

on female activism as protest against capitalism and patriarchy in Canada and the United States. While the chapters in this section center on the familiar paradigm which points out the contradictions unwaged mining women faced in an industry which depended on their reproductive labor, it is important work. Moreover, the editors' excellent introduction emphasizes how the case studies here fit into a larger context that moves from North America to South America, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, and Asia.

Part 4 brings the study to the early twenty-first century. It looks at the impact of deindustrialization, environmental devastation, late capitalism, and the victories of second-wave feminism in the past half century. By drawing connections between past and present, the chapters in this section underscore the continued importance of family labor in mining communities. Wives and husbands worked together to fend off job loss in Europe and the US (even while mining expanded across the globe). But, men and women did not always struggle together. As more and more women entered the mines after civil rights victories, they faced sexual harassment which underscored the continued legacy of exclusive union brotherhood and inclusive family unionism.

Mining Unionism is a brilliantly conceived and adeptly realized book. The chapters' evenness in length, analytical purpose, and clarity are models to be followed for any edited collection. The book is sure to be assessed as pivotal literature in future scholarship in the field. It should also be mandatory reading for graduate students and also has a place in undergraduate surveys.

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LATTEK, CHRISTINE. *Revolutionary Refugees. German socialism in Britain, 1840–1860.* [Routledge studies in modern British history, Vol. 2.] Routledge, London [etc.] 2006. xiv, 358 pp. £85.00. DOI: 10.1017/S0020859008033464

Historians have by no means ignored German emigration to London between the Vormärz period and the founding of the German Reich.¹ The majority of existing studies have focused on individual persons as well as the organizations of the communist-socialist camp, in particular the Communist Workers' Educational Society as well as the Communist League and its predecessors. In scholarly works in Germany prior to 1989, questions about the theoretical influence of Karl Marx (and Friedrich Engels) on workers' associations and on the "process of autonomous theory formation" within the "elementary workers' movement" predominated. These themes were in principle an ideological minefield: discussions were complicated and even obstructed by the political interests of a partisan Marxist-Leninist historiography as well as those of its opponents. Sixteen years after the collapse of actually existing socialism, it is now easier to decouple the old ideological trench warfare. Furthermore, we now have unrestricted access to all sources in East German archives, of which Christine Lattek has made extensive and successful use.

Lattek's study is organized in principle chronologically and explores two central theses: the crucial division among revolutionary emigrants, she argues, was the separation into a democratic and a socialist wing, which she does not, however, evaluate as a "class line"; Lattek insists that the history of the one tendency cannot be understood without the other

1. See most recently Sabine Sundermann, *Deutscher Nationalismus im englischen Exil. Zum sozialen und politischen Innenleben der deutschen Kolonie in London 1848–1871* (Paderborn, 1997).

because the two continuously feuded with each other. At the same time, Lattek expressly emphasizes the international contacts and, at times, close cooperation between German revolutionaries and the emigrant groups of other European countries, in particular, the English Chartists and French Blanquists. In the intellectual world of socialist emigrants, Lattek sees the primacy of the political over the social. These two tendencies – the democratic and socialist – are investigated in eight chapters, in part together as the history of their conflicts and in part separately.

In the first section of the book, Lattek provides a brief description of the social milieu of the so-called German colony in London. The term refers to an extremely heterogeneous group of emigrants from the various German states and encompasses significantly more people than the numerically small circle of political refugees (that is, political emigrants from bourgeois and working-class circles who searched for ways to return to their homeland after a fundamental political upheaval): journeymen who travelled for economic reasons, people from the bourgeoisie and the artisan middle and lower strata who had moved to London for professional reasons, as well as those emigrants and expatriates for whom London was merely an intermediate station. There are no reliable sources on the numerical size of the “colony”. Lattek estimates that 20,000 Germans lived in London in the 1840s and more than 30,000 in the 1850s. Another problem is the isolation of actual political emigrants from the mass of refugees and other Germans residing in London. Lattek estimates the number of political emigrants who lived in London before 1848 for an extended period of time at less than 100, and after the failure of the 1848–1849 Revolution at 1,500. Five to ten per cent of the German colony is said to have been politically active (pp. 11–12).

