

## BOOK REVIEWS

MCINTOSH, MARJORIE KENISTON. *Working Women in English Society, 1300–1620*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge [etc.] 2005. xiv, 291 pp. Ill. £18.99; \$32.99; DOI: 10.1017/S0020859006012703

The history of women's work has long been dominated by the debate on "continuity" or "change". Following Alice Clark, some women's historians have described the pre-industrial period as a golden age for working women. Work opportunities contracted over the course of time, under the influence of the rise of capitalism, industrialization, economic specialization, and the changing function of the family. Another cluster of historians criticized this interpretation and emphasized the continuity in the history of women's work. Patriarchal restrictions dominated, as did a gender division of labour. They argued that women's work had always been low valued, poorly paid, and low-skilled. Recently however, historians question whether women's labour participation can be characterized by either continuity or change. Marjorie McIntosh's book *Working Women in English Society, 1300–1620* supports this view. McIntosh agrees with the argument that women had more economic opportunities in the post-Plague period (1348/1349–1500) than around 1600, but stresses that this does not imply that their situation was rosy.

McIntosh comes to this conclusion after extensive archival research. She selects five market centres spread geographically and representing various economic patterns. Local records are supplemented with tax records and a large sample of petitions submitted by women to the equity court. These petitions are particularly valuable since they shed light on the economic activities of married women, who normally remain hidden because they have lost their legal identity under common law. Despite the disadvantages of the source, all of which the author carefully takes into account, the petitions provide both a quantitative basis and interesting insights into the personal lives of working women. Not all information is new. But as well as occupations studied before (servants, midwives, prostitutes, brewsters) this book addresses new types of work (taking in boarders, money lending, pawnbroking) thereby providing us with a very welcome overview of the wide range of activities performed by women in the market economy and with new explanations at the same time.

The book is structured thematically and divided into three parts. After an outline of the general features of women's work, an introduction of the sources, and an overview of the historiographical debate (under the telling title "How Have Scholars Interpreted the Sources?"), McIntosh identifies the main changes and areas of continuity in the period 1300–1620, based on literature and on her own research. The second part of the book covers women's work in the services sector. The third part is reserved for women's involvement in production and trade and the role of women as consumers.

Women provided a wide variety of services for pay, either as servants, nurses, midwives, sex workers, cooks, cleaners, or less commonly known, by taking in boarders (children, orphans, sick people, pregnant women, the elderly). Most of these activities were closely connected to the domestic responsibilities of women, poorly paid, and did not enhance social credit. Therefore, women in the service sector were not perceived as a threat to male

household heads. This explains why women continued to be involved in service work, even in times of population pressure and limited work opportunities.

Things were different for financial services. Throughout the book McIntosh stresses the importance of access to credit (both socially and financially) for working women. Changes in credit mechanisms throughout the medieval and early modern period had serious gender-specific implications and affected, for example, women who generated an income by lending money or renting out property. A set of gender-based handicaps had always disadvantaged women: they might encounter problems with the reimbursement of loans, since it was difficult for them to travel alone. Married women could not prosecute debtors in common law courts independently because of their legal incapacity. Women had usually fewer resources than men. But these handicaps became more acute as the scale of transactions rose and credit mechanisms became more complex. By 1600 women still lent out money and worked as pawnbrokers, but their transactions involved only small amounts of money and women were rarely active as large commercial moneylenders.

The rise of scale and the process of professionalization also caused changes in female participation in production and sale, as becomes clear in the second part of the book. Women were involved in the sale of goods at many levels. They sold drinks, fish, poultry, dairy products, fruits, spices, and all kind of other foodstuffs. They kept shops, hired stalls, worked as peddlers and hucksters. In the fifteenth century there were some female wholesalers and women were engaged in foreign trade. But the more elaborate the system of distribution became, the less likely it was to find women in the more profitable levels of the distribution system. Women's involvement in food trades and inn-keeping, seen as extensions of domestic work and therefore appropriate for women, was limited by a similar set of gender-specific handicaps: problems with obtaining start capital, travelling, hiring labour, and maintaining order.

The book would have benefited from some more elaboration on this point. Without a further explanation the gender-based handicaps tend to remain clichés without much explanatory power. Was the obligation of running a household indeed an obstacle for married women and widows to hire a stall and sell goods, for example? If so, is this reflected in an over-representation of single women in the market place? How did the few women working at the upper levels of the economy overcome legal handicaps? Did widows continuing their husband's trade encounter difficulties with controlling labour? It is difficult to assess the influence of these handicaps in daily practice.

The sixth chapter addresses an old theme with new evidence. McIntosh carefully analyses the developments of women's work in the drink trade. Looking for an explanation for the apparent disappearance of women from the drink trade, the possibility is discussed that the displacement of women might be a reflection of a changed registration practice – the brewing activities of married women might have been obscured because officials registered household heads instead of individuals. It appears to be more likely, though, that a real change took place. Next to factors such as the commercialization of production, a growing regulation and new technology, earlier put forward by Judith Bennett who has studied the subject intensively, McIntosh is able to identify a set of (local) demographic, economic, and cultural factors that contributed to the disappearance of independent women from the drink trades and that explain why the transition was rather more abrupt than Bennett suggested. Women who worked in the drink trade around 1600 were wives assisting their husbands, working as servants in establishments, or selling drinks as hucksters on the streets. The same pattern can be seen in most (skilled) crafts. The

opportunities for independent work that generated some status in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries remained mainly reserved for London widows.

McIntosh shows that the 150 years after the outbreak of the Black Death in 1348/1349 must be characterized as an atypical period. Labour shortages, caused by changed demographic conditions, broadened employment opportunities and led to the acceptance of a more active and independent role for women in the public economy. By 1620 many working women were either assisting male relatives or forced to accept low status and poorly paid jobs. Factors such as population growth, increasing poverty, expansion of manufacturing and trade, formalization of the credit system, and increased competition from male household heads who began to perceive women's work as a threat, changed the situation and, in the end, resulted in the exclusion of women from the higher levels of the economy.

McIntosh's interpretation differs from historians who claim that the post-Plague period can be seen as a golden age. However, she concludes her book with the statement that choices for women had narrowed around 1600, and that it is legitimate to stress the importance of change across the late medieval/early modern transition (p. 253). Although very carefully and highly nuanced, she thereby interprets her results within the framework of the continuity or change dichotomy. Recently, historians have come to question whether continuity or change are the most relevant terms to describe women's work experiences, and the author herself describes the differences between both views as contrasts in emphasis. The scanty evidence will probably always leave room for differing interpretations. But according to the author, the arguments will contribute "to the intellectual vitality of the field" (p. 37) What I find more interesting than a further refining of either the contraction or continuity theses (what should prevail?) is that McIntosh successfully "breaks down the notion of women's work into more complex categories" (p. 35). She has an eye for the differing effects for married women, single women, and widows; she takes into account regional variation; and demonstrates how opportunities for independent work inside the growing commercial centre of London differed from those outside the capital. By placing women's work in the broader context she convincingly demonstrates how the participation of women in the market economy fluctuated, depending on demographic, economic, and social circumstances.

*Ariadne Schmidt*

BOLT, CHRISTINE. *Sisterhood Questioned? Race, Class and Internationalism in the American and British Women's Movements, c.1880s–1970s*. Routledge, London [etc.] 2004. xi, 260 pp. £17.99; DOI: 10.1017/S002085900602270X

*Sisterhood Questioned* is an ambitious account of women's social and political organization in the United Kingdom and United States and their cooperation at the international level, from the late nineteenth to late twentieth centuries. Its author, Christine Bolt, is Emeritus Professor at the University of Kent in the UK, and respected as a scholar of American and British history and of women's studies. Her breadth of knowledge of both countries and of the subtle differences and similarities between them is apparent in this book, as is her grasp of the main theoretical and empirical issues surrounding women's movements and women's involvement in mainstream political and social movements.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the book's vast scope – almost like that of a nineteenth-century novel – it is often lacking in detail and unable, by its very nature, fully to explain the background and implications of many of the multitude of themes it covers.

