Matthew P. Fitzpatrick

Purging the Empire: Mass Expulsions in Germany, 1871–1914. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. 306. Hb, \$99.

The Jesuit Law of 1872 is one of eight case studies examined in this monograph on mass expulsions in Imperial Germany. Coming at the start of the *Kulturkampf*, the law banned Jesuit houses, allowed for the expulsion of individual Jesuits from certain provinces, and the expulsion of Jesuits of foreign citizenship from the entire territory of the empire. The result was that most of the 634 Jesuits resident in Germany in 1872 moved to Jesuit houses either immediately over the border or in the order's overseas mission territories. A *cause célèbre* for Germany's Catholics, the Jesuit order was, in fact, just one of several groups to be expelled from Germany before World War One. One thousand French-speakers were expelled from Alsace-Lorraine after its annexation by Germany and a staggering 32,000 Poles of Russian and Austrian citizenship were expelled in 1885.

For German historians, this monograph represents a completely novel perspective on imperial Germany. Its author, Australian historian Matthew Fitzpatrick, uses expulsions as a means of exploring the nature of power in Imperial Germany. His focus on the “exceptional” laws and decrees that enabled mass expulsions derives from the claims of political theorist Carl Schmitt and, more recently, Giorgio Agamben that power is concentrated in those who determine departures from legal norms. On the basis of various case studies, he demonstrates that power was far more diffused than one might imagine from traditional accounts of imperial Germany with their emphasis on the “iron and rye” alliance of military leaders and large landowners. While some expulsions originated with the imperial government, others were the work of Germany's constituent states, and some resulted from initiatives by non-state actors such as voluntary religious organizations. The variety of agents at work demonstrates that expulsions should not necessarily be seen as evidence of centralized and authoritarian rule, but, at times, of the ability of civil society to shape political decisions. Interestingly, he concludes that expulsions did not, in fact, violate the principles of the *Rechtsstaat*, if only because the constitution proved flexible enough to accommodate expulsions under certain conditions. While rejecting continuity between the imperial and Nazi periods, he provides important insights into later expulsions, which are the subject of a new museum to open shortly in Berlin under the auspices of the Foundation Flight, Expulsion, Reconciliation.

The expulsion of the Jesuits forms an important part of Fitzpatrick's analysis. Drawing on my own book, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany* (Leiden:

Brill, 2003), and that of Michael Gross, *The War Against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), as well as contemporary pamphlets, petitions, and Reichstag debates, Fitzpatrick confirms the importance of civil society, especially the Protestant Association, in initiating the expulsion of the Jesuits. The greatest strength of his chapter on the Jesuit Law, however, is a detailed discussion of the *Reichstag* debates over the law's apparent violation of the constitutional right of all German citizens to freedom of movement within the empire. Advocates of a ban justified the law by arguing that the Jesuits posed an existential threat to the state. Many claimed that the Jesuits were divided in their loyalties and thus compromised the state's security, with one deputy likening the conflict between Jesuits and Germans to a state of war. Fitzpatrick shows that a considerable number of deputies rejected this argument, not necessarily out of sympathy for the Jesuits, but in the defence of the notion of Germany as a *Rechtsstaat*, where the protection of the law applied to all. These noted that Britain and the United States did not find it necessary to pass exceptional laws to deal with the Jesuits and warned that a German law limiting the freedom of the Jesuits might set a precedent that would prove damaging for religious and political associations generally. Germany's ethnic minorities in particular, including Protestant Danes, as well as the Jewish deputies highlighted by Gross, objected to the law on these grounds.

The main value of Fitzpatrick's monograph, however, lies in its comparative framework. While he does not discuss the numerous expulsions of Jesuits in other jurisdictions and at other times familiar to all historians of the order, he shows the significance of the expulsion of 1872 for other groups living in imperial Germany. The Jesuit Law provided a template, for instance, for the Socialist Law of 1878, which similarly provided for restrictions on the place of residence of German socialists and the expulsion of foreign socialists. 797 German socialists were banned from specific cities and, like many Jesuits, some of these decided to emigrate. The Jesuit Law was also cited as a precedent for the expulsion of troublesome German settlers from German colonies, such as one who had engaged in homosexual relations with an African in South West Africa in 1909.

Of all "out" groups, the Jews are the ones most commonly compared with the Jesuits. I suggested in my book that anti-Semitism was not as strong as anti-Jesuitism in this era, noting that the number of signatories on the infamous anti-Semitic 1881–82 petition, 267,000, fell short of the one million listed on an anti-Jesuit petition in 1890. Fitzpatrick's analysis similarly highlights the relatively harsh treatment of Jesuits vis-à-vis Jews. He demonstrates that, while many Jews were included in the expulsions of Poles of non-German citizenship

in 1885, they were expelled as Poles rather than Jews. Moreover, he reveals that gypsies were better off than either Jesuits or socialists, provided they were German citizens. They suffered much hostility from the settled community, especially the Catholic Center Party and the Conservatives, but more ambitious measures against them failed because of confusion around the definition of a gypsy and the likely cost of deportation. *Purging the Empire* amply demonstrates the value of a comparative approach to expulsions and should encourage historians of Jesuits to compare expulsions of Jesuits at other times and in other places to those of other contemporary groups, non-religious as well as religious, and to consider their implications for the civil liberties of all citizens of the state.

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