

this wage scale was simply too clever, cumbersome, or caused problems of its own (perhaps on Wednesday), as far as I know, it was unique to Tournai, and I have found elsewhere only uniformity of wages for workdays" (p. 8f.).

And in the conclusion he recounts the following: "On 1 March 1348, a Genoese woman named Castella placed her nephew Jacobo as an apprentice with Andrea the tailor. In this case the master promised to pay his apprentice L 16 over the five-year term according to a sliding scale that began at L 2 a year and finished at L 5. What makes this ordinary contract remarkable is that it occurred at the same time that the bubonic plague was devastating Genoa. [. . .] Life contracted to its basics in these first grim weeks of the plague. Yet even then, work continued, and the changes in the ways people agreed to work, something new in the past three centuries, remained essentially even in the worst of times" (p. 261).

A shortcoming in my view is the small number of statistical tables, in particular on wages. The list of tables is paltry indeed: Wages of London carpenters per day; Length of apprenticeship, thirteenth century; Annual income of Genoese journeymen and -women in selected trades, 1230–1256; London admission to freedom by apprenticeship, 1309–1312; London admission to freedom by redemption, 1309–1312; and Daily wage rates of building craftsmen in southern England, 1264–1350. There is room for improvement here in a second edition.

Very questionable seems to me Epstein's view that the craftsmen as employers of wage labourers should be ranked below the merchants in social terms. That certainly applies to Genoa, Epstein's special field, and certainly also to the Hansa cities or Nuremberg, the main trading centre between northern and southern Europe. But in many other cities the merchants were subordinate to the great guild masters.

Epstein's book is valuable not only because of the wealth of factual material it contains, but also because of its wealth of ideas. And above all: the reader reads it with joy and feels involved in the history of the period under discussion.

*Jürgen Kuczynski*

DEWERPE, ALAIN [et] YVES GAULUPEAU. *La fabrique des prolétaires. Les ouvriers de la manufacture d'Oberkampf à Jouy-en-Josas (1760–1815)*. Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure, n.p. [Paris] 1990. 222 pp. Ill. F.fr. 150.00.

This study on the most famous manufacturer of printed textiles in France has been long awaited. Results published by the authors, together with Serge Chassagne, back in 1976, indicated that useful conclusions could be drawn from analysis of the workforce and that the authors had suggested an interesting line of questioning. This new book fulfils the expectations raised by the former study, though the results can no longer claim to be absolutely innovative. It has profited from the support given the authors by Serge Chassagne, the well-known authority on the history of the French cotton industry. Their achievement lies in two particular areas: (a) the empirical assembly of material concerning the workforce of one specific well-documented firm; (b) the discussion of theories on the rise of the proletariat in the early "first" Industrial Revolution.

(a) One of the outstanding features of the present study is the way that different categories of source material have been combined to give a multidimensional picture of the situation of the workforce in the village and the factory itself. Wills, probate inventories, baptismal registers, tax-assessments and minutes of legal proceedings support the archives of the firm and its directors. The image thus formed shows workers and their families living in peaceful coexistence with the agrarian village of Jouy. Initial recruitment, with the exception of a basic team of specialists imported by the founder, came from the lower orders of the village society. Inter-marriage preserved their character as a discrete group within the village which came to outnumber the remaining villagers. The managers of the factory became part of the social élite of the village, assuming political leadership during the revolution, with the director Oberkampf himself becoming Mayor. As regards living conditions, clothing and household goods there is scarcely any distinction between the indigenous agricultural population and the factory workforce; these latter were integrated into the village community without serious problems. The workers were fully attached to the factory, with the exception of those women who undertook supply-work for the textile industry in their own homes, and depended entirely on their income from it; they were thus detached from agricultural employment, their only activity of this sort being the cultivation of small gardens within the village. Those who owned vineyards and valley pasture did so through inheritance. The social mobility of the workforce is predictably low, and they can be stratified socially by the customary division of qualification gained through apprenticeship into skilled and unskilled labour.

The authors then examine the situation in the plant, but here they remain more or less within the framework of the picture of Oberkampf and his paternalistic management strategy given on numerous occasions by Chassagne. It is impossible to define the relationships between employer and employee merely on the basis of this material; the study would have profited from examples showing the conflicts with greater clarity than is possible in Jouy, where the skill of the Director and the dominance of a single prosperous firm with its workforce recruited locally prevented serious conflict.