The book's subtitle is a misnomer: it does not focus entirely on "women's movements", that is to say, social or political organizations devoted narrowly to "women's issues", however defined. It also covers (and this is one of its riches) women's involvement in organizations working around the issues of internationalism, class, and race, whether confined to women or including both women and men. These are not quite the same thing as "women's movements", even though there is considerable overlap. This may simply be an attempt on an editor's part to summarize a complex theme, or may reveal a lack of clarity on the author's part. In her introduction, Bolt explains that her theme is the "significance of divisions within the women's movements", and the extent to which race, class, and national differences played a role in these divisions (p. 2). She is keen to dismiss the misogynist image of women as always arguing, showing instead how pre-existing divisions based on class or race within countries, or national interests between countries, impeded women's search for unity, and emphasizing the degree of unity women actually managed to achieve, despite these divisions. The implication of this statement, largely unspoken and unproblematized, is to prioritize gender as a social category above race, class, or other criteria. Again, this may be a matter of editorial focus rather than a theoretical assumption – a book must focus on something after all – because in the course of the book Bolt demonstrates great subtlety in presenting the complex interweaving of gender, class, race, and nationality in the practical action and ideological debates among women in "women's movements", and in many of the other important political and social movements of the day.

It would be impossible to present all the topics covered in this sweeping account of political and social movements from the late nineteenth century to today, so I shall focus here on one of the main themes: women workers, their concerns and organizations. As much of the book is devoted to this theme, here too I shall have to be selective. Going over much familiar history on the basis of secondary sources, *Sisterhood Questioned* explores the development of women's employment patterns in the USA and UK, their role within trade unions, their attempts to organize separately either within or outside traditional union bodies, and their relationship to broader women's organizations and to political parties of the left. (The book uses the term "labour women" to denote both trade unionists and socialist and other left activists.)

It covers the history of women's involvement in the British Trades Union Congress (TUC) and associated unions (although there is no mention of the women match-workers' strike of 1888, a key action in the development of the "New Unionism"), the creation of the Women's Trade Union League in the United States, and women's involvement in American socialist and left movements and in the British Labour Party. It presents very fairly the disagreements between women and men within the trade unions of both countries, where women had great difficulties in overcoming the male suspicion of women's employment as a form of "cheap labour", and their solution to this "problem", that the male "breadwinner" should earn a "family wage" so that the woman could return to the household. The sections on women's employment during the two world wars and on the consequent changes in their outlook and personal circumstances are particularly interesting, as is the overview of the postwar permanent increase in women's employment and their eventual acceptance within the trade-union movement.

Beyond this, the book makes good use of archival material relating to leading women activists from both countries and also makes many interesting comparative points. One of the weaknesses of the “broad-brush” approach required in presenting such a vast subject is that, while many individual women are quoted and discussed, we do not always feel that we have come to know them or fully to appreciate the role they played. Yet it is clear from their own words that the women activists experienced many hurts and frustrations, and showed considerable resilience in continuing their efforts to better their lot. True to the book’s basic theme, the divisions between women are explored, between those who supported separate organization and those who insisted on staying within the mainstream labour movement, and between socialists and communists within that movement. But the main division here is not within the ranks of labour women but rather between them and the “bourgeois” feminists in both countries who patronized them in the early days (through social welfare or “settlement” work, for example) and who differed from them on key policy issues.

One of the most important divisions between “labour women” and “bourgeois feminists” concerned “protective legislation” for women workers, one of the main thrusts of the earliest international conventions and national legislation in both countries. Trade-union women generally supported the control of women’s work in mines and other dangerous industries and the ban on women’s night work. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries this concern was often expressed in terms of the protection of women’s maternal function, and implied a traditional view of women’s destiny, which many feminists understandably found objectionable. For their part, the feminists (particularly those in the American National Women’s Party and other narrowly feminist organizations) had no experience of the rigours of the industrial workplace and little understanding of the purpose and goals of trade-union organization. This is a division that never really went away, and Bolt traces the evolution of the issue of “protective” legislation in both countries and through the early years of the International Labour Organization, which counted among its key principles both the “protection” and “equality” of women at the workplace (p. 114), a dual purpose that was not always easy in practice. There is much new information on the key role played by women activists, such as the British union leader Margaret Bondfield, in the creation and early years of the ILO and later as a Labour minister (p. 134).

The other main contribution of this book is its comparative approach, which brings much fresh insight into familiar areas of labour and socialist history. On the issue of protective legislation, for example, we see clearly how much the US and UK differed in terms of the influence and orientation of the trade-union and women’s movements, with closer links between women in the two movements in the USA, where the unions were weaker and class-consciousness was less developed, and much greater distance and even hostility in the UK, where working-class women instead focused their efforts on unitary trade unions and the Labour Party. Another particularly interesting theme is the history of relations between women’s organizations and women activists within mainstream organizations in the two countries, ranging from an early British dominance in international affairs to a much-resented American dominance in the postwar era.

Overall, *Sisterhood Questioned* is an excellent general introduction to the involvement of women in women’s organizations and in broader social and labour movements. Although it is sometimes so broad that the detail is lost, it makes up for this in its wide scope. And although it appears to make assumptions about women as a group and the

tensions and divisions that prevent their unity, it also shows great care and subtlety in examining the nature of these divisions. The author herself, praising the efforts of recent feminists “to recognize gender as a vital social variable which interacted in a complicated fashion with class and race, and which required a reappraisal of women’s lives and a rewriting of their histories” (p. 184) could just as well be summing up the success of her own efforts.

*Rebecca Gumbrell-McCormick*

BENDER, DANIEL E. *Sweated Work, Weak Bodies. Anti-Sweatshop Campaigns and Languages of Labor*. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey [etc.] 2004. x, 272 pp. Ill. \$62.00. (Paper: \$23.95.); DOI: 10.1017/S0020859006032706

There seems to be no limit to the continued interest in the garment industry. And indeed, as contemporary sweatshops continue to flourish around the world, it is fitting to re-examine once again the history of their classic representation in early twentieth century New York City. Following in the steps of Alice Kessler-Harris, Eileen Boris, Susan Glenn and many others, Daniel E. Bender returns us to those early sweatshops, using many of the same sources, in English and in Yiddish, that have been used by those before him. He charts the growth of a transnational garment economy with the immigration of eastern European Jews to the United States, and he describes and decries the dangers and difficulties of the conditions under which the workers labored.

But, if good portions of this story have already been told, Bender provides a new reading of the sources. By emphasizing the gendered roles within the industry, by paying close attention to the way in which union organizing and defense of “workers” or the “woman worker” were constructed, and, most importantly, by mining the sources on issues of health, Bender adds significantly to previous accounts.

Alice Kessler-Harris’s classic 1977 and 1985 articles paved the way. “Organizing the Unorganizable” and “Problems of Coalition-Building” set out one of the crucial problems for women and women organizers in the early garment industry.<sup>1</sup> They were caught between the paternalism of their male co-workers and the maternalism of their female middle-class allies, between male (Jewish) union leaders of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union (ILGWU) and the middle-class female progressive do-gooders of the Women’s Trade Union League. Much of Bender’s argument turns around this fundamental problem, or, as he describes it (post-linguistic turn): the social construction of sexual difference within the garment industry had a fundamental impact on both male and female organizing, and a particularly deleterious effect on the latter.

Going beyond those analyses that have charted the sexual division of labor in the industry, Bender critiques the “burden of language” which created it. Mentioning “social reality” rarely, he castigates the gendering of the worker into male breadwinners and female transient workers and provides new insight into sexual harassment in the workplace

1. Alice Kessler-Harris, “Organizing the Unorganizable: Three Jewish Women and Their Union”, in Milton Cantor and Bruce Laurie (eds), *Class, Sex, and the Woman Worker* (Westport, CT, 1977), pp. 144–165; *idem*, “Problems of Coalition-Building: Women and Trade Unions in the 1920s”, in Ruth Milkman (ed.), *Women, Work and Protest* (Boston, MA, 1985), pp. 110–138.