The second chapter is dedicated to the beginnings of the organized German workers’ movement in London between 1840 and 1849 and focuses on the German Workers’ Educational Society and the Communist Workers’ Educational Society. The revolutionary movement had an internationalist character rooted in a sense of solidarity among the political refugees in Europe (p. 33); this influenced the early workers’ movement within Germany, whose leading circles later included several former English emigrants (Liebknecht, B. Becker, Hillmann). The expectation of an imminent second revolution sparked not only ideological debates and the establishment of organizations but also personal differences within the revolutionary camps.

The central focus of chapter 3 is the development of the emigrant circle after the failure of the continental revolutions of 1848–1849, in particular the development of the Communist League in 1849–1850 “between democrats and Blanquists” up to its division into two factions. Chapters 4 through 6 deal with the time period between 1849 and 1851. In chapter 4, entitled “Chronique Scandaleuse”, Lattek describes the politics of the democratic revolutionaries (Ruge, Kinkel) and their conflict with socialist groups between 1849 and 1851 (the chapter title states 1849–1853) following the division in September 1850.

The two subsequent chapters describe the development of the faction headed by Karl Schapper and August Willich (the *Sonderbund*) from the division of the Communist League up to 1853. Here, Lattek attempts an organizational and ideological reconstruction of artisan socialism (pp. 109ff.). This concentration on the internal history of the different factions of German revolutionaries pushes the significance of Napoleon III’s coup d’état in December 1851 somewhat into the background (see pp. 109, 145). Previous studies have emphasized the devastating effect of this coup d’état on revolutionary German emigrants

since it meant for both democrats and socialists the abrupt end of all revolutionary hopes and led to a massive exodus from London in the following years, thereby altering fundamentally the social basis of the revolutionary organizations.

Chapter 7 is entitled “Apathy and Revival” and focuses on the International Association (1853–1859), in which revolutionary political emigrants largely reorganized themselves and for which Lattek provides the first detailed scholarly presentation and examination (see p. 181). The eighth and final chapter of the study focuses on the actual “final” phase of revolutionary political emigration, the renewal of the old fronts between socialists and democrats in the form of revived journalistic and organizational activity during the so-called New Era in Prussia and the process of German unification. Here the activities of Karl Marx become more the centre of focus. From 1861 onwards, amnesties allowed many revolutionaries to return to Germany, crucially weakening the basis for radicalism in London. In her epilogue, Lattek examines further activities within the German colony beginning in the early 1860s as well as the Communist Workers’ Educational Society, which survived until 1914. During this time, the German colony shifted more strongly to social clubs as well as to workers’ relations and practical everyday problems.

The richness of the material presented in this book makes an appraisal of its conclusions and specific evaluations almost impossible. For this reason, I will limit myself here to few basic remarks. The accomplishments of this study undoubtedly lie in its concentrated and systematic presentation of an enormous amount of information about people, organizations, and discussions. Unencumbered by previous debates among historians that have been characterized by an almost compulsive focus on the figure of Karl Marx and the historical-political significance of the Communist League, Lattek has sought to present the German political expatriate scene in London as a whole. Drawing from a comprehensive pool of sources and literature, she has reconstructed in clear prose the colorful scenery of the different republican, democratic, and socialist associations, and the debates and conflicts both within and among the organizations. Anyone who is familiar with only a small part of the material presented here will respect this sovereign portrayal.

While Lattek does at times subject readers to an enormous amount of detail about the battles among people and organizations, she is able to present a large number of well-known and less well-known protagonists from both the democratic-revolutionary and the artisan workers’ movement within their respective contexts. In doing so, she gives a face to revolutionary German emigration, a movement that was characterized by personal and intellectual individualism. Marx and Engels are classified within this movement, which relativises their significance as shining beacons of the workers’ movement.

