14; Brake, "Stead Alone: Journalist, Proprietor and Publisher, 1890–1903," 83–5.

49 For an example see the controversy about Stead's abstraction of Thomas H. Huxley's scientific articles: Dawson, "The Review of Reviews and the New Journalism," 175–81.

50 The editor of the *American Review of Reviews*, Albert Shaw (1857–1947), soon followed his own journalistic policies; about Stead's relation to the American edition see: Robert Frankel, *Observing America: The Commentary of British Visitors to the United States, 1890–1950* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), especially 21–2; about Shaw: Lloyd J. Graybar, *Albert Shaw of the Review of Reviews: An Intellectual Biography* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1974).

51 Detailed about Stead's occupation with spiritualist themes: Luckhurst, *The Invention of Telepathy, 1870–1901*, 117–147; Justin Sausman, "The Democratisation of the Spook: W. T. Stead and the Invention of Public Occultism," in *Newspaper Revolutionary*, ed. Laurel Brake et al. (London: The British Library, 2012), 149–165.

social misery or political abuses in the United States and on his own reformist projects. Just after the closure of the Fair in winter 1893/94, Stead came to Chicago to investigate how the city's inhabitants coped with tidying up after the event.[52] The resulting book, with the quite presumptuous title *If Christ came to Chicago* (1894), was a typical Steadist product, an emotional accusation designed to outrage its readers and in particular to scandalize the city's bourgeoisie and its administration with an impassioned account of the city's scandalous social conditions. It included detailed descriptions of the city's underworld and its connections with all circles of society, including prostitution, drunkenness, unemployment, and corruption. The book contained conversations with prostitutes as well as detailed maps and name lists of the city's brothel-keeping business.[53] In a way, the Chicago project encapsulated the main strands of Stead's reformist agenda: first, the searching for transatlantic public attention by overstepping societal norms and producing public scandal; and second, the suggestion of a suitable remedy for these scandals according to Stead's taste. In the Chicago case, Stead suggested a revival of conscious civic religious responsibility and, his usual solution, to create a journalistic organ that would document and evaluate all efforts of progress against social misery (he included a concrete project draft).[54] The Chicago case also revealed an additional advantage of Stead's transgressive working style: scandal reporting about the relations between bourgeois society and the underworld and combining moral campaigning with the breaking societal taboos had the potential not only to gain public attention but also to reap best-selling financial reward.[55] Stead made it his professional mission to break taboos, juggling with different levels of professional and societal performances as investigative journalist, editor, women's rights activist, traveller, businessman, imperial propagandist, and moralist sermonizer, showing off with his vast networks of personal contacts from

52 Not surprisingly, Stead's Chicago activities – investigating brothels and gambling houses and trying to motivate polite society to join his street-cleaning projects – caused a public scandal, which the London satire journal *Judy* mocked in a poem satirizing his evangelical zeal for cleansing as well as his inclination for producing scandals out of the gutter:
"[…] I have told Chicago's dames / They are cheats; / I have told them other names, / Which are treats; / But to magnify my laurels, / I'll refrain from further quarrels, / And no more will cleanse their morals, / But their streets. In the Pall Mall's halcyon days / (Which are o'er), / I brought scandals to the gaze / by the score. / So, no longer will I utter / Either blasphemies or butter / And I'll go to scour the gutter – as before." in: "Stead, the Scavenger," *Judy* (February 7, 1894): 63.

53 W. T. Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago: A Plea for the Union of All Who Love in the Service of All Who Suffer* (London: Review of Reviews Office, 1894). Stead's activities in Chicago have attracted much attention from researchers of social and urban history, see for instance: Joseph O. Baylen, "A Victorian's 'Crusade' in Chicago, 1893–1894: William Thomas Stead," *Journal of American History* 51 (1964): 418–34; Gary Scott Smith, "When Stead Came to Chicago: The 'Social Gospel Novel' and the Chicago Civic Federation," *American Presbyterians* 68/3 (1990): 197–205; Thekla Ellen Joiner, *Sin in the City: Chicago and Revivalism, 1880–1920* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007), 112–14; Frankel, *Observing America*, 32–8.

54 Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago: A Plea for the Union of All Who Love in the Service of All Who Suffer*, draft journal: 325–27; also part V: What would Christ do in Chicago?, 328–434.

55 In 1897 Stead published a similar book as consequence of a trip to New York; the book focused on municipal government, police corruption, organized crime, and current control efforts. W. T. Stead, *Satan's Invisible World Displayed; Or, Despairing Democracy. A Study of Greater New York* (London: Review of Reviews Office, 1897). See about the book: Frankel, *Observing America*, especially 38–42.

politics and society in the pages of his *Review of Reviews*. Critical contemporary commentators warned of the dangers of "Steadism,"[56] and presented him as an eccentric and overly puritanical missionary, a sensation-hunting busybody whose need to break rules, borders, tastes, and taboos was rooted in his lack of a proper education and absence of historical knowledge.

## "War against War!": W. T. Stead's Border-Crossing Work for World Peace

In the mid- and late 1890s, Stead's impact on British politics and society as a scandal-producing star journalist gradually began to decrease. His engagement in spiritualism as well as his vehement agitation against the Second Boer War discredited him in the eyes of many readers and brought the *Review of Reviews* close to economic ruin. Parallel to these professional setbacks, Stead began to form his reputation as an "internationalist" and "peace advocate."[57] The promoters of pacifist internationalism with whom Stead began to affiliate were a heterogeneous cluster of different groups, individuals, or international organisations that had flourished since the mid-nineteenth century. Since 1891 the International Peace Bureau in Berne provided a platform of transnational coordination, but the burgeoning groups and organisations concerned with world peace differed in their strategies for how to actually pursue world peace. Many of the concepts, originating in European-American contexts, integrated and translated common narratives of nationalism, racism, and imperialism into peace activism.[58] Stead's engagement in peace work during the following years up to his death demonstrated again the significance of transgressive strategies for building his pacifist-transnational scope of activity – sometimes also at a distance from other pacifist activists. Above all, he activated the role of the committed campaigner and networking lobbyist between different agendas and societal circles on national and transnational levels in order to launch his own discourses. Stead's roadmap towards world peace sought to combine the conglomerate of different official and non-official approaches related to peace work and to offer his medial platforms for those he wished to integrate: for supporters of expanding international law, advocates of arbitration and international courts, women's rights activists and other civil society movements, proponents of world federalism and a universal language, imperialist agents and reformist associations, several (mostly non-British) anti-colonial movements, as well as for transnationally organized pacifists and Christian groups propagating peace and

56 Cyril Waters, "Steadism in Politics: A National Danger," *Westminster Review* 137 (1892): 618–26, especially 619–21.

57 About the origins and different usages of the term 'internationalism' and 'internationalist' before World War I and the various agendas of 'internationalists' see Madeleine Herren, *Hintertüren zur Macht: Internationalismus und Modernisierungsorientierte Aussenpolitik in Belgien, der Schweiz und den USA 1865–1914* (München: Oldenbourg, 2000), 34–9; Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 4–7.

58 About the pacifist movements and their influence on great power diplomacy before World War I: Sandi E. Cooper, *Patriotic Pacifism: Waging War on War in Europe, 1815–1914* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, 17–32, esp. 17–8.

brotherhood. Stead's peace work rigidly questioned the exclusive monopoly of foreign politics and diplomatic secrecy through his conception of a participating public sphere, his idea of the actively interfering role of the press, the establishment of a modern policy of liberalizing information, and the idea of his civilian duty to permeate diplomatic as well as societal circles with peace propaganda. As his work in the context of the two Hague Peace Conferences demonstrated, Stead continuously tested the permeability of segregated and segmented diplomatic spheres. In the long run, this opened up new opportunities and presented new instruments for the influence of non-diplomatic groups on diplomatic questions and at the same time highlighted the urgency of focusing more attention on the topic of transparency and access to information in international relations.

Stead's engagement on behalf of internationalist and peace questions culminated in his activities about the two Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907. The *Review of Reviews* was from its very beginnings a platform that included and commented on important events and developments in pacifism and internationalism.[59] Since the mid-1890s, Stead had approached the arbitration movement and had published a pamphlet *Always Arbitrate Before You Fight*, in order to lobby for arbitration as the key to prevent armed conflicts between states; further to this, the *Review of Reviews* regularly reported about the progress of the global debate on arbitration.[60] Stead explained the conceptual development of his internationalist peace projects and his motivation for the cause in an "autobiographical character sketch" entitled *The Great Pacifist*, written in 1901 and published with additions after his death.[61] The title of this biographical essay – a regular section in the *Review of Reviews* – disclosed how much Stead in his later years tried to present the struggle for world peace as one of the principal tasks of his life. The "character sketch" presented a summarized version of Stead's internationalist and pacifist work, but was also a defence against his opponents and contained a synopsis of Stead's elements of self-promotion. Eventually, the text aimed to reconcile his imperial agenda with his pacifist vision for the public; this had become important because Stead was since 1901 repeatedly nominated as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize, despite the confusion of many pacifists about his ongoing fervent statements about imperial expansion.[62] The "character sketch" presented Stead's imperialist and peace missions as complementary and united agendas, but, not unsurprisingly, seems to have been written above all for a British readership that had incorporated the principles of imperial-cultural superiority as self-evident doctrines of life. The essay built on the prevalent contemporary discourse

59 A. J. A. Morris, "The English Radicals' Campaign for Disarmament and the Hague Conference of 1907," *The Journal of Modern History* 43/3 (1971), for Stead see especially 382–84.

60 W. T. Stead, *Always Arbitrate before You Fight. An Appeal to All English-Speaking Folk*, Political Papers for the People 3 (London: Review of Reviews Office, 1896).

61 [W. T. Stead], "The Great Pacifist. An Autobiographical Character Sketch," *Review of Reviews* 45 (June 1912): 609–20.

62 Nobelprize.org, Nomination Database, http://www.nobelprize.org/nomination/peace/database.html (accessed November 18, 2013).

of *Pax Britannica* when emphasizing the benevolent global impact of British imperialism and unchallenged naval supremacy. Stead argued that conflicts, not just armed ones, were globalized, and therefore an "imperialism of responsibility" was necessary in order to win the worldwide fight against exploitation, the "war against jingoism." It was Britain's duty "to use her imperial power for maintaining peace, and putting down piracy and the slave-trade among the weaker dark-skinned races of the world."[63] Of course, even his best-known pro-imperial and pro-military activities – his support for the Gordon mission, for the modern armament of the Royal Navy, and his enthusiasm for Rhodes' activities in Africa – were by this logic an intrinsic part of pacifist actions.[64]
In his scheme for a future world federation, Stead underlined a teleological understanding of internationalism as a movement towards closer entanglements of the world in the wake of modern technical innovations. This, again, necessitated an increase of governance through international law.[65] Stead believed that the need for armaments would gradually decrease since international law and arbitration courts would settle conflicts between member states.[66] He declared that all of his activities could be summarized as "working always towards the World-State." Such a claim is grounded in faith in imagined societies and utopian worlds, something which Glenda Sluga emphasizes as a significant part of the worldviews of many internationalists.[67] The best way to ensure global stability and to protect "weaker races" from barbarous internal conflicts and jingoist adventurers, Stead argued, was to extend the power of imperial nations. Britain and the United States needed to continue their civilizing mission towards the world, preferably in the context of the joined efforts of an Anglo-American union, but as a convinced Russophile, Stead also favourably mentioned the expansion of Russia with its "gain of civilization and progress for humanity" in Central Asia.[68]
Stead was not very original in his view of a worldwide civilizing project made up of the great imperial powers with a beneficent British Empire as the main peace-keeping force; after all, this was a legitimating narrative with cultural-national underpinnings and a vision of moral supremacy that he shared with most of his colonizing contemporaries. But although the British nation and the stability of its empire formed the unwavering basis of his missions, it was characteristic that he also began to work actively to realize these civilizing aims in more facets than merely advancing British imperial domination. In *The Great Pacifist*, using his customary immodest language, Stead declared himself to be the originator in advancing a global vision of world peace through international peace conferences fostering arbitration and international law. He argued that in 1892 he had already organized a "Standstill of Armaments" agitation with a memorandum for

63 All citations: [W. T. Stead], "The Great Pacifist," 610.
64 Ibid., 611.
65 For this thinking of "objective internationalism" see: Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, 12–24, about Stead: 21.
66 [W. T. Stead], "The Great Pacifist," 619–20.
67 [W. T. Stead], "The Great Pacifist," 619; Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, 9.
68 [W. T. Stead], "The Great Pacifist," 610.

Tsar Alexander III and the British Government; thereby he had introduced the issue of peace conference internationalism to governmental authorities.[69] Whatever their origins, the Hague Conferences were a welcome opportunity for Stead and other 'friends of peace' to practically advance their idea of world peace beyond his idealized concepts on paper. When in August 1898, Tsar Nicholas II launched an imperial rescript to call for a diplomatic conference about disarmament and arbitration (later the First Hague Peace Conference), the respective foreign offices started nervous speculations about the Tsar's real motives behind the idea.[70] However, pacifist and internationalist circles enthusiastically appreciated what seemed to be sudden official support for their cause and created new unforeseen opportunities of transnational public debate. Stead at once took up the idea of a conference and burst into action. His activities had a twofold aim: to raise public attention for the issue of disarmament, peace, and arbitration, and to establish an influential position for himself within the expected procedure of installing world peace. Both could be best achieved if he was able to turn the official peace talks into his own campaign. The London satire newspaper *Fun* published a nursery rhyme entitled "War? or Peace in Stead?", which expressed ironic empathy with the Tsar whose suggestion, now taken over by Stead, had created an unforeseen commotion and had placed the Tsar in the role of a monarchic champion of world peace:

*Twinkle, twinkle mighty Czar,*
*What a peaceful man you are –*
*You all war and turmoil dread,*
*So likewise does Mr. Stead.*
*When, oh! Czar you made your scheme,*
*Ah! how little did you dream,*
*That success might crown your head,*
*If you'd first consulted Stead.*
*But he'll do the best he can*
*To mature your splendid plan –*
*Nothing fails if it be led*
*By the Great Reviewing Stead.*[71]

Indeed, Stead's subsequent work in the context of the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 was a test of the possibilities of influencing the exclusive circles of international foreign politics and diplomacy. His aim, which derived from his old idea of "government by journalism," was the unity of civil society, public sphere, and governmental diplomacy bound together by the idealized image of a simplified, peaceful world with national and

69 Ibid., 612.

70 About the Hague Peace Conferences: Jost Dülffer, ed., *Regeln gegen den Krieg? Die Haager Friedenskonferenzen von 1899 und 1907 in der internationalen Politik* (Frankfurt/Main, Berlin, Wien: Ullstein, 1981); Jost Dülffer, ed., "100 Jahre Zweite Haager Friedenskonferenz von 1907," *Die Friedens-Warte* 82/4 (2007).

71 "War? or Peace In Stead?," *Fun* 69/1756 (January 3, 1899), 3; see also a cartoon on role of Stead: "Stead-y," *Fun* 69/1759 (January 24, 1899), 28.

imperial signatures remaining the legitimating frameworks.[72] In his personal mission for world peace, which culminated in the context of the two Hague Conferences, Stead's methods again evolved along techniques of transgressive border-crossing. He combined three levels of his former practices: Firstly, as usual, he began with preliminary public campaigns in order to attract attention to the conference event, this time in a particular transnational setting. Secondly, once at The Hague, both in 1899 and in 1907, he started his activities of social networking with the aim of influencing and interacting with official delegations on an equal footing, which was blatantly against the common societal limitations and habits of diplomacy. He tried to construct a hybridized interacting community made up of both official and non-official peace-workers at The Hague, which certainly was not in accordance with what the diplomats had expected.[73] Thirdly, Stead used his journalistic resources to distribute these visions of dissolved diplomatic and societal boundaries as publicity for the peace and civil society activists at The Hague. At the same time, he strengthened his position as a media entrepreneur, regulating processes of information flows between the conferences and the public: Stead installed himself as the manager of diplomatic flows of information, indeed as a form of public relations department for the Conference and the non-official peace-workers at The Hague, which reflected in practice his old concept of the active, interfering, mediating and democratizing power of the journalist.

Stead began his Hague work several months before the start of the conference with a tour of Europe, which he documented along with his programmatic outline in the yearbook of the *Review of Reviews*, entitled *The United States of Europe on the Eve of the Parliament of Peace*.[74] Stead proclaimed that he had advocated for a European federation of nation states for cooperative action in the world since the 1880s.[75] He showed himself to be open to various schemes of unification; in fact, the main aim of the book was to drive the statesmen, journalists, and people of Europe towards his "International Crusade of Peace" in order to facilitate world peace. Stead toured the European capitals, extending his activities to a broader transnational and trans-societal level by involving as many civil society activists, high officials, heads of states, and common people as possible. He interviewed prominent diplomats and state representatives and planned a "pilgrimage" of volunteers through Europe as the Western democracies' answer to the Tsarist suggestion.[76] The usual lethargy of diplomatic negotiations, he thought, should be motivated by courageous peace activities from all over the world.[77] When the scheme more or less

72 [W. T. Stead], "The Great Pacifist", especially 614–16.

73 For Stead as an empirical example of crossing borders between society and diplomacy and his efforts at creating a hybrid community at The Hague against the common rules of diplomacy see, Madeleine Herren, Martin Rüesch, and Christiane Sibille, *Transcultural History: Theories, Methods, Sources* (Berlin and New York: Springer, 2012), 108–09.

74 W. T. Stead, *The United States of Europe on the Eve of the Parliament of Peace* (London: Review of Reviews Office, 1899).

75 Ibid., 60–1.

76 Stead, *United States of Europe*, for the outline of the "pilgrimage": 202–08.

77 Ibid., 208.

failed, Stead argued that the agitation would remain limited to England.[78] Nevertheless, he created a new weekly newspaper entitled *War against War!* to accompany the process.[79] The twelve issues of the paper introduced the different elements involved in propagating his peace mission, which he would later, in context of the second Hague Peace Conference in 1907, take up in an advanced and elaborated form. Its content was a blend of entertaining and educating peace news aimed at everyone, and it included appeals for a peaceful world from different societal and political circles, comments on international relations, music for the "crusade," gossip about diverse celebrities of the international world, and contributions by Stead's supporters in churches, politics, and society (regular sections included "the crusader's picture gallery," "the crusader's library," the crusader's pulpit"). Stead tried to directly involve his readers by appealing to their emotions and sense of personal responsibility, making them familiar with the prominent faces of transnational peace and civil society activism, and providing them with a set of practical tools with which to get involved.[80] His anti-war propaganda included a section on the economic burdens of war ("what might be done with the money"), which suggested alternative projects of imperialist infrastructure, including the Cape-Cairo railway project of Stead's old friend Rhodes; further suggestions were to solve the housing question and build up pension funds.[81] For his readers, it was not always easy to identify which famous personality actually supported Stead's crusade or was just cited: At first glance, supporters of Stead's agenda seemed to include Nicholas II (the "Emperor of Peace"[82]), the Polish banker and writer Jean Bloch[83], the president of the Berne Peace Bureau Élie Ducommun[84], and the former British prime minister Lord Rosebery.[85]

In April 1899, Stead appeared at The Hague to continue his work on site; not surprisingly, his concept of the peace conference as a democratic public event soon collided with the plans of the organizers and diplomats. The delegations at The Hague, consisting of diplomats as well as legal and military experts, unexpectedly found themselves con-

78 "The Modified Pilgrimage," *War against War!* 8 (March 3, 1899): 113.

79 *War against War! A Chronicle of the International Crusade of Peace*, 1–12 (January – March 1899).

80 Advertisement: "To Those Who Wish to Help in the Crusade of Peace. General Directions to Volunteers," *War against War!* 1 (Jan. 13, 1899): 14.

81 "What Might Be Done with the Money, I: Build the Cape to Cairo Railway!," *War against War!* 2 (January 20, 1899): 17; "What Might Be Done with the Money, II: Old Age Pensions," *War against War!* 3 (January 27, 1899): 33; "What Might Be Done with the Money, III: Replace Slums by Homes," *War against War!* 4 (February 3, 1899): 49.

82 *War against War!* 1 (January 13, 1899): 4.

83 "The Crusader's Library – VII: The War of the Future," *War against War!* 8 (March 3, 1899): 116. The Polish banker and railway industrialist Jean (or Jan, or Ivan) Bloch (1826–1902) was famous for his book *The Future of War* about the dangers of modern industrialized warfare; Stead contributed significantly to distribute Bloch's work in English by producing a summarizing pamphlet about the book as well as assisting in an abridged translation: W. T. Stead, *Has War Become Impossible? A Conversation with M. Bloch* (London: Review of Reviews Office, 1899); Ivan S. Bloch, *Is War Now Impossible? Being an Abridgment of "The War of the Future in Its Technical, Economic and Political Relations"* (London: Grant Richards, 1899).

84 "The Crusader's Picture Gallery, IV: Elie Ducommun," *War against War!* 4 (February 3, 1899): 50. The Swiss Élie Ducommun (1833–1906) was one of the pioneers of the peace movements and awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1902.

85 "By Lord Rosebery: Two Pleas for Peace," *War against War!* 3 (January 27, 1899): 19.

fronted with peace activists like Bertha von Suttner, Alfred H. Fried, or the feminist Margarethe L. Selenka, who had likewise organized an international campaign for peace and arrived at The Hague with volumes of petitions and anti-war signatures.[86] Stead began to build up his network of information policy and, in cooperation with local newspapers, published reports about the proceedings of the conference by acquiring his information through his network of personal contacts and diverse leaks in the processes of communication.[87] For the moment, diplomatic secrecy seemed to be at stake. Delegates found their pictures in Stead's photo-book on the conference, *The Parliament of Peace and its Members*, which already in its title attributed to them a quasi-democratic vocation and responsibility for the future of the world.[88] At first glance, it was difficult to determine whether Stead's publication had any official grounding; in addition, Stead's policy of publication provided the diplomats with the idea for an ongoing systematic transfer of information to the public. However, Stead's overstepping of the borders of diplomatic secrecy and construction of an unofficial context of publication to the negotiations provided an interesting contrast to the actual main issues of discussion and the outcomes of the First Hague Conference. The negotiations turned out to be rather remote from the ideas about establishing world peace, but focused mainly on elaborating the international law of war. The question of the quantitative and qualitative limitation of armaments, central for the pacifists, was rejected, even though several agreements about the limitation of specific modern weapons were integrated into the final convention.[89] But the conference of 1899 realized one of Stead's primordial aims: An international administration for arbitration was founded, the first international institution of systematic prevention of wars, the so-called Permanent Court of Arbitration, though national participation was voluntary and its substantial power limited.[90] When Stead summed up the results of

86 The Austrian Bertha von Suttner (1843–1814), one of the celebrities of the international peace movement, won the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1905; for a short biography see the pages of the Nobel Prize: "Bertha von Suttner – Biographical," http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1905/suttner-bio.html (accessed November 18, 2013). Alfred H. Fried (1864–1921) worked as author, publisher, and editor within the peace and internationalist movement and was in 1911 awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace, see: "Alfred Hermann Fried – Biographical," http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1911/fried-bio.html (accessed November 18, 2013). Margarethe Lenore Selenka (1860–1922) was a German zoologist and active in questions of women's rights and pacifism; for her activities in context of The Hague in 1899 see: Margarethe L. Selenka, *Die internationale Kundgebung der Frauen zur Friedenskonferenz* (München: Schupp, 1900); about Selenka's initiative: Cooper, *Patriotic Pacifism*, 68–9.

87 Several passages of these newspaper reports were reprinted in Stead's later summary about the First Hague Conference: W. T. Stead, *La chronique de la Conférence de la Haye 1899, accompagné du texte des conventions* (The Hague: Hoekstra & Co, 1901). For a self-description of Stead's work at The Hague 1899 see his reports: W. T. Stead, "Some Pages of a Busy Life. In the Month of May 1899," *Review of Reviews* (June 19, 1899): 537–43; "At The Hague: A Month's Doings and Sayings. More Pages from a Busy Life," *Review of Reviews* (July 20, 1899): 37–44.

88 W. T. Stead, ed., *The Parliament of Peace and Its Members* (London: Review of Reviews Office, 1899).

89 These agreements concerned warfare with chemical weapons, air warfare with balloons, and special forms of expanding bullets. James Brown Scott, ed., *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907: Accompanied by Tables of Signatures, Ratifications and Adhesions of the Various Powers, and Texts of Reservations* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1915).

90 About the debate on arbitration at The Hague: Margaret Robinson, "Arbitration and The Hague Peace Conferences, 1899 and 1907" (PhD Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1936). For the text of the two Hague Conventions: Scott, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907*.

the Conference in his *Chronique de la Conférence de La Haye* of 1901, he maintained an optimistic voice and considered the event a useful first step. However, he also criticized the diplomatic world for their old-fashioned information transfer and ivory tower lack of communication with the outside world, which slowed down all enthusiasm of the diplomats themselves.[91]

Stead's ongoing peace mission soon received a decisive blow when just after the closing of the Hague Conference, in October 1899, the Second Boer War started. Stead was personally in contact with several of the British men on the spot (especially Rhodes and Milner, who had during the 1880s been his deputy editor at the *Pall Mall Gazette*)[92], but ultimately turned, despite all imperialist attitudes, into one of the most fervent opponents of the war in South Africa. With his pro-Boer "Stop-the-War-Committee," the new journal *War against War in South Africa* and the pamphlet *Hell let loose in South Africa* (1901), Stead took an extremely unpopular stance that resulted in a serious financial setback for the *Review of Reviews*.[93] At the same time that his national influence was on the decline (also because of the failed project of a new daily newspaper) he managed to enlarge his international networking. Stead formed new contacts with members of the Interparliamentary Union (IPU), a semi-official international association of parliamentarians[94], and contacted the American businessman and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie, who would during the next years provide important funding for peace work, especially for the new Peace Palace at The Hague, the seat of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.[95]

The Second Hague Conference in 1907 was a further opportunity for presenting Stead's peace publicity on an international platform; it would be his largest internationalist peace project. Stead's preliminary plans for national and international activities were again manifold, but they did not attract the response that he had wished for. Neither did his "Peace Budget Plan"[96] – that every country should spend one British Pound on peace promotion for every 1000 Pounds spent for military purposes – attract much interest in Britain, the United States, or in continental Europe. Likewise, his calls for a new "Peace Pilgrimage," this time also promoted by a tour in the United States, fell on deaf ears. George Bernard Shaw, whom Stead approached as a potential supporter, found

91 Stead, *Chronique de la Conférence de La Haye*, 33–4.

92 Stead had even in 1896 written a semi-fictional account about the Jameson Raid. See: Joseph O. Baylen, "W. T. Stead's History of the Mystery and the Jameson Raid," *The Journal of British Studies* 4/1 (1964): 104–32.

93 About Stead's work against the Boer War: Simon Potter, "W. T. Stead, Imperial Federation, and the South African War," in *Newspaper Revolutionary*, ed. Laurel Brake et al. (London: The British Library, 2012), 115–32; Deborah Mutch, "'Are We Christians?': W. T. Stead, Keir Hardie, and the Boer War," in *Newspaper Revolutionary*, ed. Laurel Brake et al. (London: The British Library, 2012), 133–48.

94 [W. T. Stead], "The Topic of the Month: A Plea for International Picnics," *Review of Reviews* 21 (September 1899): 257–69.

95 The industrialist Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919) began after 1900 with extensive activities of philanthropy, especially with projects in world peace and in building up education and library institutions. Stead tried to advise Carnegie about possible philanthropic projects: W. T. Stead, *Mr. Carnegie's Conundrum: £ 40,000,000. What Shall I Do with It?* (London: Review of Reviews Office, 1900).

96 [W. T. Stead], "The Great Pacifist," 617–18.

the whole proposal utterly absurd.[97] Stead used all the subsequent critical comments about his alleged eccentricity in his peace voyages to market his peace propaganda in the form of witty travel reports.[98] Arriving again at The Hague in spring 1907, Stead aimed to transform the diplomatic conference into a mega-pacifist event for the international public. The Second Hague Conference lasted four months, from June to October 1907, and was more 'international' in composition than the previous one: It now included representatives from forty-four states, among them many non-European ones, in total almost all states which were recognized as independent, though African countries, for instance, were again not represented.[99] Most states had also increased their number of diplomatic, legal, and military staff at The Hague; peace and civil society activists as well as journalists arrived in huge numbers, which heightened Stead's opportunities to build contacts.

But Stead intended to go further than in 1899. He not only tried once again to challenge the information policy of the conference, he also wanted to demonstrate the principle of democratic participation in diplomacy and to interpret international meetings as a hybrid international contact zone that merged diplomatic and public spheres on equal terms.[100] In order to build up his networking and media infrastructure, Stead co-operated with local internationalists, notably with the Fondation pour l'Internationalisme, a short-lived private association aimed at fostering internationalism and making The Hague an intellectual-scientific capital of the world.[101] Together with other internationalists, Stead organized a non-official counter-conference, the "cercle international," which met regularly to debate the proceedings of the Conference, to organize lectures, cultivate contacts with other non-official or official visitors at The Hague, and discuss what activities should be organized subsequent to the Conference. The "cercle international" was intended as a bridge to the 'official' meeting; in the first place, however, it became a meeting place for those who were not in a position of official participation – peace activists, feminists, in-

97 Shaw to Stead, undated letter, published in: Patrick G. Hogan and Joseph O. Baylen, "G. Bernard Shaw and W. T. Stead: An Unexplored Relationship," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 1/4 (1961): 123–47, here 141–42; about H. G. Wells' reaction: Joseph O. Baylen, "W. T. Stead and the Early Career of H. G. Wells, 1895–1911," *Huntington Library Quarterly Huntington Library Quarterly* 38/1 (1974): 53–79, here 70–1.

98 W. T. Stead, "Notes on my American Tour," *Review of Reviews* 35 (May 1907): 210–15; "Preparing for the Hague Conference II – The Peace Congress in New York," *Review of Reviews* 35 (May 1907): 486–89. See also about the Peace Pilgrimage: "An International Demonstration for Internationalism. Why not a World's Pilgrimage of Peace?" *Review of Reviews* 35 (March 1907): 259–67; "A Handy Catechism for Crusaders," *Review of Reviews* 35 (April 1907): 350–53; "The International Pilgrimage of Peace," *Review of Reviews* 35 (April 1907): 374–77; "Preparing for the Hague Conference I – The International Peace Pilgrimage", *Review of Reviews* 35 (May 1907): 484–86.

99 Details about the composition and the negotiations of the Second Hague Peace Conference: Dülffer, *Regeln gegen den Krieg?*, 300–27. About the debates on arbitration and legal intervention: Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 24–46.

100 Herren, Rüesch, and Sibille, *Transcultural History*, 108–09.

101 "La Fondation pour L'Internationalisme," *Courrier de la Conférence* 6 (June 21, 1907): 3; Geert Somsen, "'Holland's Calling': Dutch Scientists' Self-Fashioning as International Mediators," in *Neutrality in Twentieth-Century Europe: Intersections of Science, Culture, and Politics After the First World War*, eds. Rebecka Lettevall, Geert Somsen, and Sven Widmalm (New York: Routledge, 2012), 45–64, about the "Fondation" and its connections to Stead: 49.

ternationalists, journalists, and representatives of minorities or colonized peoples.[102] The "cercle international" provided a public forum for debates on all issues not considered by the Conference, and was thus an early forerunner of the twentieth-century shadow conferences that would regularly accompany intergovernmental meetings.[103] Indeed, the participation of journalistic and civil society as well as resonances in a globalized public sphere would in future form a constituent part of international diplomatic meetings.

Similar to the first Conference of 1899, the expectations of the pacifist circles did not align with the actual proceedings of the meeting. Not only did most official delegations largely ignore the presence and agendas of the peace advocates. Also, the structural organisation of the Conference with its huge number of participants presented many difficulties, and there was little disposition for compromise in the negotiations since many questions seemed to infringe on national sovereignties. The issue of a limitation of armaments was already buried before the start of the meeting; disappointed by the great powers' attitudes, Stead nevertheless published a death notice about the matter in August 1907.[104] Besides, there was the central political dilemma in the background of how to actually organize a way of international control around such delicate questions.[105] The new institution of arbitration at The Hague was confirmed by the second conference, but it consisted above all of a list of possible arbitrators administered by an international bureau; arbitration in case of conflict was still not obligatory, nor was the court a permanent one.[106] Instead, the conference of 1907 again put an emphasis on refining and revising the international rules for war. Partly as a reaction to the Russian-Japanese war, partly because of the increasing naval military build-up, regulations on naval warfare, the opening of hostilities, and the position of neutral powers entered the convention texts of the Second Hague Conference.[107]

Although the developments of official discussions seemed disappointing for peace activists, Stead again began, without being asked, to manage the public relations work of the Conference according to his own ideas. With the support of the Fondation pour l'Internationalisme he published an illustrated volume containing biographical as well as practical information about the delegations, *Le Parlement de l'Humanité*, similar to his photo-album project of 1899.[108] The diplomats and experts were listed in their function as national representatives, but Stead again indicated their primordial role as part of new federated world organisation. Stead's main publication project at the Second Hague Conference, together with the *Review of Reviews*, was his daily conference newspaper, the *Courrier de la Conférence de la Paix*. The paper, about four to eight-pages long, docu-

102 "Le Cercle International. La dépendance de la Conférence," *Courrier de la Conférence* 1 (June 15, 1907): 5.
103 Reinalda, *Routledge History of International Organizations*, 79.
104 "Hic Jacet la question de la limitation des armements," *Courrier de la Conférence* 56 (August 18, 1907): 1.
105 Dülffer, *Regeln gegen den Krieg?*, 333.
106 Ibid., 314–16.
107 Scott, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907*.
108 W. T. Stead, ed., *Le Parlement de l'Humanité (La Conférence de la Paix à La Haye 1907). Les Délégués – Biographies et Photographies* (Amsterdam, Leipzig: Mass & van Suchtelen, 1907): Preface, 7.

mented in detail Stead's methods in organizing a transnational public space that merged diplomatic and pacifist activities in order to link the conference events to the activities of civil society and the public.[109] He listed the several well-known pacifists of the time as his co-workers, among them Bertha von Suttner, Alfred H. Fried, Felix Moscheles, and the first Nobel peace laureate Frédéric Passy.[110] To his readers, this symbolized a close companionship with the leading figures of the peace movement, but it seems that Stead and his small staff carried the most of the financial burden and the workload for the project.[111] The Courrier aimed at being more than a newssheet commenting on the proceedings of the conference from a pacifist perspective. It established and performed a public sphere beyond all official lines by combining a number of transgressive elements: In detail, it accompanied and commented on the proceedings of the conference in the diverse committees as a guideline of orientation; it served as a discussion forum for insiders and outsiders at The Hague; as an information sheet for pacifist propaganda; as a guide for all foreigners and tourists in The Hague; and as distributor of transnational gossip.[112] Next to integrating summary reports about the conference proceedings, which were distributed by the conference organizers, and other official papers that Stead gained via informal ways,[113] the paper featured articles on all issues that Stead was interested in, for instance the plans for a world capital, the transnational suffragette movement, diverse international conferences, and the establishment of Esperanto as a world language. In addition, in its function as a fused platform for both diplomacy and the public sphere the paper was again a welcome forum for the statements of diplomatic outsiders. It also offered a testing ground for official conference attendants who experimented with the influence of their position. Those delegates who were themselves active in internationalist circles (such as the French d'Estournelles de Constant)[114] or who were newcomers on the scene of international diplomacy (such as the Latin American delegates) were in closer contact with Stead's projects. When delegations complained about diplomatic functions being impaired, Stead legitimated his *Courrier* project with his political neutrality and his dedication to their common cause: "Ensuite […] aucun member de la Conférence, sans excepter les Présidents eux-mêmes, n'a donné plus de preuves d'une passion sincere et désintéressé pour le succès de la Conférence que le Rédacteur du *Courrier*."[115]

With the journalistic realization of the *Courrier*, Stead remarkably stretched the exclusivity of the actual proceedings of the diplomatic meeting into the desired directions

109 W. T. Stead, ed., *Courrier de la Conférence de la Paix* 1–109 (Amsterdam: Maas & Van Suchtelen, 1907).

110 The British painter and Esperanto-activist Felix Moscheles (1833–1917) was president of the International Arbitration and Peace Association. The French Frédéric Passy (1822–1912), one of the founders of the Interparliamentary Union, was awarded the first Nobel Peace Prize in 1901 together with Henri Dunant.

111 *Courrier de la Conférence* 1 (June 15, 1907): 1–4 ; 109 (October 20, 1907): 6.

112 For Stead's program of the *Courrier* see especially its first issue, *Courrier de la Conférence* 1 (June 14, 1907).

113 "La Conférence et le 'Courrier'," *Courrier de la Conférence* 11 (June 27, 1907): 1.

114 The French parliamentarian Paul Henri d'Estournelles de Constant (1852–1924), who was awarded the Nobel Prize of Peace in 1909, was active in the question of arbitration and international conciliation; for Stead's description see: "Personnalités de la Conférence," *Courrier de la Conférence* 30 (July 19, 1907), 1.

115 "La Conférence et le 'Courrier'," *Courrier de la Conférence* 11 (June 27, 1907): 1.

of a transparent diplomacy and an enlarged circle of participants in questions of world peace. As usual, it was at first glance not easy to ascertain whether the *Courrier* (written in French as the language of diplomacy) actually had any official character or not, even though Stead had emphasized the *Courrier*'s non-official and impartial position in the first issue.[116] In the design of the paper itself, which was complemented by photographs, caricatures, and graphics, Stead did not hierarchically distinguish between the presentation of official documents and his own comments. Transnational social and civil society movements appeared in this presentation as an accepted and completely self-evident part of conference life at The Hague. The borders between officials and non-officials seemed marginal but Stead also tried to win over the diplomats and experts as well as the surrounding participants for his cause by writing "character sketches" highlighting the efforts of individual attendants. For the reader, there was in presentation no hierarchical difference between prominent pacifists, philanthropists such as Andrew Carnegie, or participants of official delegations.[117] Likewise, in Stead's presentation women were equal members of the Hague debate, and he especially highlighted the presence of the prominent Bertha von Suttner and gave space to the German-American Anna B. Eckstein's petition campaign for arbitration.[118] In its presentation, the *Courrier* at the same time exposed the problem of inclusion and exclusion at a major international diplomatic meeting. Once again, Stead unsettled the borders of diplomatic tact by publicly addressing those issues that the conference tried carefully to avoid: Which areas, nations, or peoples of the world were seen as entitled to take part in a 'civilized' international conference? Who should be admitted in future to events of international law – or world peace – like the Hague Conferences? Why did the idea of world peace seem to be intrinsically subordinate to other questions? What was the future relation of diplomacy to the public, especially with regard to principles of diplomatic secrecy? What of the role of women, suppressed minorities, or advocates of anti-colonial movements in future diplomatic international meetings?