(pp. 112–117). Bender's deft reading of a language of gender where many have focused on a language of ethnicity or of class indeed brings a new perspective to the inequalities within the trade, within the union, and within the reformers' movements. This leads him to propose several new understandings of the male-dominated ILGWU and its (male) allies (such as the Arbeter Ring/Workmen's Circle).

First of all, he criticizes the Joint Board of Sanitary Control for its alliance of male workers, union leaders, and reformers/inspectors in their emphasis on the notion of an ideal modern workshop that protected male bodies above all, while working to abolish homework, the site of much women's labor. Rather than seeing the struggle against homework in the usual racial/ethnic terms of the period – dirty immigrant tenement shops versus modern “clean American ones” – Bender interprets the attack on homework as an attack on women (although Susan Glenn has shown how women too often preferred factory work as a way of being more independent and avoiding the “cockroach” bosses of the small ethnic workshops).<sup>2</sup> Second, he tells a new story of the factionalism within the union, arguing that it began well before the communist rump groups. Women formed the initial critical factions within the union; it was they who started the first Current Events Club in upstart Local 25. But they were outmaneuvered as the communist opposition took up other issues. The shift from a gendered factionalism to a class-based one (of the rank-and-file against the leadership) culminated, for Bender, in an even more pronounced exclusion of women as gangsters entered the fray and further masculinized intra-union disputes via physical violence in the 1920s.

But perhaps Bender's most original chapter is that on health (Chapter 6, “Inspecting Bodies”). He is less interested in showing that men and women experience work differently than to show how the relationship between labor and health was part of a gender-differentiated representation of garment work. Bender tells the fascinating story of an experimental garment shop that was both factory and tuberculosis sanitarium in one: “Garments are well made [...] and patients made well” (p. 95). The problem is that all of the worker-patients at its inception were men. As Bender convincingly shows, tuberculosis was seen as a male disease and by extension a family problem in that male workers were construed as the main breadwinners. The women's diseases, not surprisingly, were related to reproductive illnesses. Harry Golden's doctor wrote “Join the Union” on the bottom of every prescription (p. 137), denoting literally and figuratively that the union was good for your health. For Bender: read that as meaning for men's health.

Bender states his thesis succinctly at the outset: “This book argues that male and female Eastern European Jewish immigrant workers suffered from a burden of language in their alliances with reformers and inspectors” (p. 16). The “burden of language” may in itself be too great a burden to explain everything. Like others, Bender has successfully questioned the optimistic teleology of the ILGWU's own history of constant improvement of conditions within the industry. Bender questions the aims of the male union leaders and their reformer allies as gender-biased, and he points to the return of the sweatshop, especially during the period of factional in-fighting.

The crux of the problem, however, has to do with the “transience” of Jewish women's work. Bender criticizes the women themselves for accepting a sexually differentiated vision of their labor: “their own acceptance of difference limited the kinds of resistance to

2. Susan Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (Ithaca, NY, 1990); Eileen Boris, *Home to Work: Motherhood and the Politics of Industrial Homework in the United States* (Cambridge, 1994).



which they had access” (p. 187). A comparative perspective might be useful here in that gender is not necessarily a homogeneous category. If Jewish women indeed by and large left the labor force after marriage, Italian women did not.<sup>3</sup> As Italian women worked longer in the industry (albeit more often at home), did they have higher rates of tuberculosis, which is linked to length of contact with the cloth dust and not just gender? Did the labor language of health come to recognize these differences? By including Italian women in the analysis (and their organizing in the interwar period), a different vision of the gendered language of the industry may appear. To accept sexual difference does not mean accepting domination, as the Jewish and Italian “women’s strikes” amply showed.

All in all, through an innovative analysis of the sources, Bender has brought to the fore a new understanding of the relationships between labor and health and the gendering of workers’ bodies. He has written a stimulating addition to the garment industry literature.

Nancy L. Green

QUATAERT, DONALD. *Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire. The Zonguldak Coalfield, 1822–1920*. [International Studies in Social History, Volume 7.] Berghahn Books, New York [etc.] 2006. xii, 257 pp. Ill. \$80.00; £50.00. (Paper \$25.00; £15.00.); DOI: 10.1017/S0020859006042702

Quataert’s latest work is a comprehensive study on Ottoman coal mining in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. It is a detailed monograph on miners of the Zonguldak coalfield, which constituted the largest industrial work force concentration in the Ottoman Empire throughout its long existence. The Zonguldak coalfield was the birthplace and the major site of the Ottoman mining industry. Quataert’s work offers more than a detailed regional labor history. As the title of the book indicates, the main focus of the study is the interaction between workers and the Ottoman state.

The author is the eminent social and economic historian of the late Ottoman era with a heavy interest in the lives and the livelihoods of Ottoman subjects. His latest contribution is a milestone in Ottoman labor history. First, he introduces his readers to new archival material, unknown and unused for the most part by other scholars. Secondly, through his comparative approach, Quataert places the Zonguldak coalfield in an international context together with the mining industries of North America, Europe and elsewhere, which is, unfortunately, rare accomplishment in Ottoman history writing. Thirdly, his highly critical utilization of source material provides him an efficient optical device by which to observe the everyday lives of Ottoman miners and zoom in to their relationships with the Ottoman state in the very period of its transformation into a modern state.

Although a relatively young discipline, Ottoman social and economic history already possesses a not insubstantial amount of studies concentrating on state-building. In his introductory chapter, Quataert argues that the central Ottoman state has too often been conceptualized as all-powerful (p. 4). In his view the formation of the modern Ottoman state should be examined as part of a continuous evolutionary process (p. 2). At this point the story of Zonguldak coal mining is very appealing since it is not a story of success but rather a failure in the state’s endeavor to assure adequate coal supplies in wartime. In this

3. Miriam Cohen, *Workshop to Office: Two Generations of Italian Women in New York City, 1900–1950* (Ithaca, NY, 1992).



context, the author provides us with a detailed examination of the means and effectiveness of coercion of workers, used by the central state in the coalfield. This approach is illustrative for late Ottoman society and its central state, which, according to Quataert's view, was "an uneasy union between imperial and local interests in a relationship filled with tension, conflict, and compromise". In the second part of the introductory chapter, Quataert juxtaposes his narrative with the "statist" historiography of the Zonguldak mines by stressing his aim to contribute to a scholarship on non-elite groups in Ottoman society (p. 17).

The second chapter, "The Ottoman Coal Coast", gives information on the "physical and human setting" of the region during the period. Especially for the latter, Quataert consults diverse sources. What makes this account particularly vivid is Quataert's utilization of recorded interviews of former Greek Orthodox residents of the coalfield – who had to leave Anatolia during the compulsory population exchange between Greece and emerging Turkish Republic – kept at the Center for Asia Minor Studies in Athens. Following this chapter, property ownership regarding mines and, more importantly, modes and regulations of coercion on labor are introduced (pp. 38–46).

The mining workforce of the coalfield had a changing and complex nature. It has been known that compulsory labor co-existed with free contract labor until World War II and workers both from the region and from distant areas of the Empire had been paid and/or forced to work in the coal basin throughout the period. This study's merit lies in its capability to trace back the evolution of modes of employment, respective reimbursement practices, and actual working conditions in the mines. Until present, this task has not yet been accomplished in any field of Ottoman labor history, mainly due to the scarcity of available sources on Ottoman industrial production at the central state archives in Istanbul. Quataert located and made extensive use of new archival material stored in two different institutions, Karaelmas University and the Education Department of the Turkish Coal Mining Ministry, both in Zonguldak. The wage ledgers and detailed accident reports of these collections form the backbone of this study.

