Leo Lucassen, *Zigeuner. Geschichte eines politischen Ordnungsbegriffes in Deutschland 1700-1945*

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tive processes » he describes take place behind their backs. Indeed, the most interesting essays in this book are informed not so much by Elias as by modern cultural history.

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Leo Lucassen, *Zigeuner. Geschichte eines politischen Ordnungsbegriffes in Deutschland 1700-1945*, Köln/Weimar/Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1996, 276 p., ISBN 3-412-05996-X

Today no one would challenge the statement that police history has become a well-established part of historiography proper, and not only its «crime and criminal» sub-department. The number of studies on the organization of the police, its personnel and its practices – primarily in Western European countries and Northern America – has grown considerably in recent years, indicating the new interest historians are taking in the subject. Although these studies have broadened our knowledge about the police, there are still a number of gaps which seem to have stimulated little inquiry. Among them are topics concerned with the influence and the determining effects that stereotypes and specific images have had on the police's perceptions of deviance, and the way the police have organized and structured their work.

In his book – a German translation of the author's doctoral dissertation in Dutch – Leo Lucassen does not use the term «stereotype», but instead the term *Ordnungsbegriff*, which could be translated as «master concept», leaving the borderline between «stereotype» and *Ordnungsbegriff* relatively vague. Lucassen tries to follow the use over time of the *Ordnungsbegriff Zigeuner* by the police, as well as the impact this usage has had on police practices. He sees *Zigeuner* as a label that has allowed the police to subsume different types of deviance under one heading.

The book has six chapters which divide more or less into three main parts: In the first part (Chapters one – the introduction – through three), the author describes the old regime and the early-nineteenth-century development of the *Ordnungsbegriff Zigeuner*; the second part focuses on the nineteenth century (Chapter four and parts of Chapter five); while the remaining chapters cover the early twentieth century up to the Nazi period. Although the book's subtitle implies a study of the Nazi years, in fact Leo Lucassen merely touches on them.

Lucassen sees a three-step development and use of the *Ordnungsbegriff Zigeuner*. Up to the 1830s, *Zigeuner* is – if one follows the author's arguments – a rather narrow concept that is reserved for ethnic gypsies. For the subsequent period, Leo Lucassen observes growing evidence for a widening of the concept and goes on to demonstrate what this widening meant: a growing incorporation of different categories of persons and groups beyond ethnic gypsies into the *Ordnungsbegriff Zigeuner*. This process occurred, according to the author, around the turn the nineteenth century and during the first three decades of that century. He relates it to state-building processes and changing poor laws and welfare policies in the

German-speaking countries of this time. In the eyes of the police, this specific dangerous class included vast parts of the non-resident and/or vagrant population. *Zigeuner* served as convenient, ready-made label for identifying these categories as a danger to the new nation-state. Leo Lucassen demonstrates convincingly how the police used the notion of *Zigeuner* to distinguish between good people and bad people in the world around them.

From the point of view of the police, the bad people became increasingly dangerous as the the German nation-state defined the boundaries between its members and its non-members after 1870/71, the date of its foundation. As a data base supporting his arguments, Leo Lucassen uses nineteenth-century police-handbooks and collections of arrest warrants deriving from the entire nineteenth century. The late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century police perceptions of *Zigeuner* are dealt with more summarily, which is slightly disappointing because it leaves the reader without the details provided in the first two parts. Nevertheless, the book remains recommendable reading for those interested in labeling and stereotyping practices as part of police development.

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Lindsay Farmer, *Criminal Law, Tradition and Legal Order. Crime and the Genius of Scots Law 1747 to the Present*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, xi + 207 p., ISBN 0-521-55320-2.

Radhika Singha, *A Despotism of Law. Crime and Justice in Early Colonial India*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998. xxix + 342 p., ISBN 019564049-7.

Among the sights to behold as the British Empire gave way to the Commonwealth there were few quite as incongruous as legal officials of the new nation states sweltering beneath the wigs and robes of the English legal profession. The incongruity is even greater when it is remembered that these wigs and robes were already archaic in English society when the greater part of the empire was being established. Yet the wigs and robes somehow seemed a necessary part of the law, and for generations of empire builders, imperial administrators, and students of the now largely defunct subject «British Constitution» the white man's law was a key element of the civilising process brought to native peoples. Yet, how far was it possible to export English law to different cultures? How far was compromise necessary? And how far was the export of law less concerned with bringing an enlightened, rational legal system to peoples perceived as less fortunate and primitive, and more with enabling the imposition of sovereignty? Both Lindsay Farmer's *Criminal Law, Tradition and Legal Order* and Radhika Singha's *A Despotism of Law* touch on these issues, though approaching them in very different contexts as well as from different disciplines – Farmer teaches law, Singha teaches history.

Perhaps only the most extreme nationalist would consider Scotland a colonised territory, but it probably remains fair to say that it emerged from the Union of 1707 as a junior partner in «Britain». However, even though united under the English /British Crown, Scotland maintained a separate legal system. This, Farmer persua-