However, as his contemporaries would learn again at The Hague, Stead's own views on the problems of power hierarchies as well as on cultural-racial (in)equality on the international stage were not at all without contradictions. The presence of more non-European delegations than in 1899 provided an opportunity to test the 'globality' of Stead's endeavours. The emphasis of Stead's papers and books was frequently on European or US-American issues because of his personal networks, but he did not disguise that his peace campaign had worldwide intentions. In the early months of the conference, Stead's reports about official proceedings focused primarily on the delegations of great powers, but he gradually began to turn his attention to international newcomers like the Latin

116 "Avis," *Courrier de la Conférence* 1 (June 15, 1907): 1.

117 Stead, however, indicated the difference to official attendants by calling the section of non-official participants "personnalités hors de la Conférence".

118 "Le Conseil International des Femmes," *Courrier de la Conférence* 4 (June 19, 1907): 1. Anna B. Eckstein (1868–1947) was a German-American teacher and vice president of the American Peace Society. About Anna Eckstein at The Hague: *Courier de la Conférence* 26 (July 14, 1907): 3.

American delegates. Stead was especially impressed by the work of the Brazilian head of delegation, Ruy Barboza[119], who opposed legalizing the hierarchical position of states and argued instead for legal equality and a numerical equivalence of national judges at the arbitration court.[120] Disappointed by the proceedings of the great powers, Stead interpreted the work of Latin American delegates as the progressive and active forces at The Hague and devoted more and more attention to their personalities and agendas. In particular, Stead underlined the significance of Latin American countries as pioneers of arbitration and saw Latin America, especially in questions of peace, "à la tête du monde."[121] Stead's hopes that Latin American politicians would join his idea of a post-Hague "pilgrimage" to spread pacifist ideas, however, would not become a reality, despite the fact that he optimistically presented the delegates as "peace pilgrims."[122]

While Stead was positively impressed by the new international confidence of Latin American delegates, in a peculiar combination of actual assistance and condescension the *Courrier* also became a platform for the silenced participants on the international stage. Stead was particularly occupied with the problems of Armenians[123] as well as with the problematic case of the Koreans. Officially still sovereign despite the colonial encroachments of Japan, which had tightened after the Russian-Japanese war, the Korean government sent a delegation to The Hague. Although for Western powers the Korean problem seemed to constitute an internal affair of Japan, the sudden appearance of the Korean delegates was the cause of much embarrassment. While the Conference participants blocked any discussion about Korea, the delegation effectively lobbied for worldwide attention by using the internationality of The Hague event for their purposes. Stead became interested, and the Korean delegation printed their petition on independence in the *Courrier*.[124] Stead published a detailed interview with Prince Yi Wi-jong[125] and continued to use the Korean example to denounce moral deficiencies, injustices, and exclusions of the state system. But he also underlined his own interpretation of colonial relations in an evolutionary-Westernized sense by advising the Koreans to surrender to

119 "Personnalités de la Conférence: M. Ruy Barbosa," *Courrier de la Conférence* 36 (July 26, 1907): 1. The Brazilian politician, jurist and writer Ruy (or Rui) Barboza (1849–1923) was one of the important political and cultural figures of his country and became internationally famous for his endeavours at The Hague in 1907.

120 For international discussions on legal equality and sovereignty see, Gerry Simpson, *Great Powers and Outlaw States: Unequal Sovereigns in the International Legal Order* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), here 141–42.

121 Especially: "Réunion des Délégués de l'Amérique du Sud," *Courrier de la Conférence* 38 (July 28, 1907): 1; "Ave Bolivar! Pourquoi l'Amérique latine est à la tête du monde," *Courrier de la Conférence* 100 (October 10, 1907): 1.

122 "Le Pélérinage de la Paix autour du monde. La Réponse de l'Amérique latine," *Courrier de la Conférence* 101 (October 11, 1907): 1.

123 "D'autres squelettes de la fête", *Courrier de la Conférence* 47 (August 8, 1907): 2; "L'appel des Arméniens," *Courrier de la Conférence* 50 (August 11, 1907): 3; "La protestation des Arméniens," *Courrier de la Conférence* 51 (August 13, 1907): 3.

124 "Pourquoi exclure la Corée?," *Courrier de la Conférence* 14 (June 30, 1907): 2; "Le défi des Coréens," *Courrier de la Conférence* 21 (July 9, 1907): 1.

125 "Le squelette de la fête," *Courrier de la Conférence* 18 (July 5, 1907): 1. Yi Wi-jong (1887–1917) worked as diplomat and died in World War I as a military officer in Russian service.

the superior power for the sake of peace until their national abilities and vitalities were equally developed.[126]

The *Courrier* gave a platform to all the voices who wanted to have a say on the matter of the conference or on related issues and indeed served as a platform for petitions and agendas from numerous different sides. But minorities and anti-colonial delegations, which Stead called "the skeletons of the celebration," obviously had to face similar power relations and patronizing comments from the peace activists. Stead campaigned for assembling the whole world for his cause, but his 'globality' remained clearly shaped according to his own steadfast concepts of civilizational leadership, which were rarely questioned by his multiple transgressive works. After the Conference, the Austrian pacifist Alfred H. Fried called the *Courrier* a mouthpiece for the world's opinions[127], but it was only a selective version of the world, and one that was embedded in Stead's own interpretational context. However, seen in the light of having created new transboundary paths against established standards, the *Courrier*, with its presentation of the conglomeration of topics assembled around the Hague Conference event, is not only a lens onto a particularly internationalized episode together with its social interactions, it is also a documentation of the impending challenge to diplomacy to open itself up both geographically and towards the self-assertion of marginalized groups. These concepts and vocabularies of blurred borders in the diplomatic sphere would gain a new significance after World War I, when the League of Nations initiated handling international relations through a more transparent 'new diplomacy' with a more distinct inclusion of the public. For Stead, the Second Hague Conference was not the end of anti-war campaigning; he continued his peace campaigns with a special focus on promoting international arbitration. His last peace mission was, like the very first one in 1876, concerned with the Ottoman Empire. In the context of the Italo-Turkish war of 1911, Stead travelled to Constantinople not only to investigate possible war massacres but also to convince the new sultan, Mehmed V, of the tool of arbitration; however, Stead's lobbying for peaceful solutions did not prevent the gradual dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.[128]

## Conclusion

Looking back at the late Victorian era, the journalist E. T. Raymond described Stead in 1921 as a "most singular combination of the businessman and the mystic".[129] Both elements can be observed in Stead's civil society work on world peace. Stead searched for

126 "Le système politique future des Coréens," *Courrier de la Conférence* 40 (September 4, 1907): 3. One of the Korean delegates, the judge Yi Jun (1859–1907), died in July 1907 at The Hague, which caused an additional burst of international rumors about the Korean case.

127 Alfred H. Fried, *Handbuch der Friedensbewegung*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Berlin, Leipzig: Friedenswarte Verlag, 1911–13), here vol. 2: 191.

128 W. T. Stead, *Tripoli and the Treaties; Or, Britain's Duty in This War* (London: Stead's Publishing House, 1911); Prévost, "W. T. Stead and the Eastern Question," 20.

129 Raymond, *Portraits of the Nineties*, 178.

ways to distribute his ideas and to control public opinion, and he combined the promotion of his own person, his calls for disseminating his interpretation of Christian morals, and his investigative-intrusive journalism in order to gain a dominant and significant public position. But why is Stead's peace work actually a relevant topic of investigation? This article discusses the ways in which his transgressive working method constitutes a key element to understanding Stead's biography and his position in internationalist activism during the two decades before World War I. Stead strategically worked to play with and destabilize borders, whether national, societal, or diplomatic; but he also practically reinforced contemporaneous ideas of civilizational, racist, or moral supremacy. In this context, Stead's peace work gives us insight into the historical efforts to question and reconsider established hierarchic and impermeable structures of diplomatic work. It displays the complexities and contradictions inherent in individual and civil society scopes of action demanding diplomatic transparency and democratic equivalences or actively creating alternative spaces of international activity, for instance by using journalistic technologies of information transfer. The focus on a person active within the international community in this period of acute inter-state tensions, rather than on an organisation, epistemic group, or governmental institution, displays transnationally relevant complex mentalities as well as non-linear tensions between imperial militancy and transnational civil society activism. However, looking beyond the dimension of an individual, Stead's transgressive methods mirrored larger transformations of communication and information transfer at the beginning of the twentieth century as well as their consequences for diplomacy, foreign policy, and movements of civil society. The increasing influence of diplomatic outsiders on topics of foreign policy could no longer be ignored; after Stead's death in 1912, further civil society activists lobbied for a continuation and enlargement of the Hague project. Stead's work prefigured a far greater shattering of diplomatic habits in the decade after his death. In 1917 the Bolshevik government broke with the traditions of the secretive diplomatic elite by publishing tsarist and allied documents of war agreements. In the same year, the British diplomat Sir Ernest Satow produced his book *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, which intended to confirm the established rules of diplomatic work and exclusivity for the future.[130] After 1919 the League of Nations discussed the relations between diplomacy and the public in order to be seen to react to the problems of diplomatic transparency of the past decades but also to define its own international contact zone at Geneva. Stead's transgression of diplomatic borders and interference with the traditions of information transfer foreshadowed several long-term consequences of a destabilized diplomacy, which in turn produced two impacts: the questioning of traditional borderlines and diplomatic exclusivity and simultaneously the re-tightening and affirmation of rules. Ultimately, an assessment of Stead's work towards peace and diplomatic transparency demonstrates that projects of challenging borderlines and creating new international contact zones do not necessarily imply any teleology of

130 Ernest M. Satow, *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice* (London, New York: Longmans, Green, 1917); see also: Herren, Rüesch, and Sibille, *Transcultural History*, 110.

increasing hybridity and permeability of borders. Rather, such efforts can paradoxically result in a reconfirmation of existing borders, or even the creation of new ones by interest groups which want to maintain their hegemonic control over the institutional and interpretative apparatuses of controlling power.

# "The Chicago of the East": The Cross-Border Activities and Transnational Biographies of Adventurers, Shady Characters, and Criminals in the Cosmopolitan City of Harbin

**Frank Grüner**

**RESÜMEE**

Der Beitrag diskutiert grenzüberschreitende Aktivitäten und transnationale Biographien in der mandschurischen Stadt Harbin in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Die an einem Eisenbahnknoten im Nordosten Chinas entstandene Stadt Harbin entwickelte sich binnen weniger Jahre von einer russischen Kolonie zu einer von vielfältigen globalen und transkulturellen Verflechtungen geprägten kosmopolitischen Stadt. Aufgrund ihrer Attraktivität für den internationalen Handel war die boomende Stadt im „wilden" Fernen Osten auch für Abenteurer, halbseidene Figuren und Kriminelle ein Magnet. Dabei schufen die komplexen administrativen Strukturen und rechtlichen Grauzonen einer von zahlreichen Machtwechseln gekennzeichneten internationalen Stadt vielfältige Räume für halblegale und illegale Aktivitäten aller Art. In den globalen und kosmopolitischen Räumen, die Harbin bot, konnten sich besonders solche Akteure erfolgreich bewegen, die über ein transkulturelles Know-how verfügten und in transnationalen Kontexten zu agieren verstanden. Dieser Untersuchung liegen drei Fallstudien von grenzüberschreitenden Akteuren auf der „dunklen" Seite der Harbiner Gesellschaft zugrunde, darunter die eines Zuhälterpaars, eines Spielcasino-Betreibers sowie eines transnationalen Netzwerks von Opium-Schmugglern.

At the start of the twentieth century, the multicultural city of Harbin in Northeast China represented, in the words of the British travel author John Foster Fraser (1868–1936), "a

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magnet to all the adventurers in Russia."[1] Mikhail K. Vetoshkin (1884–1958), Harbin's first Bolshevist – who at the end of 1905 was drafted by his comrades in Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Empire to the city on the Songhua River (Sungari in Russian) in order to transform the local railroad workers' strikes and the mutinies of the Russian soldiers into a "proper" revolution – characterized Harbin as a city of "speculators and adventurers."[2] Even if Vetoshkin's apodictic remark can be attributed to his socialist-revolutionary worldview, it can hardly be denied that there was an element of truth in his evaluation. The social reality of the still young and booming Manchurian town was not just "adventurous" but also fraught with risk and danger: Its significantly high level of drug trafficking and crime, according to the British journalist Maurice Baring (1874–1945), earned Harbin the nickname "the Chicago of the East."[3]

During the first half of the twentieth century with its multi-ethnic immigration (in particular from various regions of the Russian Empire and mainland China), the booming railway, and trade, Harbin attracted tens of thousands of people from diverse professions and social backgrounds. Among these were numerous representatives of the elites, particularly in the period after 1917, but also a large number of characters who were attracted to the endless possibilities and enormous dynamism of the aspiring city. In Harbin these characters enjoyed a truly adventurous, and sometimes shady or even unequivocally criminal existence. Some even knew how to use the political-administrative and socio-economic freedoms, or "gaps," in the young, global city to their own advantage – and in certain cases with considerable criminal energy. Translocal and transnational business contacts and networks were often the basis for success in the city. In this way, Harbin also became an operational point for internationally operating smugglers, pimps, and human traffickers.

The aim of this contribution is specifically to highlight the "dark side" of cross-border activities and transnational biographies, which are shaped by global and cosmopolitan space. The article argues that the cosmopolitan city of Harbin provided optimal conditions for the activities of historical agents like adventurers, shady characters, and criminals, mainly because of its complex political and administrative structure and because of the economically favourable terms for regional and transnational business. By using selected examples from the city of Harbin this paper also shows that intercultural knowledge and the ability to organize themselves in transnational networks were also core competencies for the success of adventurers and dubious or criminal characters in a cosmopolitan place and global space.

1 John Foster Fraser, *Real Siberia, together with an Account of a Dash through Manchuria* (London, New York: Cassell, 1904), 226.

2 Mikhail Vetoshkin, "1905 g. v Manchzhurii. Vospominaniia o podpopl'noi rabote v tylu Manchzhurskikh armii," *Sibirskie ogni. Literaturno-khudozhestvennyi i nauchno-obshchestvennyi zhurnal*. Kniga pervaia (Novosibirsk 1929): 155–75, 156. On the history of the revolutionary events of 1905–07 in Harbin, see Frank Grüner, "The Russian Revolution at the Periphery: The Case of the Manchurian City of Harbin," in *The Russian Revolution of 1905 in Transcultural Perspective: Identities, Peripheries, and the Flow of Ideas*, eds. Felicitas Fischer von Weikersthal et al. (Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 2013), 175–96.

3 Maurice Baring, *With the Russians in Manchuria* (London: Methuen & co, 1905, [3]1906), 35.

The first part of this paper will outline Harbin's development from a Russian colony at the time of the town's foundation around 1900 to a cosmopolitan city during the 1920s and 1930s. In the following, the "dark side" of Harbin's daily life will be examined. Three case studies of different forms of border-crossing activities and transnational biographies on the "dark side" of Harbin will constitute the core of this article.

## Harbin – From a Russian Colony in China to a Cosmopolitan City

The Russians founded Harbin in 1898 as part of their economic expansion into the Far East, a scheme that was instigated by the Russian finance minister Sergei Witte and by the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway.[4] Harbin, situated in northern Manchuria along the tracks of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which stretches from the Siberian city of Chita (Transbaikalia Region) via the Russian-Chinese border cities of Zabaikal'sk and Manzhouli across Manchuria to Vladivostok, was to serve as a railway depot and administrative centre for the Russian Chinese Eastern Railway (hereafter referred to as CER). Until 1898 Harbin was only a fishing village, but because of its importance for the railway and as a key base for Russian troops in Manchuria it grew quickly to eventually become a city heavily influenced by Russia and Russians (both by ethnic Russians as well as by members of many other nationalities from the Russian Empire). Owing to its central location as a junction between two railway lines and its relative proximity to the front during the Russo-Japanese War (1904/05), Harbin became a central terminal and garrison for troops in the Russian military.

Because the control of the Russian state apparatus was much less established in the Far East, which was at that time still untapped, a lot of groups that settled in the city were

4 This dating of Harbin's foundation by the Russians is not uncontroversial as Chinese historians in particular refer to earlier settlements in the region stretching over centuries. For more on this historiographical controversy, see Søren Clausen and Stig Thøgersen, *The Making of a Chinese City: History and Historiography in Harbin* (Armonk, New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), 3–21. Other notable works treating the early history of the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER) and Harbin include: Nadezhda E. Ablova, *KVZhD i Rossiiskaia Ėmigratsiia v Kitae. Mezhdunarodnye i Politicheskie Aspekty Istorii (pervaia polovina XX veka)* (Moscow: Russkaia Panorama, 2005); Olga M. Bakich, "A Russian City in China: Harbin before 1917," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 28/2 (Juni 1986): 129–48; Olga M. Bakich, "Origins of the Russian Community on the Chinese Eastern Railway," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 27/1 (1985): 1–14; Tao Shing Chang, *International Controversies over the Chinese Eastern Railway* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1936); Blaine R. Chiasson, *Administering the Colonizer: Manchuria's Russians under Chinese Rule, 1918–1929* (Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2010); Bruce A. Elleman and Stephen Kotkin eds., *Manchurian Railways and the Opening of China: An International History* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2010); Ralph Edward Glatfelter, "Russia, the Soviet Union, and the Chinese Eastern Railway," in *Railway Imperialism,* eds. Clarence B. Davis and Kenneth E. Wilburn with Roland E. Robinson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 137–54; Evgenii Kh. Nilus, *Kitaiskaia Vostochnaia Zheleznaia Doroga: Istoricheskii Ocherk, 1896–1923* (Harbin: Tip. Kit. Vost. Zhel. dor. i T-va "Ozo," 1923); Rosemary K. I. Quested, *"Matey" Imperialists? The Tsarist Russians in Manchuria 1895–1917* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, 1982); Boris A. Romanov, *Russia in Manchuria (1892–1906)*, trans. Susan Wilbur Jones (Ann Arbor, Mich.: I. W. Edwards, 1952); Sören Urbansky, *Kolonialer Wettstreit: Russland, China, Japan und die Ostchinesische Eisenbahn* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2008); David Wolff, *To the Harbin Station: The Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria, 1898–1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999); Victor Zatsepine, "Russia, Railways, and Urban Development in Manchuria," in *Harbin to Hanoi: The Colonial Built Environment in Asia, 1840 to 1940*, eds. Laura Victoir and Victor Zatsepine (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 17–35.

those who were unwelcome in other parts of the Russian Empire. This was not only true for marginalized and discriminated against ethnic or religious minorities, such as Poles, Jews, Russian Old Believers, and German Mennonites, Harbin also attracted groups that in the opinion of the Tsarist regime endangered the existing order of the empire, including capitalists (especially those of Jewish origin), scientists, liberals, intellectuals, and revolutionaries.[5] After 1917, due to the Russian Civil War, many people with anti-Bolshevik sympathies came to Harbin. The daily newspaper Zaria reported that in the year 1920 alone, at the peak of the Russian emigration wave, around 15,000 refugees came to Harbin from Russia.[6] Among these were, according to the statistical data of the All-Russian Union of Cities (*Vserossiiskii Soiuz Gorodov*), a large number of high-ranking officers and officials as well as members of the pre-revolutionary Russian elites, including 17 generals (of the Russian White Armies), 8 former ministers, 13 clergymen, 239 landowners, 43 doctors, 40 engineers, and 6 former governors and vice-governors. Besides these illustrious characters, farmers from various regions of the Russian Empire and workers from the industrial centres represented the bulk of the immigrants.[7] Even if only a proportion of these refugees from the Russian Empire remained in Harbin for an extended period of time, the figures nevertheless illustrate the quantitative and qualitative dimension of immigration that took place here. A contemporary witness characterized the cultural and social mélange that developed as a result of these waves of immigration in Harbin among the Russian population as "an odd mix of diverse social, political and cultural groups."[8]

The population grew continuously, mainly due to migrants from Soviet Russia and different regions of China. In fact, Harbin was considered a boomtown, comparable in its speed of growth to Saint Petersburg or San Francisco during the Gold Rush.[9] According to Russian census data Harbin had 44,576 inhabitants in 1903, 28,338 of whom were Chinese and 15,579 Russians, in addition to 462 Japanese and 197 "subjects of other states," such as Austrians (63), Turks (35), Koreans (30), Germans (22), Greeks (20), among others.[10] A few years later, in 1913, the city counted 68,549 inhabitants; nearly two thirds (43,691) of these were subjects of the Russian Empire and over one third (23,639) were subjects of the Chinese Empire.[11] In 1923 Harbin already had a popula-

5 This is why David Wolff named Harbin the "liberal alternative in Russian Manchuria"; see Wolff, *To the Harbin Station*.

6 "Statistika bezhenstva" ("Statistics of refugees"), *Zaria*, July 13, 1920, 3.

7 *Zaria*, July 13, 1920, 3.

8 Helen Yakobson, *Crossing Borders: From Revolutionary Russia to China to America* (Tenafly, N.J.: Hermitage, 1994), 45.

9 See Simon Karlinsky, "Memoirs of Harbin," *Slavic Review* 48/2 (1989): 284–90.

10 *Spravochnaia knizhka Kharbina* (Harbin: Pervaia chastnaia tipografiia v Kharbine, 1904), 7. See also Olga Bakich, "Russian Émigrés in Harbin's Multinational Past: Censuses and Identity," in *Entangled Histories: The Transnational Past of Northeast China,* eds. Dan Ben-Canaan, Frank Grüner and Ines Prodöhl (Cham, Heidelberg, New York: Springer, 2014), 83–99, 85–6.

11 See Bakich, "Russian Émigrés in Harbin's Multinational Past: Censuses and Identity," 86–7. According to some contemporary sources, by 1912 there were already some 75,000 people living in Harbin, among them some 39,000 Russians and approximately 35,000 Chinese, and another 25,000 in the adjoining Chinese settlement Fujiadian; for this see, U.S. Consulate, Harbin, China, May 24, 1912; Consular Posts: Harbin, Manchuria, China; Vol.

tion of 122,821 inhabitants, which swelled to 160,670 in 1929.[12] In around 1933, when the adjacent Chinese settlement Fujiadian and a few other smaller villages nearby were already part of "Great Harbin," the city counted 418,000 residents; in 1937 the entire population totalled 474,951 inhabitants of whom – according to the classification of the Manchukuo regime – 397,791 were listed as "Manchukuo people" (mainly Han-Chinese), 35,685 Japanese citizens, 25,865 émigrés (basically Russians without a Soviet or Chinese passport), and 7,788 foreigners.[13]

A large number of those fit for work were employed at the various plants and institutions of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company or were involved in trade and a variety of services. From its early years, trade and commerce developed dynamically in Harbin.[14] The city's economic development was initially directed and funded by the Russian Imperial government in Saint Petersburg, especially from 1898 to 1905.[15] During these years trade in Harbin was primarily concerned with the supply of the Russian army and the local residents.[16] Despite a temporary disruption in economic development, lasting from the end of the Russo-Japanese War until around 1908, Harbin developed into a true boomtown in the following ten to twenty years, both in view of its population growth and its economic potential.[17] In around 1911, Harbin had already become the "main commercial centre" and "largest marketplace" in northern Manchuria.[18] In the following years Harbin developed into a major hub for international trade between Northeast China, Russia, Europe, the USA, Japan, and the Pacific world. The importance of international soy trade via Harbin is just one example of the global interconnectedness of the Manchurian city in the 1910s and 1920s.[19] At least three reasons can be given for this feverish economic upturn: Firstly, Harbin's geographic situation on the Songhua River and at the junction of two railway lines – the Chinese Eastern Railway and the South

8: Despatches sent to the Department of State; Vol. IV: 1912, 59: Reports on Commerce and Industries, 1911; Records of Foreign Service Posts, Record Group 84 (RG 84); National Archives at College Park, MD (NACP).

12 See Bakich, "Russian Émigrés in Harbin's Multinational Past: Censuses and Identity," 86–7.

13 Ibid., 92–7. See also Bureau of Information Manchukuo State Council, *An Outline of the Manchukuo Empire, 1939* (Dairen: Manchuria Daily News, 1939), 25–8.

14 British Foreign Office: No. 5035. *Report for the Year 1911 on the Commercial Conditions in North Manchuria and the Trade of Harbin*, in particular 5–13.

15 Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv (RGIA) (Russian State Historical Archive), fond (f.) 323, opis' (op.) 1, delo (d.) 983, list'ia (ll.) 34-43 (Memorandum about the needs of trade and industry submitted to Privy Councellor I. P. Shipov by the Committee of Harbin Stock Exchange, 1906).

16 RGIA, f. 323, op. 1, d. 983, l. 34.

17 For the general economic development in the CER zone and Harbin from 1906 to 1917, see Nilus, *Kitaiskaia Vostochnaia Zheleznaia Doroga*, 386–91; Quested, *"'Matey' Imperialists?"*, 209–31. For a brief history of the economy of Harbin until 1923, see S.T. Ternavskii, ed., *Ves' Kharbin na 1923 god. Adresnaia i spravochnaia kniga* (Kharbin: Tip. Kitaiskoi Vostochnoi zheleznoi dorogi, 1925), 94–9.

18 British Foreign Office: No. 5035. *Report for the Year 1911 on the Commercial Conditions in North Manchuria and the Trade of Harbin*, in particular, 3; Quested, *"Matey" Imperialists?*, 214; Wolff, *To the Harbin Station*, 18.

19 See Ines Prodöhl, "'A Miracle Bean': How Soy Conquered the West, 1909–1950," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 46 (2010): 111–29; ‚Ines Prodöhl, "Dynamiken globaler Vernetzung: Mandschurische Sojabohnen auf dem Weltmarkt," *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* 61/2 (2013): 75–89; Ines Prodöhl, "Versatile and Cheap: A Global History of Soy in the First Half of the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Global History* 8/3 (2013): 461–82.

Manchurian Railway – was very conducive to rapid economic development. Secondly, after the end of the Russo-Japanese War the city visibly opened up to non-Russian foreigners and international trade; within a short space of time it had attracted investors and business people from all over the world.[20] And thirdly, the city's population grew very quickly within just a few years, as outlined above. For wholesalers, merchants, entrepreneurs, and bankers, the newly founded, prospering northeastern Chinese city, which was eager for goods and services of all kinds, represented a welcome business opportunity.

Against the backdrop of this enormous economic growth and massive immigration from many countries, the Russian-Chinese frontier town developed quickly into a real multicultural and cosmopolitan city. As early as 1913 (that is, only fifteen years after its foundation) 53 nationalities or ethnic groups, among them Russians, Chinese, Jews, Japanese, Koreans, Poles, Austro-Hungarians, Germans, British, Turks, and Greeks as well as forty-five languages were represented in Harbin.[21] Many of the different national and ethnic communities that lived in Harbin had their own schools, other educational, religious and social facilities, including political parties and clubs, as well as their own press. A diverse cultural life evolved in the city where achievements of European culture, such as a symphony orchestra, a concert hall, an opera house and theater, stood next to cultural and traditional institutions of Chinese, Manchu, and Japanese origin. Cultural and ethnic segregation was less distinct than in other multicultural cities like Shanghai. In this respect, Joshua A. Fogel makes a valid point when he speaks of Harbin as a "melting pot."[22]

Another typical feature of Harbin was its character as a cultural contact zone situated at the crossroads between the Far East, Siberia, and Europe.[23] As many contemporary sources have emphasized, Harbin constituted a door to China for Russia.[24] In fact, European-Asian or Russian-Asian encounters formed the city's "peculiar" character. These Eastern European and Asian characteristics stood side by side and penetrated one another. At the same time, contemporary viewers characterized Harbin as a frontier town and stressed the presence of borders.[25] Borders – geographical, political, or cultural – were as much a part of daily life in Harbin as the crossing of borders or boundaries. Despite being situated more than 500 km from the Chinese-Russian border, Harbin can nevertheless be understood as a "border town." This is particularly true in view of its multiethnic population and diverse cultural lifestyles, especially those of the Russo-European, Chinese, and, in later years, Japanese population groups that came together and notably

20 British Foreign Office: No. 5035. *Report for the Year 1911 on the Commercial Conditions in North Manchuria and the Trade of Harbin*, 3.

21 See Olga Bakich, "Russian Émigrés in Harbin's Multinational Past: Censuses and Identity," 83–99, 86–7.

22 Joshua A. Fogel, "Integrating into Chinese Society: A Comparison of the Japanese Communities of Shanghai and Harbin," in *Japan's Competing Modernities: Issue in Culture and Democracy, 1900–1930*, ed. Sharon A. Minichiello (Honolulu: Universtity of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 61.

23 K. A. Poliukhov-Morozenko, ed., *Putevoditel' po Dal'nemu Vostoku* (Harbin 1925), 17.

24 See, for example, "Charbin," in *Der Große Brockhaus* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 15th ed.,1929), 3: 734.

25 Ibid., 734.

shaped the city.[26] However, Harbin occupied a border position not just in view of its ethnic and cultural diversity but also from a political-administrative standpoint. The 1896 Sino-Russian Treaty, which provided for the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway and authorized a right-of-way zone (*polosa otchuzhdeniia*) under CER control or as a de facto Russian concession area, formed the legal basis for the existence of Harbin and other settlements along the CER tracks.[27] Until around 1907, Harbin was more or less under direct Russian rule and law. After 1907, as a result of Russia's defeat in the war against Japan and because of Chinese and international criticism of Russia's predominant position in northern Manchuria, Harbin developed into an international city of treaty port character.[28] Residents who were not subjects of China were granted extraterritorial rights and consular jurisdiction within the city.[29] With the continuous strengthening of Chinese power in North Manchuria and Harbin during the 1920s, Russian and other "foreign" citizens lost these privileges. Before China gained sovereignty over the city in the second half of the 1920s, mixed Russian-Chinese courts were established to deal with offences committed by Chinese citizens on Harbin territory. In contrast, the neighboring Chinese settlement Fujiadian was under Chinese administration and jurisdiction. Directly adjacent to Harbin and separated only by the railway tracks, Fujiadian quickly grew to the size of a town. Until 1932 it was under Chinese control and only became part of the city of Harbin under Japanese rule within the newly founded state of Manchukuo. Despite the administrative and cultural borders separating Harbin and Fujiadian on a day-to-day basis, in particular in the area of trade, the two towns were closely intertwined. A significant and growing number of Chinese who were employed in Harbin as workers or traders lived in cheaper Fujiadian, which lay within walking distance of the central areas of Harbin. The close to 30,000 "border crossings" that occurred daily between Fujiadian and Harbin-Pristan' in 1911 are impressive evidence that, particularly for the countless commuters, a high level of mobility between the two neighboring cities was part of everyday life.[30] However, the border situation of close proximity between two

26 In fact, with regard to many aspects or areas like politics and administration, religion and nationality, ideologies and education, mass media and daily social practices, Harbin could justifiably be interpreted as a border town in Northeast Asia beyond the traditional understanding of geographical or state borders. See, Frank Grüner, Susanne Hohler and Sören Urbansky, "Borders in Imperial Times: Daily Life and Urban Spaces in Northeast Asia," *Comparativ*, 22/5 (2012): 7–13.

27 See Bakich, "A Russian City in China," 132.

28 British Foreign Office: No. 5035. *Report for the Year 1911 on the Commercial Conditions in North Manchuria and the Trade of Harbin*, 3. See also Wolff, *To the Harbin Station*, 94; Zatsepine, "Russia, Railways, and Urban Development in Manchuria," 30. For the importance of treaty ports with regard to the "opening" and socio-cultural transformation of China, see, among others, Robert Bickers, *Britain in China: Community, Culture, and Colonialism, 1900–1949* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); John K. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy in the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842–1854.* 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953); Roads Murphy, "The Treaty Ports and China's Modernization," in *The Chinese City Between two Worlds,* eds. Mark Elvin and G. William Skinner (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), 17–71.

29 For the role of extraterritoriality and consular jurisdiction in China and Japan during the nineteenth century, see Par Kristoffer Cassel, *Grounds of Judgment: Extraterritoriality and Imperial Power in Nineteenth-Century China and Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

30 See David Wolff, "Russia Finds Its Limits: Crossing Borders into Manchuria," in *Rediscovering Russia in Asia: Siberia*

de facto districts, with their different administration and differing legal systems, enabled many inhabitants to circumvent Harbin's diverse trade and business regulations in neighbouring Fujiadian without forgoing the advantage of location. Products like high-proof alcohol and opium were traded to a large extent in Fujiadian, which, not surprisingly, had a direct effect on the situation in Harbin. There was also a large concentration of semi-legal and illegal services and businesses in Fujiadian, particularly prostitution and gambling, as well as establishments in which opium, morphine, and other narcotics were consumed. While the border between Harbin and Fujiadian in the "normal" practice of day-to-day life was very porous and not ostensibly evident, its significance became dramatically apparent during crisis situations like, for example, the great pneumonic plague epidemic in northern Manchuria (1910/11). During this crisis Harbin's Russian authorities temporarily closed the access route between the two cities to the Chinese population and thereby effectively isolated Fujiadian from the outside world.

Since the aim of this paper is to look more closely at the cross-border activities of transnational agents, individuals, and groups of people who can be roughly described as adventurers or as dubious or criminal characters, let us first turn our attention to adventurism and "dark side" of the city.

## The "Dark Side" of Life in Harbin

It can be assumed that Harbin did not lack for adventurers and criminal elements of all kinds throughout its eventful history not least its multicultural period, which lasted until the founding of the People's Republic of China in the year 1949.[31] Numerous journals and memoirs as well as contemporary press paint a vivid picture of the activities that marked the dark side of city life. These included: dubious entrepreneurial characters and speculators; people running opium dens, gambling halls, and brothels; smugglers and black market traders; thieves, murderers, extortionists, human traffickers, and other gangsters, which were by all accounts rife in Harbin.[32] The seemingly unlimited economic possibilities presented by the booming city with its, at least temporarily, insatiable

*and the Russian Far East,* eds. Stephan Kotkin and David Wolff (Armonk and London: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), 40–54, 46.

31 During the first half of the twentieth century, in particular, Manchuria and Harbin were characterized by the presence of manifold cultural exchange processes and transcultural entanglements in areas like administration, economy, ideas, ideologies, culture, media and daily life. See Dan Ben-Canaan, Frank Grüner and Ines Prodöhl eds., *Entangled Histories: The Transcultural Past of Northeast China*, 1–11.

32 See among others Maurice Baring, *With the Russians in Manchuria*; Israel Cohen, *The Journal of a Jewish Traveller* (London: John Lane Bodley Head LTD, 1924); Fraser, *Real Siberia, together with an Account of a Dash through Manchuria*; Sam Ginsbourg, *My First Sixty Years in China* (Beijing: New World Press, 1982); Xiao Hong, *Market Street: A Chinese Woman in Harbin* (Seattle, London: University of Washington Press, 1986); Karlinsky, "Memoirs of Harbin"; Yaacov Liberman, *My China: Jewish Life in the Orient 1900–1950* (Jerusalem, New York: Gefen Publishing House LTD, 1998); Mara Moustafine, *Secret and Spions: The Harbin Files* (Sydney, New York: Vintage, 2002); Amleto Vespa, *Secret Agent of Japan: A Handbook to Japanese Imperialism* (London: Little, Brown & Co., 1938); Yakobson, *Crossing Borders*.

appetite for goods and services of all kinds, the regular political agitation and regime changes, the legal-administrative overlaps and gray areas, as well as the complex legal regulations and special rules for non-Chinese citizens that were in force in Harbin as part of the Russian railway zone on Chinese territory clearly held great appeal for these social groups and individuals.

The fact that in the first years of its existence Harbin was inhabited primarily by railroad workers of various nationalities (in particular Russians and Chinese), employees of the CER, and soldiers in the Russian army decisively shaped the social conditions of the city from 1898 to the first years after the Russo-Japanese War (1904/05). In a society that was characterized by a significant male majority and the excessive dreariness of day-to-day life in a settlement that was "in the middle of nowhere," it is hardly surprising that prostitution, alcoholism, opium consumption, gambling, and criminality were widespread.[33] Alcohol and prostitution, often in connection with hooliganism and criminality, experienced a boom during the Russo-Japanese War.[34] In general, the situation in Harbin was exacerbated during the war years when around 100,000 soldiers in the Russian military were based in the town intermittently. This was in addition to the approximately 60,000 residents of the city (a further 40,000 inhabitants lived in the neighboring Chinese settlement Fujiadian) that had to be provided for.[35]

The number of cases of sexually transmitted diseases, like syphilis and gonorrhea, rose steeply from the end of the 1890s onward and reveal how widespread prostitution was amongst the inhabitants of Harbin.[36] Although a certain degree of "normalization" set in between 1910 and 1915 with the dynamic development and urbanization of Harbin in the years after 1905 and the establishment of municipal self-administration in 1907,[37] drug consumption, particularly the consumption of alcohol among the Russian population and of opium and morphine among the Chinese, continued to form one of the city's gravest social problems.[38]

Nevertheless, within just a few years Harbin had blossomed from a bleak railroad workers' and soldiers' nest to a proper town with a selection of sophisticated pursuits and an even larger variety of light entertainment. Amusement in Harbin no longer comprised just cheap brothels, saloons, and opium dens, but now included high-class hotels, restaurants, a theater, cinemas, music halls, bars, other music venues, and dance cafés, which sprang up like mushrooms to satisfy the population's growing demand and hunger for entertainment.[39] Despite the high prices and cost of living in Harbin, which contempo-

33 See Quested, *"Matey" Imperialists?*, 101; Wolff, *To the Harbin Station*, 38.
34 Ibid., 122.
35 See Bakich, "A Russian City in China", 142; Clausen and Thøgersen, *The Making of a Chinese City*, 32.
36 Wolff, *To the Harbin Station*, 38–9.
37 See Quested, *"Matey" Imperialists?*, 257–8.
38 Ibid., 274–5.
39 Ibid., 256–60.

rary witnesses often reported on,[40] these kinds of establishments seem to have been well frequented:

> *But despite the high cost of living many people seemed to maintain a lofty standard, their bountiful* hors d'oeuvre *surpassing an ordinary man's dinner.* […] *There were a few theatres but many picture palaces with thrilling American films, and a perfect plethora of cabarets. These midnight "concert halls," as they were euphemistically designated were advertised as "gay, brilliant and cosy," some of them offering the further attraction of "plenty of air." It was here that the gilded youth, cosmopolitan adventurers, and the* demi-monde*, with the bourgeois in search of Bohemian pleasures, foregathered to eat, drink and be merry whilst songs and dances of dubious virtue were rendered to the strains of a jazz band. But the more serious element belonged either to the Railway Official's Club or the Commercial Club, though even here baccarat was played into the small hours, devoted wives sitting beside their husbands at the green-baize tables until fatigue or losses drove them home.*[41]

It nevertheless became apparent in numerous cases that the transitions between light entertainment and semi-legal or illegal business were very fluid, particularly with respect to gambling, prostitution, and drug consumption. However, the regular attempts made by the Russian CER authorities and the municipal administration to stamp out (or at least strictly limit) prostitution, drug consumption, and gambling often led to these being driven underground or into illegality. The number of establishments and people who earned their living in these professions is presumed to have increased further in the following years, not least because of the dynamic population growth.