In the third chapter, entitled "Coal Miners at Work: Jobs, Recruitment, and Wages", which is based mainly upon the above mentioned primary source material, Quataert delineates the differences between compulsory and free labor, both in recruitment and remuneration. He gives a detailed account of the conditions which led state authorities to establish a compulsory rotational labor system. The *Eregli Imperial Mines Regulations* from 1867 institutionalized the corvee for the inhabitants of the region and created the villager-miners, who were obliged to work for a certain number of days each year on a rotational basis for the mines and did so until 1921 (pp. 54–58). The fourth chapter, "Working Conditions in the Coalfield", elaborates the mechanisms of compensation and working conditions of the workers. The fifth chapter, "Ties that Bind Village-Mine Relations", provides insights into the mechanisms through which villager-miners were created. In Quataert's words, "a village-mine nexus came to interlace the coalfield, binding villager-workers to the worksite in ties of obligation and indebtedness" (p. 95).

In this setting, one finding of the author is striking. The village headmen – through their key position as functionaries in the distribution of compulsory work assignments – could sustain and even transfer their political power beyond the borders of the locale of their authority, the village, into a larger context and a different social space, the mines. In doing so, they could protect their interests and even assert their authority upon villagers through their access to and utilization of the military forces of the central state. Though the

outcome of the power struggle among central and local authorities and the capitalist entrepreneurs was a balancing act changing over time and space, it resulted neither in a solid consolidation of power of the local authorities nor in proletarianization of the villagers (p. 96 and also p. 8). This is an important and critical contribution to the modernization paradigm and its implications for labor–state–capital relations in the Ottoman Empire. Here we can see the peculiar characteristics of an Ottoman modernization, which did not necessarily follow the assumed linear development path of “modernization”, which to my understanding did not take place universally. The Ottoman differences, this study highlights, are supportive arguments of the view that different modernities follow their own courses in different contexts.

In the sixth chapter, “Military Duty and Mine Work”, Quataert turns our attention to a different and hardly known category of workers, namely soldier-workers, who worked in the mines during their military service. Here again the author makes extensive use of detailed wage ledgers as source material. These conscript workers constituted a special category of workers in the eyes of the central state. They were a fraction of the mobilized young male population, which was in short supply and in high demand by state authorities both as an active military forces for the army and navy and also as disciplined workers for state industrial enterprises. The result was tense competition among authorities for conscripts. In most of the cases, military authorities acquired the upper hand in controlling and benefiting from them. Quataert further elaborates this issue in detail in the ninth chapter, “Wartime in the Coalfield”.

In the seventh chapter, “Accidents at the Mines,” and the eighth chapter, “Victims and Agents: Confronting Death and Safety in the Mines,” the everyday lives of workers and the risks they encountered in the mines are illuminated. Here again Quataert utilizes novel and rich source material, namely accident reports kept by mine inspectors. In most of the reports detailed personal information on the workers involved in the accidents were given and we even have actual quotations from eye-witnesses of the accidents. As a result, these accounts do not only provide details about the individual workers but also actual and direct voices of the workers are heard, which is again a valuable rarity in Ottoman labor history.

Quataert offers a valuable in-depth study based on a detailed and critical utilization of rich and unprecedented archival source material. The book also includes about thirty photographs, several of which are from private collections published for the first time. The author’s generosity in sharing this visual material together with some of his archival sources through a website is also remarkable (<http://bingweb.binghamton.edu/~coal/index.htm>). The study provides immense information embedded in a lucid narrative. In some chapters, however, a reader may feel overwhelmed by the great amount of minute detail. Nevertheless, this is in fact not a shortcoming but an asset of this pioneering work. Since unfree labor has a central position in this work, one may also wish more organic connections with compulsory practices elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire in the period and a more detailed analysis of the Ottoman corvee tradition provided in the third chapter (p. 55). This is, however, currently not a feasible undertaking considering the scope and depth of secondary sources available for this issue.

*Mustafa Erdem Kabadayi*

CAROLI, DORENA. *L'enfance abandonnée et délinquante dans la Russie Soviétique (1917–1937)*. Préf. de Jutta Scherrer. [Pays de l'Est.] L'Harmattan, Paris [etc.] 2004. 366 pp. € 31.00; DOI: 10.1017/S0020859006052709

Judging merely by the title of this first monograph by Italian historian Dorena Caroli, the field of study she has selected is already well-trodden ground. The historiography of abandoned and delinquent children in the early years of the Soviet Union is expansive and rich. One need only refer to research by Peter Juviler, Jennie Stephens, Margaret K. Stolee, Wendy Goldman, or Alan M. Ball to find careful studies by social historians of the challenge that roaming masses of unaccompanied children, abandoned or orphaned during years of conflict, famine, disease and tumultuous demographic displacement, posed to the post-revolutionary state and of the regime's various responses to the crisis.<sup>1</sup>

Specialists in the history of education, such as James Bowen and Frederic Lilge, have examined the contribution of Anton Makarenko to Soviet theories and practices of the rehabilitation and socialization of child offenders and, more broadly, to the development of modern educational philosophies.<sup>2</sup> Joan Neuberger and Anne E. Gorsuch have produced insightful cultural and social histories addressing non-conformist adolescent behaviours in the late imperial and early Soviet periods.<sup>3</sup> German scholars, Heiko Haumann and Stefan Plaggenborg have recently completed an ambitious research project on "Youth and Violence in Soviet Russia, 1917–1932" which also casts valuable light on the subject of child delinquency and socialization.<sup>4</sup>

On closer examination it is evident that Caroli's work, while conscientiously taking account of these existing studies, develops a fresh account of the role of abandoned children in the development of the early Soviet state which warrants careful consideration in its own right, not least (though certainly not only) because of her wide use of newly accessible and hitherto largely unexploited archival materials. In her introduction, the author clearly sets out the analytical categories which frame her approach to the topic and distinguish it from previous scholarship.

The book is not about the Soviet family or about educational policies or principles, nor is it a political, social or cultural history of Soviet childhood or youth, though it engages with

1. Peter Juviler focuses on the legal aspects in "Contradictions of Revolution: Juvenile Crime and Rehabilitation", in Abbott Gleason, Peter Kenez, and Richard Stites (eds), *Bolshevik Culture: Experiment and Order in the Russian Revolution* (Bloomington, IN, 1985), pp. 261–278; Jennie A. Stevens on pedagogical dimensions in "Children of the Revolution: Soviet Russia's Homeless Children (Bezprizorniki) in the 1920s", *Russian History/Histoire Russe*, 9 (1982), pp. 242–264; and Wendy Goldman on children in the context of Soviet family policy in *Women, the State and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917–1936* (Cambridge, 1993), esp. pp. 101–143. For overviews, see Margaret K. Stolee, "Homeless Children in the USSR, 1917–1957", *Soviet Studies*, 40 (1988), pp. 64–83; and Alan M. Ball, *And Now my Soul is Hardened: Abandoned Children in Soviet Russia, 1918–1930* (Berkeley, CA, 1994).

2. James Bowen, *Soviet Education: Anton Makarenko and the Years of Experiment*, (Madison, WI, 1962); Frederic Lilge, *Anton Semyonovich Makarenko: An Analysis of His Educational Ideas in the Context of Soviet Society* (Berkeley, CA, 1958).

3. Joan Neuberger, *Hooliganism. Crime, Culture, and Power in St. Petersburg, 1900–1914* (Berkeley, CA, 1993); Anne E. Gorsuch, *Youth in Revolutionary Russia: Enthusiasts, Bohemians, Delinquents* (Bloomington, IN, 2000).

4. See Corinna Kuhr-Korolev, Stefan Plaggenborg, and Monica Wellmann (eds), *Sowjetjugend 1917–1941: Generation zwischen Revolution und Resignation* (Essen, 2001).

all these subjects. It is not even primarily a study of Soviet social development, although it is deeply concerned to understand social dynamics and transformations. Rather, Caroli's study of abandoned children aims to elucidate the discursive terms in which the regime and its specialists formulated normative concepts of community and categories of social participation, and to understand how different state interests acted to reshape society in accordance with these imagined structures and values. While not losing sight of the humanity of abandoned children, their plight and their strivings for agency, Caroli is therefore engaged principally in deconstructing the Soviet street-child as a nexus of state–society interaction, as a crucial site of state-building through both discursive and practical interventions. Inevitably, the terms of this interaction were weighted against the child in all spheres of policy and practice.