Lattek’s approach is that of a classical history of ideas and organizations with a particular emphasis on the individuals involved. What is missing, however, are the socio-historical and cultural-historical methods and issues, a mediation of the associational movements and theories to their social bases. This cannot be blamed solely on a problem of sources. The intellectual cosmos of “simple” members – in other words, the “associational milieu” itself – remains for the most part unexplored in Lattek’s study. There is hardly any concrete material on the ideology of artisan members (for example, p. 121, remarks on the Brunswick community), on their professional and social environment or associational life, or on the social groups that carried the internal debates. In particular, the Communist Workers’ Educational Society is visible only rudimentarily as an *educational* society. The introductory socio-historical chapter remains without consequences for the rest of the book.

The older central controversy about the influence of the Communist League on the elementary worker movement is also not really investigated, as Lattek excludes the core problem of the extent to which the mere affiliation of an individual member tells us anything about his or her theoretical-ideological conceptions (see p. 42–43). While the anti-intellectualism of the workers' movement is mentioned repeatedly (pp. 37, 68, 74–75, 77, 79, 113, 119, and 280 n. 50), the underlying reasons for this are never really examined. And when the author uses the example of the break in the Communist League to illustrate the impossibility of tracing the establishment of fronts solely back to theoretical differences *or* purely personal motives (this is the preferred explanatory model) given the complex constellation of theoretical differentiations, moral positions, and personal ambitions, because this is not realistic and is therefore inaccurate, it is more than regrettable that the respective socio-economic milieu has not been sufficiently included.

At the beginning of the review I mentioned the advantage of approaching this subject unencumbered by the old ideological-political trench warfare. There is, however, an obverse side to this, namely, a clearly recognizable *substantive* disinterest in questions of “proletariat theory”, that is, in an *evaluation* of the ideological debates. It was not only Marxist historians who evaluated the discussions in the Communist Workers' Educational Society or between the factions in the Communist League in terms of their substantive validity. Lattek is quite reserved in this regard. Critical statements, that is, statements commenting on the positions she presents in detail, are rare. Instead Lattek presents, describes, and reconstructs. The theoretical or ideological tendencies of the organizations are summarized merely schematically (as democratic, revolutionary, or communist), since the author is not interested in a theoretical discussion of radical and socialist theses or concepts. Disputes with other scholarly interpretations are quite brief and have been relegated exclusively to the footnotes.

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DAHLÉN, MARIANNE. *The Negotiable Child. The ILO Child Labour Campaign 1919–1973*. Uppsala Universitet, Uppsala 2007. 352 pp. (<http://publications.uu.se/theses>) DOI: 10.1017/S0020859008043460

In recent decades, child labour has been a much-debated issue, both in the political and the academic arenas. Remarkably, the involvement of the International Labour Organization (ILO) in combating child labour internationally, an involvement that dates from as early as 1919, has never been historically analysed. This dissertation by Marianne Dahlén is an admirable attempt to put the ILO Child Labour Campaign into the historiographical spotlight. It consists of five parts, Part 1 (chapters 1–4) containing the problems, methodology, and historiographical background to the study; Part 2 (chapters 5–8) describing the Minimum-Age Campaign 1919–1933; Part 3 (chapters 9–10) dealing with the period 1936–1965; Part 4 (chapter 11) on the General Minimum-Age Convention (No. 138) of 1973, and Part 5 (chapter 12), which provides a general conclusion. In my view, Part 1, which takes up about one-third of the entire text, is particularly long, rendering a rather unbalanced emphasis on the methodological part of the book.

Dahlén's dissertation aims to present a juridical-historical analysis of the ILO's Minimum-Age Campaign from its beginnings (1919) to the last Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) (1973), which is still in force. At various points in her dissertation, the