In principle, prostitution, gambling, and the trade of opium, morphine, and heroin were carried out in Harbin (and Fujiadian) by people of practically all nationalities, which included in many cases, Russians, Jews, Chinese and Japanese, who worked closely together in these fields. However, the majority of people running the brothels, gambling saloons, and in particular the opium dens – though they were not necessarily the owners – are thought to have been Chinese (even though Russians, Jews, Japanese, and Koreans, among others, also became heavily involved in this business). In the 1930s, during the Manchukuo regime, the Japanese played a leading role in the city as property owners and managers of establishments for prostitution, gambling, and drug consumption, while on a day-to-day basis the businesses were more often run by Chinese or even Koreans.[42]

Under these kinds of conditions the fact that a high level of criminality was practically a constant feature of day-to-day life in Harbin, is hardly surprising. Indeed, as early as the period of the Russo-Japanese War, Harbin already had a noticeably high crime rate.[43] At

40 See also Cohen, *The Journal of a Jewish Traveller*, 165; Baring, *With the Russians in Manchuria*, 34.

41 Cohen, *The Journal of a Jewish Traveller*, 165–6.

42 See Kathryn Meyer, "Garden of Grand Vision: Economic Life in a Flophouse Complex: Harbin, China 1940." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 36/3 (2001): 327–52.

43 See Wolff, *To the Harbin Station*, 121ff.

this time (1905), the aforementioned British journalist Maurice Baring noted deprecatingly after visiting the city that "The population of Harbin consists almost entirely of ex-convicts and Chinamen."[44] And, after describing a range of unpalatable details from the day-to-day life of Harbin, the Englishman, who was reporting on the Russo-Japanese War for the London *Morning Post* in the years 1904/05, concluded his portrayal of the city on the Songhua River with the following scathing assessment: "The authority of the police in Kharbin seems to be non-existent. Kharbin is now called the Chicago of the East. This is not a compliment to Chicago."[45] Baring was by no means alone in his evaluation. The American consul general in Tientsin also sent Fred Fisher, the diplomatic representative of the USA in Harbin, a travel report that painted a rather unfavourable picture of the city:

> *Harbin like Dalny, was built by order. The mush-room growth of the city was only rendered possible by the presence of the troops and the great number of railway employes. The large non-official foreign population was composed of army and railway contractors, sutlers, shop-keepers and those who amused them and catered to their wants. Since the withdrawal of the troops, therefore, business is pracically dead. Save for the flour mills, which constitute the one productive enterprise at Harbin, the city is living on itself. The Railway, upon whose employes and guards the townspeople must now depend, is operated at a loss of over a million roubles a month. Salaries are sometimes weeks in arrears. No attempt is made to attract a legitimate freight traffic although goods might well be imported through Vladivostok and sent via Harbin to the North Manchurian markets.*
> *Although in the throes of "hard times" Harbin can boast more restaurants, cafes, theatres, and other places of amusement than either Shanghai or Hongkong. The wealth of the community is not, it is safe to say, ten per cent of that of either of the two places mentioned. Ex-convicts from Saghalien (Sakhalin), Greeks, Caucasians, Circassians, of the worst type batten on the town. Robberies and murders are frequent. People go armed at night and it is unsafe for a woman to venture out unattended after sunset, while the insufficient and underpaid police force is either in league, or unable to cope, with the criminal classes. Living is high, rents exorbitant, and the commercial outlook at present barren.*[46]

Although conditions in Harbin stabilized to a certain extent over the years under the municipal administration established in 1908 by the CER management, overall the general crime rate remained very high. In fact, at the start of 1920 the total number of crimes increased significantly in comparison with the number from the previous year. *Zaria*, Harbin's daily newspaper, held various factors responsible for this rise in criminality,

44 Baring, *With the Russians in Manchuria*, 34.

45 Ibid., 35.

46 U.S. Consul General to Fred D. Fisher, American Consul, Mukden, China, December 12, 1907, with enclosed report on "The trip from Mukden to Vladivostok and political conditions in Northern Manchuria"; Consular Posts: Harbin, Manchuria, China; Vol. 22: Despatches received from Consulates; Vol. I: 1906 to 1907, 211–22, 214-15; RG 84); NACP.

including the political events and upheavals that had taken place in Russia after the Revolution of 1917, which had supposedly resulted in countless "criminal elements" being freed from Russian prisons, many of whom allegedly made their way to Harbin.[47] The newspaper went on to claim that besides the influx of thousands of people, the presence of various (military and other) units of troops and other groups as well as the disarmament of the Russian police (i.e. the railway guards) were additional important reasons for the increase in criminality.[48] In this context, it is interesting to note that in Harbin – presumably following the example of America – a private detective agency was established in the year 1920 to solve crimes.[49] The overall impression was that the loss of Russian governance over the railway zone under the Chinese-Russian administration after 1920 resulted in an increase of murders, abductions, extortion, muggings, drug-related crime, theft, smuggling, and black market trade as well as all possible forms of petty crime during the 1920s and 1930s. The impression that Harbin represented an extraordinary adventurous and dangerous place was also shared by the French journalist Gabrielle Bertrand who visited the "Chicago of the East" in 1936:

> *After two days in Harbin, when you have been instructed about what is hidden under the swarming of the surprising and dangerous city, surpassing in audacity, in gangsters, in intrigues, in follies, the worst of American Chicagos … you won't abandon yourself without circumspection to the exhilarating charm of its streets. Kidnapping and murder are played out in the open on all chords and scales. Sometimes, the adventure resembles more a vaudeville, but, often, it can end up with tragedy. What a city!*[50]

The intensifying economic and social conditions in the city, a consequence of the global economic crisis, which had been acutely affecting Manchuria since the late 1920s, had combined with the almost insurmountable political tensions and rifts in Harbin society to create a climate in which political adventurism, nationalism, and extremism were able to thrive easily.

## Adventurers, Shady Characters, and Criminals: Three Case Studies

In the following discussion I will demonstrate, on the basis of three concrete examples, the different forms of cross-border activities and transnational biographies – individuals or those of certain groups of actors or networks – that can be identified with regards to the "dark side" of Harbin. An overview will be given of: (1) the criminal dealings of a married couple, calling themselves Schimmel, who traded in girls internationally and

47 *Zaria*, no. 58, June 25, 1920, 4.
48 Ibid., 4.
49 Ibid., 4.
50 Gabrielle Bertrand, *Seule dans l'Asie troublée. Mandchoukuo-Mongolie 1936–1937* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1937), 55. English text quoted from Thomas Lahusen, "A Place Called Harbin: Reflections on a Centennial," *The China Quarterly* 154 (1998): 400–10, 405.

ran a brothel in Harbin; (2) the semi-legal and partly illegal gambling business of J.A. Foster; and (3) the criminal networks of organized opium smuggling between Russia and China.

## I

The case of the Schimmel or Schemmel couple demonstrates the extent to which internationally operating criminals were able, when carrying out their criminal activities, to make purposeful use of legal loopholes. It also reveals the ambiguities and overlapping jurisdictions of various states and authorities in an international setting, in this case in colonial China.

At the end of July 1911, Constant Schimmel was arrested by the French authorities in the Chinese city of Tientsin while attempting to force a prostitute who had fled from a Harbin brothel to return to Harbin. Interestingly, Schimmel was exposed because he, quite brazenly, attempted to enlist assistance from the diplomatic representative of France in claiming the girl:

> *Schimmel came here on July 26, and stopped at the Astor House, representing himself as a mining prospector. He went into the French Concession, among the houses of ill fame, and found a French girl whom he and his alleged wife had taken from Paris and had forced into a life of shame. It was this girl he came to Tientsin to find, and to take back to Harbin with him. To get rid of him, she promised to go. On the morning of the 27th he called at the house to get her, but was handed a note from her by the landlady, in which she refused to go with him. Schimmel then went to the French consul. He claimed to be a French subject, and asked the aid of the consul in securing this girl. He said he had come out from Paris at the request of her parents to take her away from a life of shame and bring her home. The French police interviewed the girl, and fortunately believed her rather than Schimmel. The latter was arrested, and the baggage seized.*[51]

At first the authorities (the diplomatic representatives of the USA and France in Harbin, Tientsin, and Beijing), who were investigating both persons under the charge of white-slave trafficking and pimping, were not able to clarify with any certainty the identity of Schimmel and his wife, both of whom, by all accounts, came from France. According to his own statements, Schimmel was not a French but an American citizen from Seattle who had married in Butte, Montana.[52] The American consul in Harbin, Roger Greene, testified that although Schimmel spoke with a French accent, he possessed an American passport with the name "FAC Schemmel," called himself a "mining prospector," and claimed American birth.[53] Despite the authenticity of the documents, which were

51 U.S. Consul General to Roger S. Greene, U.S. Consul in Harbin, Tientsin, China, July 29, 1911 (U.S. Consul General to Greene); Consular Posts: Harbin, Manchuria, China; Vol. 26: Despatches Received from Consulates; Vol. V: 1911, 243–46, 244 (Vol. 26, Despatches Received from Consulates, 1911, 243–46); RG 84; NACP.

52 U.S. Consul General to Greene; Vol. 26, Despatches Received from Consulates, 1911, 245; RG 84; NACP.

53 Ibid., 243.

established by the American consul general in Tientsin, the authorities remained doubtful about the legality of Schimmel's American citizenship.[54] One way or another, the diplomatic representatives of the USA were responsible for the case in accordance with the prevailing policy of consular jurisdiction for foreign citizens in the Chinese treaty ports and the other concession areas of foreign powers on Chinese territory, which also included the Russian railroad zone in northern Manchuria. It was on this basis that the French representative handed the case over to the Americans.

At the time of Schimmel's arrest at the end of July 1911, he and his wife were already on record as criminals in several countries including France and Russia. Schimmel was particularly well known to the French police. According to information from the American consul general, who was dealing with the case, Schimmel was indicted for white-slave traffic in France and was wanted all over the world.[55] However, due to his legal status as an American citizen it was almost impossible to extradite him from China or from foreign concessions in China.

Schimmel appears to have operated internationally in his criminal business dealings and was presumably also part of an international network of criminals that made money in human trafficking and pimping.[56] In addition, according to information from the Russian consul general in Tientsin, Schimmel had spent some time in prison in Vladivostok for "procuration of a girl."[57] In the area of pimping and prostitution, Schimmel and his wife Marie, who was also called Marie Germain, worked together closely. The latter most likely came from Paris; she met her husband during a series of business trips to North Africa, accompanied him to Moscow and the Far East of Russia as well as China, and for a time (probably in the years 1908 to 1911) ran a brothel in Harbin.[58]

In August 1911 two further women who were employed by the Schimmels as prostitutes were questioned by the American consul general in Tientsin. Their testimony filled out the picture of the Schimmels' larger criminal activities.[59] According to these witness statements, Schimmel hired young women in various towns and led them into prostitution, this included working for the brothel that his wife Marie was running. It appears that later Marie Schimmel also worked as a prostitute, at least for a time. After leaving Paris they apparently first travelled to Moscow where Marie attempted to open a brothel. She was not successful; the Schimmels traveled on to Vladivostok and Khabarovsk with the girls whom they had selected. However, in both of these cities, their attempts to open a house of ill repute seemed to have been equally unsuccessful. It was only when they

54 Ibid., 244.
55 Ibid., 245.
56 Ibid., 245.
57 U.S. Consul General to Roger S. Greene, U.S. Consul in Harbin, Tientsin, China, August 2, 1911 (U.S. Consul General to Greene); Consular Posts: Harbin, Manchuria, China; Vol. 26: Despatches Received from Consulates; Vol. V: 1911, 251 (Vol. 26, Despatches Received from Consulates, 1911, 251); RG 84; NACP.
58 U.S. Consul General to Greene; Vol. 26, Despatches Received from Consulates, 1911, 245–46; RG 84; NACP.
59 Affidavits of Marthe Levillain and Marie Chesneau in Schemmel case at the American General Consulate; Tientsin, China, August 5, 1911; Consular Posts: Harbin, Manchuria, China; Vol. 26: Despatches Received from Consulates; Vol. V: 1911, 289–91; RG 84; NACP.

reached Harbin, which was for the time being the last station on their journey through the Far East, that Marie Schimmel finally succeeded, in 1908, in opening an establishment.

Further investigations confirmed the authorities' original suspicion that Marie Germain from France and Marie Schimmel or Schemmel were the same person. Like her husband, Marie Germain (aka Marie Schimmel) was in possession of an American passport and had attempted some time before – without success – to obtain a guarantee or protection from the American representative in Harbin for her enterprise, as she had evidently come into conflict with the Russian authorities.[60] She did not agree to pay taxes for her business in Harbin and left the town. Only a short time after her departure from Harbin at the beginning of August 1911, Marie Schimmel turned up again in Tientsin, apparently looking for her missing husband.[61] However, according to the assessment of the American consulate general, Marie Germain (aka Marie Schimmel) was in fact attempting to bring a French girl, who had presumably worked in her Harbin brothel, back to Tientsin for her husband's business purposes.[62] At this point, the investigations of the American and French authorities against the Schimmels in China had already picked up pace, but the American diplomats feared that they would not be able to try the Schimmels before the American consular court due to a potential legal loophole:

> *Mr. Davies, Clerk of the U.S. Court for China, arrived this afternoon, to assist in this case, in the absence of Dr. Hinckley. Schimmel will probably be brought up for examination on Monday. The difficulty is, that there is no law of the United States, the District of Columbia, or of Alaska, which covers white slavery and procuration for this traffic. I very much fear we shall have to bring Schimmel up on a charge of vagrancy.*[63]

In the subsequent process before the American consular court, the ambiguities about whether Schemmel could be tried in China for white-slave traffic proved advantageous for the defendant.

> *I write you to inform you of the outcome of the Schemmel case, which was pertly stated in previous letters. Mr. Davies and I considered that we had a good case against Schemmel, of the White-slave Traffic Act of June 25, 1910, applies to China. (Statutes of the U.S., 61st Congress, 2d Session: Part I, page 825.) We telegraphed to Dr. Hinckley, at Chuzenji, Japan, asking the question. Having no reply in more than three days, Schimmel was tried on Aug. 9 under the vagrancy laws; found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of $100, gold, and to be imprisoned in Shanghai jail for sixty days.* […]

60 Roger S. Greene, U.S. Consul, to F. Romero, Consular Agent of France, August 3, 1911; Consular Posts: Harbin, Manchuria, China; Vol. 26: Despatches Received from Consulates; Vol. V: 1911, 247–48, 247); RG 84; NACP.

61 U.S. Consul General to Roger S. Greene, U.S Consul in Harbin, Tientsin, China, August 4, 1911 (U.S. Consul General to Greene); Consular Posts: Harbin, Manchuria, China; Vol. 26: Despatches Received from Consulates; Vol. V: 1911, 256–57 (Vol. 26, Despatches Received from Consulates, 1911, 256–57); RG 84; NACP.

62 U.S. Consul General to Greene, Vol. 26, Despatches Received from Consulates, 1911, 256–57.

63 Ibid., 257.

> *The next morning after the trial, a message arrived from Hinckley, saying in effect the law applies to China. Unfortunately it was too late for us.*[64]

The juridical information about the fact that Schimmel could not be tried for white-slave traffic by an American consular court in China did not reach the American general consul until August 19, 1911, one day after the hearing of the Schimmel case and its comparatively mild verdict of "vagrancy."[65] It appears that a continuation or renewal of the trial against Schimmel was impossible. Marie Germain (aka Schimmel) got off even more lightly than her husband (that is, completely unpunished) because ultimately it was not possible to prove that she had committed any criminal act.[66]

## II

It should be stated that the extremely complex and to some extent ambiguous legal situation combined with the fact that jurisdictions were disputed by the various states created ideal conditions for "international adventurers" to successfully pursue their semi-legal or illegal business in the realms of gambling, prostitution, and drug trafficking.

Gambling is said to have been even more popular and widespread in Harbin than prostitution. Indeed, quite a lot has been written about the inclination of the Chinese towards gambling in all of its forms, and gambling doubtless also represented a phenomenon that was of great significance for the whole of China. In Harbin and Fujiadian all types of gambling could be found – in the streets, in bars, as well as in special gambling saloons – and overall it can be said that the differing needs and financial means of customers from all social classes were generously catered to. On the streets of the city the Chinese dominated while in the casinos and behind the scenes, where larger sums of money were involved, the gambling was comparatively international, both with respect to the managers of the respective establishments and their visitors. Whereas gambling had a centuries-old tradition in China and was, for the most part, tolerated until the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Russians met it with disapproval, and the authorities in Harbin made every effort to prohibit these kinds of ventures. In reality, the scope of the endeavour to eliminate gambling in the railway zone, which was dominated by the Russians until 1924, was very limited, particularly in Harbin where the managers of gambling enterprises could slip into neighbouring Chinese Fujiadian or, alternately, indicate their immunity as foreign citizens in Harbin since these activities were covered by the diplomatic representatives of the responsible countries on the basis of extraterritorial rights. The latter scenario is demonstrated in the example of a casino that opened its

64 U.S. Consul General to Roger S. Greene, U.S Consul in Harbin, Tientsin, China, August 12, 1911 (U.S. Consul General to Greene); Consular Posts: Harbin, Manchuria, China; Vol. 26: Despatches Received from Consulates; Vol. V: 1911, 263–65, 263 (Vol. 26, Despatches Received from Consulates, 1911, 263–65); RG 84; NACP.

65 U.S. Consul General to Roger S. Greene, U.S Consul in Harbin, Tientsin, China, August 14, 1911 (U.S. Consul General to Greene); Consular Posts: Harbin, Manchuria, China; Vol. 26: Despatches Received from Consulates; Vol. V: 1911, 266–67 (Vol. 26, Despatches Received from Consulates, 1911, 266–67); RG 84; NACP.

66 U.S. Consul General to Greene, Vol. 26, Despatches Received from Consulates, 1911, 263–64; RG 84; NACP.

doors to the Harbin population in May 1909. In its article "A New Gambling Resort," the Russian-language Harbin newspaper *Novaia Zhizn'* reported on a case of this kind and made no secret of its general aversion to the newly opened gambling establishment:

> *A new gambling resort has been opened in the Pristan under the name of "The International Club"; the club is devoted to roulette. In the club are posted placards stating that "Only Members are Admitted," but a membership ticket, on which you can write your name if you wish, is given to every one that puts down a ruble or so. In the "club" there is nothing suggestive of a club, except a few newspapers. Play continues all night; cognac and cold drinks are served free to the visitors, which is easy to account for as it is not so difficult to rob a man who has been drinking.*[67]

The international dimension of this matter is especially pertinent to this article and did not escape the attention of the reporter of *Novaia Zhizn'*:

> *On Sunday, the first day that the club was opened, as many as 300 persons visited the place, bringing their contributions to the international adventurers. One cannot but wonder how it happens that the public is allowed to be robbed in the very center of the city. All kinds of games of chance are prohibited, and especially roulette. Laborers and clerks have already lost their last farthings. If loto has already done us so much harm, what may we say of roulette? A comparatively harmless shooting gallery opened on Kitaiskaya Street, was immediately closed. One can imagine what sort of scenes are likely to be enacted in the "club" if the Chinese, well known for their gambling propensities, begin to flock there. Both the Russian and the Chinese authorities should take measures for the immediate closing of this abominable establishment, before it costs the people something more than a few thousands in a single day. Let the international parasites take themselves off Russian territory to some other place and there rob the credulous who bring their all to enrich the adventurers. There must be no delay. On the second day the "club" was filled to overflowing. We must not wait till the suicides of the ruined begin. If we want to resemble a civilized town it will not do for us to maintain a Monaco in our midst.*[68]

The dramatic way in which *Novaia Zhizn'* denounced the "international adventurers" and "international parasites" on "Russian territory"[69] [!] is striking. The aggressive terminology chosen by the newspaper can be readily understood within the wider context of a critique of cosmopolitanism that was widespread in late tsarist Russia,[70] but it was sur-

67 *Novaia Zhizn'*, May 4, 1909 [April 21, 1909, o.s.].

68 Ibid.

69 The fact that the Russians in Harbin and Manchuria generally felt like they were on their "own territory" is representative of the common perspective among the Russian population at least until 1918, even though this by no means corresponded to the political and internationally recognized status.

70 With respect to the negative conceptualization of "cosmopolitans" in Russian and Soviet history, see Frank Grüner, "'Russia's Battle against the Foreign'. The Anti-Cosmopolitanism Paradigm in Russian and Soviet Ideology," *European Review of History – Revue européenne d'histoire* 17/3 (2010): 445–72. For political concepts and ideologies in tsarist Russia and Germany until 1933, characterized by anti-modernist, anti-capitalist, and anti-Semitic approaches, see also Heinz-Dietrich Löwe, *Antisemitismus und reaktionäre Utopie. Russischer Konservatismus im*

prising, at least in the period before the Russian Revolution of 1917, or in other words before the large-scale migration of anti-Bolshevist "Whites," to find these sentiments in a place like Harbin where a particularly large number of enterprisers of all kinds from all over the Russian Empire and the world were unabashedly seeking their fortunes.

However, the polemics directed by the Russian press against the "international adventurers" do not appear to have been totally unfounded. The actual or alleged internationality and citizenship of the gambling saloon's manager did in fact raise a series of questions that in the end could not be clarified unequivocally. Therefore, it was not only the CER and Harbin's city administration that become involved in the complex case, but also various consulates based in Harbin, above all the American consulate, the Russian consulate general, and the Spanish embassy. The Russian Consulate General wrote to the Acting Spanish Consul, Mr. F. Romero de Quadra, asking him to take measures to close the establishment immediately.[71]

According to the American consul's estimation of this matter, which can be assumed to be correct, Foster made use of his illegally acquired Spanish documents in order to operate his gambling establishment without being brought to justice by the British embassy or, in its place, the American consul in Harbin.[72] In accordance with the prevailing principle of consular jurisdiction for foreign citizens in the CER zone, in this case the relevant British diplomatic mission would have been responsible for Foster.

Since it was evidently not possible to prove the illegitimacy of Foster's Spanish documents due to the Spanish consul's support of his activities (or since the consul for whatever reason did not want to confirm it) the British and American diplomats' hands were tied in the matter.[73] It appears that the Russian authorities were not prepared to accept the (feigned) immunity of the "Spanish citizen," Foster, and several days later members of the Russian railway guards forced their way into the Harbin casino, interrogated Foster against his will, and seized the roulette wheel.[74] The actions of the Russians immediately provoked protest by the Spanish consul, who had been brought in to deal with the matter and with the "unlawful course of action" of the Russian railway police, as well as demands that they refrain from such measures in the future.[75] Since the Russian consulate general would not hear the Spanish envoy's protest he turned to the Harbin

*Kampf gegen den Wandel von Staat und Gesellschaft* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1978); Matthew Lange, *Antisemitic Elements in the Critique of Capitalism in German Culture 1850–1933* (Oxford: Lang, 2007).

71 Roger Greene, U.S. Consul, to W.W. Rockhill, American Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Harbin, China, May 5, 1909 (Greene to Rockhill); Consular Posts: Harbin, Manchuria, China; Vol. 11: Despatches sent to the Legation; Vol. I: 1906 to 1909, 447 (Vol. 11, Despatches sent to Legation, 1906–1909, 447); RG 84; NACP.

72 A British consulate only existed in Harbin from the beginning of 1910. In the years prior to this British commissarial interests were handled by the American representative.

73 Greene to Rockhill; Consular Posts: Harbin, Manchuria, China; Vol. 11, Despatches sent to Legation, 1906–1909, 448; RG 84; NACP.

74 Roger Greene, U.S. Consul, to W.W. Rockhill, American Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Harbin, China, May 8, 1909 (Greene to Rockhill); Consular Posts: Harbin, Manchuria, China; Vol. 11: Despatches sent to the Legation; Vol. I: 1906 to 1909, 451–54 (Vol. 11, Despatches sent to Legation, 1906–1909, 451–54); RG 84; NACP.

75 Greene to Rockhill; Consular Posts: Harbin, Manchuria, China; Vol. 11, Despatches sent to Legation, 1906–1909, 451–52; RG 84; NACP.

consulates of other nations with requests for support in the matter.[76] As a result of the efforts of the Spanish diplomat, the Japanese consul general, T. Kawakami, invited the diplomatic representatives of Russia, Spain, Belgium, France, and the USA to an "informal" meeting.[77] At this meeting the attendant Russian vice-consul conceded that an "illegal course of action" had been taken by the railway police against Foster and confirmed that the items confiscated from the casino would be returned to the owner along with a letter of apology for the inappropriate actions of the railway militia.[78] In addition, the Russian vice-consul announced that there would be an investigation into the actions of the railway guards. As the American consul later reported to his superior in Beijing, the Spanish diplomat was not satisfied with the Russian general consulate's letter as it did not contain any apology but only promises to investigate the matter.[79] By all accounts, the Russian diplomats appeared again to be justifying the actions taken against Foster and his casino through the Spanish consulate's reluctance to take legal steps against the casino.[80] In his concluding assessment, the American consul saw the matter as further evidence that jurisdictions under the Russians, in particular between the CER and the consulate general, were not clearly regulated and that the Russian authorities in Harbin, like in the case described, often did not adhere to international treaties.[81] Generally speaking, the American consul's evaluation seems an accurate one.

## III

Another phenomenon that was widespread in Manchuria, which generally involved internationally operating bands or cross-border networks and required a large amount of criminal energy, was the smuggling and illegal trading of drugs like opium, morphine, heroin, and alcohol. In particular, the Russo-Chinese smuggling and trading of opium represented an almost ubiquitous and ultimately insurmountable problem for Harbin and the entire territory of the CER. Harbin's situation as a railway junction of Manchuria, a border region of Northeast Asia in which Chinese, Russians, Japanese, and members of numerous other nations interacted and – with varying success – contended for political and economic influence, combined with the administrative and legal overlaps of jurisdiction and loopholes, benefitted the central position that the city already occupied in the regional and international opium trade only a few years after its founding.

The mass illegal import and cross-border trade of opium in China, especially in the concession areas of the Western colonial powers, was an occurrence that was well known, not least from the period of the so-called Opium Wars between Great Britain and China

76 Ibid., 452.
77 Ibid., 452.
78 Ibid., 452–53.
79 Ibid., 454.
80 Ibid., 454.
81 Ibid., 453–54.

(1839–42 and 1856–60).[82] With respect to opium trade in northern China and Manchuria in the early twentieth century, the Chinese Eastern Railway to some extent had a role in the Chinese concession ports that was comparable to the British East India Company during the mid-nineteenth century. The decisive difference, however, lay in the fact that both the Chinese Eastern Railway Company as an economic enterprise and the Russian government, under whose direct leadership the CER fell until 1924 (after the revolution the CER was temporarily under the administration of the White Army), officially prohibited the trading of opium and at times even rigorously fought it. The management of the CER under Lieutenant General Afanas'ev, who was responsible for civil administration, issued two orders, one on October 5, 1911 (o.s.) and a slightly sterner version on June 24, 1914 (o.s.), which made the trading, storage, and transport of opium, morphine, and other narcotics within the area of the railway zone an offence punishable with fines of up to 500 rubles or imprisonment for up to three months.[83] As early as 1910 the Harbin police officer von Arnol'd demanded "the most energetic measures imaginable for the eradication of opium consumption" and decisive action by the police against this widespread social ill.[84] In fact, on the initiative of the CER management and the municipal authorities Harbin's (Russian) police had taken concrete steps against drug consumption between 1910 and 1911. During this time they cleared 277 opium dens and arrested 446 opium consumers within the space of only twelve months.[85] However, the authorities of Harbin were aware that these kinds of measures in the fight against mass opium consumption in the city were ultimately only a drop in the proverbial ocean. The commitment of the Russian CER and the city administration against the opium trade can be explained not least by the fact that, besides the Chinese population, Russians were also increasingly consuming opium and other drugs at an alarming rate in Harbin and other parts of the railway zone, as was made quite clear in an internal report by a leading committee of the CER.[86]

In practice, despite regularly uncovered smuggling attempts, the efforts of the CER ultimately enjoyed little success because the overwhelming majority of opium was transported from various countries via Russia to China on the Chinese Eastern Railway itself. This would hardly have been possible without the participation of several leading employees and numerous minor workers in the CER. For this reason, on the basis of official

82 See Samuel S. Mander: *Our Opium Trade with China* (London: Simpkin, Marshall Pub., 1877). See also Gregory Blue, "Opium for China: The British Connection," in *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839–1952,* eds. Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 31–54; John Y. Wong, *Deadly Dreams: Opium, Imperialism, and the Arrow War (1856–1860) in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

83 RGIA, f. 323, op. 1, d. 597, list (l.) 123 (Compulsory Decree no. 40 by lieutenant-general Afanas'ev, Management of CER, 24 June 1914).

84 *Novaia Zhizn'*, no 85, March 31, 1910.

85 RGIA, f. 323, op. 1, d. 597, ll. 61–4 (Report no. 2393 of the Harbin police constable to the Management of the CER, Harbin, April 20, 1911).

86 RGIA, f. 323, op. 1, d. 597, ll. 122, 124 (Journal no. 80 from the Meeting of the Special Council under the Management of the CER, June 18, 1914).

information received from Beijing, the Russian Foreign Ministry informed the management of the CER in June 1914 that opium was being systematically smuggled by railroad company representatives from Western Europe to China via Russia and Manchuria in sleeping cars occupied by passengers.[87]

The immense significance of opium smuggling and trade for Harbin and the central role of the CER in the transportation of these smuggled goods are highlighted in an article from the daily newspaper *Zaria* dated to August 31, 1920:

> *With almost every train arriving from the direction of the station "Pogranichnaia" [on the Russian-Chinese border] and with every further transport to the south in the direction of Changchun, opium is brought for sale in Harbin. Harbin has the function of a kind of distribution point. The opium companies are concentrated here, whole consortiums and groups of people who are specially employed with the trade, sale and transported of the prohibited ware. Corporations and enterprises with capital of several tens of thousands of dollars are springing up, special wagons with all kinds of hiding places for concealing the transported opium are being built. One can make the bold assumption that in Harbin alone no fewer than 1,000 people earn their money around the opium business, including the army of all possible middlemen in the sale and transport of opium. […]*
> *The colossal profit combined with a low level of responsibility for the transport of the smuggled goods entices masses of interested parties who are prepared to take the risk and earn money from the transport of opium. [Opium] is imported in small batches of 10 to 20 pounds and in whole consignments that reach several poods [Russ. unit of weight, 1 pood ≈ 16.38 kg]. Recently 14 poods [≈ 229.32 kg] with an estimated value of 16,000 dollars were confiscated all at once from service wagon no. 2006.*[88]

This estimate of the financial dimension of opium smuggling and trade in Harbin and its consequences for city life is unlikely to be an exaggeration; it incidentally corresponds to the numerous reports and documents of the CER, Harbin's city administration, the various consulates, as well as various media sources in Harbin and internationally.

Since the opium business represented potentially enormous profits for smugglers, traders, and those running opium dens, a plethora of people of differing nationalities and with highly varied social backgrounds and biographies swarmed into this area. People from the most diverse professional positions and social classes, from Chinese and Russian opportunists and petty criminals, adventurers of all kinds, and professional band leaders to border soldiers, railway guards, police officers, leading employees of the CER and diplomats of different countries, were involved in various ways with criminal activities related to opium smuggling and trade. Around 1914 the influential newspaper *North China Daily News* declared that Russian Jews were the masterminds behind Russo-Chi-

87 RGIA, f. 323, op. 1, d. 597, l. 103 (Note from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Management of the CER, June 9, 1914).

88 *Zaria*, no. 112, August 31, 1920, 3.

nese opium smuggling.[89] The fact that there were a range of typically Russian-Jewish surnames, such as Gol'dberg, Akkerman, and Aronov, among the named persons who were convicted in 1913 of opium smuggling by the railway police suggests at least some degree of participation on the part of Russian citizens with Jewish origins in the opium business.[90] But, in Harbin, Jews generally played an important role as middlemen and brokers in almost all areas of trade at least until the start of the 1920s.[91] In the 1920s the smuggling and trade of alcohol, opium, and other drugs is said to have shifted increasingly to Chinese business people who had also played an important part in previous years: "Meanwhile the smuggling trade has assumed throughout the Amur the character of an organised industry in the hands of the Chinese."[92] During the 1930s, under the Manchukuo regime, although the Japanese had an official monopoly in the opium trade, Koreans and Chinese were also involved in the business dealings.[93]

Regardless of whoever was actually at the head of these kinds of criminal organizations or close-knit interest groups, various sources allow no doubt that the large-scale trade in opium was generally carried out by strategically well-placed, transnational networks involving a large number of people on both sides of the Russo-Chinese border who cooperated with one another. In the year 1913 alone, Harbin's police force uncovered the illegal activities of 484 people who were involved in the trade of opium and morphine.[94] In all probability, until their arrest, these criminals were organized in a small number of bands or networks in Harbin.

## Conclusion

The list of examples for the cross-border actions of adventurers, shady characters, and criminals of all kinds in Harbin can be easily extended. Further fascinating examples of cross-border activities and adventurism in the city could include revolutionaries like the already mentioned first Bolshevist of Harbin, Mikhail Vetoshkin, and agents like the Italian-born Amleto Vespa (who later became a Chinese citizen and between 1922 and 1940 worked as a secret agent in Harbin and Manchuria, first in the service of the Chinese War Lord Zhang Zuolin and then for the Japanese)[95] and the almost legendary spy, Richard Sorge, who worked for the Soviet secret service and then later as a reporter for the German news service in various parts of China, including Shanghai and Harbin, and Japan. However, these personalities represent a different type of transnational biography from the three biographical examples outlined in this article. If we compare the case studies

89 *North China Daily News*, April 8, 1914.
90 RGIA, f. 323, op. 1, d. 597, l. 122.
91 Quested, *"Matey" Imperialists?*, 260.
92 *The Economist*, October 9, 1909, 12.
93 See Meyer, "Garden of Grand Vision," in particular 346–49.
94 RGIA, f. 323, op. 1, d. 597, l. 122.
95 See Vespa, *Secret Agent of Japan*.

presented above we might well conclude that they have at least three characteristics in common.

First, the activities of these persons were either situated on the border between semi-legality and illegality or they were unambiguously criminal. In many cases they already had criminal records in other states before appearing in Harbin and needed to relocate their activities to a different country for criminal or economic reasons. The motivation for their activities must have been mostly of a material nature. The people involved in these kinds of activities were characterized by a taste for adventurism and an openness to risks, which were most likely motivated more by necessity than by choice. Manchuria, and particularly Harbin with its status as a concession area of the CER, a treaty port full of legal-administrative complications, and characterized by international overlaps and disputes between jurisdictions, represented a space that, although not without laws, was nevertheless much freer and much less protected than usual nation-states; it was therefore ripe for the semi-legal and criminal activities of international adventurers.

Second, in all the highlighted cases the success of the dubious to criminal activities depended heavily on the ability of the persons to make use of the appropriate legal-administrative regulations and extraterritorial rights that prevailed in the international concession areas within China. Moreover, it was important to win over the respective city authorities or diplomatic representatives for themselves or for the relevant actions and to make these "subservient" to their needs. In order to obtain support for their purposes the described adventurers, shady characters, and criminals often operated under false identities and feigned serious entrepreneurial intentions. However, in many cases it is assumed that they simply pursued, and often achieved, their objectives with bribes.

And third, the ability of the persons and groups of people described to organize themselves into networks was at least as important as their familiarity with the legal-administrative conditions in Harbin and the railway zone. Both Russo-Chinese opium smuggling and white-slave traffic were examples of transnational, cross-border activities that necessitated the involvement and cooperation of various occupational groups from different nations. To achieve their goals the agents in our case studies did not just have enough criminal energy to see them through but also had the skills and competencies needed to act successfully in a transnational setting. The knowledge of the relevant languages and socio-cultural norms of different population groups – at least in general lines – were fundamental to navigating and acting within a specific cosmopolitan milieu. In this way, the protagonists of this study – shady characters and criminals who did their sinister businesses in or via Harbin – owned or developed specific transcultural know-how and made use of it in one way or another. These social practices and forms of knowledge transformed our shady and criminal characters into cosmopolitans, if we understand cosmopolitanism not in a normative but in an empirical way.

More generally, the activities on the "dark side" of Harbin life were often positioned within an international and occasionally global setting. Moreover, they were constituted by many contact zones where processes of exchange and cultural entanglements took place. The prostitution business and white-slave trade, gambling in casinos, and opium

smuggling demonstrate a high degree of transcultural entanglement with respect to ethnic or national composition, cooperation, and interaction. The characters presented here were in constant contact and exchange in one way or another with differing cultures, and they knew how to move within and between these. In fact, it is possible to go one step further and claim that their dubious and criminal activities, characterized by transcultural entanglement, were only possible in a cultural contact zone and political-administrative border city like Harbin. As Ulrich Beck would say, the day-to-day life of Harbin, which was ultimately shaped by numerous infringements and cultural border-crossings, can be referred to as a "cultural mélange" par excellence.[96] And, finally, most actors described in this study found themselves forced, to a certain extent, to live outside of their country of origin or even to cross borders regularly in order to make shady deals and avoid prosecution. Thus, Harbin was characterized by overlapping and changing prerogatives and blurred boundaries between various cultures, states, and political and administrative systems. Harbin provided – at least temporarily – a perfect place for shady characters and criminals who, through their activities, contributed to making it "the Chicago of the East."

96 See Ulrich Beck, *Der kosmopolitische Blick oder: Krieg ist Frieden* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2004) (*Cosmopolitan Vision*, trans. Ciaran Cronin, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 10.