Throughout the work, Caroli argues convincingly that child abandonment and reintegration was not merely a peripheral social issue in the post-revolutionary period, but was central to the new state's vision of its own role and purpose and to the image which it sought to project to social groups, both inside and outside its borders, still to be won over to the revolutionary cause. In the process of working on the abandoned child, the Soviet state was also working on itself and reworking its wider relationship with society. For the regime, a successful resolution of the "problem" would not only strengthen its social base but also consolidate its own legitimacy as provider of social welfare. On the other hand, if the state failed to resettle and socialize the drifting, disordered mass of street children created – as it had been itself – by revolution and civil war, it would be drawing attention to its limited capabilities, calling into question the socialist basis of its actions, and leaving itself with a legacy of social disintegration and indiscipline.

The phenomenon of abandoned and delinquent children constituted, therefore, a sort of "mirror" of the system's political capacity and moral integrity, as well as a highly visible test case of the regime's undertaking to effect a fundamental transformation in social organization and human nature. By formulating the issue of child abandonment and delinquency in such a thoughtful, wide-ranging and rigorous manner, Caroli's study reveals its crucial significance for both the historical development of the early Soviet state and our subsequent evaluations of its evolving principles and policies.

The book's impressive range reflects the author's broad conceptualization of the role of abandoned children in the formation of the Soviet state. Caroli situates the state's evolving conceptualizations of this social "problem" in the context of the leadership's changing preoccupations and priorities in many other spheres, linking official notions of the "place" of the child to political and administrative anxieties about economic development, the food supply, social order, demographic stability, and the regulation of migration and settlement, as well as to changing conceptions of social engagement and participation, individual psychology, the role of "nature" and "nurture" in child development, and judicial and penal policy and practice.

The book is organized into six thematic parts, all but the first – which surveys the pre-revolutionary background – addressing the chronological development during the interwar period of one core strand of the analysis. Each of these thematic sections is subdivided into three chapters corresponding to the same historical periods (1917–1921, 1922–1927, and 1928 onwards). Thus the book can be read each part in turn as a sequence of topical analyses or, by threading together the chronologically parallel chapters, as a series of cross-thematic comparative historical studies. This latter approach is particularly fruitful, yielding valuable insights into the interrelations and interactions of different

aspects of discourse, policy and practice operating at the same time. The only disadvantage of the book's structure is that it reinforces a rather conventional periodization of Soviet development during the interwar years, or at least takes it for granted, while the narrative itself presents a more nuanced, fluid account of political and social change, suggesting that different aspects of the state's "system" of child welfare evolved at different rates, in accordance with different institutional, political and intellectual perceptions, interests and priorities. There is also an unevenness in the length, depth, and detail of some of the chapters, which occasionally militates against productive cross-thematic reading.

After surveying the tsarist regime's policies towards abandoned children in Part 1, Caroli turns to a detailed analysis of how the new Soviet regime's financed the commissions which it introduced, both centrally and at local level, to manage and resolve the "problem" of street-children, and the policies these agencies developed, promoted and – resources permitting – implemented in the sphere of child welfare, especially with regard to food supply. Caroli's conclusion is that despite the increasing centralization of the system of budgetary allocation from the late 1920s onwards, the disbursement of social welfare provision for children underwent progressive decentralization to local agencies, even as their autonomy was undercut and their remit of responsibility increasingly curtailed.

Part 3 focuses on the evolution of the institutional and legislative structures and practices directed at the prevention of child abandonment, at amelioration and treatment of the wider social problem, and at the suppression of delinquency and hooliganism. The dynamic of this narrative is familiar from other accounts of Soviet discourses of social inclusion and exclusion in the interwar period (such as Healey's careful and insightful study of early Soviet concepts and practices concerning homosexuality).<sup>5</sup> Initial efforts were aimed at substituting for the pre-revolutionary reliance on judicial definitions and interventions a medico-pedagogic approach designed to rehabilitate youthful social deviants, which was derived from psychiatric and sociological discourses of criminality and marginality and faith in the capacity of the new state to reshape human nature and perfect the social collective (this theme is analysed in more detail in Part 4). In practice, however, judicial and police agencies frequently continued to employ repressive means of managing this apparently endemic social malaise. When collectivization produced a new generation of abandoned children, Stalinism responded with a further discursive shift towards the recriminalization of the phenomenon, based on ideas about the genetic origins and immutable nature of social deviance, and accompanied by a return to repression discussed in detail in the final two sections of the book.

The fourth and longest part addresses the types of treatment adopted by the children's commissions at central and local levels during the interwar period. In particular, Caroli is concerned to describe and analyse the different categories of institutionalization to which street-children were subject at different times, and the varying approaches to re-socialisation deployed at orphanages, children's homes, communes, and camps under various authorities. The author also discusses forms of family guardianship and fostering, and evolving patterns of professional training and work placement, as well as the theoretical and legal bases for these diverse modes of intervention, and (in a more limited way) their impact on the lives of children ingested into the system. Here, Caroli's insightful elaboration of Aaron Zalkind's pedagogic theories lends substance, depth, and

5. Dan Healey, *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia: The Regulation of Sexual and Gender Dissent* (Chicago, IL [etc.], 2001).

specificity to the already familiar account of how interactions between medico-sociological discourses, on the one hand, and judicial and welfare practices, on the other, generated a particular “disciplinary regime” for the regulation, ordering, co-opting, and controlling of otherwise unruly populations. Caroli also makes some useful observations in this context about the changing origins and significance of violence in the state’s policy and practice.

The book’s final two parts contribute further nuance to our understanding of the transition during the interwar period from predominantly rehabilitative to primarily repressive discourses and practices of social welfare, and the concomitant elimination of theoretical experimentation. Part 5 investigates the development of judicial policy with regard to the treatment of minors, from early Bolshevik attempts to institute their own forms of popular justice and collective self-discipline in place of the tsarist court system, to Stalinism’s return to formal legislative mechanisms and its increasing use of administrative means directed not at the prevention or remedial treatment of juvenile delinquency but at its suppression and punishment. The final part discusses the penal system established for the incarceration of criminalized youth. Here again we witness a shift in emphasis from rehabilitative to repressive policies during the period under survey in accordance with changing discourses of social “normalization” and of revolutionary “socialist” justice. Caroli attributes to these discursive shifts a crucial role in shaping and rendering meaningful – both for contemporaries and for historians – evolving structures and practices, in particular the expanding role of the political police as an agency of social intervention and control.

Throughout this work, Caroli lucidly and cogently argues her case for the broad significance of child abandonment in Soviet state development, grounding her analysis in a discriminating and subtle use of a wide range of primary and secondary materials, and drawing out the deeper meanings and wider implications of her sources through the deployment of a coherent, well-structured and sensitive conceptual apparatus. Her prose is elegant, clear and largely free of academic jargon, so that although the book’s detailed and often complex discussion is primarily intended for professional historians it will also be accessible and engaging for non-specialists.

Nick Baron

DUBLIN, THOMAS and WALTER LIGHT. *The Face of Decline. The Pennsylvania Anthracite Region in the Twentieth Century*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca [etc.] 2005. viii, 275 pp. Ill. \$65.00; £33.95. (Paper: \$24.95; £12.95.); DOI: 10.1017/S0020859006062705

Thomas Dublin and Walter Licht bring their experience and skills as historians to this joint project that examines the institutional and personal histories associated with the decline of the anthracite coal region in north-east Pennsylvania since 1920. Among other topics, Dublin has written previously on the anthracite region and Licht on industrialization and work in the Philadelphia area. In *The Face of Decline*, the authors celebrate the resilience and sense of community among mineworkers while being highly critical of the response by business, government, and organized labor. Though not without its weaknesses, the authors are to be commended for bringing to us the voices of mineworkers in the

anthracite region and for connecting these personal stories to larger questions surrounding capital mobility, deindustrialization, and regional transformation.

