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Europe: Early Modern and Modern

Klaus J. Bade. *Europa in Bewegung: Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart.* (Europa Bauen.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 2000. Pp. 510. DM 58.90.

Europeans have always been in motion, searching for employment and income. Klaus J. Bade's narrative begins with the long-distance migration systems of the eighteenth century identified by Jan Lucassen and Hannelore Oberpenning, for temporary work and migratory commerce, respectively. Nineteenth-century industrialization then fed both the supply and demand sides of such migration systems, vastly increasing the numbers of Europeans unable to support themselves where they lived but offering new opportunities for mainly temporary work in and near expanding urban centers. The technological revolution in transport employed vast numbers of temporary laborers building railroads and roads, while enabling millions of others to travel across the Atlantic Ocean. 1

Unlike most writers on migration, Bade is equally comfortable discussing the sociological and the political contexts of mobility. He sees the context of migration as having shifted since the late nineteenth century, from the socioeconomic to the political realm, as Western states have increasingly defined migration as a national concern. How much migration to allow across one's borders was usually linked to discriminatory beliefs about migrants: German anxiety about Poles in the Ruhr; immigration quotas in the United States favoring northwestern Europeans; French fears of northern Africans; northern European efforts to limit the influx of southerners since the 1960s. Bade forces migration researchers, who often prefer the purity of quantitative data and the convenience of theories of unconstrained individual choice, to consider the coerced mass movements of the mid-twentieth century, including the international migrations of Jews to the death camps. 2

The value of the long chronology and international breadth of Bade's vision is demonstrated by his ability to note the secular changes in migration patterns. From the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, the 3

flow of Germans into Holland for agricultural labor (the so-called *Hollandgängerei*) was replaced by a reverse stream of Dutch laborers seeking work in German industry. Since the nineteenth century, the Swiss have consistently been taking in migrant labor in proportionately much greater numbers than their larger neighbors. But the sources of migrants have changed, from Germans and Italians to Yugoslavs, Turks, and Portuguese.

Bade has put his vast knowledge about migration to good use in the constant German political debates around migrants and citizenship. He was a principal author of the 1994 "Manifesto of the 60," which united leading German intellectuals behind a call for a less discriminatory citizenship policy. He uses the description of contemporary refugee politics in Western Europe to demonstrate the "historical scandal" of rich Europeans protecting themselves from purported floods of unwanted, meaning less civilized, refugees. Europe has been the site of massive human movements for centuries, often manipulated by the most powerful nations for their own economic benefit. Not these freer movements but those directly guided, even forced, by national policies have led to human disaster. Bade argues that there is nothing new or dangerous about the appearance of foreign peoples in European communities. 4

Both of the major concepts in the book's title have more limited meanings than they appear to claim. The book focuses on Western European migration and research. The bibliography is mainly in German, supplemented by many English and a few French titles. Thus the reader meets Italians, Spaniards, and Poles mainly when they appear in France or Germany, while Hungarians, Greeks, and Russians are rarely mentioned. "Migration" here means mostly international movements. The much more numerous but often less noticed internal migrations are occasionally discussed when they created clear geographical patterns, such as temporary movements to Paris or long-distance east-to-west German migrations in the late nineteenth century. The bewildering blur of daily local movements that formed the context for the rarer long distance, transnational, and intercontinental migrations are much more difficult to place into neat geographical patterns. The focus on international migration can lead to distortions in the migratory narrative. In the case of Germany, for example, the transnational movements appear to have peaked around the turn of the century. But recent research has demonstrated that total mobility was already falling at that moment from its apex in the 1880s. 5

On both of these issues, Bade reflects the research literature he summarizes, which throughout the twentieth century emphasized those striking migration patterns that often caught the attention of governments, rather than the mundane migrations so crucial to family and regional economies. Although the search for work and income has generally ignored the artificial boundaries of nation-states throughout the past two centuries, research and publication have tended to remain within more parochial limits. Bade tells us where we are, and, by omission, where we still need to go, to get a history of European migration. 6



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