# "The Ultimate Backroom Boy": The Border-Crossing Career of Joseph Vivian Wilson in the League of Nations Secretariat

**Benjamin Auberer**

**RESÜMEE**

Der Aufsatz analysiert am Beispiel des neuseeländischen Völkerbundbeamten und späteren Diplomaten Joseph Vivian Wilson die Karrieremöglichkeiten, die der Völkerbund seinen Angestellten bot. Wilson strebte in den 1920er Jahren zunächst die Laufbahn eines Diplomaten an. Dieser Karriereweg war auf Grund seiner Herkunft aus einem Dominion innerhalb des Britischen Empire nur eingeschränkt möglich, weswegen er sich gegen einen Eintritt ins britische Foreign Office entschied. Der Autor argumentiert, dass der Völkerbund für Wilson eine Chance bot, um Hindernisse in seinem beruflichen Werdegang zu umgehen und seinen Aufstieg voranzutreiben. Der Völkerbund erlaubte einerseits eine quasi-diplomatische Tätigkeit und bot andererseits neue Möglichkeiten einer erfolgreichen Karriere in einem internationalen Umfeld. Die mikrohistorische Analyse von Wilsons Werdegang zeigt damit die Relevanz persönlicher Netzwerke innerhalb internationaler Sekretariate. Der Artikel schlägt vor, die Karriere von Wilson als eine freiwillig gewählte Form einer globalen Biographie einzustufen - eine Biographie, für die das Überschreiten von Grenzen nicht nur Nebenprodukt, sondern distinktes Charakteristikum ist.

"[P]erhaps the greatest intellectual the department ever had – he was the ultimate backroom boy."[1] With these words, Bryce Harland, New Zealand's former ambassador to China, appraised the life work of the diplomat Joseph Vivian Wilson[2] in 1977. His

1 "Foreign affairs 'greatest' intellectual dies," *Evening Post*, December 30, 1977, 1.

2 Cf. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand,* "Wilson, Joseph Vivian," by Malcolm Templeton, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/5w39/wilson-joseph-vivian (accessed Decem-

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description as the "ultimate backroom boy" draws attention to the topic of this paper: Wilson's rather unconventional career. After graduating from Cambridge in the 1920s he pursued an occupation in diplomacy and took part in the selection procedure of the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service with outstanding results.[3] But as a New Zealander, a 'colonial,' as he would have been termed in British society during the interwar period, his career prospects in the elitist world of the British diplomatic service were, despite his education, limited; most likely his career would have slowed down considerably in middle ranks.[4] Recognizing this limitation he rejected a career in the British diplomatic service and decided to take advantage of the new opportunities arising at international institutions after World War I to enlarge his professional agency. Wilson started what can be called a professional border-crossing career between New Zealand and the Geneva-based international organisations, working first for the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and then for the League of Nations until 1940. These organisations offered him an occupation that was similar to the traditional diplomatic career. He was employed in Europe until his mother country received full external autonomy and he concluded his career in the newly established diplomatic service of New Zealand. Former Foreign Service Officer Malcolm Templeton emphasized that Wilson's experiences in the League of Nations made him an ideal recruit: "He (…) acquired unique expertise as an international civil servant, and lived for nearly 20 years in foreign milieu; and unlike almost all of his new colleagues, he was fluent in a foreign language."[5]

This paper outlines how Wilson used his occupation in international administration as a 'backdoor' by which to overcome the impossibility of following the traditional career path of a national diplomat, which was restricted by his colonial origin.

But why do we focus on the case of an unknown League of Nations employee from New Zealand? This paper analyses the dynamics of Wilson's life and investigates the role that the League of Nations played in his professional advancement. Wilson is used as an example to shed light on the professional opportunities of citizens from British dominions – peripheral countries with low political agency – in the international system during the interwar period. Therefore, the aim of this article is not simply to reconstruct the biography of Joseph Vivian Wilson but to conduct a biographical case study which contributes to a micro-history of international organisations in terms of individual professional opportunities. The article focuses on the new career opportunities provided by international hubs like the League of Nations in the interwar era. By doing so, the article will stress the importance of personal networking for our understanding of how international

ber 17, 2013). The only published biographical sketch of Wilson up to now is an entry in *Te Ara – The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand,* which was written by his former assistant and later Foreign Service Officer, Malcolm Templeton. Despite the rather subjective and emotional tone of this article, it provides quite a lot of information about the personal and professional milestones of Wilson's life.

3 Ibid.

4 In a list of successful and unsuccessful applicants to the Foreign Office for the time span between 1908 and 1913 there is not a single applicant from a British dominion. Cf. Zara Steiner, *The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy, 1898–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 167.

5 Ibid.

organisations worked.[6] Supporting this contention, this paper also suggests analysing the international lives of the members of the League of Nations secretariat as examples of deliberately chosen forms of 'global biographies' – that is, biographies for which border-crossing is an essential aspect.[7] Focusing on these moments of transgression provides a promising approach with which to grasp the dynamics of the lives of those international civil servants from distant countries.

After introducing the context and the conceptual approach, the structure of this paper will follow Wilson's pivotal moments of border-crossing. This paper argues that there are three moments of border-crossing that shaped Wilson's professional life. The first moment was the decision to become an international civil servant and thus to enter the backroom. The second moment of border-crossing affirmed his status as a 'backroom boy': Whilst occupied at the League, Wilson visited his mother country New Zealand every three years. He used these voyages to act as an official representative of the League's secretariat: Thus he tried step out of the backroom and act in an official position. Whilst Wilson went to Geneva to evade the hurdles posed by his origins, the third moment of border-crossing is his return to national contexts. During World War II, New Zealand began to send out diplomatic missions to different countries. Because of his experiences in international administration, Wilson was an ideal recruit for the newly established diplomatic service.

## British Dominions, the League of Nations and Lives Beyond Borders

Wilson's biography is embedded in a period of rapid transformation not only for his individual life but also for the British dominions and for the whole world.[8] First, this section seeks to introduce the two major processes that influenced Wilson's career: The transformation of diplomacy after World War I and the changing of the self-understanding of the British dominions. And second, based on the context of Wilson's life, the methodological approach of this paper will be presented.

Johannes Paulmann has recently demonstrated that after the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 the understanding of diplomacy was conceptually extended and filled with new meanings, so that the "old" and "clandestine" diplomacy belonging to the nineteenth century could be contrasted with a "new" diplomacy that was termed "open" or "democratic."[9] The secretariat of the newly founded League of Nation was to form one of the

6 Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Craig Murphy, *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance since 1850* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004).

7 Bernd Hausberger, "Globalgeschichte(n) als Lebensgeschichten," in *Globale Lebensläufe. Menschen als Akteure im weltgeschichtlichen Geschehen*, ed. Bernd Hausberger (Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2006), 9–28, 12.

8 Zara Steiner, *The Lights that Failed: European International History 1919–1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), vii.

9 Johannes Paulmann, "Diplomatie," in *Dimensionen Internationaler Geschichte,* eds. Jost Dülffer and Wilfried Loth (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2012), 53.

main institutions of a new and democratised form of diplomacy, which was intended, in its conceptual character and its daily work, to oppose the secret power diplomacy of the nineteenth century.[10] As a platform the League offered new possibilities, especially for small states, to articulate their voice against the big powers. The international secretariat in Geneva, established in Article 6 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, was thought to be an expression of this new character and, indeed, it is regarded in the historiography as novelty in international administration. In contrast to the international organisations and bureaus of the nineteenth century the League's secretariat was from the very beginning intended to display a more international and even gender-equal composition.[11] Its staff was expected to develop a specific form of League loyalty and identity in their international service, as is famously described in the Balfour Report[12] of 1920:

> *The members of the Secretariat once appointed are no longer the servants of the country of which they are citizens but become for the time being the servants only of the League of Nations. Their duties are not national but international.*[13]

The loyalty of the international civil servants was to the secretary-general who was himself only responsible to the Assembly of the League of Nations. This construction of an international League loyalty was strengthened by the special legal status of the civil servants: The members of the secretariat enjoyed immunities in civil and criminal law as well as tax exemptions.[14] The legal position of secretariat employees was in many ways comparable to that of national diplomats in the interwar period with exceptions concerning the freedom of travel.[15] Thus, the international civil servants overcame, at least formally, the borders of national legislation and loyalty while at the same time approaching the professional distinction of national diplomatic representatives. The shifting to a new, public, and democratized form of diplomacy opened new career choices for men and women apart from the traditional paths of diplomacy. Contemporaries like the Australian journalist Charles Howard-Ellis even noticed that the international secretariat of the League had evolved a new career station and platform of opportunities for "national" diplomats.[16]

10 Ibid, 54; Madeleine Herren, *Internationale Organisationen seit 1865. Eine Globalgeschichte der internationalen Ordnung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009), 80; Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (London: Penguin Press, 2012), 126.

11 Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer, *The International Secretariat: A Great Experiment in International Administration* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1945), 53; Georges Langrod, *The International Civil Service* (Leyden: Oceana Publications, 1963), 38; Alain Plantey, *The International Civil Service: Law and Management* (New York: Masson Publications, 1981), 10.

12 The Balfour Report was an investigation into the bureaucracy of the International Secretariat, which provided important advocacies about the international administration. Cf. Ranshofen-Wertheimer, *International Secretariat,* 25–8.

13 League of Nations, *Official Journal*, June 1920, 137.

14 Katharina Erdmenger, *Diener zweier Herren? Briten im Sekretariat des Völkerbundes 1919–1933* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1998), 68.

15 Ranshofen-Wertheimer, *International Secretariat*, 268.

16 Charles Howard-Ellis, *The Origin, Structure & Working of the League of Nations* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1928), 201; Ranshofen-Wertheimer, *International Secretariat*, 402f; Erdmenger, *Diener*?, 58.

For the dominions of the British Empire the new order of international affairs also led to a reorientation of their appearance on the world stage. In 1919/20 they participated as victorious powers in the Peace Conferences of Paris and used this occasion to substantiate their position within the international system of states. Though not yet acknowledged as completely independent states with activities of foreign policy, each of them signed the intergovernmental peace treaties and they all became members of the League of Nations, which came into existence in the aftermath of the Paris Conference. Conventional historiography usually mentions the Balfour Declaration in 1926 and the Statute of Westminster in 1931 as the next steps in the process of the dominions' breaking away from the system of the British Empire. Although the Westminster Statute granted full internal and external autonomy to the former dominions, some of them only hesitantly ratified this document. New Zealand postponed the ratification of the Westminster Statute even to the year 1947. As an extension to this conventional narration, Paul Gorman has recently emphasized the role of emerging internationalism within the British Empire.[17] He indicates that the general process of internationalism encouraged "the Dominions to seek greater autonomy as part of a broader process of what some historians have termed 'de-dominionization.'" [18] The involvement of the British dominions in the foundation of the international organisation during the interwar years is one aspect of this active participation in internationalism. Research has pointed out the role that the League of Nations played for the British dominions in the "beginnings of an independent foreign policy,"[19] but most studies have been linked to aspects of official representation and to the dominion's direct influences on the League's policy.[20] Fewer works have focused on the role of civil society in the dominions and their connection to the League.[21] The study of Wilson's life is an opportunity to examine those transformations within international relations on another – hitherto practically unconsidered – level: the professional connections between the Geneva-based international organisation and the distant British dominion. The League of Nations and other international organisations were important carriers of a new and public diplomacy and offered new career possibilities outside the established career processes of the British Empire. Professional connections became particularly interesting at the end of World War II: Newly independent states appreciated

17 Daniel Gorman, *The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 11.

18 Ibid., 11. For the concept of 'De-dominionization' cf. Anthony G. Hopkins, "Rethinking Decolonization," *Past and Present* 200/1 (2008): 211–47; Jim Davidson, "De-dominionisation Revisited," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 5/1 (2005): 108–13.

19 Gerald Chaudron, *New Zealand in the League of Nations* (Jefferson: Mc Farland, 2012).

20 For other dominions cf.: Michael Kennedy, *Ireland and the League of Nations, 1919–1946: International Relations, Diplomacy and Politics* (Dublin: Irish Academy Press, 1996); Richard Veatch, *Canada and the League of Nations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975); William J. Hudson, *Australia and the League of Nations* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980).

21 Cf. Hilary Summy, *From Hope ... to Hope: Story of the Australian League of Nations Union, Featuring the Victorian Branch, 1921–1945* (PhD Thesis: University of Queensland, 2007); Bain Attwood, *Apostles of Peace: The New Zealand League of Nations Union* (MA Thesis: University of Auckland, 1979).

the classical professional attributes of diplomacy[22] and were therefore eager to establish their own missions in other countries. As the example of Wilson reveals, the former League of Nations servants were ideal recruits because of their experience in international contexts.

This paper argues that the importance of studying the life of Wilson lies in these processes of transformations during the interwar period, which allowed Wilson to enlarge his professional agency and to have a career through the 'backdoor.' By applying the idea of international organisations as a backdoor onto Wilson's career trajectory, how they opened up new opportunities for individual lives can be more clearly seen. [23] A career within the League of Nations acted as just such a 'backdoor,' and it allowed Wilson to become the 'ultimate backroom boy' by providing him with expanded professional agency. As an international civil servant he worked on topics of international relevance just as traditional diplomats did – but outside of the official representation for his mother country and outside of the traditional career paths in diplomacy. However, as will be shown, his career as a 'backroom boy' had its limitations as well. For instance, Wilson was not able to get an aspired at position in the later New Zealand Department for External Affairs, because, due to his long absence in Europe, he lacked the political networks in New Zealand.

To grasp the dynamic of Wilson's life, this paper connects two approaches that were recently discussed in the historiography as promising methodologies for global history: a micro-historical study and the classifying of Wilson as a form of a global biography.

Originating in the Italian historiography of the 1970s,[24] microhistory was often criticized because of its conscious abdication of a consistent conception.[25] But there is in recent (American-German) micro-historiography a trend toward a common methodological understanding that claims to be able to stimulate new areas of research.[26] Otto Ulbricht has tried to summarize the central methodological commonalities of those approaches: (1) the need to ask big questions on small-sized research topics; (2) the focus on 'how' in contrast to 'why'; (3) the concept of the 'extraordinary normal', which states that in every extraordinary source there is an element of normality; and (4) a strong refusal of

22 Paulmann, "Diplomatie," 60.

23 The term backroom is based on Madeleine Herren's study *Hintertüren zur Macht*. She argues that small and peripheral states in the nineteenth century used the admission to international organizations as a backdoor to improve their standing and reputation on the international state. Cf. Madeleine Herren, *Hintertüren zur Macht. Internationalismus und modernisierungsorientierte Außenpolitik in Belgien, der Schweiz und den USA 1865–1914* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2000).

24 Historiography usually mentions Carlo Ginzburg's study on the world-view of a sixteenth-century miller as a starting point for micro-historical research in Italy, though Ginzburg does not use term 'microhistory'in this book. Cf. Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980).

25 Jürgen Schlumbohm, "Mikrogeschichte – Makrogeschichte: Zur Eröffnung einer Debatte," in *Mikrogeschichte – Makrogeschichte: komplementär oder inkommensurabel?* ed. Jürgen Schlumbohm (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1998), 7–32, 27.

26 Otto Ulbricht, "Divergierende Pfade der Mikrogeschichte. Aspekte der Rezeptionsgeschichte" in *Im Kleinen das Große suchen. Mikrogeschichte in Theorie und Praxis. Hans Haas zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. Ewald Hiebl and Ernst Langthaler (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2012), 22–36, 22.

any teleology in history.[27] Recent research continues to discuss the applicability of such approaches to the history of globalization: While global history is often criticised because of its obsession with structures and its distance to sources, adherers to a global microhistory often argue that the strengths of micro-historical approaches can adjust these problems because micro-historical studies are based on intensive source studies and usually accentuate the agency of actors adverse structures.[28] The studies of Angelika Epple are seminal for the development of such a microhistory methodology. Based on a discussion of gender historiography, Epple argues that "from-below-approaches," like microhistory, postcolonial-, and gender studies, on the one hand, and global history approaches on the other, share two common concerns: the acknowledgment of categories like time, gender, and space as relative and the strict refusal of methodological nationalism.[29] She concludes that it is only possible to study the global by "starting the analysis with an actor-centered approach on a local level."[30] By putting single actors or groups in the centre of a study, it is possible to question and reconfigure smooth meta-narratives by confronting them with the realities of the life of a specific actor.[31] In her micro-historical study of the enterprise Stollwerck,[32] Epple puts a strong emphasis on the role and agency of individual actors, which she calls "actors of globalization."[33] Thus, tracing Wilson's career in the League of Nations is not simply limited to Wilson's life; by asking how Wilson's career functioned, this paper contributes to the history of relations between the distant British dominion and the League of Nations, and it investigates the opportunities that the international organizations of the interwar period provided in terms of professional careers for a New Zealander.

However, tracing a border-crossing career confronts microhistory with a number of methodological problems: Lives beyond borders are hard to trace because of their tran-

27 Ibid., 22–23.

28 Angelika Epple, "Globale Mikrogeschichte. Auf dem Weg zu einer Geschichte der Relationen," in *Im Kleinen das Große suchen. Mikrogeschichte in Theorie und Praxis. Hans Haas zum 70. Geburtstag,* eds. Ewald Hiebl and Ernst Langthaler (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2012), 37–47, 37. For other studies combining microhistory and global history, cf. Rebekka Habermas, "Der Kolonialskandal Atakpame – eine Mikrogeschichte des Globalen," *Historische Anthropologie* 17/2 (2009), 295–319; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth Century Muslim between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006); Wiebke Hoffmann, *Auswandern und Zurückkehren. Kaufmannsfamilien zwischen Bremen und Übersee* (Münster: Waxmann, 2009).

29 Angelika Epple, "Globale Mikrogeschichte," 40.

30 Angelika Epple, "The Global, the Transnational, and the Subaltern: The Limits of History beyond the National Paradigm," in *Beyond Methodological Nationalism: Research Methodologies for Transnational Studies,* eds. Anna Amelina, Thomas Faist, and Devrimsel D. Nergiz (London: Routledge, 2012), 241–76, 269.

31 David Warren Sabean, "Reflections on Microhistory" in *Transnationale Geschichte. Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien*, eds. Gunilla-Friederike Budde, Sebastian Conrad, and Oliver Janz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2006), 275–89, 284.

32 Angelika Epple, *Das Unternehmen Stollwerck. Eine Mikrogeschichte der Globalisierung*, (Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 2010).

33 Ibid., 34. Cf. Ulbricht, *Divergierende Pfade*, 25. The research project "actors of globalization" at FU Berlin coordinated by Sebastian Conrad and Andreas Eckert uses global actorship as a heuristic tool to connect the micro and macro levels of historical research. By focusing on actors and their agency, the research group points out the specificities in the process of globalization. Cf. „Actors of Gobalization," http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/fmi/forschung/kultglobe1900/about/index.html (accessed December 17, 2013).

snational activities,[34] and they tend to elude the categories of traditional biographic research. In recent years, the historiography has once again developed an increasing interest in biographical studies about border-crossers.[35] One of the core interests of these approaches is to develop a methodology that explains how these could open up new opportunities. Bernd Hausberger proposes in a foreword to an edited volume published in 2006 a very pragmatic definition of the "global biography," with its central points being the covering of great distances, the transgressing of religious, cultural, or political borders, and the awareness of the global scope of one's life.[36] The papers collected in this volume emphasize how the biographical subjects could enlarge their agency through border-crossing activity.[37] A comparable approach pursues the articles collected under the rubric "Opportunities" in the edited volume *Transnational Lives,* which claims that biographical research should focus on the mobility of its actors and not on their nationality.[38] Both volumes abjure any overall theoretical and methodological framework for the analysis and interpretation of the empirical studies. Madeleine Herren has suggested conceptualizing "transgression" as an approach to describe the specificity of the biographical subject.[39] She emphasizes that the crossing of national, political, professional, and social borders provided the subjects with an increased agency.[40] Current research emphasizes the "interest in individual lives"[41] and discusses the applicability of "cosmopolitanism" as a valid tool to analyse such border-crossing lives.

For the study of Joseph Vivian Wilson, however, the concept of cosmopolitanism is problematic. In a speech given by Wilson in 1944 about the recruitment of personnel for the follow-up organisation of the League of Nations, he articulated a rather hostile attitude towards the idea of the League as a body of cosmopolitans and their occupation as international civil servants. In this speech he aligns the cosmopolitans as a group with "national misfits of all kinds" and forecasts that they will "press at the doors of the

34 Madeleine Herren, "Inszenierungen des globalen Subjekts. Vorschläge zur Typologie einer transgressiven Biographie", *Historische Anthropologie* 13 (2005): 1–18, 5. Regarding the role of international archives cf. Emma Rothschild, "The Archives of Universal History", *Journal of World History* 19/3 (2008): 375–401.

35 Desley Deacon, Penny Russell, and Angela Woollacott, "Introduction," in *Transnational Lives: Biographies of Global Modernity, 1700–Present*, eds. Desley Deacon, Penny Russell, and Angela Woollacott (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 1–14; Hillard von Thiessen and Christian Windler eds., *Akteure der Außenbeziehungen. Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2010); Johannes Paulmann, "Regionen und Welten. Arenen und Akteure regionaler Weltbeziehungen seit dem 19. Jahrhundert" *Historische Zeitschrift*, 296/3 (2013): 660–99.

36 Hausberger *Globalgeschichte*, 13.

37 For example cf. Rila Mukherjee, "Leo Africanus (1486/88–1535?). Ein andalusischer Exilant in Afrika und im Europa der Renaissance," in *Globale Lebensläufe. Menschen als Akteure im weltgeschichtlichen Geschehen,* ed. Hausberger, 28–45.

38 Deacon, Russell, and Wollacott, "Introduction," 7; for example cf. Kirsten McKenzie: "Opportunities and Impostors in the British Imperial World: The Tale of John Dow, Convict, and Edward, Viscount Lascelles" in *Transnational Lives: Biographies of Global Modernity, 1700–Present*, eds. Desley Deacon, Penny Russell, and Angela Woollacott (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 69–79.

39 Herren, *Transgressive Biographie*, 2.

40 Ibid., 2.

41 Cf. Glenda Sluga and Julya Horne, "Cosmopolitanism: Its Pasts and Practices," *Journal of World History* 21/3 (2010): 369–74, 371.

international institutions" but that "they should be kept out."[42] Clearly, Wilson did not identify at all with the idealistic concept of cosmopolitanism nor did he accept it as an accurate description of his border-crossing life; indeed, he did his best to be perceived as a conventional diplomat and loyal bureaucrat, and thereby the use of the concept in a normative sense is at least not legitimized by self-attribution. However, the concept of cosmopolitanism still has considerable analytical worth. The sociologist Magdalena Nowicka points out that "research has identified and described (…) members of transnational communities as 'cosmopolitans.'"[43] The secretariat of the League of Nations has been described as just such a transnational community because of its multinational composition.[44] Gerald Delanty has pointed out the importance of transnational space as part of what he calls the "cosmopolitan imagination."[45] He argues that "[i]n this reconfiguration of borders, local and global forces are played out and borders in part lose their significance and take forms in which no clear lines can be drawn between inside and outside."[46] Hsu-Ming Teo applied the concept of cosmopolitanism to the life of Rosita Forbes, a European explorer. Teo showed how Forbes used her position in various classes to exhaust the opportunities available to a women in the early twentieth century,[47] which allowed her "to cross a remarkable number of national and geographical boundaries as well, as gender, racial, religious and cultural ones."[48] Teo puts a strong emphasis on what she calls a "constant crossborder movement,"[49] a constant examination of boundaries. This also provides an enriching analytical perspective on Wilson's career in which it becomes possible to describe his professional life not only as transnational but rather as 'border-crossing career'[50]; in other words, the overcoming and renegotiation of borders is not only a by-product of his career but also its distinctive characteristic. As a result Wilson is best described as a "professional border-crosser." The analytical focus on the moment of transgression thus allows us to answer the question of 'how' he entered the backroom of the secretariat – and how this backroom provided him with increased professional agency.

42 Joseph Vivian Wilson, "Problems of an International Secretariat," *International Affairs* 20/4 (1944): 542–54, 545.

43 Magdalena Nowicka and Maria Rovisco, "Introduction: Making Sense of Cosmopolitanism," in *Cosmopolitanism in Practice*, eds. Magdalena Nowicka and Maria Rovisco, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 1–17.

44 Patricia Clavin, "Defining Transnationalism," *Contemporary European History* 14/4 (2005): 421–39, 438.

45 Gerard Delanty, *The Cosmopolitan Imagination: The Renewal of Critical Social Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 7.

46 Ibid.

47 Hsu-Ming Teo, "Gypsy in the Sun: The Transnational Life of Rosita Forbes," *Transnational Lives. Biographies of Global Modernity, 1700–Present*, eds. Desley Deacon, Penny Russell, and Angela Woollacott (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 273–85.

48 Ibid., 284.

49 Ibid., 284.

50 Regarding the analytical worth of career to biographical research, cf. Daniel Lambert and Alan Lester, "Introduction: Imperial Spaces, Imperial Subjects" in *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. Daniel Lambert and Alan Lester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1–31.

## "He has worked very well": Wilson's Career in the League of Nations Secretariat

This section analyses the career of Wilson within the League of Nations and shows how his decision to become an international civil servant enlarged his professional agency, thus allowing him to become a backroom boy. Whilst the decision to move to England to study in Cambridge remained – as a British subject – an activity within the British Empire, joining the League of Nations not only meant crossing national borders but also essentially affected his legal status. The secretariat was likewise transformed during the interwar period: The beginning of the international crisis in the early 1930s stimulated an administrative reform within the secretariat that allowed Wilson, who used the 1920s to steady his position in the secretariat, to bring his career to its zenith. This micro-historical analysis of his professional advance in the secretariat provides a detailed insight into the scope of action the League's secretariat offered for its employees.

After graduating from Canterbury College, New Zealand in 1915 with first-class honours in Latin and Greek, Wilson eventually joined the army and participated in World War I as part of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force in France. Following his military service, he was accepted for a course of study at Trinity College, Cambridge – financially supported through a scholarship for New Zealand Veterans. In 1921, after finishing his studies with distinction,[51] Wilson set the course for his whole professional life. Despite his excellent academic qualification, he decided against a career in academia, against returning to New Zealand, and against entering the British Civil Service; instead, he participated in the selection procedure for the Secretariat of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in September[52] "and passed with firsts for Great Britain."[53] As a result of his performance in this test he became a member of the Diplomatic Division of the ILO-Secretariat in spring 1922 and thereby an international civil servant. Most likely the field of activities of this section appealed to him: The Diplomatic Division was responsible for organizing and hosting conferences and it worked closely with the representatives of the member states.[54]

Apparently he estimated his career prospects in the international organisation to be higher than in the elitist environment of the British civil service. Unfortunately, the personnel file of Wilson in the ILO archive was destroyed in the late 1970s and thus it is impossible to make any secure statements about his career in this organisation.[55] Most likely he was not fully satisfied with his work at the Diplomatic Division as he repeatedly

51 "New Zealanders at Home" *Evening Post*, August 17, 1921, 9.

52 Application of J. V. Wilson, May 2, 1923, LoN S908/1/3788.

53 Ibid.

54 Steve Hughes, "Come in from the Cold: Labour, the ILO and the International Labour Standards Regime," in *Global Governance: Critical Perspectives*, eds. Rorden Wilkinson and Steve Hughes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 165.

55 In the ILO Archives just his pension file is left. cf. Wilson, Mr. Joseph Vivian, Personal File of Member No. 481. ILO Archives.

tried to switch to a position within the League of Nations. Working in an environment that concentrated on questions of social policy and the protection of workers was not satisfactory for Wilson who most likely saw the playground of high diplomacy as a more appropriate field of activity. The delegate of New Zealand to the League of Nations, Sir James Allen, tried to support Wilson in this case with a letter to Secretary-General Eric Drummond:

> *There is on the staff of the International Labour Office a New Zealander, J. V. Wilson by name, who, whilst much interested in the work he is doing seems to be more attracted by that of the League. (…) he would prefer one (=an appointment) on the Political or Intellectual Co-operation section.*[56]

This advance by James Allen shows clearly that Wilson maintained contact to the national delegation of New Zealand during the general assembly every year. Furthermore, Allan's letter to Drummond indicates that politicians had vested interest in placing officials from their countries in the secretariat. For small countries in particular, those officials played a crucial role in liaison work. But due to arrangements between the ILO and the League of Nations secretariat, it was quite difficult to conduct such a transfer of personnel,[57] even though Eric Drummond was impressed "in view of his [Wilson's] exceptionally good qualifications."[58] Wilson did not switch to the League secretariat until July 1923 when, after several attempts, Eric Drummond offered him a position among his personal staff.[59] At twenty-nine years of age, Wilson became a member of the League of Nations secretariat; after a short transitional period in the Section for Social Questions and Opium, he continued to work as Eric Drummond's personal assistant in the administrative heart of the League of Nations secretariat.

Wilson was part of the Section for Social Questions and Opium Traffic for half a year as an interim period until the post in the personal staff of Eric Drummond was vacant. In this function Wilson's ambitions for a career in international diplomacy became obvious: With his ILO background an occupation in this section seemed rather well fitting, but his behaviour demonstrated that this field of work did not appeal to him at all – for whatever reason. The chief of this section, Dame Rachel Crowdy, struck a rather harsh tone about his working spirit:

> *Mr. Wilson did most excellent work during the first three months with this Section. Latterly, he seemed to lose interest, and he failed to complete, before leaving the Section, a piece of work which I had asked him specially to do. (…) Mr. Wilson will probably find it much easier to work with a man than under a woman, as he is very young for his age and resents criticism of any kind.*[60]

56 James Allen to Eric Drummond, September 5, 1922, LoN S 908/1/3788.
57 Eric Drummond to James Allen, September 7, 1922, LoN S 908/1/3788.
58 Ibid.
59 Eric Drummond to Joseph Vivian Wilson, July 5, 1923, LoN S 908/1/3788.
60 Mr. J. V. Wilson, Report on probationary period, January 28, 1924, LoN S 908/1/3788.

Wilson tried to defend himself against these accusations without effect[61] – the secretary-general decided to extend Wilson's probation term for another six months.[62] This incident clearly indicates Wilson's attitude towards his work: He obviously saw an appointment in this section as a necessary evil and a step on his way to the Personnel Staff of Eric Drummond. It seemed that Wilson did not identify with fields of work like social politics or opium traffic. Instead, he used his appointment to strengthen his connections to the other sections and to demonstrate his abilities and his usefulness: He did voluntary work for the Information Section and kept himself informed about the work of the League by reading minutes of the Council. [63]

In any case, in January 1924 Wilson transferred, as intended, to Eric Drummond's personal staff. While he served in this position there were no complaints recorded in Wilson's personnel files. The secretary-general found "his work entirely satisfactory in every way."[64]

Most likely, the secretary-general may have appreciated Wilson's work and appearance as one who was socialised into British society just like himself and with whom he shared common experiences. In her dissertation, Katharina Erdmenger has demonstrated that the professional background of most of the League's servants with British origins was comparable with the education of the typical civil servant in Britain.[65] For example, a close colleague of Wilson and later under secretary-general Francis Paul Walters also read classics (at Oxford). Research has also emphasized that the British civil service tradition – in which Eric Drummond was deeply rooted – was a role model for the structure of the League's secretariat.[66] Therefore, the direct professional environment of Wilson valued his habitus and at the same time, due to the commitment to national heterogeneity of the League of Nations, his origins were not a handicap but an advantage in distinguishing him from the many British. Another common experience Wilson shared with his colleagues was military service in World War I. The formative influence of the war experience is especially visible in the transformation of military ranks into the civil secretariat: Under secretary-general Walters is often addressed as "Captain"[67] in informal secretariat correspondences. Thus, Wilson was a good fit in the circle of colleagues in Eric Drummond's personal staff.

In the years that followed, Wilson's professional career moved from strength to strength: He was promoted to 'Chef de Cabinet' of the secretary-general, and as A-Member of the

61 Observations on the report submitted by the chief of the Social Questions Section and Opium Traffic Section on the work of Mr. J. V. Wilson, February 27, 1924, LoN S 907/1/3788; Addendum, February 29, 1924, LoN, S 908/1/3788.

62 Eric Drummond to Joseph Vivian Wilson, February 18, 1924, LoN S 908/1/3788.

63 Observations, February 27, 1924, LoN S 908/1/3788.

64 Note, June 16, 1925, LoN S 908/1/3788.

65 Erdmenger, *Diener?*, 48–9.

66 Ibid., 56; Edward Newman, "The International Civil Service: Still a Viable Concept?" *Global Society* 21/3 (2007): 436.

67 Cf. Eric Colban to Miss Howard, March 24, 1933, LoN S 902/1/3684.

secretariat he began to take on more responsibility and influence.[68] As a hinge between the secretary-general and the remaining sections, he managed to acquire a position where he could play an important role in the bureaucratic structure of the secretariat. In an internal evaluation of Wilson's work in 1929 concerning his annual increment, his duties were described as follows:

> *Mr. Wilson's main duty is to assist in preparing for the Secretary-General's decision all official work submitted to him, except that which relates to questions of staff. This involves not only the study of questions sent down for decisions from the various sections, but also a certain amount of direct action, drafting of letters and so on in regard to matters which do not come under the field of any particular Section or which involve the personal or semi-official action of the Secretary-General.*[69]

Wilson's career began to stagnate in the early 1930s partly for the previously mentioned reasons and partly because of Eric Drummond's appraisal that Wilson should stick with administrative tasks. According to Drummond, Wilson's character was not suitable for active political work although he was deemed an efficient bureaucrat.[70] Wilson was definitely not part of the first tier of the League's civil servants, but as an important actor of the second tier, he was involved in virtually every decision the secretariat made during his mandate. As a result his characteristic signature can be found on literally every file produced in the secretariat. But Wilson's advancement to the highest posts of the secretariat became more and more difficult since the highest posts in the secretariat were usually recruited from the five permanent Members of the Council, and when "there had been changes, through resignation, in each of these posts except the first, and in every case a Frenchman had been succeeded by a Frenchman, a German by a German, an Italian by an Italian, Japanese by Japanese."[71] Such political considerations played an important role in the secretariat and made Wilsons's career advancement more difficult: His application as Chief of the Document Service was refused in 1931.[72]

However, the international crisis of the 1930s helped Wilson to reach his career zenith in the secretariat due to internal reforms: Secretary-General Eric Drummond decided to resign from his post after thirteen years and was succeeded by his deputy Joseph Avenol. Although his decision to resign was common knowledge for quite a while, the Manchukuo Crisis and the subsequent withdrawal of Japan from the League of Nations played a role in accelerating his decision.[73] Although Drummond tried to prevent the election of Joseph Avenol as new secretary-general, after the election of Harold Butler as Director of the ILO in 1932 he could not keep the highest position of the other large

68 Certificate as to grant annual increment, September 26, 1929, LoN S 908/1/3788.
69 Annual increment, J. V. Wilson, October 17, 1929, LoN S 908/1/3788.
70 Eric Drummond to Joseph Avenol, May 25, 1933, LoN S 908/1/3788.
71 Francis Paul Walters, *A History of the League of Nations*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), 556.
72 Head of the Personnel Office and Joseph Vivian Wilson, October 2, 1931, LoN S 908/1/3788.
73 James Barros, *Office Without Power: Secretary-General Sir Eric Drummond, 1919–1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 381.

international organisation from being filled by a Frenchman.[74] The accounts of former League servants usually emphasize the smooth transition between Avenol and Drummond: "Under Avenol it (=the secretariat) maintained to the full the technical qualities which it had developed under Drummond."[75] However, on a personal level, the secretariat member and later League chronicler Francis Paul Walters expressed open antipathy toward Avenol after the war: "His leadership of the Secretariat had been marred by grave faults, especially in the last years."[76]

For Wilson, this transition to Avenol was crucial: As a member of the secretary-general's personal staff he was particularly bound to Drummond. In an unusually insistent manner, Wilson asked Drummond to tell him if he was "to be transferred to some existing post (…), or to a new post, of what nature and with what nature and with what status."[77] But, along with the change at the head of the secretariat an administrative reform was conducted. Accounts of the administrative history of the League usually describe this reform programmatic as "the shift to the French system."[78] The former member of the information section, Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer, who wrote the only comprehensive study of the League's secretariat in 1945, understood this process as a centralization of the administrative structure of the League. In contrast to the previous – British – system of internal and informal agreements, the new system tried to create an institution to supervise and coordinate the work of the growing league sections and organization.[79] The primary aim of this administrative reform was, in Ranshofen-Wertheimer's later assessment, "a synthesis which would combine the obvious technical advantages of the British filing and registry system with a stricter over-all centralisation and more thorough hierarchical organisation." [80]

The most apparent effect of this reform was the establishment of the new Central Section in 1933. According to the League's Office Rules, the scope of activities of the Central Section was described as follows: "The Central Section assists the Secretary-General in his capacity as Secretary of the Assembly and the Council, and, generally, in the co-ordination of the work of the Secretariat."[81] Joseph Avenol decided to assign Joseph Vivian Wilson as Chief of this Section.[82] This promotion was connected with a considerable raise in Wilson's salary. The post of a Chief of Section was not among the highest ranks of the secretariat, but Ranshofen-Wertheimer emphasized that the Chief of the Central Section had the opportunity "to override opinions and decisions taken by directors in many instances."[83] Because of this centralization, the remaining Directors and Chief of

74 Walters, *History*, 557.
75 Ibid., 560.
76 Ibid., 557.
77 Joseph Vivian Wilson to Eric Drummond, May 25, 1933, LoN S 908/1/3788.
78 Ranshofen-Wertheimer, *International Secretariat*, 152.
79 Ibid., 100.
80 Ibid., 153.
81 As cited in: Anique van Ginneken, *Historical Dictionary of the League of Nations*, (Langham: Scarecrow Press, 2006), 55.
82 Joseph Vivian Wilson to Joseph Avenol, July 4, 1933, LoN S 908/1/3788.
83 Ranshofen-Wertheimer, *International Secretariat*, 101.

Sections of the secretariat lost much of their autonomy vis-à-vis the secretary-general who "acted through an increasingly powerful Central Section which assumed in many respects the rôle of the cabinet in the French meaning of this term."[84] The choice of Wilson for this post was obvious – he had already performed most of the duties of the new section.[85] Aside from his administrative duties, many of Wilson's activities in this position were comparable to those of diplomats in the interwar period: Wilson bargained and negotiated with delegates from many nations, and during the General Assembly he was able to act as a high-ranking official of the League of Nations.

In his new position as Chief of the Central Section, he even overcame the dependence on the acting secretary-general: As head of the Central Section, he was not part of the personal staff of the acting secretary-general, although he still worked in a position close to him. It was Drummond's advocacy that helped Wilson to fill this position. The departing secretary-general recommended his service in a letter to Avenol in 1933: "(…) [T]herefore, I am certain that he would willingly agree to take up a post of an administrative character, for which I think also he is very well fitted, (…)."[86]

In short, the environment of the League secretariat and the emerging crisis in the international system allowed Wilson to follow a career path that could not have been anticipated for a New Zealand-born subject in the system of the British Empire. A micro-historical analysis of Wilson's career shows that the international organization of the League of Nations provided new career opportunities for employees from small and peripheral states in the interwar period. In his function within the secretariat Wilson was, besides administrative tasks, able to negotiate with the delegates and representatives of the League's member countries, and thus avoided the obstacles which had originally dissuaded him from becoming a diplomat in the British service. The following section proceeds to analyse Wilson's activities outside of the international secretariat. By studying the terms of Wilson's annual leave it is possible to see how on the one hand he used his mission for the League of Nations to facilitate his career within the secretariat, and on the other hand he staged himself as an influential diplomat beyond Geneva in dominion-related circles.