Geological processes left the northeastern area of Pennsylvania with 95 per cent of the anthracite in the United States, so when intensive commercial exploitation of “hard coal” began after 1840 for use in industry and home and commercial heating, mining would be central to the region’s economy and identity. As the industry grew, a few large conglomerates with interlocking directorships came to dominate the extraction and transportation of anthracite coal. The industry reached its zenith by the time of World War I, when some 181,000 workers produced 100,000 tons of coal. After this, the fortunes of the people and communities suffered as oil, natural gas, and bituminous coal replaced anthracite.

During the boom years between 1840 and the early twentieth century, immigrants flocked to the region. In addition to native born migrants, Irish, Welsh, and English arrived first followed by southern and eastern Europeans. Men and boys worked in and around the mines. While women and girls took care of the home, they could also contribute to the family economy by working in the garment and silk industries that migrated to the region in the late nineteenth century. These workers not only created a vibrant, multi-ethnic mining culture but also contributed to the growth of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the fierce labor battles that characterized the anthracite coal industry. In keeping with their theme of worker agency and the weakness of institutions, Dublin and Licht note that the UMWA would “channel, not lead, a percolating mass movement” (p. 31) of workers in the late nineteenth century.

The themes of worker resiliency and institutional failure again show through during the Great Depression of the 1930s. While the federal government under Franklin Roosevelt provided aid through its New Deal program, miners themselves “took the lead in developing creative responses to the economic crisis” (p. 6) that included “campaigns for the equalization of work, a violent insurgency within the UMWA, and coal bootlegging” (p. 59). By 1941 the situation began to change as overall production increased with the onset of war, men began to enlist in the military, and employment stabilized. The lesson, according to the authors, is that workers turned their individual needs into a community response and successfully weathered the Great Depression. They did so because of the weakness and failure of major institutions including government, business, and unions.

The authors argue that since neither capital nor labor possessed a deep commitment to the region they were unable to successfully address the decline of anthracite. Meanwhile, as demand shrank, companies tried to maintain profits by reducing operations, cutting the workforce and investing in strip mining as opposed to more labor-intensive underground mining. Some corporations tried to hang on, but eventually most began divesting of mining and shifting into other businesses in order to maintain profits and by the 1970s, coal-mining in the region had for all practical purposes come to an end.

Dublin and Licht are particularly harsh on the leadership of the UMWA, especially its long-time president, John L. Lewis. Rather than take a more assertive stance either to halt or cushion the blow against decline, the UMWA responded by lobbying against the importation and expansion of alternative fuels such as oil and natural gas, and opposing the construction of the St Lawrence Seaway. The UMWA did push for the successful creation of separate welfare and retirement funds for anthracite and bituminous miners, with funding based on tonnage mined for each type of coal. But Lewis and others also mismanaged the fund. Moreover, in agreeing to this, mining companies were allowed to



mechanize and consolidate their operations, thus reducing the workforce in both anthracite and bituminous mining. The UMWA also opposed grass-roots efforts to create national legislation to provide benefits to victims of black lung.

Meanwhile, after 1945 chambers of commerce, local citizens, and government agencies crafted various redevelopment programs that at best had mixed results for alleviating economic distress. The state of Pennsylvania created the Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority in 1956 and in the 1960s the federal government became involved with agencies such as the Area Redevelopment Administration, the Appalachian Regional Commission, and the Economic Development Administration. All of these sought to expand the local and regional economies with subsidies to attract industries and various public works projects. Interestingly, while the business community celebrated new jobs and growth, Dublin and Licht show that residents remained skeptical and bitter about the continued economic decline of the region.

Moving away from the institutional focus, the remainder of *The Face of Decline* relies on oral histories to highlight how residents sought to create meaningful lives in the wake of decline. In chapters titled “Fathers and Mothers”, and “Sons and Daughters”, Dublin and Licht reveal how some anthracite miners stayed and tried to find new work, others left for good, and still others tried to commute long distance to jobs in northern New Jersey or the Philadelphia area. Perhaps the most significant development in the response to decline was the change in gender roles. Among those that stayed, women’s wage earning became critical to survival. For those that left, the authors found a greater incidence of female employment for wages and a pursuit of continued education. As mining declined, many young men left for other opportunities. Although the responses varied, Dublin and Licht emphasize that miners and their families continued to be bound by a greater sense of community and a connection to their region.

In the concluding chapter, “Legacies”, the authors show that despite new economic development, the region still struggles and suffers from environmental degradation. Dublin and Licht argue that these trends demonstrate the “failures of the region’s organized interests to respond effectively to the loss of its central industry – coal mining” (p. 180). The authors use this space to compare the anthracite experience with the response of European nations to their own declining mining industries. They find the American experience wanting and review favorably how Europeans devised a number of state-sponsored means to cushion the blow for miners and for recovering the landscape.

On the whole, *The Face of Decline* shows the varied ways in which long-term collapse occurs and asks readers to consider the personal as well as the institutional histories involved. But there are some inconsistencies, tensions, and ambiguities in the work that might have been addressed more fully. For example, in assigning blame for the collapse, Dublin and Licht note that anthracite firms could not control the demand for hard coal. But they also argue that the “mines closed following deliberate management decisions to abandon mining and to diversify assets”, and that after “outside investors” came in, the “possibilities for reinvestment in the area all but disappeared” (p. 186). This seems a bit harsh, given the lack of power these firms had at the national and international level by the 1950s. Also, with such an array of interviews, the authors could have probed more deeply tensions in the region and the issue of memory, history, and commemoration. For example, the authors stress pride of place and unity, but they also hint at deep divisions among workers based on ethnicity, religion, and skill, and over the response to decline. There

were also tensions over the fact that their very livelihoods led to environmental degradation and how to address this legacy of the region.

Finally, if we are to follow Dublin and Licht's suggestion and hope for a more comprehensive set of solutions to decline, then we need a deeper analysis of the political and institutional history of the region related to this. The authors clearly favor a greater state response, perhaps something along social-democratic lines. But it is not clear if their subjects do. As Dublin and Licht show, workers may have been proud of their region, but many left it to pursue other opportunities. During the 1940s and 1950s, miners resented giving money to support redevelopment efforts and portions of the region remained strongholds of the Republican Party as conservatism swept the state and nation. Probing the political side of the region more deeply might have added another important layer to Dublin and Licht's engaging history.

Gregory Wilson

ANDERSON, BENEDICT. *Under Three Flags. Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination*. Verso, London [etc.] 2005. ix, 255 pp. Ill. Maps. £14.99; \$25.00; DOI: 10.1017/S0020859006072701

Benedict Anderson opens his *Under Three Flags* with this elegiac description: "If one looks up at a moonless, dry-season, tropical night sky, one sees a glittering canopy of stationary stars, connected by nothing but darkness visible and imagination. The serene beauty is so immense that it takes an effort of will to remind oneself that these stars are actually in perpetual, frantic motion, impelled hither and yon by the invisible power of the gravitational fields of which they are ineluctable, active parts. Such is the Chaldean elegance of the comparative method, which, for example, allowed me to juxtapose 'Japanese' nationalism with 'Hungarian,' 'Venezuelan,' with 'American' and 'Indonesian' with 'Swiss.' Each shining with its own separate, steady, unitary light" (p. 1).

Yet this is not just any comparative method; it is certainly not the one peddled by many a department of political science in imperial America. Its expanse and the variety of *explicit and probable* connections are novel ways of making comparisons. Where the evidence of such connections are apparent, Anderson is definite in his evaluations: the differing ideas and perspectives of the cosmopolitan Jose Rizal and his "provincial" colleague, Isabelo de los Reyes; the varied responses of European anarchists, Filipino nationalists, and Puerto Rican and Cuban revolutionaries to the conservative and brutal regime of Spanish prime minister Antonio del Castillo Cánovas; Mariano Ponce and Dr Sun Yat Sen sharing information and insights on their respective revolutions, and others like the Boer uprising, while living in exile in Japan (!); and Filipino nationalism as seen through the prisms of a Japanese liberal, Suehiro Tettyo, and a Chinese nationalist, Ma Hsün-wu.

