modernization of the French and Russian armies and infrastructure, the Germans passed a 400 million Mark Army Act aimed chiefly at giving the Schlieffen Plan a hope of success against the unexpectedly nimble Russians and suddenly more numerous French.

Quite correct in a narrow, literal sense, Zuber's denial of the Schlieffen Plan is quite incorrect in the broad context of Wilhelmian politics and war planning.

GEOFFREY WAWRO
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE

Cities, Sin, and Social Reform in Imperial Germany. By Andrew Lees. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2002. Pp. xiii + 432. $65.00. ISBN 0–482–11258–9.

Fears of the city as seedbed of "sin" ran high in Germany toward the end of the nineteenth century, as indeed they did throughout Europe and the United States, where moralists both religious and secular joined in an abhorrent chorus, denouncing all manner of urban "decadence" and "degeneracy" at the fin de siècle. Deviant sexuality, promiscuity, prostitution, alcoholism, crime, greed, materialism, "smut and trash," commercialism, bad taste, and the breakdown of moral order in general topped the litany of complaints laid at the feet of the modern metropolis. Historians of Imperial Germany have long been accustomed to stuffing such lamentations into bulging folders marked "antimodernism" and "cultural despair" as further evidence in the case for an intellectual and cultural *Sonderweg* laid out decades ago by Fritz Stern, George Mosse, and others. Yet complaints about life in the big city do not necessarily express *hostility* to the big city (ask any New Yorker). Nor are attacks on immorality *always* signs of flight from modernity into lunacy, fanaticism, and (eventually) genocide. As Andrew Lees shows in this well-researched book, even the bitterest diatribes of German moralists sometimes contained professions of "civic pride" and an "urban ethos" that helped to create a "discursive framework in which moral criticism could be expressed constructively" (p. 49). Like many other voices in the transatlantic refrain, German reformers and critics not only reviled the sinfulness of cities but also advanced practical strategies to cure the modern ills they descried.

The book is divided into four parts, which cover the stance of moralist critics of the city from several methodological approaches, exploring broader discursive and institutional frameworks as well as offering case studies of four reformers deemed representative of the constructive outlook Lees sets out to uncover: 1) Viktor Böhmert, editor of *Der Arbeiterfreund* (the journal of the Centralverein für das Wohl der arbeitenden Klassen), who worked to provide

healthy leisure activities for workers in Dresden; 2) Johannes Tews, leader of the popular education movement in Berlin; 3) Walther Classen, founder of the Hamburg *Volksheim*, the first practical success of the urban settlement movement in Germany; and 4) Alice Salomon, chairwoman of the Mädchen- und Frauengruppen für soziale Hilfsarbeit, who also founded a Social School for Women in Berlin.

Swimming against the cultural-pessimism current, Lees has his work cut out for him with characters like Böhmert, who denounced materialism, impurity, and alcoholism as "the worst domestic enemies that haunt the nation" (p. 201); or Tews, who complained about the "imported filth" filling Germany's "big city sewers" (p. 228); or the "strongly authoritarian figure" of Classen, whose writings "seemingly reeked of antiurban hostility" (pp. 264, 274). Yet in the end most readers will probably agree that anxieties about metropolitan modernity pushed these critics "not only in repressive but also in reformist directions" (p. 191). The careers of each certainly document a commitment to liberal individualism seasoned by the social consciousness of late nineteenth-century progressives on both sides of the Atlantic. Lees particularly stresses the "voluntarism" of these men and women, their belief in the healing power of free associations anchored in a robust civil society beyond the reach of paternalist interventions from the state and big capital. It is illuminating to learn that Böhmert and Classen explicitly defended the rights of workers to organize in labor unions and to join the socialist party even as they railed against the degeneracy of rebellious urban rabble. While none of them was an outspoken critic of the status quo, Lees is right to insist (along with Thomas Nipperdey) that these reformers' milieu was a far cry from the *Untertan-Gesellschaft* some historians have portrayed. Their firm belief in personal freedom, rational choice, and "collective self-help in which middle-class liberals would voluntarily take the lead" (p. 220) suggests that commitments to liberal humanism and enlightenment were indeed "in full flower among urban progressives" in late nineteenth-century Germany (p. 223).

This conclusion stems from thorough surveys of broader discursive and institutional contexts in which Lees embeds his case studies. Built on a staggering array of sources — journals of municipal administrators and conservative and reform-minded Protestants and Catholics, newspapers, magazines, novels, memoirs, and archival materials — the first 190 pages of the book trace the evolution of antiurban discourse in Germany from Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl's mid-century polemics through the proliferation of similar voices across a broad spectrum of publics from the late 1880s. While Part I explores the appropriation of Riehl's critique by reactionaries and progressives, Part II focuses on the elaboration of technical discourses in two specific areas: sexual deviance and criminality. Noteworthy here is Lees's fine exploration of the dialogue between "traditionally religious or otherwise conservative" elements and the views of

medical, scientific, and legal professionals (p. 77). Thus, for instance, the progressive Jewish sexologist Alfred Blaschko and the conservative Pastor Ludwig Weber both contributed to discussions of urban sexuality in which moral and medical anxieties overlapped. Drawing on Richard Wetzell's sophisticated analysis of German criminology, Lees also shows how opposing viewpoints — individual and social, ethical and scientific, voluntarist and determinist — crossed and blended to produce similar homologies in debates about the causes of urban crime.

Lees's ability to detect broad areas of common dialogue without covering over the often bitter antagonisms among rivals is a real strength of this study, as is his command of recent scholarship that has explored the complexities of the Wilhelmian reform milieu — above all Wetzell's work, but also that of Edward Ross Dickinson, Derek Linton, Ann Taylor Allan, Kathleen Canning, George Steinmetz, and others. While much of this work looks toward the left end of the reformist spectrum, Lees fleshes out the other side, situating more conservative groups within the "positive modernity" Geoff Eley has identified as a new target of inquiry for historians of Imperial Germany. In Part IV (following the case studies) Lees profiles two mainstream reform associations that have hitherto escaped closer attention — the Centralstelle für Arbeiter-Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen and Zentralstelle für Volkswohlfahrt. A final chapter surveys the historiography on Imperial German social policy and assesses the interventions of federal, state, and municipal governments.

This is an important book that will invite debate and stimulate research. Not everyone will be persuaded that Lees's mildly conservative moralists belong to the healthy trajectory of modernity followed by liberal democracies of the West. Others will probably find his response to "postmodern" critics too brief to allay suspicions of Wilhelmian progressivism raised by Detlev Peukert and others. But in any case scholars interested in the paths of German modernity will need to confront this book, its massive erudition and sharp insights, before trying to fill other gaps in the story.

KEVIN REPP
YALE UNIVERSITY

Death in the Tiergarten: Murder and Criminal Justice in the Kaiser's Berlin. By Benjamin Carter Hett. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. ix + 291. $35.00. ISBN 0–674–1317–4.

It has long been the fate of the legal history of the Kaiserreich to be written backwards, filtered through the lens not only of the lawlessness and contempt for legal niceties that characterized the Third Reich, but also through the