## "The First League Official to go There" – Wilson's Journeys as a League Official

Wilson's work in the secretariat was not limited to Geneva. His mission documents and travel expenses show that travelling and representation in foreign countries was an integral part of his work; he even used his annual vacation to do voluntary work for the secretariat. Wilson again crossed borders – and not just geographical ones. In fact, he staged

84 Ibid., 155.
85 Report of the Central Section, April 9, 1934, LoN 50/10535/9771.
86 Eric Drummond to Joseph Avenol, May 25, 1933, LoN S 908/1/3788.

himself as an international representative of the League's secretariat and thus stepped out of the backroom. The idea Johannes Paulmann has recently articulated in his article about globe-trotterism ("Weltläufertum") is central to this point: Travellers often aspired at private or social advancement through their voyages, especially after their return.[87] It is clear that Wilson used his voyages likewise to facilitate his career within the secretariat as well as to strengthen his networks in the political society of New Zealand. This idea of travelling as instrument to ensure professional and social advancement is an extremely interesting one in Wilson's case. Whilst travellers usually visit foreign countries on their voyages, Wilson in contrast came returned to his mother country not as visitor but as an official for the League of Nations. The analysis of his journeys allows us a deep insight into his behaviour aside from his daily work routine in the secretariat, as well as into the relation to his mother country. During his occupation at the League, Wilson left the secretariat five times for a longer voyage to his home country: in 1924/25, in 1927/28, in 1931/32, in 1934/35, and in 1937/38. These journeys produced large amounts of source material: For each there is a file with correspondences, reports, bills, and detailed information about his activities in New Zealand. Furthermore, the local newspapers usually reported on Wilson's arrival and stay. Therefore, the source material for this aspect of Wilson's professional life is considerably secure. This section analyses the role those journeys played in Wilson's career and investigates Wilson's self-staging.

All civil servants of the League were entitled to visit their home countries on a paid leave once per year. This so called 'annual leave' was introduced to ensure that there was equality between members from European and non-European countries as far as possible.[88] Wilson was an exceptional case for the secretariat's administration: The Staff Regulation estimated twenty-six days as the overall journey time for officials on annual leave. But for New Zealanders this was not a satisfactory solution since twenty-six days barely sufficed for the outward journey.[89] Therefore, a special arrangement was made for Wilson that would serve as a model for other servants from distant countries. His leave time was considerably elongated, but he could only go on leave every three years. [90]

Nevertheless, his leaves seemed to pose a serious threat to his professional advancement since he usually left the secretariat from the end of October until the middle of March.[91] This meant that right after the closing of the General Assembly of the League an important member of the secretariat dropped out of contact for months. The results and resolutions of the assembly had to be implemented during this time and the secretariat was quite a busy place. Therefore, his absence every three years meant considerable additional

87 Paulmann, "Regionen und Welten," 697.

88 Cf. Ranshofen Wertheimer, *Secretariat*, 299. Especially in the late 1930s this arrangement led to problems because the annual leave only allowed officials to travel to their mother countries. After the annexation of Austria into the German Empire there were several officials without citizenship. However, in Wilson's case there were no complications.

89 Joseph Vivian Wilson to Eric Drummond, May 15, 1924, LoN S 908/1/3788.

90 Joseph Vivian Wilson to Professor Attolico, January 9, 1925, LoN S 908/1/3788.

91 Joseph Vivian Wilson to Eric Drummond, May 15, 1924, LoN S 908/1/3788.

work for the other members of Eric Drummond's personal staff. Despite the sympathy the other officials had for Wilson's circumstances this was surely a threat to his career, which seemed to disqualify him for higher positions.

But Wilson developed a strategy to cope with this situation without abdicating travelling to New Zealand. In a letter detailing the exact arrangement for this first leave in 1924, he suggested using his absence for a considerable amount of networking activities, as he was "certainly (…) the first official of the League to go there."[92]

Thus, he turned the disadvantage of the distance of his mother country to an advantage: New Zealand, as an important part of the British Commonwealth, was at the periphery of the League of Nations system and Wilson saw a necessity to work there for the international case: "Many people [are] well disposed towards the League."[93] The periphery position of New Zealand in the League system was made obvious in the brochure *The League of Nations: A Pictorial Survey* published by the League of Nations Information section in 1929. In it only a small part of New Zealand is actually visible, the largest part of the two islands is chopped off in the map. Eric Drummond agreed with Wilson's appraisement:

> *There is, as you say, a large amount of latent goodwill, but very little knowledge. I therefore think it is of great importance that you should, as far as possible, undertake some lectures on the League work while you are in New Zealand.*[94]

Wilson even expanded his commitment: "I may find that I can append a few days usefully in one or two Australian cities explaining some aspects of the League's work (…)."[95] Drummond appreciated this proposal and even supported him:

> *In these very distant countries we should take every opportunity of members of the Secretariat going on leave to do propaganda work, and therefore I am inclined in such cases to suggest that a fortnight's extra leave should be given.*[96]

Perhaps Wilson showed this commitment because he was a convinced idealist and wanted to spread the ideals of the League of Nations and collective peace-keeping in his home country, but my study of Wilson suggests that he mostly tried to show his goodwill and commitment to the League of Nations in order to advance his career. Although he left the secretariat every three years, in this time he accomplished tasks which could not have been completed by most of the other League of Nations servants. In addition, if Wilson had already been a convinced and engaged internationalist, he would have already known what to do in New Zealand and who to contact to spread propaganda for the League. However, he needed to ask the Information Section for those contacts. Wilson, who staged himself as a capable advocate of the League of Nations case in Oceania, was

92 Joseph Vivian Wilson to Administrative Committee, June 6, 1924, LoN S 908/1/3788.
93 Joseph Vivian Wilson to Eric Drummond, November 3, 1924, LoN S 908/1/3788.
94 Eric Drummond to Joseph Vivian Wilson, November 6 ,1924, LoN S 908/1/3788.
95 Joseph Vivian Wilson to Eric Drummond, November 3, 1924, LoN S 908/1/3788.
96 Eric Drummond to Pierre Comert, Minute Sheet, November 4, 1924, LoN S 908/1/3788.

actually dependent on assistance and contacts from the Lithuanian princess Gabrielle Radziwill who worked in the Information Section. She gave him the addresses of contact persons on New Zealand and equipped him with Information Section literature.[97]

In the following years, this procedure was maintained and even expanded. Both secretary-generals, Eric Drummond and Joseph Avenol, were aware that Wilson's willingness to work during his annual leave was very useful, and they even began to send him to other countries while he was on his way to New Zealand: In 1927 he held a lecture in the Institute for International Affairs in Montreal[98], in 1928 in the Institute for Pacific Relations on Hawai'i[99], and in 1935 he visited the branch office of the League in Bombay.[100] Eric Drummond cherished his mission reports: "I think they clearly show the value of a certain amount of time being granted to members of the Secretariat who visit their homes in far distant countries on leave for education work in the country."[101] Thus, Drummond ensured that the countries in the peripheries were visited by "a man on the spot" who could act as a broker between the local League of Nations Unions and the Geneva-based League.

The model of Wilson doing voluntary work during the annual leave became a successful one within the secretariat, especially in times of economic exertion as an Internal Circular of 1932 shows: "[I]n view of the urgent need for the strictest economy, it is desired that official missions, particularly those undertaken for purpose of liaison, should as far as possible be undertaken by officials who proceed to their mother countries on ordinary leave at the expense of the League."[102]

Wilson used his activities in New Zealand to stage himself as an official representative of the League. He met important politicians and negotiated with them on equal terms: In 1925 he met the foreign minister of New Zealand, Sir Francis Bell, who was at the same time chair of the League of Nations Union,[103] and in 1935 he conferred with delegates from the Australian Foreign Ministry about the establishment of closer diplomatic relations between Australia and Geneva.[104] Although his employer was an international organization not a national government he was able to enjoy the same legal privileges as national diplomats.

The comparatively extensive media coverage of his visits shows that Wilson's activities in New Zealand and Australia were followed with broad interest and curiosity by the public and media representatives: "It is not often that on this side of the world the public are able to get an inside view of international problems as studied in Geneva," the *Evening Post* stated.[105] Most of his activities involved lectures and presentations at local offices

97 Gabriele Radziwill to Mr. Cunnings, January 27, 1925, LoN S 908/1/388.
98 Minute, October 1, 1928, LoN 30/62570/57547.
99 Joseph Vivian Wilson to Mr. Makay, October 5, 1927, LoN S 908/1/3788.
100 Pablo de Azcárate to Joseph Vivian Wilson, January 29, 1935, LoN 50/13629/1719.
101 Note, June 15, 1931, LoN 50/23488/17785.
102 Note by the Under Secretary-General in charge of internal administration, June 21, 1932, LoN 50/6655/1719.
103 "Ignorance and Apathy" *Evening Post*, February 10, 1925, 4.
104 "Personal" *The Argus*, March 2, 1935, 22.
105 "League of Nations" *Evening Post*, February 4, 1925, 9.

of League of Nations Unions in New Zealand and Australia.[106] His lectures were rather unspectacular: He presented the structure and aims of the League and talked about the language problems in the multilingual secretariat.[107] Most likely Wilson only passed on the slides and instructions he had received from the information section and added a few personal anecdotes. But Wilson did not restrict himself to propaganda work: He clearly saw himself as a diplomat – he represented the secretariat and its interest – but had no political agenda of his own. In 1927 he requested that the sections of the League of Nations inform him about important topics that he should discuss with governmental representatives because "it may be a year or so before Canadian or Australian members of the Secretariat visit Canada or Australia respectively."[108]

The long and extensive mission reports Wilson wrote about every visit to New Zealand after 1927 illustrate his desire to emphasize the dimension of his engagement. In those reports he listed meticulously his activities and the local political situation.[109] The sheer amount of lectures he held during the annual leave shows how much the role of representative for the League of Nations appealed to him.

However, it is also interesting to note that Wilson did not present himself as an expert: He even showed an open ignorance about topics like social welfare. In fact, the interwar feminist and member of Information Section Gabrielle Radziwill criticized the report from his annual leave in 1930/31 because he did not mention the social situation of New Zealand and asked: "Is it due to the fact that no such interest exists, or that no effort was made to awaken it (…)?"[110] Wilson clearly demonstrated the practical worth of his travels for the secretariat. His activities in London,[111] Bombay, and Montreal even indicate that he tried not to limit his missions to New Zealand or Oceania. It seems that Drummond saw him as especially able in tasks concerning the British Empire: His socialisation in the British society of New Zealand and his education at Cambridge made it easy for Wilson to receive admission to the elitist circles in the British Empire, and his excellent French served him well in Montreal. Therefore, the League of Nations missions provided him with the opportunity to take over representative functions on the diplomatic stage.

## "The Ultimate Backroom Boy"? Wilson's Career after the League of Nations

In this third section I want to analyse the last stage of Wilson's career: his resignation from the League's secretariat and his entry in the diplomatic service of New Zealand. After terminating his contract as an international civil servant, Wilson decided to return

106 For example, "Peace on Earth" *Evening Post*, February 6, 1925, 3.
107 "The League Secretariat's Work" *The Sydney Morning Herald*, February 19, 1925, 8. "Peace and Security" *The Register*, March 4, 1925, 10.
108 Confidential circular, October 27, 1927, LoN 30/63570/57547.
109 For example: Joseph Vivian Wilson, Mission report, May 29, 1931, LoN 50/23488/17785.
110 Gabrielle Radziwill to Joseph Vivian Wilson, December 14, 1931, LoN 50/23488/17785.
111 Joseph Vivian Wilson to Internal Control Office, October 24, 1927, LoN 30/63570/57547.

to the service of his mother country and to accept an eminently respectable occupation there. His decision to leave Europe was embedded in a period of rapid developments throughout the late 1930s. The everyday work life of the Geneva secretariat was extremely influenced by the political changes in Europe. Frank Paul Walters draws a gloomy picture of the situation in Geneva after the outbreak of war in Europe:

> *For months before the war started the permanent services of the League had been living in Geneva in the state of mind of a man in daily expectation of sentence of exile, or death. They continued to carry on the normal work of their various departments, conscious all the time that it might at any moment come to an abrupt and even a violent end. They drew up plans for future meetings and future studies, knowing only too well that probably their meetings would never be held and their studies would never be completed.*[112]

However, as Ranshofen-Wertheimer emphasized: "An administration of a certain size, staffed with permanent officials, is a world in itself and that its activities become self-perpetuating."[113] But the work of the League was becoming increasingly difficult:[114] Mobility in Europe was no longer warranted, and the Swiss Government tried to urge the League of Nations to leave Switzerland because it feared that the Axis Powers could consider the activities of the League a breach of its neutrality.[115] Already by 1938 several sections had been transferred to America.[116] Secretary-General Joseph Avenol, who sympathised with the Vichy Government, was "less than half-hearted in regard of the League itself."[117] In May 1940 he started to gradually disintegrate the League. He sent an Internal Circular that forced 160 members of the secretariat "to opt immediately between suspension of contract and resignation."[118] Although Wilson was not one of these servants, he also decided to leave the secretariat. The deputy secretary-general, Sean Lester, noted this decision in his diary: "Walters, Loveday, Wilson and others, went off to leave their families somewhere safer."[119] Joseph Avenol accepted his resignation from his duties on July 2, 1940.

After leaving Geneva in 1940 Wilson moved with his family to London. He managed to get a post as an assistant director at the Royal Institute for International Affairs in Chatham House.[120] He worked there from 1941–1944 and one of his projects was the publication *The International Secretariat of the Future. Lessons from Experience by a Group*

112 Walters, *History*, 801.
113 Ranshofen-Wertheimer, *International Secretariat*, 373.
114 Zara Steiner, *The Triumph of the Dark: European International History 1933–1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 175–9.
115 James Barros, *Betrayal from Within: Joseph Avenol, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, 1933–1940*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 210; Walters, *History*, 801.
116 Walters, *History*, 809.
117 Ibid., 810.
118 Internal circular 43 1940, May 15, 1940, LoN 18A/39002. The difference between suspension and resignation mattered in questions of pension and gratuity.
119 Diary of Sean Lester, May 29, 1940, LoN Pp 274, 433.
120 Templeton, "Wilson, Joseph Vivian".

*of Former Officals of the League of Nations*.[121] For this survey he participated in a study group of former League civil servants. The other participants were Eric Drummond, Thannasis Aghnides, Eric Colban, Adrianus Pelt, and Francis Paul Walters. All had worked for the League's secretariat in high positions. Wilson summarized the argumentation of this project in a lecture he gave for the Royal Institute of International Affairs in 1944.[122] Generally, the study group came to the conclusion that the reasons for the failure of the League of Nations were not administrative in nature, on the contrary, the administration of the League was held up as a role model for its successor.[123]

In this speech Wilson's remarks concerning the personal composition of the international secretariat are of special interest. He emphasized the importance of the international loyalty of the staff but insisted likewise on national bonds for the League's secretariat: "It does not mean that he cannot, or should not, be a loyal citizen of his own country. Instead, it is only such a one whose international loyalty is likely to wear well."[124] His experiences in the secretariat showed him that an official could only work successfully if he had the support of his mother country behind him. This experience strengthened his (previously mentioned) opinion against cosmopolitanism. Wilson saw what happened to officials who had lost the support of their national states – as in the case of the Austrian Member of the secretariat, Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer, who lost his citizenship after the Anschluss, a turn of events that complicated his work for the secretariat immensely.[125] Wilson emphasized the importance of nationality for international civil servants but made clear that the loyalty to the international organization must play a greater role: "In Geneva it was possible to encounter a tongue-tied Frenchman, a stupid Italian, a breezy Spaniard, an uncensorious Norwegian, a repressed Australian, and an egalitarian Englishman; but the majority conformed."[126]

At this stage Wilson saw that his professional future lay most likely in international administration. His activities in the study group, as well as his numerous reviews of literature about international administration during his time in London, show that he wanted to keep a foot in the door of the international administration. Perhaps he saw a high post as an adviser in the post-war international organization as both desirable and attainable. This would not have been extraordinary as quite a few former League of Nations officials transferred their expertise to the staff of the early United Nations. It may be that this option even formed the main reason for the Wilsons deciding to remain in Europe during the war. Apparently, the third secretary-general of the League, Sean Lester, already indicated to Wilson that he might be considered for a post.[127] But due

121 Eric Drummond et al., *The international Secretariat of the Future: Lessons from Experience by a Group of Former Officials of the League of Nations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1944).

122 Joseph Vivian Wilson, "Problems of an International Secretariat," *International Affairs* 20/4 (1944): 542–54: 545.

123 Ibid., 548, 547, 551.

124 Wilson, "Problems," 546.

125 Madeleine Herren, "Netzwerke," in *Dimensionen Internationaler Geschichte*, eds. Jost Dülffer and Wilfried Loth (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2012), 126.

126 Ibid., 545.

127 Joseph Vivian Wilson to Sean Lester, February 6, 1944, LoN SLP 194 Jun 2VD.

to political developments in 1944, Wilson received a job offer that attracted him even more, as a letter from Wilson to Sean Lester reveals:

> *As it is, things have taken a new turn for me in that I have accepted an offer by the New Zealand Government to return to New Zealand and take up a job as what I think they call Political Adviser in the Department of External Affairs. It is a very small Department, of course, and we cannot be expected to develop to the extent of Canberra or Ottawa, but still we have our problems too, and I am happy to be given this chance to help in solving them.*[128]

The Foreign Ministry of New Zealand began to send permanent diplomatic missions to other nations during the early 1940s when it became obvious that they could no longer rely on the strength of the British Empire.[129] Wilson's role was to help prepare personnel and structures to develop official foreign relations in preparation for the ratification of the Westminster Statute in 1947. Because of his administrative experience as an international civil servant, he was an ideal recruit. The position as political adviser was his admission ticket into New Zealand's diplomacy world. In the Department of External Affairs he played an important role in the conception of the personnel and in the institutional foundation.[130] But his major interest was his engagement in international affairs from a national perspective: He was part of New Zealand's delegation to the San Francisco Conference and later he represented his mother country at the General Assembly of the United Nations.[131]

His decision to refuse the job offer made by Lester and to return to New Zealand substantiates the argument of this paper: At the moment when the limitations which prevented Wilson from becoming a diplomat ceased to exist, he used the first opportunity to enter the Foreign Ministry of New Zealand. When the de-dominionization of New Zealand entered a critical level he was no longer constrained and could return to his mother country.

Wilson concluded his professional career as the first ambassador of New Zealand in Paris – without a doubt a prestigious conclusion to a diplomat's career. This appointment preceded a short argument between Wilson and Secretary of State Alister McIntosh: "J. V. would much prefer to be Deputy Secretary to having Paris and he has been extremely angry with my over the whole business."[132] This incident reveals the limitations of Wilson's course taken in life: While he had more practical experience in international admin-

128 Ibid.

129 David Capie, "New Zealand and the World: Imperial, International and Global Relations" in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand,* ed. Giselle Byrnes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 573–99, 574.

130 Alister McIntosh to Frank Corner, August 18 1953, cit. a.: Ian McGibbon, ed., *Unofficial Channels: Letters between Alister McIntosh and Foss Shanahan, George Laking and Frank Corner 1946–1966*, (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1999), 148.

131 "Zealand delegates and advisers at the International Conference at San Francisco" *Evening Post*, July 14. 1945, 10; Malcolm Templeton, *An Eye, an Ear and a Voice: 50 years in New Zealand's External Relations* (Wellington: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 1993), 102; "Officials Return" *Evening Post*, February 25, 1952, 4.

132 Alister McIntosh to Frank Corner, June 20, 1955, cit. a.: Ian McGibbon, *Unofficial Channels*, 148.

istration and diplomacy than most other New Zealanders, he was not able to enforce his will. Wilson had stayed seventeen years in Europe and therefore had no experience with New Zealand's politics. It was probably because of this, as well as because of his excellent command of French and his advanced years, that it was decided to send him in 1956 first as minister than as full ambassador to Paris. This post was of extreme importance for New Zealand's diplomatic service because it was the only diplomatic mission in Europe at the time. Wilson was received in an audience with the British Queen in May 1956; afterwards he began his service in France and remained there until his retirement in December 1959.[133]

Wilson looked back on a long professional life first as international civil servant and later as diplomat – a career that was hardly thinkable for a New Zealander before the ratification of the Westminster Statute. He died on December 29, 1977 at the age of 83 in a hospital near Wellington.

## Conclusions

By analysing the professional career of the international civil servant Joseph Vivian Wilson this paper contributed to an investigation of the career opportunities the newly established international institutions of the interwar period offered for citizens of small states. The key to Wilson's career laid in the political context of the interwar period: The engagement of the Dominion of New Zealand in the League of Nations opened up a new career path for Wilson, which would have been not possible before. This micro-historical analysis of his activities within the secretariat has revealed the career opportunities of a New Zealander within the international bureaucracy and how the political situation of the interwar period, as well as the administrative developments within the secretariat, allowed him to reach his career zenith. The detailed reconstruction of Wilson's activities within the secretariat showed how Wilson was perceived by his seniors and how they reacted to his behaviour as well as to his New Zealand origins.

This paper has described Wilson's life as a global biography in which transgression is a pivotal aspect. By stepping across borders Wilson was able to enlarge his professional agency and to develop his career. Therefore, he can be best described as a professional border-crosser: Wilson's career was determined by three central moments of border-crossing: (1) The decision to leave the professional system of the British Empire and to enter the international administration allowed him to avoid the limitations that a New Zealander would have been exposed to in British society. (2) During his triennial leave he was able on the one hand to improve his standing within the secretariat and on the other to foster his networks in New Zealand by meeting with high-ranking officials. Through his activities as official representative of the League of Nations he was even able to go beyond his occupation in administration and act in a position similar to a diplomatic

133 "Personal" *Evening Post*, December 9, 1959, 5.

representative. (3) With the political transformation at the end of World War II, New Zealand decided to establish its own diplomatic service, and Wilson was an obvious and appealing recruit for this institution. He was able to return to New Zealand and to finally become a 'regular,' national diplomat.

The study of Wilson's career suggested that the League acted as a facilitator for the career of employees from peripheral states. To contextualize this case study it would be necessary to investigate the professional relations of the League's secretariat and British dominions in a more detailed way. What was the role played, for example, by the employees from British dominions working for the League in clearly subaltern positions like translators or typists?

# Between Territoriality, Performance, and Transcultural Entanglement (1920–1939): A Typology of Transboundary Lives

**Madeleine Herren**

**RESÜMEE**

Der Beitrag nimmt Personen in den Blick, die in der Zwischenkriegszeit internationalen Organisationen zugeordnet waren und Kontakte zum Sekretariat des Völkerbunds pflegten. Diese höchst heterogene Gruppe ist der methodologische Ausgangspunkt für die kritische Analyse der Figur des Fremden; sie werden als politische Eliten, international tätige Experten, Internationalisten und global agierende Illusionisten charakterisiert. Die Karriereverläufe dieser auf den ersten Blick entweder unscheinbaren oder untypischen Biographien folgten spezifischen sozialen Mustern, die allerdings nur mit einer Methodologie sichtbar werden, die eindeutige kategoriale Zuschreibungen von Zugehörigkeit und Differenzierung vermeidet. Stattdessen ermöglicht eine am methodischen und analytischen Instrumentarium des *new cosmopolitanism* und der transkulturellen Geschichte geschulte historische Analyse einen neuen Zugang: Das Überschreiten von sozialen, kulturellen und politischen Grenzen wird als sozial konstitutiver und regelsetzender Akt sichtbar. In dieser Lesart erscheinen die jeweils unterschiedlichen Ausprägungen und die wechselnde Bedeutung von Territorialität, Performativität und transkultureller Verflechtung als Referenzpunkte, welche die sozialen und politischen Rahmenbedingungen transgressiver Biographien im Umfeld des Völkerbunds zu verstehen erlauben.

Between 1919 and 1946 the League of Nations became one of the hot spots of cosmopolitan internationalism. In the area around the League of Nations buildings in Geneva – one of the best and most expensive areas on the shore of the lake – a multicultural, cosmopolitan society celebrated a new form of intellectual openness. The same generation experienced the vulnerability of cosmopolitan lifestyles during the Great Depression, the rise of totalitarian systems, and the outbreak of World War II. To gain insight into the cosmopolitan biographies that developed under these fast-changing circumstances is a

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methodologically challenging task: On the one hand the presentation of individual cases runs the risk of essentializing personal circumstances, on the other, taking the epistemic community as an ordering concept indeed provides a valuable insight into networks of persons acting in the same expert-related fields beyond the nation-state. However, the episteme not only underwent a dynamic process of change in the timeframe concerned, the approach itself produces new problems: First, whoever does not fit into expert networks is literally non-existent. Second, and even more importantly, epistemic communities conceptualize *insights*, while those belonging to various expert groups, or switching between them, or not belonging to any of the well-know groups cease to be under investigation. In this contribution, the methodological framework avoids grouping communities by topics. In lieu we have identified the employees of the League of Nations as a suitable group for the development of a qualitative typology of transboundary lives. The same group is part of the Lonsea database,[1] which is an ongoing research project at the University of Heidelberg. The database allows researchers to contextualize people on the payroll of the League in more sophisticated ways: Lonsea displays the League's collaborators, the international organizations under the umbrella of the League, and the places the international organizations chose for their secretariats. The database therefore combines information about persons-institutions-places on a global level. The persons presented in this contribution share a common characteristic, namely that they all figured on the League's payroll for longer or shorter period of time. The chosen individuals, however, are not representative from a statistical point of view with respect to the more than 9,600 persons the Lonsea database actually contains. Rather, qualitative research based on the personnel files of the League of Nations employees challenges the concept of the database, which combines the persons involved in international organizations, the organizations as institutional entities, and the places where the organizations had established their seats. With this contribution, investigation into the biographies of real people "translates" the database's presumptions. The aim is to critically flesh out the presumption that functions in international organizations help to understand the diversity of transboundary lives. The biographies of these people raise the methodological problem that specifying patterns should not eliminate their complexity. The biographies presented below range from persons with an open-minded lifestyle and cultivated curiosity to the miserable life of migrants facing statelessness and forced migration.[2] For the qualitative approach mentioned above, this contribution transcribes the database's *persons – institutions – places* approach into a schema for individuals, understanding their function in international organizations as an aspect of performance, their local interferences with global aims as territoriality, and the confrontation between cosmopolitan and national claims as fields of transcultural entanglements. Following this line of argumen-

1 For the presentation of Lonsea see Davide Rodogno, Shaloma Gauthier, and Francesca Piana, "What Does Transnational History Tell Us about a World with International Organizations?" in *Routledge Handbook of International Organization,* ed. Bob Reinalda (London: Routledge, 2013), 94ff.

2 All persons working for the League of Nations are mentioned in Lonsea, http://www.lonsea.de (accessed November 17, 2013).

tation, the difference between a cosmopolitan and an alien reveals a significant area of conflict since identity-building needs exclusion on the one hand and global coherence on the other, as well as the affirmation that knowledge about a person can be confirmed beyond borders.

This methodological approach uses the well-known figure of the travelling stranger as its starting point.[3] However, a social history of those who lived dangerously close to the fringes of society is still needed.[4] Although under the current circumstances of globalized living conditions an increasing interest in new cosmopolitanism should be expected, there is astonishingly little historical evidence beyond the concept. For instance, we know almost nothing about the lives of those who had to switch constantly between the roles of aliens and cosmopolitans. It is difficult to understand the limits set by contemporary social and political master narratives or to estimate the ambiguity of national control and the changing porosity of national borders beyond personal self-reflection.

The following discussion aims at establishing a historical methodology that understands cosmopolitanism as the result of the following three changing sources of legitimation: performance, territoriality, and transcultural/transnational entanglement. This approach presumes that the often mentioned positive aspect of cosmopolitanism[5] develops if all three sources of legitimation coincide and interact positively, which is the case only in specific historical situations and is dependent on specific political and economic factors. All three aspects are used in conjunction as the basis for an analytical approach to the individual biographies that are described here as "transboundary lives". This biographical concept makes reference to Etienne Balibar's "polysemic nature of borders."[6] Border-crossing as a main element in someone's life is therefore not a mere question of travelling. In the example presented here – people on the payroll of the League of Nations – more borders were crossed than just national ones.

After a discussion of new cosmopolitanism within the social sciences and humanities the two following sections will use the League of Nations' personnel files to substantiate the epistemological value of the three-layered analytical setting. However, by using the evidence of a global imaginary of men and 'new' women in standardized business suits, can we actually reach beyond the biographies of those who belonged to the newly invented profession of international civil servants? The research design at least discloses

3 Rudolf Stichweh, *Der Fremde: Studien zu Soziologie und Sozialgeschichte* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2010). Published in the 1930s, contemporary studies pointed out that the travelling stranger can even act as an advertisement for the academic life: In the very first sentence of Margaret Mary Wood's influential sociological study *The Stranger* she points to "the writer's own experiences as a stranger." See Margaret Mary Wood, *The Stranger: A Study in Social Relationships (*New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 7.

4 See Rosenberg's chapter on "spectacular flows" in Emily Rosenberg, ed., *A World Connecting, 1870–1945* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2012). For the historicity of individuals located on the fringes see Tim Cresswell, *The Tramp in America* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001); Franziska Rogger and Madeleine Herren, *Inszeniertes Leben. Die entzauberte Biographie des Selbstdarstellers Dr. Tomarkin* (Wien: Böhlau, 2012).

5 Cosmopolitanism as "new humanism," a tool of European integration; as a positive curiosity towards other cultures; as the opening of perspective towards the world as explained, for example, by Kwame Anthony Appiah, *The Ethics of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

6 Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, (London: Verso, 2002).

a new insight into the still rather unknown administrative history of the League of Nations, pointing out the problems in how to translate national procedures of governmental administration into an international context. In addition, the aspect of transcultural entanglement answers the crucial question of whether or not transboundary lives have the support of a larger community, and to whom this community belongs, whether other international organizations replace the missing social connectivity to families and nations, or whether different origins intertwine to form a new transcultural coherence. To answer this question the influence of Eurocentric historical research traditions needs to be re-examined. The empirical evidence of cosmopolitanism resulting from the three-layered historical coordinate plane first considers the Asian participants.

The subsequent section suggests a typology of border-crossing lives. Although limited to the source material mentioned above, transboundary lives gain specific profiles as elite cosmopolitans, experts creating global topics, cumulative internationalists, and global illusionists.

## New Cosmopolitanism and Transcultural History: The Search for Theoretical Concepts and Analytical Tools

In dealing with a territoriality that is still nationally defined and at the same time with the growing significance of agencies beyond nations, international organizations provide an interesting example of how an increasing interest in transgressive elements has changed the epistemological aims of global history. While questions of definition and the separation between governmental and non-governmental international organizations have taken a backseat, research interest now emphasizes the multilayered function and spatiality of international organizations.[7] Using the well-established and prolific concept of "multiple modernities" as one of the best current working examples, new publications on the United Nations have begun to identify a first, second, and third United Nations[8]: The first is the declared function of the UN as an organization of sovereign states; the second UN comprises the field of international civil servants; and the third takes into consideration NGO experts, non-governmental organizations, and other international actors connected to but not necessarily associated directly with the UN.

Besides the new post-Cold War topics mentioned above, new perspectives in social sciences need more than a mere reinterpretation of the past – they need a transcultural history. As will be explained in this paper, transcultural history has developed as part

7 Madeleine Herren, *Internationale Organisationen seit 1865: Eine Globalgeschichte der internationalen Ordnung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009); Madeleine Herren, Martin Rüesch, and Christiane Sibille, *Transcultural History* (Berlin: Springer, 2012).

8 See Thomas George Weiss and Richard Jolly, "The 'Third' United Nations," *UN Intellectual History Project Briefing Note* 3 (2009): 1–3, http://www.unhistory.org/briefing/3ThirdUN.pdf (accessed November 17, 2013); Thomas George Weiss, Tatiana Carayannis, and Richard Jolly, "The 'Third' United Nations," *Global Governance* 15/1 (2009): 123–46.

of the debates on new cosmopolitanism with a strong focus on transgressing borders. Although transculturality does not equal transnationalism, transnational developments may surface as empirical evidence of a transcultural approach; therefore both concepts will be explored.

New cosmopolitanism emerges as a valuable source of innovative concepts in the historiography. As the sociologist Gerard Delanty explains, cosmopolitanism comprises different aspects of border-crossing: It serves as a theoretical framework for political philosophy related to global governance and world citizenship, and it justifies liberal multiculturalism, transnational movements, and global exchange processes.[9] Above all, Delanty differentiates between the local and the global and introduces cosmopolitanism as a "third culture" where both interact: "Cosmopolitanism is a third level of culture in which diverse social actors – communities, nations, civilizations – can engage with the world."[10] The introduction of dynamic exchange processes between the local and global on the one hand, and an acknowledgment of exchange as more than an ephemeral moment on the other, transgresses the traditional understanding of cosmopolitanism in a way that is both innovative and useful for biographical research. This essay understands cosmopolitanism as an analytical concept, not as a description of citizens of the world who are protected by laws of hospitality and who are later provided with unalienable rights even outside of their religious, social, and national affiliations in the Kantian tradition.[11] As part of the research design, cosmopolitanism emerges as a result of temporary interferences and is therefore differentiated from the concept of developing universal rules as mentioned in recent debates.[12]

However, scientific debates on cosmopolitanism are helpful as a valuation of border-crossing concepts within the disciplines of social sciences, since behind these new approaches there is a self-reflective discourse on methodological nationalism and its replacement with a global, cosmopolitan research imagination.[13] As an academic discipline closely connected with the invention and legitimation of the modern nation-state, history overcomes nineteenth-century historicism through a critical discussion of the concept of a cosmopolitan Europe, a debate that was initiated by Ulrich Beck and Anthony

9 Gerard Delanty, *The Cosmopolitan Imagination: The Renewal of Critical Social Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 4.

10 Ibid., 11.

11 For the right to universal hospitality see Jacques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes, (London: Routledge, 2001); Gillian Brock, *Global Justice: A Cosmopolitan Account* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

12 Carol A. Breckenridge, Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhabha, and Dipesh Chakrabarty eds., *Cosmopolitanism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002). For a short introduction to the history of the concept see Pauline Kleingeld and Eric Brown, "Cosmopolitanism," in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (2006), http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/cosmopolitanism/ (accessed March 20, 2010). For the problem of cosmopolitanism as a Western concept see Delanty, *Cosmopolitan Imagination*, 20. He refers to the need to bring Asian cosmopolitan thinking into consideration.

13 Ulrich Beck, *Was ist Globalisierung? Irrtümer des Globalismus – Antworten auf Globalisierung* (Frankfurt/ Main: Suhrkamp, 2007); Jane Kenway and Johannah Fahey eds., *Globalising the Research Imagination* (London: Routledge, 2008).

Giddens.[14] These debates introduced a new shaping of the concepts of inclusion and exclusion, a new understanding of labelling differences,[15] and – of particular importance for the historian – a growing interest in fuzzy, ambiguous, but interrelated transgressions.[16] Following this line of thinking, key terms like "space" or "culture" are no longer understood as well-defined "containers," but as dynamic and changing or multiplying concepts within a global context. In this regard, discussions on cosmopolitanism are especially helpful, and the ideal of a borderless world-state – or at least of globally accepted human rights – as the beginning of global citizenship[17] is challenged by a discourse on new borders. The concept of the "polysemic nature of borders" introduced by Etienne Balibar[18] helps to us to analyze the changing character of borders and transgression.

In the historiography the setting of borders is a crucial argument. The introduction of histories within national borders has had far reaching consequences for the development of the discipline. A new transcultural history is now beginning to elaborate on the question of who owns the analytical tools for different border settings. In the debates on new medievalism and – more important for this approach – discussions on empires as a cosmopolitan construct, historical interest highlights negotiation processes, the moments and places where different cultural traditions are intertwined.[19] Focusing on borders is a promising method in this development since it encompasses the reformulation and creation of borders, described by Magdalena Nowicka as "(b)ordering."[20] It includes the moment of sanctions and control, but also copes with changing rules on an individual level. The epistemological value of considering borders and thresholds in their broad definition as a social practice of differentiation is a key element in our understanding of transcultural history. At a glance, transcultural history focuses on incompatibilities, tensions, and disputes that develop whenever people, objects, concepts, or ideas transgress the ruling orders/borders of their respective time. Compared to nationally focused histories, instead of attaching the past to clearly defined entities such as eras, territories,

14 Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens, "Nationalism has now become the enemy of Europe's nations," *The Guardian*, October 4, 2005, 28, http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/oct/04/eu.world (accessed March 20, 2010); Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande, *Das kosmopolitische Europa: Gesellschaft und Politik in der Zweiten Moderne* (Frankfurt/ Main: Suhrkamp, 2004); Ulrich Beck and Natan Sznaider, "Unpacking Cosmopolitanism for the Social Sciences: A Research Agenda," *British Journal of Sociology* 57/1 (2006): 1–23; Anthony Giddens, *Europe in the Global Age* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

15 Stichweh, *Der Fremde*.

16 Actually, different concepts from various disciplines are seeking to overcome normative rigidity. In the historiography, transnationalism and different forms of entanglement develop into a rather transcultural historiography, reflecting Appadurai's concept of border-crossing flows, Wagner's concept of asymmetrical relations, and Welsch's new framing of transculturality. See Madeleine Herren, Christiane Sibille, and Martin Rüesch, *Transcultural History*.

17 For this debate see Brock, *Global Justice.*

18 Etienne Balibar, *Politics and the Other Scene* (London: Verso, 2002), 81ff.

19 Tomoko Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific: The United States, Japan and the Institute of Pacific Relations in War and Peace, 1919–1945* (London: Routledge, 2002); Jennifer Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire: Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Beck and Grande, *Das kosmopolitische Europa*.

20 Magdalena Nowicka, *Transnational Professionals and their Cosmopolitan Universes* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2006), 224.

nations, classes, or states, a transcultural approach brings forth topics that tend to have been neglected in historical research. Among these the biographical approach needs to develop a focus on transboundary lives that is not limited to cosmopolitans but is also able to critically discuss the pejorative naming of transgressive lifestyles as proselytism, impostors' mimicry, or piracy.