Where the links are less evident, Anderson does not shy away from "thinking out loud" about them. The chapter on Rizal's *El Filibusterismo* is a brilliant treatise on the Philippine national hero's second and much darker novel. It also becomes the occasion for Anderson to explore the circumstantial evidence that alludes to the origins of Rizal's "ambiguous debt to [Eugene] Sue, [Mariano Jose de] Larra, [Alexander] Dumas and Douwes Dekker, [Benito Perez] Galdos and [Edgar Allan] Poe, [Joris-Karl] Huysmans and [Miguel de] Cervantes" (p. 51). Anderson likewise raises the possibility that the failed plot in the novel – the attempt by the character Simoun to place a bomb aimed at killing as many of Manila's

elites – could be traced back to tactics associated with anarchist politics.<sup>1</sup> Was Rizal familiar with anarchist tracts and did he closely follow their exploits while in Europe? We are not sure, but there are signs that he did. Did the Filipino revolutionary group, *Katipunan*, think of Cuba when it planned the timing of its uprising? There are hints and Anderson brings them up for consideration. This is classic detective work as well as a subtle nudge by a senior scholar to younger colleagues to pick up the ball and explore further these threads of this “political experiment”. In short, the comparative perspective is not simply analysis of the evidence at hand but proposing new pathways through clues, inferences, even guesswork.

Of course, one cannot understand these narratives without keeping *Imagined Communities* in mind. For Anderson returns to several themes that he discussed in that now-classic work here. Foremost, he restates a controversial argument that has raised the hackles of many Western scholars: arguing that modern nationalism’s birth was the colonies and not in the European metropolises as illustrated by the lives of Rizal, de los Reyes and their other “Filipino” comrades as colonial subjects and as students of the European enlightenment. *Under Three Flags* similarly returns to the notion of homogenous empty time which Anderson gratefully borrowed from Walter Benjamin. This time he grounds it empirically by examining the importance and impact of Rizal’s and de los Reyes’s writings in a global context. He also deploys the concept in his lengthy account on Montjuich prison and its worldwide ripples. All throughout, he seems to tell readers to keep the phrase “Meanwhile in [place and time]” in mind when reflecting on these disparate stories of people and the “shared temporal dimension in which they co-exist[ed]” (*Imagined Communities*, p. 25). “Meanwhile in [...]” also helps us understand a peculiar Anderson habit of mentioning people’s births in relation to others. It not only puts young colonials like Marcelo del Pilar and Jose Marti on equal footing as Georges Clémenceau or Sun Yat Sen. More importantly, it compels *national readers* to keep in mind the global time frame in these intellectuals and activists grew up and eventually made their political choices.

But there are subtle amendments to *Imagined Communities* in this new book. The former used homogenous empty time to answer the question of how people began to imagine themselves as members of an embryonic nation. The latter treats it more broadly, investigating the link between nationalism – an imaginary that narrows fidelities to a specific geo-body and ethnicity – and anarchism – an internationalist ideology that questioned the hierarchy and authoritarianism of organizations as well as restrictive identities like the nation. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mutual attraction and solidarity appeared to underpin the relationship between these two “ideologies”. This was a far cry from the political suspicion and ideological repulsion of nationalists (and Marxists) towards anarchists by the second decade of the last century.

Anderson informs readers that the book starts “in the quiet, remote Manila of the 1880s, and then gradually fans out across Europe, the Americas, and Asia towards an *even more arbitrary finis for which no ‘conclusion’ seems feasible*” (p. 5, italics mine). But the book really is not limited to just one “conclusion”; in fact multiple “conclusions” appear feasible, including the ideational fusion of anarchist and nationalist thinking as their practitioners

1. In repeatedly citing of this favorite anarchist tactic, Anderson reminds us that the so-called suicide bombers of the twentieth century did not begin in the Middle East but right at the heart of secular Europe itself.

came into contact with one another. This is suggested in Simoun's bomb plot in *El Filibusterismo*, the enthusiastic adoption by de los Reyes of anarchist ideas after he went back to the Philippines (hence his being referred to as the father of *Filipino socialism!*) and in the political meanderings and activism of the Cuban creole Fernando Tárriada del Mármol.

This solidarity was unique to the time period and would never be happen again for a long time.<sup>2</sup> For the nationalisms of the early twentieth century have now mutated into their official, and in a lot of times, autocratic Other and drained of their progressiveness by the states their revolutions (armed or "peaceful") have ironically spawned. This became the fate of the Philippines once imperial American took over Spain and preserved *cacique* democracy. Something analogous would happen to Indonesia after the military takeover and subsequent massacre of over half a million leftists and their sympathizers in 1965 (two countries that happen to be societies that Anderson holds close to his heart). Meanwhile, after only half a decade in power, the Bolsheviks officially declared "socialism in one country" their main priority. Henceforth, proletarian internationalism – a fundamental tenet of Marxism – must serve the interest of the Soviet state. Stalin later on ordered communists of *all nations* to break whatever ties that had with the *anti-national* anarchist, and Stalinist parties began murdering as many anarchists they could get their hands on – beginning in Spain and spreading to as far as Vietnam. Anarchism soon after became tagged a dangerous "deviation" by vanguardist politics, a stigma it would share with leftwing-liberal democracy, Trotskyism and social democracy.

This, I think, is really what is at the heart of *Under Three Flags*. This fascinating book is a radical intellectual's enduring curiosity of, and high regard for, young nationalists. This time, having discovered their unusual solidarity with anarchists, Benedict Anderson extends these sentiments to include another equally youth-led movement. The book may also be read as a dirge to the passing of these two political forces which may never claim the moral and political high ground again. Yet, it may be ill-advised to write them off completely. In a time where even communist China has no scruples in offering its cheap and docile labor to world capital, perhaps there is room for anarchism and some form of popular nationalism to rejuvenate themselves. In the "last chapter", a visibly pleased Anderson announced to his audience at the Maoist-influenced and bastion of Filipino nationalism, the University of the Philippines his accidental receipt of an anarchist flyer. Meanwhile, in Porto Alegre, anarchists appeared to play once more a major role the movement to counter the capitalism's Davos.

There is hope.

Patricio N. Abinales

ROOS, NEIL. *Ordinary Springboks. White Servicemen and Social Justice in South Africa, 1939–1961*. Ashgate, Aldershot [etc.] 2005. xvi, 231 pp. £45.00; DOI: 10.1017/S0020859006082708

A growing literature has drawn attention to the role of the state military in the political culture of South Africa's white working class. Many of the key figures in the anarchist and

2. There were outbursts, of course, like the strong anarchist presence in the student protests of the 1960s in Europe. But they were short-lived and anarchism's hero, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, eventually made peace with party politics.

syndicalist movement of the early twentieth century, like S.P. Bunting, Wilfred Harrison, and Tom Glynn were former soldiers.<sup>1</sup> Jeremy Krikler noted the impact of World War I on the strikers' militias of the 1922 Rand Revolt, the *commandos*.<sup>2</sup> Walking to the gallows in Pretoria in November 1922, strike leader Taffy Long called out "Are we downhearted?", to which the other condemned called back, "No, we are not!", a refrain common to British troops in the bloody trenches of Flanders.

Rather less, however, is known about the impact of World War II – much of the literature has focused on domestic developments, like the rise of African unions in the wartime economy – and so Neil Roos's elegant study fills a major gap. It is an important and fascinating social history, although Roos's reliance on American "whiteness studies", which tends to conflate white identities, in general, with the particular politics of racial privileges for whites, creates some problems, to which I return below.

Between 200,000 and 250,000 white South African men volunteered from 1939, along with around 110,000 white women and 80,000 people of colour (pp. 26–27). Volunteers were drawn from a broad spectrum of South Africa's diverse nationalities, but the war issue was also deeply divisive. The Afrikaner nationalists, generally a right-wing populist movement, typically opposed support for the British Empire (some openly sympathized with fascism, pp. 23–27), while the multi-racial Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) initially stressed the contradiction between "anti-fascist" rhetoric and South Africa's segregated order. Yet poor whites, particularly Afrikaners, were disproportionately represented amongst recruits, a large pool of desperate men (pp. 30–34, 41–43). My own father, a poor white and Afrikaner nationalist, was one of many recruits whose nationalist convictions and class positions were at odds in this manner.

