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Andreas W. Daum, Hartmut Lehmann, and James J. Sheehan, *The Second Generation: Émigrés from Nazi Germany as Historians*. New York City, NY; Oxford, UK: Berghahn Books, 2016. Pp. xiii + 473. USD 120.00/€ 128.90 (cloth). ISBN 978-1-78238-985-9.

## Reviewed by David Zimmerman, University of Victoria

This collection of twenty-three essays, personal accounts, and biographical studies reveals the extraordinary contribution of "second-generation" refugees to the historical discipline. Added to these essays are brief biographical outlines of the key "second-generation" historians, as well as a detailed bibliography of their major historical writings. This is the third major study of refugee historians, but the first to explore the contributions of those who as children witnessed Nazi persecution and then later became historians. These individuals were not refugee academics, but some were their offspring. The list of these "second-generation" historians includes Walter Laqueur (b. 1921), Peter Paret (b. 1924), Fritz Stern (1926–2016), Gerhard L. Weinberg (b. 1928), Peter Gay (1923–2015), and Gerda Lerner (1920–2013), to name just a few. Striking here is the breadth of this group's often-pioneering contributions. In my own field of military history, Peter Paret is well known as one of the major interpreters and translators of the Prussian general and military theorist Carl Philipp von Clausewitz (1780–1831), and Gerhard L. Weinberg's massive one-volume history of the Second World War remains essential reading decades after it was first published.¹

Not surprisingly, some of the "second-generation" scholars, like George L. Mosse (1918–1999) and Walter Laqueur began to take the study of the Shoah and anti-Semitism from the periphery to the centre of historical scholarship. This is the subject of Jeffrey Herf's excellent essay, and is also explored in several studies of individual scholars. No effort was made, however, to explore why the eight "second-generation" historians who provided their own accounts make almost no mention of the Holocaust.

The major role played by these scholars in the historiography (*Historische Wissenschaft*) of Germany, particularly in cultural history, is examined in-depth. Their language skills certainly gave them an advantage, as did their connection to Germany. The influence of these historians in establishing connections with their German counterparts is also explored in detail.

Many of these scholars followed a non-traditional path to the discipline. Walter Laqueur, for instance, spent more time driving a tractor on a kibbutz than he ever did as a university student. Yet without even a Bachelor of Arts in history, his writings and his joint editorship with George L. Mosse of *The Journal of Contemporary History* helped shape the discipline as we know it today.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gerhard I. Weinberg, A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Walter Laqueur and George L. Mosse, eds., *The Journal of Contemporary History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1996–).

In many other fields of history, these scholars played a central role. Marjorie Lamberti's study of the feminist historian Gerda Lerner (1920–2013), assesses her ground-breaking role in broadening the scope of women's history beyond the perspectives of white middle-class suffragettes. Lerner's background strongly influences her historical writings, in which she insisted on the necessity of considering women of other classes and races who had very different experiences than these women of privilege. Lerner started life in a middle-class Austrian-Jewish family, was briefly a prisoner of the Gestapo (secret state police), then became a political refugee in the United States, and by 1950 was a fully assimilated left-wing political activist during the Cold War and the civil rights movement. Lamberti argues that Lerner was so assimilated into American culture that she initially suppressed her experiences in Europe to the point of almost completely forgetting how to even speak German. Lamberti believed that applying the experiences in Europe of these "second-generation" historians is, therefore, often less direct than with "first-generation" refugee scholars.

Certainly, this view is borne out in many of the other essays. The impact on many of the male historians of their service in the American military, the extent of their cultural assimilation into the United States, and their experiences at university all profoundly shaped the historical work and lives of these historians. The different perspectives of "first- and second-generation" refugee historians is another major theme that runs through many of these chapters.

While this collection is extremely valuable, it has its problems. One of the most difficult ones is simply the use of the term "second generation" to describe this group. In Holocaust studies, these historians would not be called "second generation," but were in fact members of the first generation. While only one of these historians, Henry Friedlander (1930–2012), was a survivor of death camps, many of them were eyewitnesses to traumatic events that proceeded the Shoah. Others, such as Peter Paret and George L. Mosse, whose family left Germany right away in 1933, mainly experienced the trauma of being uprooted at a very young age. This subject of defining generations is raised by Andreas Daum in the introductory article, but more pointedly by Volker R. Berghahn (b. 1938) in his essay, "Thinking about the Second Generation Conceptually." Berghahn mentions that Walter Laqueur dubbed people like himself as belonging to "Generation Exodus."

Perhaps the use of the term "first generation" to describe academics driven into exile by Nazi persecution is part of the problem. It is a redundant term, since only those forced out of academic positions were refugee scholars, there can be no "second-generation" refugee scholars. As a group, the people being studied are refugees that later became historians.

This definition of "second generation" is a crucial weakness of this volume, as it focusses the attention of these essays into a very narrow path. Three essays provide accounts of "second-generation" historians in other countries, and many of the other articles link these historians to German academics. No consideration is given to a broader comparative analysis linking with other historians of the post–Second World War period. Such an analysis might have better brought out the unique qualities of "Generation Exodus." For instance, how different were the experiences of these "second-generation" German-Jewish-Americans from their American-Jewish counterparts? Robert Post has written several articles on Melvin Kranzberg (1917–1995), one of the pioneers in the history of technology while he was at Case Western Reserve University in the United States from 1952 until 1971. Kranzberg's work on technology came about because, as a Jew, he was unable to find employment at a mainstream university, but instead ended up teaching history at an engineering school. Other examples that could have been considered were the experiences of earlier Jewish refugees, such as those that fled the anti-Jewish pogroms of 1903–1906 in the Russian Empire. Did any of them become historians, and were their experiences similar to those refugees from Germany?

An issue that could have been addressed is lack of an overall summary of the careers of the 107 historians identified as belonging to the "second generation." While, understandably, even in this large

collection only a handful of these historians could be explored in detail, it would have been useful to know more about the entire group. For example, at what universities and colleges did the others teach? With a few exceptions, those discussed spent all or part of their careers at Ivy League or other major private universities. Did any of them teach at state universities or colleges? Is the overall profile of the "second generation" different from other groups of historians? These questions are simply left unanswered.

Despite these criticisms, the book is an invaluable addition to our understanding of the refugee experience in the post-war United States. The collection greatly adds to our understanding of historiography, particularly in the fields of Holocaust studies, social and cultural history, feminist history, and German history. Many of the articles in this collection are must-reads for historians interested in how these individuals transformed our discipline and our understanding of the past.