## Methods: The Paradox of Performance, Territoriality, and Transcultural Entanglement

In the following methodological section of this paper, the research design will construct a three-dimensional grid made up of performance, territoriality, and transcultural entanglement. This tool aims at a social history of transboundary lives. The biographies of men and women[21] on the League of Nations' payroll between 1920 and 1946 are interpreted along the three dimensions of the grid and serve as the empirical evidence with which we may test the epistemological value of analyzing transboundary lives.

This research design understands performance, territoriality, and transcultural entanglement as an indivisible historical coordinate plane, although each part gains a different and changing input dependent on its historical context. Only overlapping parts of all three aspects can create a cosmopolitan setting – the 'third culture' described by Delanty.

Performance addresses the question of how individuals can act in transboundary situations, which publics they presume, and whether or not the specific situation is mentioned as being beyond national or local communities.[22] Imagining border-crossing alone might foster aspirants or impostors and end up in dangerous isolation, while a lack of an international stage and a low interest in acting as a cosmopolitan could fail to attract or even create a global public.[23] Besides performance, territoriality provides the second point of reference for this paper. As a concept that is still under-investigated,[24] the meaning of territoriality is not limited to specifying the sovereign's spatial power, although as a key element of sovereignty, territoriality determines the system of diplomatic representation and international law. In this paper, territoriality describes the transboundary scope of

21 For the specific gender aspects see Madeleine Herren, "Die Liaison. Gender und Globalisierung in der internationalen Politik ," in *Politische Netzwerkerinnen. Internationale Zusammenarbeit von Frauen 1830–1960*, eds. Eva Schöck-Quinteros, Anja Schüler, and Annika Wilmers (Berlin, Trafo-Verlag, 2007), 183–204.

22 Performance studies discuss the global dimension. However, the concept focuses on recent developments, particularly the tensions between NGOs and the United Nations system. The suggestion is to historicize the approach. See Jon McKenzie, "Performance and Globalization," in *The SAGE Handbook of Performance Studies*, eds. D. Soyini Madison and Judith Hamera (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2006), 33–45; Jürgen Martschukat, ed., *Geschichtswissenschaft und 'performative turn': Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit* (Köln: Böhlau, 2003).

23 Due to its small publicity budget, the League depended on persons addressing a global public and creating an international civil society.

24 For a theoretical overview see Stuart Elden, "Missing the Point: Globalization, Deterritorialization and the Space of the World," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* new series, 30/1 (2005): 8–19.

action in a spatial context and is related to its social consequences. The limitation of international relations to diplomacy and secret service overlooks the opportunities of international organizations and the benefits of Wilsonian liberalism as protection against the communist Internationale and as support of economic networks. While an international civil society can overstep territorial boundaries, a lack of territorial belonging became the most dangerous threat to transboundary lives, transforming cosmopolitans into stateless fugitives. Regarding the third aspect of the analytical grid, which we have identified as transcultural or transnational entanglement, an exclusive dependency might be too close to weak and legally unprotected international associations, although without their support the creation of home bases and social coherence in transboundary lives is endangered.

What insights can we gain in preferring a grid structure to the well-established master narrative notion? First of all, this approach provides insight into the biographical consequences of what a "third culture" is all about. Even more important, the daily confrontation between the conflicting fields of performance, territoriality, and transnational/transcultural entanglement might solve a crucial methodological problem: The League of Nations officials published frequently on the League's work using a strong autobiographical voice.[25] Instead of analyzing these books as image cultivation, propaganda, or – worse – as a true mirror of the past, the grid reflects on this material as a performative action and response to territoriality and its target audience. The long shelf containing the League of Nations' home stories is in the spirit of a well-established form of performance in international politics, namely the (auto)biographical accounts of monarchs and aristocratic diplomats. From Metternich to Napoléon, publications of this kind safeguarded the rulers' monopoly of interpretation and underscored their role as the primary eyewitnesses and as the preferred sources of authentic information. However, after World War I foreign relations administrations began publishing their own records and introduced an information flow that privileged the territoriality of nation-states over personal performance, a development that was closely connected to the opening of the secret Czarist archives and the war–guilt question.[26] Beyond a critical investigation of the personal use of information, the question now is whether and how League officials sought to address an international public; and whether and how they acted in public as representatives of an international organization. Moreover, with reference to the need for performative actions in times of rising national propaganda, the question remains: Which forms of

25 It is one of the characteristics of the League of Nations that the most influential research was done by League officials themselves. Some published in the late 1930s and some after World War II, these publications provide interesting insight into a specific form of self-representation. Biased on two sides, the authors concentrate on the obvious failure of the League in the 1930s and use the example of the League as a failure to be overcome by the newly created United Nations. As an example see Francis Paul Walters, *A History of the League of Nations*, 2 vols., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952); Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer, *The International Secretariat: A Great Experiment in International Administration* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1945) and the twenty monographs Arthur Sweetser wrote on the League of Nations.

26 Sacha Zala, *Geschichte unter der Schere politischer Zensur: amtliche Aktensammlungen im internationalen Vergleich* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001).

performance outside the written records construct the international "we"? Apparently, the situation called for imitating diplomatic behavior, especially since diplomacy provided a globally standardized habitus that was even available in published form – Sir Ernest Satow's *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice* written in 1917.[27] However, for reasons I will explain later, the League's highly contested territoriality prevented a simple merging of diplomacy with what was called "international civil service". In fact, as a professional profile cosmopolitanism had to replace transient formal acceptance, and therefore, to behave in a way that the global public would recognize as cosmopolitan was much more than just a personal decision. In the League's secretariat an information section guided the public appearance and behavior of the League's staff under almost paradoxical circumstances. Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer (an Austrian and former staff member) explained: "Propaganda was taboo. The newcomer to the Section was left much to himself regarding the methods he desired to employ in his public relations work. But there was one rule that was impressed upon him, namely, not to make propaganda under any circumstances, not even propaganda for the League."[28] In this situation, performance was indeed crucial to the public appearance of the League. Performing at public events and presenting a cosmopolitan behavior to the world marked distance from national propaganda programmes. Whether this approach was successful or not was decided by its depiction in contemporary newspapers, which, in addition to the personnel files, form the most important source material for my argument. Within this cosmopolitan setting the League's officials celebrated the new League of Nations building with well-documented gatherings; League of Nations artists and photographers recorded these performative actions for posterity.[29] The special setting for propaganda-avoiding-performance resulted in a rich photo archive which has collected images of the League's staff members from the secretary-general all the way down to the messengers, translators, and chauffeurs.[30] Almost all the pictures blur national and even racial differences since national delegations avoided national costumes and performed an international style. The pictures of Asian delegations from Siam to India, and from Japan to China confirm this astonishingly well-defined aim at conformity. As we can see from the pictures, the male and the female cosmopolitan performed an international version of the short-haired, dynamic "new man" and "new women" by wearing gray business suits and dark dresses respectively. The question of how individuals managed the tensions between a pretended national au-

27 Sir Ernest Mason Satow (1843–1929) was a British diplomat who served in Asia (Japan and China). His book, renamed *Satow's Guide in Diplomatic Practice*, remains essential reading for diplomats to this day. In 2009 Sir Ivor Roberts acted as editor of the sixth edition.

28 Ranshofen-Wertheimer, *International Secretariat*, 203.

29 These included, among others, the Austrian photographer Georg Fayer and the American artist Violet Oakley. Both concentrated on portrayals of League of Nations delegates and both made exhibitions with portrait shows. E.g. in October 1934, Oakley presented her *Geneva drawings* in Chicago. See E. Jewett, "Portrait show brings Geneva great to city," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 31, 1934, 15.

30 League of Nations Archives, Geneva and Indiana University Center for the Study of Global Change, Bloomington, *League of Nations Photo Archive*, 2002, http://www.indiana.edu/~league/index.htm (accessed November 17, 2013).

thenticity and a no less hybrid cosmopolitan unity reveals a perspective on shared beliefs and common concepts even outside of the highly biased form of autobiographical self-declaration. In the personnel files, the staff's moving lists of household goods reveal what League officials expected from their employees and how they believed cosmopolitans should live and behave – cars and pianos played a major role in this.

The way that the League's staff developed cosmopolitan routines on a daily basis was based on downplaying the connection with formal international rights. There is a constant shift between allusions to the nineteenth-century mechanics of formal international relations and a programmatic inclusion of public spheres. The League's cosmopolitans followed the debates on new public diplomacy, the idea of a global community of states closely connected to the development of an international civil society that was gaining presence and visibility due to new media and communication technologies. The contemporary social and political situation after World War I offered the necessary stage for this; different global developments from democratization to increased mobility, from propaganda to the fast spread of news via radio ended in the naming of new spaces. In Geneva, the place where the public and diplomacy met even had a special name, it was called the "mixer hall". It was a lobby containing a well-stocked bar that was located between council chamber and pressroom and reserved for the League's delegates and the press.[31] However, this new form of global publicity challenged the established modes of control. In the nineteenth century, the states had monopolized the right to act internationally. After World War I, the number of states and the rights of peoples increased, but global voices of different origin also multiplied. At first glance, the result is a paradoxical collision of performance and territoriality expressed in a coincidence of cosmopolitan openness and an increasing need for credentials, passports, and legitimation.

Until now methodological historicism has rather supported the separation of all these different analytical levels; at best, the most common narrative on the League separates political failure from the efforts made by Wilsonian idealists.[32] Separate from the ideal of an open-minded, human rights-related *Weltbürger*, this research design elaborates on the closely related tensions between territoriality and performance.[33] Using people on the payroll of the League of Nations as the example instead of analyzing the national delegations,[34] the tensions between territoriality and performance increase the visibility of polysemantic borders. Moreover, transcultural entanglements played an underestimated

31 Anonymous, "League of Nations 'Mixer Hall' is where one hears all the 'Corridor Comment'," *The New York Times*, December 23, 1934, E 3.

32 Zara Steiner, *The Lights that Failed: European International History, 1919–1933*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Susan Pedersen, "Back to the League of Nations," *American Historical Review* 112/4 (2007): 1091–117.

33 This approach therefore focuses on the coincidence of nation-state and border-crossing processes and does not combine cosmopolitan networks with a continuous attenuation of the nation-state. For this debate see Saskia Sassen, *Das Paradox des Nationalen: Territorium, Autorität und Rechte im globalen Zeitalter*, trans. N. Gramm (Frankfurt/ Main: Suhrkamp, 2008).

34 There is a dearth of research on national delegations, especially on delegations from Asian states. For India see Karl Joseph Schmidt, "India's role in the League of Nations, 1919–1939" (PhD Thesis: Florida State University, 1994).

role since the League had to include the special expectations of Japan, its most important Asian member state. The connectivity of the League to Asia did not stop after Japan left the League and when Geneva started looking for a replacement in China and India.

Tensions between territorial sovereignty and performance started with the creation of the League. The combination of cosmopolitan concepts with the Western-shaped Westphalian system of states acting internationally lies behind the simple question: Who acts in the League's name? The rules of representation embedded in the covenant, of course, imitated the rules of international politics and diplomatic representation made for sovereign nation-states.[35] However, as Martin Hill, one of the League's officials, explained in 1947, "international officials do not act in the name of any particular state."[36] From this simple fact a series of difficult questions about the diplomatic immunity of League officials arose: Do they also have immunity from legal actions launched by the state of their own national origin? Since the League had its headquarters in Geneva but liaison offices in other centers like Delhi, should Swiss or Indians be exempted from their national taxes? Should immunity include all those on the payroll of the League from the secretary-general down to the caretaker?

The secretariat's proposal to issue special League of Nations passports demonstrated that they took the issue of diplomatic immunity seriously, but it met with immediate, almost unanimous resistance from the League's members. International civil servants appointed by the League relied on their national passports.[37] A shared official document, the manifest form of performing transboundary coherence, was excluded from its cosmopolitan use, and the League's officials could not override the territorial norm setting. The paradox of national credentials being the prerequisite for transboundary lives provoked cunning strategies within the logic of territoriality and the search for a cosmopolitan behaviour that were intended to stand in for the missing international passport. Since the League only used English and French as its official languages, I would even argue that its cosmopolitans performed transcultural behavior and appearance as the substitute for a common language.

The moving lists of household goods belonging to people working for the League confirm this trend by revealing rather surprising similarities. For instance, cars played a major role in the average cosmopolitan's household.[38] Having certain cars – fast, opulent converti-

35 Article 7 therefore simply transferred diplomatic privileges to the League's officials. The secretariat was thus regarded as exterritorial space – a position not granted to the already existing international organizations. The so-called Public International Unions' offices remained under the control of the government where the organization had its seat.

36 Martin Hill, *Immunities and Privileges of International Officials: The Experience of the League of Nations* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1947), 9.

37 Ibid., 84ff. The debate over appropriate credentials did not end. In the 1930s less powerful alternatives like *lettres de mission* facilitated the League officials' travels.

38 To give some examples, the Chinese physician Teefang Huang who started his work in the League of Nations' health section in 1931, listed, among other objects, one piano and one automobile Ford 17 CV ('Liste des objets de mobilier de première installation importés par M. le docteur Teefang F. Huang', File Teefang F. Huang, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 797–8). In 1930 the League asked Swiss customs authorities for a tax exemption in the case of Dr. Genzo Katho's car, a Citroen C 4 convertible. (File Genzo Katho, *League of Nations*

bles above all – became a clear characteristic of the public appearance of League officials; and this shared characteristic was not limited to employees of European origin or to those in the upper wage bracket.[39] Public perception confirmed the special performance of daily cosmopolitanism. The international press celebrated international officials as dynamic car drivers; traffic violations and car accidents tested the limits between local police and international Geneva and continued to cause problems or raise questions of immunity, even after temporal appointments ended, since these cars needed tax exemptions from the home countries.[40] When moving to Geneva, League of Nations officials had to fill in household items in tax exemption lists for importation and re-importation. In addition, in case of damages in transit insurance lists give even more information: This unspectacular insight into the daily life problems of League staff needs further investigation and mitigates the notion of travellers who recreated a home abroad with objects of cultural authenticity. In April 1930 Teefang Huang, a Chinese national, sent a copy of his household list to the secretariat for Swiss customs. He was coming from Nangking with a stopover in Shanghai. Along with his furniture and a car, Huang brought a piano to Geneva. Indeed, the sound of a piano introduced a standardized form of music that was adaptable to a variety of styles from European classical to jazz music. However, to understand the use of pianos as an expression of Eurocentrism misses the fact that the increasing piano production in Shanghai and Japan already troubled the European music scene before World War I.[41]

The League's administrative rules heightened the paradox of being national but acting as a cosmopolitan. For the League, all nations of the outside world were equidistant: The officials from Asia complained that the weight limits for household goods (which were transported at the League's cost) was always the same, regardless of whether the household came from Nanking or from nearby Paris.[42] On arrival in Geneva, the quality and efficiency of work, the question of remuneration and wage increase, in short, the general personnel management, produced another paradoxical situation: The covenant was a modern document, which even gave women equal working opportunities, but its administration imitated the rules used for diplomats by again enforcing the notion of territoriality. For example, paid annual leaves needed a declaration from the employee's home country – for Jews, migrants, and political dissidents this could be a dangerous trap. National passports continued to define cosmopolitanism so that whoever lost his or her national citizenship could no longer belong to Geneva's cosmopolitan community.

*Archives*, Personnel Files, S 806). In September 1940, the Indian Bagirath Nath Kaul sent a list of his belongings to Geneva. Kaul was back in Amritsar and wanted his 1939 Chrysler Royal Sedan to be imported to India. ('B.N. Kaul to League of Nations, Amritsar 5.5.1940', File B.N. Kaul, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 806).

39 See for example, the file of Francis Godfrey Berthoud, one of the League's interpreters. *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 717–18.

40 See the case of A.C. Chatterjee below.

41 Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano: A History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

42 The Chinese physician Huang's complaint about the staff regulations allowing only 100 kilos of luggage for the future league official, 50 kilos for his wife and 30 kilos per child ('T. Huang to Under Secretary-General, undated (January 1930)', File Teefang F. Huang, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 797–8).

For the individuals concerned, the scope of action against political strategies of isolation was rather small. Officially, the League did nothing against these forms of territorial exclusion, although former Austrians after 1938 and former Polish citizens after 1939 were paid off with an additional annual salary. Individuals tried to override the rule of neutrality and the ban on individual political actions by lobbying international organizations related to the League for support.[43] This transboundary lobbying produced an additional form of paradox because in order to stay within the League the support of additional networks outside the League could be crucial. Having external partners and overriding national limits became a form of transboundary competence, which could be difficult to achieve among this heterogeneous community of car drivers and piano players.

Social fragmentation increased as a consequence of the growing importance of short-term appointments, which in turn concealed one of the League's structural problems: At a time when totalitarian states were investing heavily in their propaganda the League's own budget for publicity matters was rather weak. The Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations had been investing in libraries, book projects, and the exchange of researchers since 1919. The League followed a similar approach with an increase of its short-term fellows, a plan to transform young people from abroad into cosmopolitans during a three-month stay in Geneva before sending them back to their state of origin where they would hopefully mobilize support for the League. This strategy did not consider the cosmopolitans' own position and presumed against a strong territorial loyalty. The question of who could speak for the League faced significant difficulties since the League itself was searching for its own authentic national in following this approach, and whoever was choosing the fellows was able to give some consistency to the transboundary body.

## Types of Transboundary Biographies within the League of Nations: Elite Cosmopolitans – Experts Creating Global Topics – Cumulative Internationalists – Global Illusionists

### Elite Cosmopolitans

Cosmopolitan literature often underscores the elitist social structure of cosmopolitan milieus and their location in urban spaces.[44] Indeed, old elites like aristocrats made their way to Geneva sometimes as diplomats and sometimes as persons already well embedded in transboundary family networks. This phenomenon was not limited to Europe and worked in a similar way for Indians. A good example of this can been seen in the case of Amulayan Chandra Chatterjee (1881–1935) who began his career in Geneva in

43 Ruth Woodsmall, the president of the World's Young Women's Christian Association, and Emile Gourd from the International Woman Suffrage Alliance spoke for Ranshofen-Wertheimer who needed a prolongation of his employment. Gourd to Avenol, 20.01.1940, File Egon Wertheimer, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files S 905.

44 For example, Jon Binnie and Julian Holloway eds., *Cosmopolitan Urbanism* (London: Routledge, 2006).

1929. A. C. Chatterjee preferred to sign the League's papers with his first name initials only, a habit which reminded people of his famous elder brother Attul C. Chaterjee. He was the Indian representative in several high profile functions within the League and one of its "spin doctors".[45] Attul and Amulayan came from a Raj family, and Amulayan's international career began with his appointment to the Associated Press of India.[46] He came from the Associated Press office in Bombay to the League's information section in Geneva and later continued in the political section where he lived the obscure life of a League official who was closely controlled by staff regulations and administration. This control increased when his wife was involved in a car accident, an incident that led to debates about whether Mme Chatterjee's immunities should be revoked. Tragically, Chatterjee died in another car accident in Calcutta in February 1935, and in the aftermath of his death we can again see how territorial questions shaped the cosmopolitan's memory: The transfer of his belongings from Geneva to India, which were once imported under the tax exemption rules for international officials to Switzerland, now required a high ranking decision in London before being cleared for re-importation to India.

Tensions between territoriality and performance also played a crucial role in Amulayan Chatterjee's professional life as a League official. Until the 1930s his work in Geneva had had a rather performative character. He organized information transfer from and to India, and as *The Times* put it, acted as a "resourceful social link between the Secretariat and visitors from India."[47] When Chatterjee had to organize a liaison office in India, the translation of a cosmopolitan information network into an institutional structure faced the complex and multilayered monolith of Indian territoriality. Since India was a full member of the League but not yet a sovereign state (it was under British rule at the time, albeit with a strong, dissident national movement, and princely states who played their own no less complex role) the question of who could speak in the name of the League was easier to answer in Geneva than in India. Over a period of two years Chatterjee reported to Geneva that people eligible for the liaison office were not available. The question then came under critical investigation by the Indian elite who lived in Geneva. The intermediary in this case was another prominent aristocrat working in the League's information section, Princess Gabrielle Radziwill. The Lithuanian aristocrat moved perfectly within the milieu of women's associations where, again, the presence of aristocratic women from India was evident.[48] Based on information culled from her high-ranking Indian informants, the princess wrote a confidential report heavily criticizing Chatterjee's fruitless activities. Radziwill had spoken to the Rani Lakshimbar Rajwade, Rani of Gwalior, and

45 A.C. Chatterjee began in the Indian civil service and made an impressive international career. He was Indian president of the ILO conference in 1927, High Commissioner of India 1925–1931, member of the Council of India, and member of the allocation of League expenses in 1933.

46 See London Times obituary: "Mr. A.C. Chatterjee: India and the League," *The Times*, February 8, 1935, 16. File A.C. Chatterjee, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files.

47 Ibid.

48 'Confidential, to M. Azcarate, sig. Gabrielle Radziwill, 28.6.1935', *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Office, Bureau de Bombay, S 914.

to an activist from the All Indian Women's Conference. She contacted the wife of Hamid Ali, Khan of Rampur, and had access to the Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, one of the founding members of the All Indian Women's Conference. These ladies belonged to the powerful Indian group in the network of the women's organization, which, although controlled by the Indian aristocracy, had close relations to the International Labor Organization (ILO). In a set of arguments intended to strengthen the elite's position of building an Indian nation-state, Radziwill strongly suggested combining both the liaison offices of the ILO and the League in India. She proposed that both should be transferred from Bombay to Delhi in order to be closer to the Indian national movement. Although the princess suggested that intellectuals not be considered for the organizing of the liaison office, she also reminded the secretariat to introduce more Muslims, again a question of highly political importance in India's nation-building process.

Radziwill and her Indian informants used the League's staff politics as a foundation on which to build international support for an Indian nation-state.[49] This was not an exclusively Indian characteristic, nor was it a characteristic of elitist cosmopolitanism. Although the presence of old elites in Geneva seems clear, their scope of actions had changed under the umbrella of the League. "(B)ordering processes" caused social opening and elites also had to share their influences.

It is therefore difficult to specify who the most important figure within the group of cosmopolitan elite was. However, Aga Khan III (1877–1957) doubtless had an important voice in the community and deeply influenced the League's staff policy.[50] His memoirs give us a good idea of an elite person's transboundary life at this time. Aga Khan's appearance in the General Assembly competed with his social duties as a racing stable owner and horse lover: He proudly mentioned being the only member of the League's assembly "called away to hear that his horse had won the St. Leger."[51] It is remarkable to note how his autobiography reveals the collision of these intrinsically incompatible roles in the year 1935: He describes how he celebrated Bahram, the victorious horse, which was later offered for sale to the Fascist Italian government, and he recalls his speech as Indian delegate to the League's Assembly in which he criticized the League's failure to stop the Italian aggression against Ethiopia. He also mentions his Golden Jubilee as Ismailian Imam, which was celebrated in 1935 by weighing him in gold in Bombay.[52]

This autobiographical self-representation raises the question of whether Aga Khan fits into our understanding of cosmopolitanism, and whether the League was just an additional insignificant corner of a playground still belonging to a wealthy elite or if it

49 This is not an Indian specialty, but a historical phenomenon, as explained by Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (London: Verso, 2007).

50 Aga Khan (Sultan Muhammad Shah), one of the most import figures in the transnational Muslim organization, in the Indian Muslim League, and the Caliphate movement in India, held the presidency of the League of Nations in 1937. With the League's administration, his importance increased when staff policy tried to include the Muslim networks. He wrote letters of reference e.g. for Ikbal Ali Shah.

51 Aga Khan, *The Memoirs of Aga Khan: World Enough and Time* (New York: Simon & Schuster 1954), 257.

52 Ibid., 257.

was a safe haven for aristocrats who had to translate their former social status into the profession of multilingual, well-connected international civil servants. In both cases, the elite described changed under the influence of the League's specific international context. Muslim cosmopolitanism based on the foundation of (secular) international organizations substantially contributed to Aga Khan's powerful position within the League.[53] In addition, Princess Radziwill was not the only aristocrat who began her career at the League from other international associations.[54] However, both examples did not fit into the traditional diplomatic career pattern, and indeed the people in the League's leading positions – the secretary-general and his representative – came from diplomatic functions.

At first glance, diplomats resist the analytical approach presented here. Even though the press wanted to see dynamic, car-driving modern men and women who were transcending national and racial differences, the diplomats' territorially based professional profile still aimed at national representation. It is therefore of some interest to explore how the League's high-ranking diplomats transgressed the rules of traditional diplomacy in their public performance and how the performative aspect of self-representation increased. The high-ranking Japanese diplomats in Geneva are an impressive example of this development.[55]

Until the withdrawal of Japan from the League, Japanese diplomats filled the position of the secretary-general's representative in the organization's hierarchy. In this position, Inazo Nitobe and his successor Yotaro Sugimura initiated a rapprochement to the Western public in unexpected activities that combined Japanese and Western culture to create a specific form of transcultural entanglement. Although Nitobe drafted a cultural foreign policy and translated Japanese literature, the international newspapers were particularly receptive to Sugimura, who performed martial arts in public and was a member of the Olympic Committee. His polite show-fights in the French Jiu Jitsu clubs excited their members, which included French socialist intellectuals and the international press.[56] Interestingly, when he had to leave his position in Geneva after the Japanese withdrawal from the League, the now obvious difference between national and international interests, between territoriality and performance, did not end in the expected elimination of performative activities. Sugimura even transgressed boundaries in the moment of his resignation, which was highly formalized according to diplomatic rules. On February

53 There is almost no research available about the representation of Muslim networks within the League, although this point was always mentioned in discussions about Indian applications.

54 Besides the women's movement, the national Red Cross had a similar effect. For women using international organizations and the League as a backdoor to power see Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

55 For Japanese diplomats in the League see Thomas W. Burkman, "Japan and the League of Nations: An Asian Power Encounters the 'European Club,'" *World Affairs* 158/1 (1995): 45–55; Harumi Befu and Sylvie Guichard-Anguis eds., *Globalizing Japan: Ethnography of the Japanese Presence in Asia, Europe, and America* (London: Routledge, 2001).

56 Thomas W. Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914–1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 118.

25, 1933, he wrote two different letters on the League's official letter paper to Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond. One, a short letter consisting of only few lines, announced his resignation using the accepted diplomatic forms. By contrast, in a second, three-page letter he wrote that he deeply regretted the political development, and he crossed borders when he compared Drummond's "réputation (…) mondiale" to his Japanese superiors in the diplomatic service: "Ni sous la direction du Vicomte Ishii, ni sous celle du Comte Uchida, je n'avais travaillé avec autant de zèle et de dévouement."[57] How do we avoid overestimating an individual case of personal friendship between Drummond and Sugimura? The League's postwar literature confirmed Sugimura's excellent reputation after he left Geneva. This is particularly remarkable since in 1935 Sugimura, who was then the Japanese ambassador to Italy, did not protest against the Italian occupation of Ethiopia and thus acted against the League's official policy.[58] In addition to possible personal reasons, the reasons for this behaviour from a career diplomat who had transformed himself into a highly respected member of a group of elite cosmopolitans may rest with the simple fact that he died in 1935. Nevertheless, analyzing Sugimura's activities within the declared analytical grid confirms the structural relevance behind all personal peculiarities. It is first of all the less obvious aspect of transcultural entanglement that responds well to the question of explanatory relevance. What emerges most clearly from Sugimura's transboundary life is his involvement in international organizations and transnational networks located in Japan, not just in Geneva. It is this complex and subliminal bond that is central to an adequate understanding of national foreign policy in the 1930s and even during the war. Although Sugimura left Geneva, Japanese relations with the League did not come to an end. Japan safeguarded the position of a mandatory power, but even more importantly, less obvious forms of transboundary connections were sustained to form a gap between the rhetoric of separation and the obvious social embodiment of border-crossing networks. Although much later than Sugimura, Tsuchida Kaneo, who had worked for the League since 1929 on Sugimura's suggestion, ended his contract in 1935. But in 1934 the secretariat accepted Kaneo's proposition to dissolve the League's office in Tokyo, with the aim of "conserver certains contacts établis au cours des dernières années."[59] Kaneo, the former head of the foreign service of the Kokusai Agency, proposed a discreet maintenance of the League's connection to the Japanese press and "pursuing the instructions, whatever they may be."[60] The awareness of transcultural entanglement gives access to these forms of discreet loyalties, often only documented in small memos with obscure allusions to an "unindemnified mission."[61]

57 'Sugimura to Sir Eric, Geneva, 25.2.1933', File Sugimura, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 889.
58 E.g. Walters, *History of the League of Nations*, 496.
59 Section d'information, 'Note pour le Secrétaire général, 13.2.1934', based on this information the secretariat decided the further employment. File Kaneo, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 895–6.
60 'Kaneo to Pelt, 9.2.1934', File Kaneo, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 895–6.
61 File Kaneo, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 895–6.

## Experts Creating Global Topics

Shortly after the war, the support of academics for an intellectual exchange programme under the umbrella of the League was extended to include destroyed, impoverished, and sometimes isolated[62] European universities. The same idea of fostering international exchange found its expression in the opening of Wilsonian institutions, which were extravagant places with overwhelming architecture set in a breathtaking landscape: the International School of Geneva, the Cité Universitaire de Paris (1921), and the International House in New York (1923). In the 1920s, supported by Rockefeller and Carnegie endowment money, academics were on the move: They gave lectures at the League of Nations' summer school and were invited to the American University Union in Rome, Paris, and London. After World War I, a Near East College Association opened colleges in Constantinople, Beirut, and Smyrna among others. China sent students to the United States, mitigating the charge that the Tsing Hua scholarships, which had long been in existence, were reparation duties for the Boxer rebellion. Constructing these transboundary lives for academics stimulated global fantasies. Americans planned to send a "floating university" on a global trip. The Institute of International Education organized lecture itineraries within the United States in which European and Asian scholars participated.[63] The exchange of scholars, mentioned above, later transformed into the League of Nations' education and intellectual cooperation programme, and although indirectly connected to the League, the Geneva institutions played an important role in combining the consistently transnational character of research with a cosmopolitan approach. Obviously, all of these border-crossing scholars were pursuing a global career and could not and possibly even would not espouse a pacifist approach.

Transboundary academics not only had a remarkable intuition for theories about what made them special, they also had analytical tools at their dispolsal that gave border-crossing performance a normative value. Between the 1920s and the end of World War II, modern sociology created categories of analysis with regard to elites, to social engineering, to the understanding of how science should be carried out, and how academics turned into experts. In a process of self-description, social scientists constructed a global scientific community that tried to define their status as experts. Even though it was not directly involved, the League of Nations had opened up an immense job market, specifying fields where expert knowledge was needed on a global scale. Connecting the League as a global body to academics who were shaping their own transboundary lives as objects of investigation, created a powerful narrative of performative rules. Unsurprisingly, the development of habitus as a key term of performance goes back to Marcel Mauss and

62 Isolation of German and Austrian academics (exclusion from bibliographies, international conferences and professional organizations) stopped in 1925–26 in analogy to the Locarno treaties. See Frank Greenaway, *Science International: A History of the International Council of Scientific Unions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

63 Like, for example, the Indian philosopher S.N. Das Gupta, among others. For the overwhelming increase of international exchange programs after World War I see John Eugen Harley, *International Understanding: Agencies Educating for a New World* (Stanford: University Press, 1931).

Norbert Elias and their works in the 1930s. The interference between the League and a group of experts creating global topics seems obvious but it can have an almost immaterial quality that raises methodological problems. How can we prove that behind the myriad of different border-crossing expertises, personal networks developed within a global frame beyond all disciplinary differences? In fact, one of the most important publications claiming a monopoly of interpretation for social sciences, the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*,[64] had close connections to the League. Its editor, Erwin R. A. Seligman, was a Columbia professor and also one of the League of Nations' economic experts.

On a personal level, experts creating global topics and oscillating between academia and League of Nations institutions comprise the largest group of unspecific cosmopolitans who were crossing not only the borders of states and institutions but also the borders of their disciplines. Social scientists may be at the forefront of this group of League-related experts, but the same is also true for the rarely mentioned and silent milieu of banking. Harry Arthur Siepmann (1889–1963) influenced the League's staff policy without ever holding an official position within it. Siepmann entered the British treasury and encountered the League at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 as the personal assistant to Keynes. Although he worked for a private firm in the 1920s, during that time he attended the Genoa Conference in 1922, went for eighteen months to India as a specialist on railway questions and then to Budapest as a League of Nations advisor to the National Bank of Hungary, before joining the Bank of England, where he used his international connections for cooperation with foreign banks and exchange control.[65] Siepmann can be considered representative of a group of silent bankers. Although they worked with incontestably transgressive material, money, it is difficult to define them as cosmopolitans. Moreover, Siepmann translated poetry into English and his interest in different cultures may have had some influence on his interferences in the League's staff policy. He placed the Indian Nau Nihal Singh (1898) in the League's financial section, an action that produced a remarkable correspondence between India and Budapest, where Siepmann advised the Hungarian National Bank; India and London, where Sir Basil Blackett, the government of India's financial member was located; and India and Geneva, where Sir Arthur Salter, the director of the financial section, had to overrule internal differences and was later invited to be an advisor for the Indian government.[66]

Although this web of influences may seem to indicate a new form of (British) cosmopolitan imperialism, it also raises the question of the political influence of experts: Do they follow a political concept? The question is of some importance, since both elements – transcultural/transnational entanglements and performance – played a major role within this group. Although territoriality might raise the question of whether or not there is a political position in this field, some of the experts were at least suspected

64 Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson eds., *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 15 vols., (New York: Macmillan, 1930–35).

65 "Obituary: Mr. H.A. Siepmann: Expert on banking in Europe," *The Times*, September 17, 1963, 15.

66 File Nihal Singh, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 797–8.

of having one. Ludvic Rajchman, the leading figure in the League's health committee, was classified as a left-wing ideologist who made no effort to hide his anti-Japanese and pro-Chinese approach in the 1930s.[67] The League's personnel files show that on the one hand, the League insisted on the political impartiality of its international administration, and on the other, that the not yet clearly understood politics of networking were at work. Established officials, for example Rajchman, brought experts in through the backdoor route of short-term fellowships in Geneva, or as hired correspondents who shared their political expectations.[68] Using the analytical triangle of performance, transnational/transcultural entanglement, and territoriality in the case of global experts helps us to focus on the global impact of these experts, while territoriality critically questions the seemingly placeless utopian ideal of peaceful intellectual cooperation and academic universalism. Indeed, territoriality did influence experts but not as expected. Catastrophes and disasters shaped the irreplaceability of experts: Reconstruction after World War I, the famines in Russia, malaria in Italy, the flood and famines in China and India, and the worldwide economic depression increased both the demand for globally mobile specialists and the opportunity to demonstrate the League's practical functions. In this context, the health specialists' laboratory became the world, a short-term League appointment contributed to a global career,[69] and communication technologies spread news of this kind globally.

## Cumulative Internationalists

In the League's milieu a new type of cosmopolitan developed, one whose legitimation came from a person's belonging to several international associations and organizations. Although widespread, due to methodological problems this type of cosmopolitan is difficult to describe: The League maintained a special relationship with international organizations and published a *Handbook of International Organizations* regularly.[70] But contacts between the League and the numerous international organizations, mostly located around or near the League's building in Geneva, developed within a confusing variety of groups and remained rather personal and informal. Oscillating between different organizations and topics and merging executive functions in different international organizations to form a professional profile, the figure of the "cumulative cosmopolitan" challenges the methodological possibilities of historiography. In this case, the proposed analytical grid convincingly unveils a professional profile that has been ignored until now.

67 Jürgen Osterhammel, "Technical Co-Operation between the League of Nations and China," *Modern Asian Studies* 13/4 (1979): 661–80.

68 In the health section Rajchman paid attention to only few regular members and to the possibility of inviting short-term fellows. See as an example the employment of Dr. Shoji Kanai, temporary member of the section for one year. File Shoji Kanai, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 806.

69 As an example see Wallace Aykroyd, a nutrition specialist who worked for the League in Geneva and later on different programs in India. K. J. Carpenter, "The Work of Wallace Aykroyd: International Nutritionist and Author," *Journal of Nutrition* 137/4 (2007): 873–8.

70 League of Nations, *Handbook of International Organisations*, Geneva 1921–38. The covenant mentioned the Public International Unions but since all members had to agree to be part of the League, the big contemporary IGOs remained outside the League, like, for example, the Telegraph Union.

For a "cumulative internationalist" the balance of territoriality, performance, and transcultural/transnational entanglement depended on the cosmopolitan's ability as an information trader, while specific knowledge or expertise were of minor importance. In some respects, "cumulative internationalists" and the League formed a symbiotic relationship. With only limited regular staff, the League solved the problem of self-representation by hiring temporary fellows, who already had several other (international) connections. The League avoided the concept of propaganda, but opened the doors to those who promised an adequate and authentic processing of the most important "raw material" in an international organization – information. A job in a news agency was a good stepping-stone to a short-term League position,[71] or provided the professional background for regional informants. The mixture of self-advertisement/journalism/membership in international organizations gave a global profile to "cumulative cosmopolitans."

This concept brought people whose qualifications clearly differed from the expert knowledge described above to the surface of public attention. They performed as busy networkers and presented themselves as global subjects with a distinctive feeling for topics with a border-crossing value in more than one country. The Indian Tarini Prasad Sinha's way of using the League for profiling gives us a good sense of this form of professional and personal border crossing.[72] In the League's application form, completed in 1929, Sinha enumerated broad and unspecific interests in history, economics, sociology, and law, and allocated himself to the fields of journalism and research work by mentioning his good knowledge of Sanskrit and highlighting his work as secretary for the Quakers' Society of Friends' Committee on India and Opium.[73] He had worked as a journalist for the British Labor press, and during most of the time he spent in Geneva he observed the work of the General Assemblies as an Indian journalist. He was once the secretary for one of the Indian delegates and eventually received temporary appointments to the opium section as an assistant based on five short-term contracts between 1930 and 1932. His profiling was based on a well-enacted performance, which was already being practiced before Sinha traveled to Geneva. Instead of presenting academic titles, he had celebrated his studies in a "Grand Tour"[74] and brought himself in contact with a circle of celebrities. In 1923 he became a secretary to one of the Indian League of Nations' delegates, the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar.[75] Thus Sinha belonged to the entourage of a delegate who attracted an immense, and not at all policy-related, public interest as a well-known and celebrated cricket player. However, Sinha pushed his career from a different angle than that of the territorially based inferior position of a Maharaja's servant. In an almost perfect example of blending Asian and Western public interests Sinha

71 As an example, see Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer or A. C. Chatterjee, already mentioned.

72 File Sinha, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 882.

73 'Form of Application, sig. Sinha, 7.12.1929', *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 882.