Roos examines white men's wartime experiences, and the politics, during and after the war, of bodies like the Springbok Legion of Soldiers, a "type of soldiers' trade union" formed in 1941 that grew to 55,200, including a radical wing in which CPSA members were prominent (pp. 65–67, 72–76, 79–80), through oral and archival resources. The central claim is that many white soldiers were radicalized, partly by Allied "anti-fascist" rhetoric, but that their claims for postwar social justice were ambiguous, shaped by a context where citizenship and identity were profoundly racialized. Within the military, only white men were allowed to bear arms and troops were strictly segregated, even in leisure (pp. 1–2, 26–27, 56–60), and a racialized worldview set the general "limits of political debate among whites", with white protest movements typically centred on claims for white privilege against *verkaffering*, politely translated by Roos as "becoming black" (pp. 7, 10, 22, 42–43, 62–63, 195–202).

The wide-ranging Army Education Scheme (AES), which aimed to "school white troops as citizens in a tradition of liberal paternalism, linked to long-standing concerns with controlling poor whites provided one space where soldiers articulated a vision of post-war 'social justice'" (pp. 46–48, 50–54). Fears that the state would neglect ex-soldiers contributed to the founding of the Springbok Legion on a platform of patriotism, "social justice", and "cooperation among races"; open to people of colour (it even calling for arming African troops), it was mainly a movement of the white rank-and-file (pp. 70–72,

1. Lucien van der Walt, "Bakunin's Heirs in South Africa: Race and Revolutionary Syndicalism from the IWW to the International Socialist League, 1910–21", *Politikon*, 31 (2004), pp. 67–89.

2. Jeremy Krikler, "The Commandos: The Army of White Labour in South Africa", *Past and Present*, 163 (1999), pp. 202–244.

76–92). Class was a key issue, and it built links with the South African Trades and Labour Council (SATLC), which comprised African industrial unions, racially mixed (“open”) unions, and racially exclusive craft unions.<sup>3</sup>

Critical of Afrikaner nationalism for its fascist links, but also, increasingly disillusioned with Jan Smuts’s pro-war United Party government, the Springbok Legion declined in the postwar period (as did the SATLC, which suffered major schisms), soon coming under the control of its radical wing (pp. 87–90, 101–118). For Roos, “racialised anxieties around access to jobs and housing” by white men, largely unskilled and faced with (re-) entry into factories now dominated by cheap female and African labour in cities where African urbanization had exploded, played an important role in a larger shift away from the Legion’s progressive platform towards a “whites-only” vision of “social justice” (pp. 12, 104–118, 196–197).

Many felt Smuts betrayed their demands for “social justice”, and that they were disadvantaged relative employees who stayed behind, and many doubted Smuts’s ability to meet their needs: Roos indicates this played a role in the electoral victory of the Afrikaner nationalist movement in 1948 (pp. 113–127, 196–198). A significant number of ex-servicemen, however, followed the logic of “social justice” through to its logical conclusions, forming the short-lived War Veterans’ Torch Commando to oppose the National Party’s (NP) *apartheid* policies; a few, typically linked to the CPSA, joined the national liberation struggles of the 1950s and 1960s, playing an important ideological (and, later, military) role (pp. 130–177).

There can be little doubt that Roos’s book makes an extremely important contribution to South African social history, and that it fulfils its claims to move beyond the structuralism and economic determinism that dogged many earlier studies (pp. 3, 201). It is also difficult to disagree with Roos’s stress on the importance of racial identities in South Africa, or his conclusion that the majority of white ex-servicemen did not, “for a moment”, challenge the “fundamental social arrangements of segregated society” (pp. 200–201).

There are, of course, several areas where the work might have been strengthened. It would have been useful to set the radicalization of ordinary Springboks in the context of the larger upsurge in working-class politics within South Africa itself, including the important leftward shift of a large sector of the white working class. The war years saw a number of impressive and integrated strikes by SATLC-linked unions, falling wage gaps by gender and race, and the SATLC growing to 168,432 members in 1946, of which two-thirds were in “open” unions, while 1946 saw the largest number of strikers out since 1920.<sup>4</sup> The CPSA made real gains amongst whites, winning municipal seats for the first time, and become the major force amongst African workers; even the SA Labour Party, traditionally a bulwark of white-worker prejudice, veered sharply to the left on racial issues.

While Roos tends to present the United Party as somewhat to the left of the NP, it is worth noting that Smuts’s repressive labour policies played an important role in alienating white workers: there are distinct parallels here with the disillusionment of ex-servicemen. In neither case did such alienation necessarily imply a surge of support for the NP – the SATLC majority openly opposed that party – but Roos proves somewhat elusive on the question of the extent of white ex-servicemen’s support for the Afrikaner nationalists.

3. Peter Alexander, *Workers, War and the Origins of Apartheid: Labour and Politics in South Africa 1939–48* (Oxford [etc.], 2000), pp. 12–15.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 38–40, 44–54, 64–79, 84–92, 98.

It is also not clear why, if Smuts's party lacked "any clear political alternative" to the NP, and, indeed, championed segregation and colour bars (p. 126), the NP victory should be proof of the "the power of race for white men" and the "benefits offered by whiteness" (pp. 126–127). On the contrary, a case could be made that the Afrikaner nationalists' populist talk of fighting the *geldmag* (money-power) and British imperialism may helped win some Afrikaner white working-class support: Roos tends to suggest ex-servicemen did not support the NP; as Roos himself notes earlier, the NP incorporated potentially radical traditions of (white) "radical republicanism" (pp. 18–22).

The complexities of white working-class consciousness and politics are not always evident in Roos's account, I think, partly because of his heavy reliance on American writers like David Roediger, who tend to treat white identities as synonymous with white racism and the colour bar.<sup>5</sup> There is an ongoing tension in Roos's account between an essentialist notion of whiteness, along the lines set out by Roediger, and recognition that there are *multiple* versions of whiteness, and that white identity, as such, has *no* necessary link to a politics of racial privilege.

At times, Roos speaks of the "the politics of whiteness" as synonymous with a "fundamental social contract of whiteness" based on the "privileges of whiteness" (pp. 11, 22, 125, 130, 159, 198–199). Thus, it is suggested that "In modern South Africa [...] the taken-for-granted character of whiteness accounted for the pervasiveness of white racism" (p. 7), and that the rise of apartheid showed "the power of race" and the "benefits offered by whiteness" (pp. 126–127). Elsewhere, however, Roos speaks of "popular" whiteness and different "traditions of whiteness", and characterizes racial identity as "an unstable and decentred complex" of meanings (pp. 3, 11, 199).

These two usages are not easily reconciled. If white soldiers could incorporate "aspects of liberalism" and ideas of "social justice" "into their identity and politics" (p. 197), can it really be argued that the white radicals who supported national liberation struggles had gone "beyond the politics of whiteness" (p. 159), particularly as the national liberation movement of the 1950s was racially segregated, with the whites (including remnants of the Springbok Legion) forming a (self-consciously white) wing, the Congress of Democrats? If white identity was straightforwardly linked to a particular political position, it is not always easy to explain the "violence and terror" of massive street battles between (ex-) soldiers and Afrikaner nationalists throughout the 1940s, which Roos describes as a central feature of "white political culture" (p. 200).

For all this, Roos's study is a compelling and lucid account. A sign of the ongoing vitality of South African social history, it will prove of great interest to historians of labour, race, and militarism.

*Lucien van der Walt*

5. "It is not merely that whiteness is oppressive and false; it is that whiteness is *nothing but* oppressive and false"; David Roediger, *Towards the Abolition of Whiteness: Essays on Race, Politics and Working Class History* (London [etc.], 1994), p. 13, emphasis in original.