74 Sinha's studies had already been made public by the press. Shortly before World War I, he visited a collection of famous universities in Japan, in the United States, and in England. The tour (a form of "Grand Tour" well known in the West) received attention in the press. See "High caste Indian," *Los Angeles Daily Times*, April 9, 1913, 10.

75 File Sinha, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 882.

performed in the prohibition movement. He started early in the global networks of the Theosophical Society and initiated an Indian Boy Scout organization, but then shifted his focus to the temperance movement. As one of the old, well-established international nineteenth-century associations, this movement had long relied on Indian participation. The Anglo–Indian Temperance Association was founded in 1888 and was actually discussed as an interesting example of the 'sanscritization' of modern Western values.[76] After World War I, the Indian movement gained an additional playground beyond Britain and the United States. Sinha, who was presented as a young prohibition man in the association's Journal *Abkari*, made lecture tours within the United States, where he emphasized the prohibition aims that were common to both the United States and Gandhi's Indian nationalist opposition. Based on this nearly perfect match of a form of 'Indianness' that was coherent with a powerful American political line of argumentation, Sinha was celebrated in the United States. With a slightly shifted focus, now performing the gospel of pacifism, he traveled to Germany. Of course, this kind of self-promotion produced a huge number of reference letters and included correspondence with well-known persons like Aga Khan. Global networking brought more than temporary positions in Geneva, but these positions confirmed an authority that grew with each lecture made before women's temperance organizations or Rotary clubs around the world. For someone who had, in his 1929 League of Nations' application form, nothing more reliable to present than some unspecific "interests," success came fast and achieved impressive dimensions. In a grateful preface to his book, Harold Richard Goring Greaves, then professor at the London School of Economics, mentioned Sinha as an international relations expert in the same breath as Sir Arthur Salter and William E. Rappard, both high-ranking academics and diplomats.[77]

## Global Illusionists

Although Sinha was on the payroll of the League for only two years from 1930 to 1932, his public relations for the League's international drug conference fitted his employers' expectations and proved the usefulness of soft skills that went beyond expert knowledge. However, the professionalization of public relations within the League was a difficult task that did not always come to a good end. The case of Sinha reveals the limits of decision-making based on a rather confusing quantity of references describing a variety of functions that were not always transparent to those who wrote polite recommendations. The League's officials introduced personal interviews, they wrote confidential reports and sometimes, as described below, references came from the British Secret Service. However, this modern form of staff policy did not alter the fact that the verifiability of competences remained a problem. In a world of intensifying communication, the issue of credibility

76 Lucy Carroll, "The Temperance Movement in India: Politics and Social Reform," *Modern Asian Studies* 10/3 (1976): 417–47.

77 Harold Richard Goring Greaves, *The League Committees and World Order: A Study of the Permanent Expert Committees of the League of Nations as an Instrument of International Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), viii.

arose. Radio, airplanes, and cars reduced distances, and communication technologies detached information from the place of origin. At the same time, propaganda and advertisement gave the illusion of factuality. In a paradoxical situation that demonstrates where performance became more real and territoriality more illusionary, in 1938 listeners panicked when tuning into Orson Welles' radio drama *The War of the Worlds*. Photographs, films, the growing impact of propaganda in politics and the need for visuals in the field of argumentation created new profiles of qualification, which were difficult to integrate into existing professional standards. People with media competence and a professional profile confronted those who made use of new media technology as their only qualification. It is therefore more than just a funny coincidence that illusionists and magicians started fighting against spiritualistic impostors and fraud in the 1920s.[78] Transboundary lives did indeed reveal a new professional profile, but they also flourished amid traders of illusions and the global community of those who sought professional cosmopolitanism in order to escape social control, creditors, and sometimes national warrants. The League did not always wish to clarify these ambiguities because sometimes the slippery ground of uncertainty helped it to avoid an inconvenient political debate. Although this aspect remained outside the League's historiography, this ambiguity and its use for political reasons gained a certain importance in the reframing of the Asian focus after the Japanese withdrawal.

In 1934 the League's administration considered a consolidation of Islamic networks – an interesting idea in view of the problems with Asian states. Consequently, applications from Muslims were mostly welcome and received serious consideration. This was also the case when Ikbal Ali Shah applied for a post. He knew the League's world from his role as a secretary in the Afghan delegation at the disarmament conference. When he applied for a post in Geneva in 1934 he was working for the Afghan Legation in London. However, Shah was only a temporary member of the information section and served for a few months in summer 1934. His subsequent attempts at gaining a permanent position failed.

At this point, Ikbal Ali Shah (1894–1969) was already a well-known traveller and journalist, one who wrote in *The New York Times* about newly independent Afghanistan and, even more interesting for the Western public, one who published on the rising importance of an Islamic East in world politics and culture.[79] His anthology of eastern literature published in 1933 under the title *The Oriental Caravan* received a page-long review in *The New York Times*.[80] The prolific author published up to four books per year between 1928 and 1939, discussing Afghanistan, Nepal, India, Persia, the new rulers in Asian countries, Sufism, the Koran, the prophet Mohammed, Aga Khan – all topics that

78 The famous magician Harry Houdini brought this topic to the magicians' professional associations. His library addressed this topic and went to the Library of Congress after the magician's death. See "Congress Library gets Houdini books," *The New York Times*, May 8, 1927, 15.

79 As an example see Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, "Old Asia rises to defy Europe," *The New York Times*, September 9, 1928, 118.

80 Richard Le Gallienne, "Poetry and wisdom of the east," *The New York Times*, January 28, 1934, BR 2.

became an argument for the inevitability of east-west entanglements. His application to the League used many of the same arguments. He enclosed a manuscript on the "Value of the Moslem-World for The League," where he developed the concept of "Islamic Internationalism."[81] The most revealing parts might have caused some discomposure in Geneva, since Shah imagined a community of people "who are not allied in race, or color or national feeling," but "can be shown to be moved as ONE UNIT; because they have a unity of heritage (…)."[82] Shah had a strong record of public performance and transcultural entanglement, he always highlighted his aristocratic background by using the title "Sirdar" and his connection to Asian aristocracy – but his multilayered and interchangeable territoriality became a major problem; neither his age nor his nationality were certain. While acting in public as an Afghan citizen, he applied from the Afghan Legation in London for an Indian position within the League, pointing to his British passport and his property in India as evidence for this claim.[83] Whether the Afghan diplomatic service knew about Shah's activities or not remained uncertain. Shah's biography was probably a reflection of the complex political history of the region, which underwent another dramatic period of transition. Remarkably, he did not quote a single Afghan in the long list of prestigious references he sent to Geneva in 1934, nor did he mention Afghanistan as a new member of the League.[84] The League decided not to accept Shah's representation of his own biography and resorted to information about him garnered from unknown sources, probably the British Secret Service. According to this information, Ikbal Ali Shah worked as a Russian spy in Bukhara at the end of World War I, was arrested by the Soviet Secret Service, made his way back to London from Archangelsk, and was again imprisoned, this time in Germany. The League's informants questioned Shah's territorial as well as his transcultural credibility, claiming that he should be regarded as a *persona non grata* within the "congrès islamique," since leading participants feared an involvement of the British Secret Service.

## Conclusions

Are transboundary lives first and foremost reflections of stable political situations and therefore only a temporary removal of territorial bindings for a small elite of intellectuals from a wealthy family? At first glance, the chronology confirms a glorious beginning for Wilsonian cosmopolitanism, which then turned into a sad history of failure. In 1939 most of the League's cosmopolitans had left Europe and emigrated to Great Britain,

81 File Shah, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 880.

82 Ikbal Ali Shah, "Value of the Moslem-World for the League," 3. The six-page proposal ended with a global map with the "Islamic World Shown in Red." File Shah, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 880.

83 'Ikabl Ali Shah to Captain Walters, London 15.3.1935', File Shah, *League of Nations Archives*, Personnel Files, S 880.

84 In 1933 King Nadir Shah was assassinated; in the same year, the assassination of the Afghan ambassador in Berlin brought public attention to the country. Although independent since 1919, Afghanistan became a member of the League of Nations only in 1934.

Canada, and the United States. The cars and pianos of those who had to find a new home occupied vast storage rooms in Geneva and remained untouched until the end of the war.

In 1939 the League's administration wrote a long list of polite dismissal letters, which were justified by the need for structural reorganization. This step concealed the League's major structural problem wherein cosmopolitans could easily be turned into stateless persons and/or fugitives without a reliable chance of intervention from either the Swiss government or the League of Nations. Historiography has mostly repeated this narrative and ignored the structural problem, assuming that international organizations and their employees have followed the same trajectory of development as national histories.

This contribution suggests a different approach, one that relies on the ongoing debates about new forms of cosmopolitanism but prefers Balibar's concept of the "polysemic nature of borders" to the numerous (auto)biographical declarations of what cosmopolitanism is. According to this perspective, cosmopolitanism results from the difficult and changing interferences of the following three different sources of legitimation: personal performance, territoriality, and transnational/transcultural entanglement. The three aspects result from the Lonsea database, which combines persons on the payroll of the League, the international organizations that preferred to use the League as an umbrella, and the locations of their secretariats. Translating the matrix of persons, institutions, and space into personal performance, territoriality, and transcultural entanglements, a variety of personnel files from the League of Nations Archives was used as test cases with the aim of finding out whether or not the approach is strong enough to build a typology of persons who lived their personal lives in a transboundary context. The approach gave access to de-nationalized metaphors – cars and pianos, for example. In addition, the three-layered grid helps to shape a typology of transboundary lives and reveals the different problems that elite cosmopolitans, experts creating global topics, cumulative internationalists, and global illusionists faced during a time of growing political tensions. Investigations into transboundary lives, which are henceforth to be undertaken in a more systematic way, reveal a promising starting point: During the League's lifetime, border-crossing networks and platforms for transboundary lives attracted a substantial input of energy, money, time, and work, documenting contemporary society's belief in an added value which eludes the analytical tools of historiography. Transboundary lives therefore give us important insight not only into a specific historical context but also into the new opportunities provided by a transcultural history.

# LITERATURBERICHT

## Das Globalisierungsparadox. Sammelrezension

**Hans-Heinrich Nolte**

Rezensiert werden folgende Titel:

**Dani Rodrik: The Globalisation Paradox. Why Global Markets, States and Democracy can't coexist, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2011, 345 S.**

**Richard Münch: Das Regime des Freihandels. Entwicklung und Ungleichheit in der Weltgesellschaft, Frankfurt a. M.: Campus Verlag 2011, 330 S.**

**Hartmut Elsenhans: The Rise and Demise of the Capitalist World-System, Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag 2011, 217 S.**

**Hartmut Elsenhans: Kapitalismus global. Aufstieg – Grenzen – Risiken. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 2012.**

**Amy Chua: World on Fire. How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability, London: Random House, 2004, 346 S.**

Seit der Bankenkrise ist der neoliberale Konsens der 90er Jahre wieder infrage gestellt worden, und die Debatte über das „Wesen" oder doch die historische Realität des Kapitalismus ist neu eröffnet. Was kann ein Historiker im Unterschied zu Soziologen oder Ökonomen davon verstehen? Bei einer solchen „Übersetzung" einiger Texte anderer Disziplinen in die volksnähere Sprache der Geschichte sind Friktionen und Verluste unumgänglich (wie bei allen Übersetzungen), deshalb werden die hier rezensierten Autoren um Nachsicht und die Leser um Vorsicht gebeten.

Dani Rodrik ist Professor für „International Political Economy" an der Harvard Universität und wurde durch sein Buch „One Economics, many Recipes" bekannt.[1] In seiner

1 D. Rodrik: One Economics, Many Recipes. Globalization, Institutions And Economic Growth, Princeton [7]2007.

neuen Studie mit dem Titel ‚Globalization Paradox' kritisiert er die Politik des Washington Consensus, der die Rolle der Staaten reduziert. Das System von Bretton Woods beruhte in seinem Verständnis auf einem Kompromiss zwischen globalen Interessen und denen einzelner Nationen, wobei den teilnehmenden Staaten „explizit das Recht [zugesprochen wurde], alle Kapitalbewegungen zu kontrollieren" (S. 95). Sie taten das auch, z. B. erhoben die USA von 1963 bis 1974 eine Sondersteuer auf Zinserträge aus dem Ausland, um den Kapitalexport ein zu dämmen (S. 99). Gerade weil es ein Kompromiss war, wurde Bretton Woods zu einem „ roaring success" (S. xvii). Der Welthandel wuchs im Schnitt um fast sieben Prozent jährlich und die Weltwirtschaft um ca. 3% per capita (zw. 1950–1973). Grundlage dafür war, dass die Abmachungen der Weltwirtschaft eine institutionelle Basis geschaffen hatten (S. 71, S. 110). Allerdings kündigten die USA 1971 die Zusage auf, Dollar gegen Gold zu tauschen und die sozialistische Regierung Frankreichs votierte, um die Kapitalflucht einzudämmen, unter dem Finanzminister Jacques Delors für die völlige Freiheit der Kapitalmobilität. Ein Vorschlag für eine Finanztransaktionsteuer scheiterte 1978 und der Einfluss des Kapitals auf die Politik stieg. Kapitalmobilität wurde zur Norm des acquis communitaire der EU und des Vertrags von Maastricht (1992).

Die Globalisierung des Welthandels ohne institutionellen Rahmen führte zu einer Finanzblase. 2007 betrug der Umfang des Handels in fremden Währungen mit 3,2 Trillionen US-$ täglich ein Vielfaches des Werts des Handels mit Waren (38 Milliarden US-$ täglich); „der Finanzmarkt hatte die Wirtschaft überschwemmt" (S. 107). Rodrik sieht nun drei Optionen – die Demokratie einschränken, die Globalisierung einschränken oder die Demokratie globalisieren (S. 200) – und diskutiert sehr kritisch die Möglichkeit, eine demokratisch legitimierte „global governance" zu erreichen. Nicht nur die Schwierigkeiten der EU lassen ihn gegen die dritte Variante plädieren, sondern auch der Befund des *World Values Survey*, dass der Nationalstaat die erfolgreichste Form von Identitätsbildung darstellt und „die Konstruktion transnationaler politischer Gemeinschaften ein Projekt von globalisierten Eliten ist, das weitgehend auf ihre eigenen Bedürfnisse abgestimmt ist" (S. 231).

Rodrik plädiert für eine Einschränkung der Globalisierung, also die zweite Option, doch ergänzt durch eine neue Art der Kooperation von Staaten und Wirtschaft auf globaler Ebene, die er – nach der Periode des Goldstandards und von Bretton Woods – „capitalism 03" nennt. Dabei geht er davon aus, „dass die Idee, Märkte regulierten sich selbst, in der kürzlichen Finanzkrise einen tödlichen Schlag erhielt und ein für alle Mal beerdigt werden sollte" (S. 237). An deren Stelle entwirft er ein „system of governance", das auf den Nationalstaaten beruht und eine Vielzahl nationaler Wege zum Wohlstand erlaubt. Nichtdemokratische Teilnehmer des Systems werden aber benachteiligt, da man nicht „annehmen kann, dass die institutionellen Arrangements dieses Landes die Einstellungen seiner Bürgerschaft (‚citizenry') wiedergeben" (S. 245), mithin eine Legitimitätslücke bleibt.

Dieses Modell erscheint gegenüber Konzepten einer gestuften Souveränität[2] wenig differenziert, und Rodrik erkennt selbst eine Lücke – die weltweite Migration verändert ständig die Basis der „citizenry". Während er sonst die Nachteile und Schwächen der „Hyperglobalisierung" kritisiert, akzeptiert er, dass der Weltarbeitsmarkt „bei weitem noch nicht global genug ist" (S. 266). Ihm schwebt ein System vor, in dem Gastarbeiter – er benutzt den Terminus im Englischen als Lehnbildung – bis zu fünf Jahre in einem Zentrumsland bleiben können und dann wieder zurückgehen muss. Dass die Arbeitsmigration – von anderen Formen der Migration zu schweigen[3] – mit solchen Programmen nicht zu lösen ist, zeigt jeder Besuch an den Zäunen dieser Welt im Süden der reichen Länder.

Das Grundkonzept Rodriks, in der Tradition von Keynes (und des Ordoliberalismus), dem Kapitalismus der freien Märkte einen regelnden Staat gegenüberzusetzen, ist überzeugend, und seine Kritik des Weltstaatskonzeptes muss man ernstnehmen. Seine Vorstellung einer Arbeitsmigration auf Zeit zeigt jedoch, dass er die Regelungskapazität des Nationalstaats überschätzt, der ja schon jetzt das legitimatorische Problem der EU oder eines Weltstaats auf unterer Ebene wiederholt. Der Hiatus zwischen dem Anspruch demokratischer Willensbildung und der Realität marginalisierter Gruppen, die an ihr nicht teilnehmen – z. B. von Immigranten „ohne Papiere" – ist groß. Insgesamt handelt es sich um ein sehr spannendes Buch. Da es von einem bekannten amerikanischen Ökonomen kommt, darf man es vielleicht etwas überinterpretieren: in Amerika wächst die Furcht, dass die Globalisierung die Verfassung des Landes infrage stellt. Man merkt, dass diese Gruppe der Amerikaner ihr Land als Nation sieht, und nicht als Imperium.

Richard Münch, Professor für Soziologie in Bamberg, skizziert als Ausgangspunkt seines Buches die Struktur und Dynamik der neuen Weltwirtschaft, die Schwächung der alten nationalen Mittelschichten und die neuen Verknüpfungen zwischen Klassenposition und Regionen (S. 54). Segmentäre Differenzierungen wie Nationen behalten für ihn ihre Bedeutung, ändern aber ihre Struktur, z. B. indem Nationen es zu ihrer Aufgabe machen, auch in früher autonomen Bereichen neue Funktionen durchzusetzen. So fördert der Wettbewerbsstaat, dass Lehrstühle nach der Kapazität besetzt werden, Drittmittel einzuwerben, oder dass Komponenten von Bildung, die sich nicht unmittelbar in Humankapital umsetzen lassen, mit der Durchsetzung von PISA zurück gedrängt werden.

Aber die Bedeutung nationaler Solidarität tritt zurück. Als Träger der moralischen Konstruktion der Weltwirtschaft stellt er die in Bretton Woods gegründeten Institutionen Weltbank, IWF und GATT (bzw. WTO), ILO, UN-Unterorganisationen und NGOs sowie schließlich auch Unternehmer vor; als „tragende Elemente der sich herausbildenden Weltgesellschaft" sieht er transnational operierende „Unternehmen, Organisationen und zivilgesellschaftliche Vereinigungen" (S. 29). Die Veränderungen beschreibt er mit

2 Etwa bei T. König/E. Rieger/H. Schmitt (Hrsg.): Das Europäische Mehrebenensystem, Frankfurt a. M. 1996.

3 Wie für amerikanische Literatur üblich, fehlt die deutschsprachige. Aber er hat auch klassische englischsprachige Studien nicht berücksichtigt (etwa P. Manning: Migration in World-History, New York 2005), geschweige denn neuere Arbeiten wie die von T. A. Jones / E. Mielants (Hrsg.): Mass Migration in the World-System, Boulder 2010.

einem Konzept „interdependenter Felder des gesellschaftlichen Wandels" – umkämpfte Vorgänge, in denen vor allem auf ökonomischen Wandel reagiert wird. Besonders geht er auf Strategien ein, die zwischen „globaler Wirtschaftsintegration" und „nationaler Sozialintegration" vermitteln (S. 119).

Münch folgt, wie er selbst schreibt, dem „klassischen Mittelklasse-Erklärungskonzept" (S. 191) für die Entstehung des Kapitalismus und den Transfer in andere Regionen, und zitiert mehrfach Forschungen, die zeigen, dass die Ungleichheit zwischen Nationen abnimmt und jene innerhalb der Nationen steigt. Allerdings sind die in diesen Arbeiten zugrunde gelegten Daten durchweg vor der Bankenkrise 2008 erhoben worden und viele beruhen auf Material von 2003 (WDI, HDI). Ohne hier die Debatte aufzunehmen, ob Münch diese Datensammlungen angemessen interpretiert, ist deutlich, dass auf dieser Quellenbasis die aktuelle Frage – ob auch die Ungleichheit zwischen den Nationen zunimmt – nicht beantwortet werden kann. Seine Hauptfrage ist, wie eine „Internationalisierung der Solidarität im System der wachsenden Arbeitsteilung" (S.203) zu erreichen ist, die die voranschreitende „Auflösung gewachsener Solidaritätsstrukturen in Nachbarschaften, Familien und Unternehmen" (S. 204) kompensieren könnte.

Hartmut Elsenhans, inzwischen emeritierter Professor für Internationale Beziehungen an der Universität Leipzig, gehört seit den 1970er Jahren zu den wichtigen Diskutanten des Charakters unserer Gesellschaft und zu denen, die in der Wallerstein-Diskussion von Beginn an endogene Prozesse in der Entwicklung des Kapitalismus betont haben.[4] Im Kontext der Diskussionen über Kapitalismus und Peripherie hat er früh für ein „reformorientiertes Bündnis mit Segmenten von Staatsklassen in der Dritten Welt" plädiert.[5] Mit der Studie „Rise and Demise" wendet sich Elsenhans an ein globales, aber doch wohl kleines Publikum mit großen Kenntnissen der Literatur.[6]

Er bestimmt Kapitalismus als ein Produktionsverhältnis, in dem die Klassenverhältnisse durch Erweiterung der Macht von „Labour", von den Arbeitenden mitbestimmt werden: Rente (Aneignung des Surplus auf der Grundlage von politischer Macht und/oder Fehlern im Marktsystem) wird ersetzt durch eine Form des Austauschs, die vertraglich geregelt ist und die auch Personen außerhalb der privilegierten Klasse Zugang zum Markt gestattet. Nur dadurch wird der Zugang der privilegierten Klasse zum Markt von ihrer ökonomischen Effektivität abhängig (S. 29). Die Mächtigen werden durch den Widerstand der Subalternen gezwungen, kapitalistische Verhältnisse zuzulassen. Die privilegierten Klassen haben aber auch selbst Zugang zum Markt, jedoch individuell und nicht als Kollektiv, und „unter der Bedingung, dass sie eine Wirtschaftsleistung erbring[en],

4 H. Elsenhans: Grundlagen der Entwicklung der kapitalistischen Weltwirtschaft, in: D. Senghaas (Hrsg.): Kapitalistische Weltökonomie, Frankfurt a. M. 1979, S. 103-150.

5 Ders.: Nord-Süd-Beziehungen, Stuttgart 1984, S. 127.

6 Der Titel bezieht sich selbstverständlich auf Edward Gibbon, aber auch auf I. Wallerstein, The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System, in: Comparative Studies in Society and History 16 (1974) 4, S. 387-415 (auf deutsch erschienen als „Aufstieg und künftiger Niedergang des kapitalistischen Weltsystems", in: D. Senghaas [Hrsg.], Kapitalistische Weltökonomie, Frankfurt 1979, S. 31-67; der englische Titel ist dort mit den Plural „World-Systems" falsch angegeben, S. 413).

die im Markt bewertet wird" (S. 23), also einen Profit erbringt. Diesen können sie nur erreichen, in dem sie investieren.

Um das „Übergewicht von Profit über Rente" (S. 30) zu erreichen, braucht Kapitalismus nach Elsenhans steigende Masseneinkommen. Es gibt aber keinen automatischen oder notwendigen Übergang zum Kapitalismus und selbstverständlich kann der jetzige Zustand wieder in eine Rentenökonomie verwandelt werden. Der Kapitalismus braucht auch keine äußeren Märkte; die Ausbeutung der Peripherie war (ist) historisch zufällig. Der Grund für die Krise in der imperialistischen Periode war Unterkonsumption. Die Expansionen des 19. und die Weltkriege des 20. Jahrhunderts hatten also eher endogene als exogene Gründe, waren eher von der Krise des Zentrums gesteuert als vom Konkurrenzkampf der Zentrumsländer um reale oder potentielle Möglichkeiten zur Ausbeutung.

Der Autor hält also nach wie vor die Wirkungen der Expansion auf die Zentrumsländer für sekundär. Meine eigene, ältere historiographische Fassung des Übergangs von der globalen Expansion des 19. zu den Weltkriegen des 20. Jahrhunderts – dass das Ende der Ausbreitungsmöglichkeiten auf Grund der Aggressivität des Gesamtsystems dazu geführt hat, dass die Expansion verstärkt innerhalb des europäischen Zentrums gesucht wurde[7] – bleibt undiskutiert. Wichtiger ist selbstverständlich, dass die aktuelle Diskussion um die koloniale Struktur der europäischen Gesellschaften und um Postkolonialität nicht rezipiert und ihr gewissermaßen der Ansatzpunkt abgesprochen wird.[8]

Die relevante Frage ist, ob Globalisierung zu mehr Markt und mehr Profit – oder zu einer rentengeleiteten Weltökonomie führt. Lohnzurückhaltung erhöht die Unterkonsumption. Außerdem fördert die mit dem „cultural turn" durchgesetzte Okkupation des kulturellen Bereichs durch Organisationen der Mittelklasse sowie „das Fehlen irgendwelcher Formationen, die auf spontaner Praxis der Massen beruhen" (S. 125) eher die Erneuerung der Rentenökonomie, nur diesmal eben auf globaler Ebene, als die Durchsetzung globaler Märkte.

Kapitalismus und Rentenökonomie werden von Elsenhans als langfristige Varianten, wenn nicht sogar (ab der Entstehung eines gesellschaftlichen Surplus) als Universalien der Wirtschaftsverfassung verstanden. Beide Wirtschaftsformen kommen gleichzeitig vor. Damit knüpft er an Braudel an, der für die europäische Frühe Neuzeit große Industrie und Markt gegenüber stellte, wobei er jedoch gerade die Industrie (trotz der für die Teilhabe an ihr notwendigen Investitionen) als Beispiel für eine Rentenökonomie angibt.

Elsenhans' Arbeit ‚Kapitalismus global' wendet sich an ein breites Publikum in Deutschland. Hier erscheint Kapitalismus als ein „zufälliges … Nebenprodukt des Kampfes des Gemeinen Mannes um Anerkennung und Berücksichtigung seiner Interessen." (S. 9). Während in Hierarchien vorkapitalistischer Gesellschaften um die Verteilung von Ren-

7 H.-H. Nolte: Die Eine Welt, Hannover 1982, S. 91 f.; ders.: Weltgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, Wien 2009, S. 41 ff.

8 M. Boatcă/W. Spohn (Hrsg.): Globale, multiple und postkoloniale Modernen, München 2010.

ten gekämpft wird, deren Aneignung letztlich auf Gewalt beruht (S. 14), geht es hier um Profit. Kapitalismus wird über den „finanz-wirtschaftlichen Sektor gesteuert" (S. 18) und zwar über Wettbewerb, der eine Ausweitung der Massennachfrage voraussetzt; Fernhandel mit Luxusgütern reicht nicht. Nur in England und erst im 18. Jahrhundert waren die Voraussetzungen – stabile Nachfrage kleiner und mittlerer Haushalte nach Massengütern und technischer Fortschritt[9] – zusammen und damit die Gründung des Kapitalismus möglich. Industrielle Revolution und Kapitalismus fallen demnach ineinander.

Elsenhans rekurriert (wie Wallerstein 1974) auf die *Agrarian Revolution* als Voraussetzung des Kapitalismus, lässt aber in seiner Einordnung des Handelssystems der Frühen Neuzeit als nicht-kapitalistisch den baltischen Handel außer Acht, der Freihandel war und Massengüter transportierte (Getreide, Holz, Hanf, Stangeneisen).[10] So kann er bei England als Ursprungsland des Kapitalismus bleiben, von dem er meint, es sei vor der Industriellen Revolution ein „armer Staat" gewesen, obgleich dieser vom 16. Jahrhundert an die höchste Besteuerung je Einwohner erreicht hatte und seine Militärausgaben (mit Subsidien) die jedes anderen Landes in Europa übertrafen.[11] Elsenhans bleibt also bei der „Sonderrolle Englands" (S. 55) und führt sie u. a. auf die guten Roderechte zurück – Rodung hat auch die chinesische und die indische Geschichte der Frühen Neuzeit geprägt und auch deutsche oder russische Rodebauern hatten bessere Rechte als die im jeweiligen Zentrum.

Auch bei der Darstellung der Entwicklungsproblematik peripherer Länder (nach der kolonialen Periode) betont der Autor die Rolle des Massenkonsums. Die „Staatsklassen" dieser Länder verfügen über Renten aus Steuern oder Abgaben aus Rohstoffexport und scheitern in ihrer Modernisierungspolitik vor allem, da sie keine Erhöhung des Massenkonsums durchsetzen. Im Gegenteil, um Kapital für Investitionsgüter zu gewinnen, „wurde den Massen Bescheidenheit verordnet" (S. 147). Auch die Weltwirtschaftskrise sieht er in Unterkonsumption begründet. Er zeigt für die USA, dass es erst im Zweiten Weltkrieg möglich war „die in den 1920ern ausgebliebenen Reallohnsteigerungen nachzuholen" (S. 169), da höhere Staatsausgaben für Rüstung durchzusetzen waren als für Sozialabgaben (S. 171). Nach dem Krieg waren die meisten bürgerlichen Regierungen jedoch bereit, für die politische Stabilität ein hohes Beschäftigungsniveau und eine breite Nachfrage zur Staatsaufgabe zu machen (S. 179). In den „glorreichen drei Jahrzehnten nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg" (S. 180) stiegen im Westen die realen Stundenlöhne.

9 M. E. bestimmten beide jedoch schon in Holland, und zwar spätestens im 17. Jahrhundert, Ökonomie und Politik, durch Massengüter aus dem Baltikum und auf den Werften Hollands gebaute preiswerte Schiffe, dazu: I. Wallerstein: The Modern World-System, New York 1974; H.-H. Nolte: Zur Stellung Osteuropas im internationalen System der Frühen Neuzeit. Außenhandel und Sozialgeschichte bei der Bestimmung der Regionen, in: Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas 28 (1980) S. 161-197 (auf englisch in: Review 7 [1982] 1, S. 25-84); ders., The Netherlands and Russia in the Seventeenth Century, in: Review X (1986) S. 230-244.

10 10 Vgl. einführend M. North: Ostseehandel. Drehscheibe der Weltwirtschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit, in: A. Komlosy/H.-H. Nolte/I. Sooman (Hrsg.): Ostsee 700 – 2000, Wien 2008, S. 132-147.

11 P. O'Brien/P. A. Hunt: England 1585–1815, in: R. Bonney (Hrsg.): The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe, Oxford 1999.

Mit der neuen Globalisierung und nach dem Zusammenbruch der UdSSR veränderten sich jedoch die Bedingungen. Elsenhans hält „eine durch Renten dominierte Weltwirtschaft, in der politische Macht entscheidend wird" (S.185) für das wahrscheinliche Ergebnis der gegenwärtigen Krise. Er entwirft Strategien gegen diese Tendenz und für „das Ziel, Arbeit Verhandlungsmacht zu verschaffen" (S. 220) und ruft zur „Verteidigung des Kapitalismus" auf. Wer als globaler Akteur für eine weltweite Politik der Erhöhung der Arbeitereinkommen auftreten könnte, bleibt allerdings unklar.

Zusammengenommen bietet der Autor eine angenehm knappe, ordoliberale Erklärung von Geschichte und gegenwärtiger Lage des Kapitalismus, der für ihn endogen entstanden ist, womit er sich deutlich gegenüber der Dependencia-Theorie abgrenzt. Darin muss man nicht übereinstimmen. Wichtig an dem Buch ist aber, dass Elsenhans über das Ende des Kapitalismus nüchtern nachdenkt und mit der Gegenüberstellung von Rente und Profit breit einleuchtende Kategorien entwickelt hat, z. B. bzgl. der Renteneinkommen arabischer Fürstenhäuser, die eine Voraussetzung für deren (zwischen Moskau und Lagos, New York und Karachi) zunehmenden politischen Einfluss bilden. Es ist wichtig zu begreifen, dass die aktuelle Alternative zum Kapitalismus vielleicht nicht irgendeine Art von Sozialismus, sondern eine von Monopolen beherrschte globale Renten-Ökonomie ist.

Amy Chua lehrt Recht an der Universität von Yale; sie stammt aus einer südchinesischen Familie und ist in den USA aufgewachsen. Das Buch, an das hier erinnert werden soll, war vor zehn Jahren ein Bestseller in der New York Times-Listung und hat die amerikanische Debatte um den Neoliberalismus deutlich beeinflusst. Chua wählt als Ausgangspunkt die Ermordung ihre Tante (durch den Chauffeur), die zu der kleinen reichen chinesischen Elite auf den Philippinen gehörte, was die ganze Familie in ihrem Selbstwertgefühl traf. Der chinesische Mensch glaubt an das Glück (so Chua), und wer ermordet wurde, hat offensichtlich kein Glück gehabt. Damit das Unglück nicht mehr Mitglieder des Clans trifft, konnte die Tante nicht im Familiengrab beigesetzt werden.

Die Ausgangsgeschichte gibt der Kernthese Chuas die nötige emotionale Farbe für ihren Bestseller darüber, „wie der Export von Marktdemokratie ethnischen Hass und globale Instabilität hervorruft." Neoliberal organisierte Märkte tendierten dazu, Wohlstand in den Händen weniger zu akkumulieren, und wenn diese Minderheit sich nicht nur sozial, sondern auch ethnisch oder religiös von der Mehrheit unterscheidet, kommt es zu Verfolgungen, Vertreibungen oder eben Mord. Sie nennt Fälle von Ruanda bis 9/11 und untersucht vier ökonomisch mächtige Minderheiten – Chinesen in Südostasien, „Weiße" in Lateinamerika, jüdische Milliardäre im neuen Russland und Ibo in Kamerun. „Sobald Marktdemokratie durchgesetzt wird, während eine marktbeherrschende Minderheit vorhanden ist, ist ein Backlash die unabwendbare Folge" – gegen Besitzende, gegen Demokratie überhaupt oder gegen die Minderheit (S. 10). Chua untersucht verschiedene Formen des Hasses auf die vermögenden Minderheiten – von Beschlagnahmungen und Vertreibungen bis zum Genozid - und stellt die Verschärfung dieser Tendenz in den Kontext der Globalisierung.

Zugleich erinnert sie daran, dass Markt-Demokratie – definiert als „laissez-faire Kapitalismus plus sofortiges Wahlrecht" (S. 14) – in keiner westlichen Nation in einem Akt durchgesetzt worden ist, und kritisiert entsprechend, dass diese Kombination den Entwicklungsländern formelhaft aufgezwungen wird. Ähnlich kann man argumentieren, wenn eine Elite auf einen Schlag diese Markt-Demokratie „ihrem" Lande aufzwingt, weil sie glaubt, dann schneller zum Westen aufschließen zu können. Ihre Liste von Opfern ist lang, und sie sieht durchaus, dass der Westen „nicht gegen die Kerndynamik, den Gegensatz zwischen dem Wohlstand für wenige und politischer Macht für viele" und Massenverbrechen als Reaktion darauf gefeit ist – von Jim Crow bis zum Holocaust. Sie schließt mit der Mahnung, dass die USA in vielen Ländern als eine solche marktbeherrschende Minderheit gesehen werden.

Abschließend seien einige allgemeine Aspekte angesprochen.

*Bedrohung von Minderheiten*: Insbesondere Amy Chua verweist auf etwas, das der amerikanische Soziologe Michael Mann grundlegender aufgegriffen hat: den Zusammenhang von Demokratie und ethnischer Säuberung.[12] Mann beschreibt die „genozidalen Demokratien in der Neuen Welt", bevor er auf die uns geläufigen Beispiele Armenien, Nationalsozialismus, Kommunistische Säuberungen, Jugoslawien und Ruanda eingeht.[13] Der Wiener Historiker Philipp Ther hat Chua und Mann kürzlich mit einer auf die europäischen Beispiele und den Nationalstaat beschränkten Analyse sekundiert.[14] Chua macht deutlich, dass es weder allein um die politische Form des Nationalstaats noch allein um die Verfassung der Demokratie geht, sondern darüber hinaus um die differenzierende Wucht des Kapitalismus des Freien Markts. Unter jenen Mitgliedern der Gesellschaften, die an den unteren Rand gedrängt werden oder sich vielleicht auch „absinken" lassen, können Ängste vor Ausgrenzung und Verlust so weit wachsen, dass Hass, Wut und Habgier zu Gewalt führen. Die jeweilige Oberschicht ist allerdings oft noch eher zur Gewalt bereit und verfügt in der Regel auch über wirksamere Machtmittel, um ihren Wohlstand und die errungene soziale Distanz zu verteidigen. Ist die Oberschicht indes ethnisch different, bildet sie eine „marktdominante Minorität", kann eine nationalistische Gruppe sie zum Objekt des Hasses und der Begierde machen – wie die Chinesen auf den Philippinen. Dieses Risiko des Kapitalismus des Freien Marktes ist vor 2008 nicht ausreichend bedacht worden. Chua schließt ihr Buch mit dem Versuch zu erklären, „warum sie uns hassen" und beschreibt die USA als eine „globale marktdominante Minorität" (S. 229).

*Verschwinden der Mittelschichten:* Die Theoretiker der Demokratie sind sich ziemlich einig mit Münch und Elsenhans, dass eine kapitalistische demokratische Gesellschaft sozial gesehen einen Mittelstand benötigt. Die globalen Oberschichten lösen die Finanzkrise jedoch überwiegend auf Kosten der Mittelschichten. Griechenland bietet ein

12 M. Mann: Die dunkle Seite der Demokratie. Eine Theorie der ethnischen Säuberung, Hamburg 2007.

13 Vgl. hierzu auch J. Binner/H.-H. Nolte (Hrsg.): Schwerpunkt Massenverbrechen (= Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte 13.1), Bern 2012.

14 P. Ther: Die dunkle Seite der Nationalstaaten. „Ethnische Säuberungen" im modernen Europa, Göttingen 2011.

eindringliches Beispiel[15] – die privaten und öffentlichen Gläubiger wurden auf Druck des Europäischen Währungssystems geschont und die Schulden durch Pensions- und Lohnkürzungen sowie Sondersteuern auf Verbrauch finanziert. Da die Nachfrage zusammen brach, stieg die Rate der Erwerbslosigkeit bis Ende 2011 auf 20% und die Jugenderwerbslosigkeit auf 50%.[16] Sicher ist richtig, dass Griechenland aufgrund günstiger Kredite lange „über seine Verhältnisse" gelebt hat, nur heißt das im Rückblick auch, dass die Statistiken, mit denen z.B. Münch das relativ erfolgreiche Aufschließen peripherer Länder belegt hat, nicht die Realität abbildeten, zumal es ja nicht nur um Griechenland, sondern den gesamten „Süden" der Europäischen Union geht, der zur inneren Peripherie der EU geworden ist.[17] Parallel zur Schwächung der Mittelschichten hat die politische Kraft des alten Proletariats an Schärfe verloren, seit es sich bürokratische Organisationen geschaffen hat und so im Effekt „eingestaatet" wurde. Wird das neue „Prekariat" an seine Stelle treten? Die Handlungsbedingungen sind fast konträr – das Proletariat konnte (und kann) streiken, aber das Prekariat hat keine Arbeit.

*Reformistische Antworten:* Der alte sozialdemokratische Vorschlag, die soziale Krise durch Staatsintervention zu lösen, lässt sich mit dem Ansatz von Lord Keynes vereinen, für den Rodrik argumentiert. Aber ist der Nationalstaat noch ein wirkungsvolles Instrument? Haben die Kapitaleigner nicht vorgeführt, wie leicht sie den Nationalstaat und sein im 21. Jahrhundert wichtigstes Souveränitätsrecht, die Besteuerung, umgehen können? Das „in weltweiten Steueroasen geparkte Vermögen der Reichen und Superreichen" wird für 2010 auf eine Gesamtsumme von 21 bis 31,5 Billionen US-$ geschätzt.[18]

Was tun? Für Griechenland schlägt die Kommunistische Partei den Aufstand vor, der kontraproduktiv wäre, nicht nur weil er zum Bürgerkrieg führen, sondern auch, weil er Athen isolieren würde. Roth votiert für eine „transnational[e], antietatistisch[e] und basisdemokratisch[e]" Perspektive.[19] Für einzelne Gruppen ist ein solcher Rückzug „aus der Welt" sicher möglich und es gibt viele Beispiele dafür, vom Berg Athos bis zu den Phalanstères des 19. Jahrhunderts. Für einen ganzen Nationalstaat scheint eine solche alternative Ökonomie angesichts globaler Arbeitsteilung und Bürokratisierung allerdings nicht machbar, nicht zuletzt auch deshalb, weil die zweite und dritte Generation sich andere Lebensformen wählen wird als die Eltern (wie die Kinder aus den Phalanstères oder den Kibbuzim, oder auf gesamtstaatlicher Ebene die der kommunistischen Führungseliten der UdSSR). Hinzu kommt, dass die kleine Einheit mit der fernen Macht eines Kaisers ganz gut zusammen arbeiten könnte, jedenfalls haben die Bauerngemeinden Russlands mit der imperialen Struktur des Landes keine Probleme gehabt. Außerdem ist die Mahnung von Elsenhans überzeugend, dass nicht bekannt ist, ob der Trend der

15 Zypern, wo auch die Oberschicht etwas zahlen muss, scheint deshalb eine Ausnahme zu sein, weil die russischen Oligarchen im internationalen Finanzsystem nicht genug vernetzt oder nicht anerkannt sind.

16 K. H. Roth: Griechenland: Was tun? Hamburg 2012², S. 45-51.

17 H.-H. Nolte: Zentrum und Peripherie in Europa aus historischer Perspektive, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 63 (2013) 6, S. 36-41.

18 Das Parlament, Nr. 18, 20-29. April 2013, S. 9.

19 Roth, Anm. 16, S. 89-91, Zitat S. 91.

Zeit auf ständig, wenn auch langsam, steigende Partizipation hinausläuft, oder auf mehr Hierarchie und mehr Herrschaft. Das gilt auch, wenn man, Rodrik folgend, vom demokratischen Nationalstaat ausgeht – ökonomisch souverän ist keiner mehr, militärisch nur noch wenige, und seit der Genozidkonvention 1947 nehmen rechtliche Eingriffe in die nationale Souveränität zu. Andererseits gelangen die UN nicht zu einer Reform, welche ihre demokratische Legitimität erhöhen würde. Folgen daraus Argumente für ein dann wirklich globales Imperium, das Minderheiten überall schützt – sowohl marktbeherrschende als (hoffentlich) auch arme? Es gibt in den USA eine Diskussion über Imperien,[20] und trotz der militärischen Überlegenheit des Landes kann man sich auf Grund der ökonomischen Stärke Chinas auch ein neues Doppelkaisertum vorstellen, nur dass der „Ostkaiser" dann in Peking säße und nicht in Konstantinopel.
Was also tun? Sind reformistische Konzepte wie z. B. Erheben einer globalen Einkommenssteuer diskussionsfähig? Selbstverständlich ist ein Historiker mit solchen Fragen nach globaler Politik überfordert, er scheint aber nicht der einzige zu sein, dem das so geht.

20 Vgl. H. A. Prantner: Imperium USA. Die aktuelle englischsprachige Diskussion, in: Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte 14 (2013) 2, S. 135-158.

# BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN

**Ulrich van der Heyden (Hrsg): Missionsgeschichte als Geschichte der Globalisierung von Wissen. Transkulturelle Wissensaneignung und -vermittlung durch christliche Missionare in Afrika und Asien im 17., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert (= Missionsgeschichtliches Archiv, Bd. 19), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2012, 456 S.**

Rezensiert von
Felicity Jensz, Münster

The history of Christian missions in the extra-European world has received increased scholarly attention from people outside theology and church history departments in the last few decades. Profane historians have taken notice of missionary archives as well as missionary writings in colonial archives as such sources provide evidence of contact zones and borderlands, the complex and often messy spaces in which colonial encounters were played out. A recent trend in this area has been the focus upon knowledge. Missionaries were some of the longest serving Europeans in colonial spaces and due to their intimate contact with indigenous peoples were in an unique position to collect information on such things as local languages, traditions, customs, art, religion, beliefs, medicine, and agriculture. With the rise of the professional anthropologist and linguist at the end of the nineteenth century, missionaries' contributions to professional science were often dismissed as irrelevant and tainted by their religious zeal.

Yet, a number of recent monographs, edited collections, and conferences are working to uncover the contributions of missionaries to the construction of colonial knowledge, whilst maintaining an awareness that much of this knowledge could not have been procured without the contributions of Indigenous peoples.[1] Questions that have directed such research include: what types of knowledge did missionaries collect about colonies, including their indigenous inhabitants? How did they collect this knowledge, and what was the role of indigenous peoples in the collection of such knowledge? How was knowledge of the colonies transferred back to Europe, what did Europeans made of this knowledge? How did such knowledge transform or affect the European's image of self? What knowledge did missionaries and other colonists bring to the new-world, and, How was it received by indigenous peoples? What were the roles of Indigenous peoples in this knowledge transfer?

The book under review follows the line of the work outlined above. It is the product of an international conference held in September 2010 in Berlin, which was the fourth in a series of interdisciplinary and international conferences established in 1994 that has focused upon different aspects of mission history, including national development, violence, and mission and power in political change.[2] The change from the conference to the book title from "Missionsgeschichte als Globalgeschichte" to "Missionsgeschichte als Geschichte der Globalisierung von Wissen", indicates a shift in focus from mission history as global history to that of mission history as a history of the globalisation of knowledge, placing knowledge as the central object under examination, and situating the book in the broader scholarly landscape beyond that of missionary history, examining knowledge as practice, as well as power.

The international nature of both authors and topics is noteworthy, with the 35 authors coming from eleven countries, being Côte d'Ivoire, Germany, India, Portugal, Slovakia, South Africa, Tanzania, Togo, UK, USA, and Zimbabwe. The diversity of countries that the authors come from and write about demonstrates quite clearly one of the ways in which the history of missions has contributed to the construction of knowledge in locations throughout the globe. As Teotónio R. de Souza states in the introduction to his article, "It is not difficult to draw up lists of the missionary contributions to modern science, but we need to go beyond the orientalist framework in which the European missionaries are presented as the only protagonists in the process, ignoring and forgetting the native sources of that knowledge or without acknowledgment of native collaboration as an essential partnership" (p. 382). It is to be expected that de Souza's advice is followed more by some authors and less by others given the fact that contemporaneous missionary records often neglect to record the contributions of indigenous informants and helpers. (Indeed, de Souza's own work provides scant information about the Jesuits' Indigenous informants in India). Despite the inadequacies of missionary writings, an acknowledgment of the potential input of indigenous peoples must still be maintained. For example, missionaries obviously needed indigenous peoples' collaboration in the acquisition of local languages. To be sure, given the vast amount of work that missionaries undertook in codifying vernacular languages, it is not surprising that many of the articles within the collection focus upon this point. Many authors note that knowledge is culturally and historically interpreted, with missionaries extracting the material that they desired or needed to best reflect their aims (see, for example, Pakendorf's contribution). Moreover, the transfer and accumulation of knowledge is not a one way process, rather is dynamic for all parties involved, and has the ability to affect people's world view (see, for example, Korschorke's contribution). Indeed, as Gabriele Richter notes, knowledge was itself a commodity that could be traded (p. 335).

Given that it would have been difficult to structure the book geographically, owing to the number of papers that would have fitted into neither the 'African' nor 'Asian' categories of the book's title, the editorial decision of an alphabetical structure is understandable. The book would nev-

ertheless have been made more accessible through the aid of an index. This would have been appreciated given the amount of cross-over between some of the articles. For example there are at least six articles that examine some aspect of Togo, however, not all of these articles have the name 'Togo' in the title, making it difficult for the casual reader to quickly find the material that he or she may be interested in. Like many edited collections, some articles are constrained to case studies that do little to extend the analyses or conclusions into broader scholarly debates. In contrast the contributions from Azamede, Burlacioiu, and Habermas, among others, provide insightful conclusions of generality beyond the subject matter alone. Although a number of the papers did not fit neatly into expectations of an academic article, this observation, rather than being a criticism, indicates that the production and consumption of knowledge is itself culturally and historically located, with personal and political agendas influencing these processes. Given its broad geographical and temporal range, this book is bound to provide material of interest for those engaged in how colonial fostered the production of global knowledge.

Notes:

1 See for example: P. Harries: Butterflies & Barbarians. Swiss Missionaries & Systems of Knowledge in South-East Africa, Harare 2007; R. Habermas: Mission im 19. Jahrhundert. Global Netze des Religiösen, in: Historische Zeitschrift 287 (2008), S. 629-679; N. Etherington (Hrsg.): Missions and Empire, The Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series, Oxford, 2005; see also the special themed edition of "Geschichte und Gesellschaft" 2/2010 on "Mission und kulturelle Globalisierung". Workshops include: Missionsgeschichte als Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Die Dänisch-Hallesche Mission und die Forschung im Kontext interdisziplinärer Zusammenarbeit, Halle, 31 August-2 September 2006; Kognitive Kartographien des Religiösen. Missionsgeschichte, Wissensgeschichte, Transfergeschichte (17. -20. Jh.), Wolfenbüttel, 19-20 March 2009.

2 U. v. d. Heyden / H. Liebau, (Hrsg.): Missionsgeschichte – Kirchengeschichte – Weltgeschichte. Christliche Missionen im Kontext nationaler Entwicklung in Afrika, Asien und Ozeanien, Stuttgart 1996; ders., J. Becher (Hrsg.): Mission und Gewalt. Der Umgang christlicher Missionen mit Gewalt bei der Ausbreitung des Christentums in Africa und Asien in der Zeit von 1792 bis 1918/19, Stuttgart 2000; ders./Holger Stoecker (Hrsg.): Mission und Macht im Wandel politischer Orientierungen. Europäische Missionsgesellschaften in politischen Spannungsfeldern in Afrika und Asien zwischen 1800 und 1945, Stuttgart 2005.

**Peter Hayes / Jean El Gammal (Hrsg.): Universitätskulturen. L'Université en perspective. The Future of the University (= Jahrbuch des Frankreichzentrums der Universität des Saarlandes Bd. 11), Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2012, 317 S.**

Rezensiert von
Kathleen Schlütter,
Leipzig / Saarbrücken

Der Band „Universitätskulturen" ist in der Reihe der Jahrbücher des Frankreichzentrums der Universität des Saarlandes (UdS) erschienen und das Ergebnis des 2010 zum vierten Mal durchgeführten „Transatlantischen Dialogs", der 2004 am Lehrstuhl für Neuere und Neueste Geschichte von Rainer Hudemann (UdS) etabliert wurde. Es handelt sich um ein Blockseminar für Ex-

amenskandidaten und Doktoranden aus Deutschland, Frankreich und den USA – wobei die hier thematisierte Hochschulgeschichte auf die „Nation" und den „städtischen Raum" folgte.[1] Die Beiträge wurden von Professoren, Doktoranden, Master- und Bachelorstudierenden verfasst. Der deutsche Titel „Universitätskulturen" spiegelt den Inhalt des Buches am besten wieder, da „Kultur" der gemeinsame Nenner ist, unter dem sich die unterschiedlichen Beiträge vereinen lassen.

Dieses elfte Jahrbuch des Frankreichzentrums bietet Fallstudien aus verschiedenen Epochen zu sehr weit gefächerten Themen, vom Mittelalter bis zur Zeitgeschichte und vom mittelalterlichen Erbe der Universitäten (Catherine Guyon) bis zur Rolle des Sports an amerikanischen Universitäten (David Boucher). Der Anspruch der Aufsatzsammlung ist trotz dieser Vielfalt, so die Herausgeber Peter Hayes und Jean El Gammal in der kurzen Einleitung, den „tiefgreifenden Wandel", in dem sich das Universitätssystem aktuell befinde, „in einen größeren Zusammenhang zu stellen" um „Vergleiche [zu] ermöglichen, aus denen sich Anhaltspunkte für eine zunehmend präzisere Reflexion ergeben" (S. 11).

Die Beiträge sind dort besonders stark, wo die Autoren auch außerhalb des Transatlantischen Dialogs über das Thema ihres Beitrages forschen, wie etwa der Text von Etienne Logie („Créer de nouvelles chaires universitaires au XIXe siècle: La tentative de création d'une chaire d'histoire américaine"), der anschaulich das Scheitern einer Gruppe von Wissenschaftlern schildert, die im 19. Jahrhundert in Frankreich versuchten, einen Lehrstuhl für amerikanische Geschichte und Archäologie zu etablieren. Gleichzeitig zeigt er den gescheiterten Versuch einer Dezentralisierung, da die Pläne der Wissenschaftler, Amerikamuseen in der Province, etwa in Nancy, zu eröffnen, nicht von Erfolg gekrönt waren. Weiterhin bietet Johannes Wiggerings Arbeit zur weißrussischen Staatsuniversität in ihrer Gründungsphase in den 1920er Jahren („Im Wandel der Wahrheiten. Die weißrussische Staatsuniversität der Zwischenkriegszeit zwischen Humboldt und Stalinismus") neue Einsichten, auch wenn das Thema in diesem Sammelband überraschen mag. Wiggering kann zeigen, wie die Staatsuniversität – wenn auch eher aus Sachzwängen heraus – in den Entstehungsjahren durchaus freie und unabhängige Forschung und Lehre ermöglichte, dann aber die stalinistischen Gesellschaftsziele Oberhand gewannen. Catherine Guyon und Pierre Horn schließlich haben jeweils sehr lesenswerte Überblicksartikel über das mittelalterlichen, noch heute erkennbare Erbe der Universitäten bzw. Napoleon Bonapartes Hochschulreformen durch die Gründung der Université impériale Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts beigetragen.

Erhellend für europäische Akademiker kann weiterhin der Artikel „Rankings and Faculty Governance of Universities" von Michael Loriaux sein. Der Professor für Politikwissenschaft an der Northwestern University (USA) erklärt für Rankingverunsicherte Europäer zum Einen den Nutzen dieser Ranglisten für die verschiedenen Statusgruppen einer US-amerikanischen Universität: die Universitätsleitungen lesen alle aufmerksam das Ranking des Forbes-Magazins, das Einrichtungen nach ihrer Fähigkeit ordnet, Absolventen auf gut dotierten Posten in Privatunternehmen zu platzieren. Diese Informationen

seien äußerst relevant für die Universitätsleitung, sei sie doch auf die Spenden ihrer Alumni angewiesen. Studierende, die sich für einen Bachelor bewerben wollen (und ihre Eltern), läsen hingegen eher das U. S. News and World Report-Magazin (USNWR): für den ersten Abschluss sei die wissenschaftliche Reputation noch nicht so relevant, vielmehr zähle es, von einer weit vorn gelisteten Uni angenommen zu werden um einerseits Bestätigung für bereits Geleistetes zu bekommen und andererseits sicherzustellen, dass die Mitstudierenden ebenfalls leistungsstark sind. Dennoch sei das Ranking nur einer von sechs Faktoren, die bestimmen, wo sich ein Studierender bewirbt (S. 180). Für die Wissenschaftler in den Departments schließlich zählte zuallererst der Ruf, aber auch der Ranglistenplatz ihres Departments, da sie daran ihre eigene Reputation messen, aber auch ihre Anziehungskraft auf Doktoranden. Loriaux plaudert daraufhin im zweiten Teil seines Artikels „aus dem Nähkästchen" und beschreibt die positiven Folgen, die ein schlechter Ranglistenplatz für sein Department hatte. Auch wenn der Text eher anekdotischen Charakter hat (er enthält weder Fußnoten noch Bibliographie), regt er doch zum pragmatischen Umgang mit den Ranglisten an – und bietet damit eine interessante neue Perspektive.

Es ist besonders lobenswert, dass die Artikel in ihren Originalsprachen abgedruckt wurden und dadurch die Mannigfaltigkeit der Perspektiven unterstrichen sowie dem Leser ein Einblick in die verschiedenen akademischen Sprachstile Deutschlands, Frankreichs und der USA gewährt wurde. So drückt sich doch die „Universitätskultur" auch in der Tonart der Texte aus. Die US-amerikanischen Beiträge zeichnen sich hierbei durchweg durch ihre Zufriedenheit mit dem eigenen System aus, während die europäischen eher den aktuell herrschenden Krisendiskurs wiederspiegeln. Auch wenn Peter Hayes von der Northwestern University Kritik an der studentischen Evaluierung von Universitätskursen („Teaching at Elite American Universities") übt, so sei das System sehr gut und die Europäer sollten keine Angst vor ähnlichen Entwicklungen in Europa haben (S. 199).

Für weitere Ausgaben des Transatlantischen Dialogs könnten die Herausgeber die Artikel durch kommentierende Texte ergänzen, um sie in den Kontext der begleitenden Diskussionen zu stellen. Abschließend lässt sich feststellen, dass es sich beim Band um eine breit angelegte, interdisziplinäre Sammlung von Texten handelt, die lesenswerte Beiträge zu bieten hat.

Anmerkung:

1 http://www.nng.uni-saarland.de/forschung/wissenschaftskooperation/transatlantischer_dialog.htm (05.01.2013)

**Manfred Hettling / Jörg Echternkamp (Hrsg.): Gefallenengedenken im globalen Vergleich. Nationale Tradition, politische Legitimation und Individualisierung der Erinnerung, München: Oldenbourg Verlag 2013, 540 S.**

Rezensiert von
Marcel Siepmann, Essen

„Der politische Totenkult der Neuzeit", schrieb Reinhart Koselleck vor bald zwanzig Jahren in einem der Standardwerke

zum Gefallenengedenken, „hat einen gemeineuropäischen Hintergrund, aus dem länderweise oder gruppeneigentümlich verschiedene Varianten und Kombinationen abgerufen werden, die sich inzwischen über den ganzen Globus ausgebreitet haben."[1] Daran anlehnend folgert nun Manfred Hettling in seiner Einleitung: „Staatliches und gesellschaftliches Gefallenengedenken erweist sich […] als ein globales Phänomen, welches nicht zuletzt als Indikator geeignet ist, um Fragen des historischen und politischen Selbstverständnisses vergleichend zu analysieren" (S. 11).

Zwanzig Nationen werden von den hier versammelten Autor/innen in alphabetischer Reihenfolge einem solchen Vergleich unterzogen. These dabei ist, dass „Kriege […] einer der wesentlichen Faktoren bei der Nations- und Staatsbildung" (S. 11-12) waren und somit auch das Gefallenengedenken immer als ein „politischer Akt" (S. 12) zu betrachten sei. Gleichzeitig, so Hettling, ging damit seit dem späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert auch die „Aufwertung des Untertanen zum Bürger" einher; Kriegsdenkmäler „verkörperten" somit eine „neue politische Ordnung" (ebd.), die auch als Ausdruck für eine „politische Handlungseinheit" (S. 17) steht und zu einem der prägenden identitätsstiftenden Parameter der nächsten zweihundert Jahre werden sollte.

Doch in „dem Maße, wie sich globale Spannungslinien seit den 1980er Jahren verschoben haben und eine mit der atomaren Selbstzerstörung der Welt drohende kriegerische Konfrontation zwischen Ost und West als Bedrohungsszenario verschwunden ist",[2] haben sich die Grundbedingungen auch von Erinnerungsnarrativen verändert. Die „Multilokalität von Konflikten", die Hettling u. a. unter dem „Stichwort der ‚scheiternden Staaten'" zusammenfasst, aber auch andere politische Verschiebungen hätten „die Wahrnehmung von Krieg und gewaltsamen Tod verändert"(S. 42). Gefallenengedenken entzieht sich damit, so kann daraus abgeleitet werden, zunehmend staatlicher Kontrolle und ist Gegenstand unterschiedlicher mal mehr mal weniger machtvoller Akteure. Trotzdem, so wird in diesem Band deutlich, bleibt der „Pfad der Nationsbildung" (ebd.) auf das jeweilige Gefallenenerinnern von allgegenwärtiger Bedeutung.

Neil J. Diamont führt in seinem Beitrag zu China zum Beispiel aus, wie dem Begriff des Soldaten sehr unterschiedliche Definition zugesprochen werden können. Für die Reformperiode (also in der Zeit nach 1978) wird nicht des „Soldaten eines Krieges" (S. 99) im hergebrachten Sinne gedacht, sondern vielmehr der Vorstellung eines ‚Märtyrers der Revolution'. Dieses Bild des Märtyrers könne dabei auch auf „Journalisten, Studenten, Arbeiter, zivile Parteimitglieder, Bürokraten, Geheimdienstmitarbeiter und andere" (ebd.) verweisen, „sofern sie für den Sozialismus starben" (S. 100). Diamont führt dieses sehr spezifisch chinesische Phänomen auf die lange Dauer der Revolution zurück, bei der „zu viele Menschen" (S. 101) zu den Leidtragenden gehörten, als dass sich das Gedenken auf die Erinnerung an Soldaten alleine hätte beschränken lassen können; Opferkonkurrenzen – ein wiederkehrendes Phänomen in diesem Band – sorgten für eine untergeordnete Relevanz des Gedenkens kriegerischer, also: militärischer Opfer. Zudem war es in China verboten,

Veteranenverbände zu bilden, die einem solchen Gedenken, so wie in anderen Ländern, hätten Gehör verschaffen können. Gleichzeitig geht es neben der symbolischen Bedeutung des Erinnerns – hier wie in den meisten anderen Fällen – auch immer um konkrete Entschädigungsforderungen, die sich aus dem offiziellen staatlichen Anerkennen von Opfergruppen ableiten lassen.

„Denkmale und Gedenkstätten" sind, so hat es Cornelia Siebert zuletzt formuliert, „als ein Bestandteil des permanenten diskursiven und praktischen Aushandlungsprozesses über kulturelle und politische Leitmotive einer jeweiligen Gesellschaft" zu verstehen.[3] Damit sind sie häufig auch Gradmesser für demokratische Entwicklungsschübe oder eben Defizite. Hierin liegt einer der vielen Vorteile dieses Bandes, dass man diese verschiedenen Entwicklungsstufen nebeneinander stellen und vergleichen kann.

So spielte die Erinnerung und das Gedenken an den Ersten Weltkrieg trotz der zwei Millionen Kriegsopfer auf russischer Seite in der russischen Öffentlichkeit kaum eine Rolle, da die „Kriegserinnerung in den folgenden Jahrzehnten durch die Oktoberrevolution und den Sieg der Roten Armee im folgenden Bürgerkrieg (1918–1920) überlagert bzw. verdrängt" wurde, wie es im Beitrag von Guido Hausmann heißt (S. 414). „Doch zugleich", so Hausmann, „konnte der Erste Weltkrieg im familiären Gedächtnis durchaus seinen Platz finden" (S. 415). Auch der Zweite Weltkrieg – der Große Vaterländische – war zumindest bis 1953, also bis zu Stalins Tod, ein durch das stalinistische Erinnerungsregime geprägter. Strategische Verfehlungen im Krieg und vor allem der Terror gegen die eigene Bevölkerung während der dreißiger Jahre konnten nur im privaten Raum erinnert und diskutiert werden, wobei letzteres ein gefährliches Unterfangen blieb. Erst unter Chruščev (1956–1964) „kam es zu einer Umwertung" (S. 426), und das Sowjetvolk sowie populäre Generäle gerieten in den Fokus öffentlicher Erinnerung. Der Sieg über Hitler-Deutschland wurde für die Sowjetführung zum zentralen Legitimitätsstifter und drängte den Kommunismus als Endziel in den Hintergrund (S. 430).

Auch Polen, so Joanna Wawrzyniak in ihrem Beitrag (S. 369 ff.), habe während der Okkupationszeit mit divergierenden Narrativen bezüglich des Zweiten Weltkrieges leben müssen. Neben der Linie der regierenden Kommunisten, die, ähnlich der russischen Lesart, eine Legitimationsbasis im heldenhaften Kampf und Tod gegen den Faschismus sahen, betonte die Opposition die Widerstandskräfte der polnischen Heimatarmee. Letztere Deutung sollte sich nach 1989 durchsetzen und ist bis heute ein elementares Narrativ polnischen Gefallenengedenkens. Die schiere Anzahl der Gefallenen im Zweiten Weltkrieg auf Seiten Polens und die geringe Anzahl Gefallener in internationalen Auslandseinsätzen nach 1945 führte zu einem „kaum ausgeprägten Gedenken" (S. 389) an letztere. Und nach wie vor sind Gedenkveranstaltungen wie die zur Erinnerung an den Warschauer Aufstand von enormer Wirkmächtigkeit, da sie zudem auch einer polnischen „Kultur des Martyriums" entsprächen. Für Polen bleiben die drei Teilungen des Landes 1772, 1793 und 1795 sowie auch der Hitler-Stalin-Pakt 1939 (der gerne als vierte Teilung apostrophiert wird) elementarer Bezugspunkt für die heutige Selbstdefinition. Wawrzyniak beklagt dabei eine nach

wie vor zögerliche Zivilgesellschaft, die es versäume, eine kritischere Haltung zu den Irak- und den Afghanistaneinsätzen ihres Landes Stellung einzunehmen. Debatten, wie die um den eigenen Antisemitismus während und nach der nationalsozialistischen Besatzung, wie sie rund um die Publikationen von Jan T. Gross in Polen seit über zehn Jahren zu beobachten sind, zeigen aber auch den Beginn einer sehr wohl kritischeren Auseinandersetzung mit der eigenen Vergangenheit; darauf wird hier jedoch nicht eingegangen.

In Chile, so Stefan Rinke und Sylvia Dümmer Scheel, ist Erinnerungsarbeit eng verknüpft mit der Etablierung einer funktionierenden Zivilgesellschaft nach der Diktatur Pinochets. Diese Arbeit reiche zurück in die Zeit der Unterdrückung, vor allem seit der Entdeckung von 15 Leichen in den Öfen eines Bergwerks bei Lonquén Anfang der 1980er Jahre. „Die Öfen von Lonquén entwickelten sich schnell zu einer neuen säkularen Pilgerstätte", so die AutorInnen, vor allem nachdem Pinochet die Erinnerung zu unterbinden suchte und sich der Protest dagegen „ab 1983 auf die Straße verlagert." (S. 85 u. 86). Dieser Aushandlungsprozess zwischen Zivilbevölkerung und alten Verbündeten des Regimes dauerte bis weit in die Gegenwart hinein: „Erst die Festnahme Pinochets in London 1998 führte zu einer Trendwende" (S. 90). Gleichwohl bleibt „die Gestaltung des Gedenkens an die Gefallenen in Chile [… ein] komplizierter Akt der Aushandlung" (S. 91), bei dem jedoch der Fokus auf die Opfer zunehmend in den Vordergrund rückte.

In Spanien, so Carsten Humlebæk, wurde für diese Verschiebung der Begriff „todos", also ‚alle' gefunden und distanzierte sich dadurch von einer franquistischen und die Gesamtheit der Spanier eher teilenden Gedenkkultur. Der Begriff des ‚Gefallenen' galt unter Franco noch als gleichbedeutend mit ‚gefallen für das franquistische Spanien', während die Opfer der Diktatur aus der Erinnerung herausfielen. Es galt also eine Sprache zu finden, die das Benennen der Unrechtstaten ermöglichte und zugleich das Nebeneinanderleben von Opfern und Tätern zuließ. Diese Debatte wird von einer jüngeren Generation nun wieder entschiedener verfolgt und gerät dabei nicht selten ins diskursive Fahrwasser der verschiedenen separatistischen Bewegungen in Spanien.[4]

Der Band hat das Potenzial, zu einem Standardwerk zu werden, allein weil die vielen Beispiele (die hier nicht alle erwähnt sein können) es immer wieder ermöglichen werden, mit neuen Fragestellungen und Vergleichsparametern an sie heranzutreten. Als nächstes gilt es nun zu beschreiben, welche Wechselbeziehungen zwischen diesen (oder anderen hier nicht behandelten) Fallbeispielen bestehen; an welchen Stellen können zum Beispiel Bezugnahmen auf bestimmte Gedenkweisen anderer Nationen nachgewiesen werden, etwa innerhalb Lateinamerikas oder Europas; zwischen ehemaliger Kolonie und Kolonialmacht? Anne K. Krüger hat dies zuletzt beispielhaft und sehr lehrreich für die globale Verbreitung von Wahrheitskommissionen unternommen.[5] Der Schritt von der vergleichenden Geschichte zur entangled history wäre also zu gehen, was eine Systematisierung der unterschiedlichen Formen des Gefallenengedenkens gewährleisten würde. Das Suchen nach gegenseitigen Beeinflussungen setzt jedoch erst die genaue Kenntnis der jeweiligen

Vergleichsgegenstände voraus. Dazu bietet dieser Band eine Vielzahl an Möglichkeiten. Ein Sachregister hätte gerade dieser Vergleichbarkeit Hilfe geleistet, dies sei hier aber als einziger Mangel angemerkt.

Anmerkungen:

1 R. Koselleck, Einleitung, in: ders./M. Jeismann (Hrsg.): Der politische Totenkult. Kriegerdenkmäler in der Moderne, München 1994, S. 10.

2 So Reinhart Koselleck schon 1979 in seinem viel zitierten Aufsatz: Kriegerdenkmal als Identitätsstiftungen der Überlebenden, in: O. Marquard/K. Stierle: Identität, München 1979, S. 255-276, hier S. 259.

3 C. Siebeck, Denkmale und Gedenkstätten, in: C. Gudehus/A. Eichenberg/H. Welzer (Hrsg.), Gedächtnis und Erinnerung. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch, Stuttgart 2010, S. 177-183, hier S. 179.

4 Ergänzend hierzu, ließe sich die Rezension von Thomas Urban zu zwei neueren Publikationen zur spanischen Erinnerungskultur lesen: „Die Schlachten von früher dauern an“, in: Süddeutsche Zeitung vom 14. Mai 2013, S. 15.

5 A. K. Krüger: From Truth to Reconciliation. The Global Diffusion of Truth Commissions, in: B. Schwelling (Hrsg.), Reconciliation, Civil Society, and the Politics of Memory. Transitional Initiatives in the 20th and 21st Century, Bielefeld 2012, S. 339-367.

# Inhaltsverzeichnis des 23. Jahrgangs 2013

Heft 1: Wahlen in der transatlantischen Moderne. Hg. von Claudia Christiane Gatzka, Hedwig Richter und Benjamin Schröder
Heft 2: Globale Akteure an den Randzonen von Souveränität und Legitimität. Hg. von Tanja Bührer, Markus Pöhlmann und Daniel Marc Segesser
Heft 3: National and Regional Belonging in Twentieth-Century East Asia. Hg. von Stefan Hübner und Torsten Weber
Heft 4/5: Changes from the "Margins": Non-European Actors, Ideas and Strategies in International Organizations. Hg. von Klaas Dykmann und Katja Naumann
Heft 6: Lives Beyond Borders: A Social History, 1880–1950 Hg. von Madeleine Herren und Isabella Löhr

## Aufsätze

*Benjamin Auberer*
"The Ultimate Backroom-Boy": The Border-Crossing Career of Joseph Vivian Wilson in the League of Nations Secretariat Heft 6/S. 76

*Jörg Baberowski*
Das Handwerk des Tötens. Boris Sawinkow und der russische Terrorismus Heft 2/S. 75

*Tanja Bührer*
Ein Forschungsreisender als Notbehelf: Hermann von Wissmann und der erste Überseeeinsatz des Deutschen Reichs (1889–1891) Heft 2/S. 45

*Tanja Bührer / Markus Pöhlmann / Daniel Marc Segesser*
Einleitung. Globale Akteure an den Randzonen von Souveränität und Legitimität Heft 2/S. 7

*Klaas Dykmann / Katja Naumann*
Changes from the "Margins". Non-European Actors, Ideas, and Strategies in International Organizations. Introduction Heft 4/5, S. 9

*Klaas Dykmann*
Only With the Best Intentions: International Organizations as Global Civilizers Heft 4/5, S. 21

*Claudia Christiane Gatzka / Hedwig Richter / Benjamin Schröder* Zur Kulturgeschichte moderner Wahlen in vergleichender Perspektive. Eine Einleitung Heft 1/S. 7

*Claudia Christiane Gatzka*
Des Wahlvolks großer Auftritt. Wahlritual und demokratische Kultur in Italien und Westdeutschland nach 1945 Heft 1/S. 64

*Frank Grüner*
"The Chicago of the East": The Cross-Border Activities and Transnational Biographies of Adventurers, Shady Characters, and Criminals in the Cosmopolitan City of Harbin Heft 6/S. 52

*Jasper Heinzen / Mark Wishon*
A Patriotic Mercenary? Sir Julius von Hartmann as a Hanoverian Officer in British Service, 1803–1816 Heft 2/S. 13

*Madeleine Herren*
Between Territoriality, Performativity, and Transcultural Entanglement (1920–1939): A Typology of Transboundary Lives Heft 6/S. 100

*Stefan Hübner / Torsten Weber*
Introduction: National and Regional Belonging in Twentieth-Century East Asia Heft 3/S. 6

*Alexander Keese*
Ein Söldnerführer zwischen postkolonialen Fronten: Bob Denard und die letzte Gefechtslinie im Congo-Kinshasa, 1960–1968 Heft 2/S. 60

*Cornelia Knab*
Civil Society Diplomacy? W. T. Stead, World Peace, and Transgressive Journalism Heft 6/S. 22

*Konrad M. Lawson*
Universal Crime, Particular Punishment: Trying the Atrocities of the Japanese Occupation as Treason in the Philippines, 1947–1953 Heft 3/S. 57

*Isabella Löhr*
Lives Beyond Borders, or: How to Trace Global Biographies, 1880–1950 Heft 6/S. 7

*Chloe Maurel*
Internationalization and Decentring of UNESCO: Representation and Influence of "Non-Western" Countries, 1945–1987 Heft 4/5, S. 68

*Craig N. Murphy*
Globalizing Standardization: The International Organization for Standardization Heft 4/5, S. 137

*Changavalli Siva Rama Murthy*
Non-Aligned Movement Countries as Drivers of Change in International Organizations Heft 4/5, S. 118

*Jörg Nagler*
Nichtstaatliche Geheimdiensttätigkeiten im Krieg: Allan Pinkertons Agentur im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg Heft 2/S. 27

*Claudia Prinz*
Between "Local Knowledge" and "Global Reach": Diarrhoeal Diseases Control and the International Health Agenda Heft 4/5, S. 93

*Hedwig Richter*
Disziplinierung und Nationsbildung durch politische Wahlen. Preußen und USA von der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg Heft 1/S. 20

*Leonie Rörich*
Decentring Feminist Internationalisms: Indian and International Women's Organizations between the World Wars Heft 4/5, S. 47

*Ivan Sablin*
Buryat, Mongol and Buddhist: Multiple Identities and Disentanglement Projects in the Baikal Region, 1917–1919 Heft 3/S. 17

*Benjamin Schröder*
Stately Ceremony and Carnival. Voting and Social Pressure in Germany and Britain between the World Wars Heft 1/S. 41

*Amanda Shuman*
From Soviet Kin to Afro-Asian Leader: The People's Republic of China and International Sport in the early 1960s Heft 3/S. 78

*Martyn Smith*
Between East and West: The Cold War, Japan and the 1964 Tokyo Olympics Heft 3/S. 100

*Torsten Weber*
Imagined Territoriality: Visual Portrayals of 'Asia' in the Age of Nationalism in East Asia Heft 3/S. 37

**Forum**

*Jan C. Breitinger*
„*Ujamaa* Revisited". Zur entwicklungstheoretischen Verankerung und politischen Wahrnehmung eines spezifisch tansanischen Entwicklungsmodells Heft 1/S. 89

*Chris Hann*
Levels of Parochialism. Welsh-Eurasian Perspectives on a German-European Debate
Heft 4/5, S. 154

*Ulrich Menzel*
Aufstieg und Niedergang des kapitalistischen Weltsystems. Der Sechs-Bücher-Plan von Hartmut Elsenhans als Gegenentwurf zu Marx und Wallerstein Heft 4/5, S. 168

*Marcus Otto*
Dezentrierung des Weltbildes? Die Krise der westlichen Zivilisation, das Ereignis der Dekolonisierung und die Frage des Subjekts im Diskurs der Geschichtsschulbücher in Frankreich in den 1960er Jahren Heft 3/S. 117

*Marisol Palma Behnke/Michael Riekenberg*
„Alle Welt ist agrarista, sogar die Hunde". Intellektuelle als Gewalttäter in Michoacán, Mexiko, 1920–1926 Heft 4/5, S. 179

*Holger Weiss*
Schwarze Genossen im Netz der Komintern. Bemerkungen zu Position und Aktivitäten des „Internationalen Gewerkschaftskomitees der Negerarbeiter" 1930–1933 Heft 2/S. 91

## Literaturbericht

*Helmut Goerlich*
Plätze ums Recht – aus den Fluten der Literatur vor allem zum Verfassungs- und Religionsrecht und ihren Grundlagen Heft 2/S. 107

*Maike Lehmann*
Saids Großväter oder die Hoffnung auf ein besseres Imperium. Neuere Forschungen zur russischen und sowjetischen Orientalistik Heft 1/S. 112

*Hans-Heinrich Nolte*
Das Globalisierungsparadox. Sammelrezension Heft 6/S. 125

*Dietmar Rothermund*
Erinnerungskulturen post-imperialer Nationen Heft 4/5, S. 179198

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