Despite its considerable merits the study is not devoid of defects. For example it would have been desirable to provide a coherent and detailed examination of female labour, and of single woman workers and the rôle of women within workers' families in particular. It is interesting, for example, that in one of the sources quoted, mention is made of *rentreuses*, i.e. second-class female printers, a phenomenon well known from other factories, but never discussed by our authors in connection with Jouy. For them, female labour is *per se* unqualified labour.

A more serious problem is raised by the fact that the authors pay much more attention to the situation of the workers than they do to that of the other social groups within the village. There is thus insufficient basis for the interesting and essential comparison between the factory workforce and the remaining population of the village. A range of varied data is presented for the one group, whilst the other is dismissed summarily as consisting of more-or-less blinkered farmers. The only personages dealt with in more detail are bakers and shopkeepers, for whom the industrial population provided an important source of demand, and priests, solicitors, notaries and the feudal landlord, a Marquis. In one interesting section, on the

other hand, the authors demonstrate how the authority of the marquis is gradually reduced and the entrepreneur begins to dominate the village; his position in the Revolution thus appears a logical conclusion to a long process of development.

Thus, although one can appreciate the reasons for concentrating on a single factory and a single village, it is still disappointing that the opportunities presented by studies such as those of Pierre Caspard for drawing comparisons with other examples of the same type of factory (Caspard's *fabrique au village* "village-sited factory", defined as a relatively large business in or on the edge of a village, forming the main employer of a workforce recruited, apart from certain management positions, from the surrounding agrarian population) are only used in discussion of isolated problems. More disappointing still is the fact that existing studies of British factories are not referred to, not even Chapman, for example. Yet without comparisons of this nature as control, the authors are not in a position to justify their theoretical claims.

(b) In terms of theory, the authors present their examination as a contribution to the debate on the "making" of the working class and the phases of the industrial revolution. Here they are principally concerned with the part played by the manufactory, in particularly the centralized rural-based plant, in our conception of the transition to modern factory-based industry. Thus the question of the function of the type of work-force and social group examined and isolated here is inseparable from the concept of the rise of a proletariat.

I have the utmost sympathy with the authors' position here, seeking as it does to employ formulations that agree with the empirical findings, while exploding established development theories and conceptions of the proletariat. Nonetheless, the choice of France as a framework for an experiment of this nature is unsatisfactory. It would make more sense to take a whole region, or even the whole capitalism-influenced world, than a nation state, in which on the one side regional forms of business are retained, on the other, managers act on the international level. Jouyen-Josas is too small a base for an ambitious attempt to construct a typology for the transition to modern industry. Jouy cannot be regarded as the type of a "non-protoindustrial rural industry" in isolation from comparable examples, especially as it does not consist, as far as can be gathered from the authors' exposition, of a commercial landscape admitting observation of various forms of industry and commerce at different chronological periods.

The authors choose a definition of the proletariat that shuns all implications of Marxist and related theories. For them, proletarians are workers whose income is entirely dependent on commercial, non-agrarian employment in a central mass plant involving division of labour. Then why adopt the term "proletariat" in the first place? The authors are after all concerned to show how the example of Jouy can be used to refute misleading conceptions conventionally derived from the terminological premises of a proletarian history: the workers share in the main the values of the agrarian population, their behaviour distinguishes them so imperceptibly from the remaining population that there can be no question of a specific cultural identity of the workforce which sets them apart from other social groups. The example shows furthermore that proletarianisation as defined by our authors does not necessarily entail pauperisation. There are no trends that lead to a uniformity of conditions that

could be interpreted as a class situation; the function of the workforce in the plant divides them into various professional groupings, each defending their particular privileges, a grouping that is equivalent to the division of the employment market into differing segments. Thus there are no signs of a development of class-consciousness in objective situation or subjective perception.

It should be remarked in conclusion that, despite its deficits, the study deserves considerable commendation for taking the individual case seriously and being generally prepared to discuss unexpected findings. Its greatest merit lies in the fact that it links varying approaches and varying source-types and thereby makes a significant contribution to our comprehension of the manufactory and its workforce.

*Christian Simon*

MILNER, SUSAN. *The Dilemmas of Internationalism. French Syndicalism and the International Labour Movement, 1900–1914*. Berg, New York [etc.]; distr. excl. in the US and Canada by St. Martin's Press, New York 1990. viii, 260 pp. £ 37.50.

By focusing on its trade-union component, Susan Milner offers a welcome and important corrective to the history of workers' internationalism in the quarter century before 1914. For too long that history has read as if it were the history of the Second Socialist International. Politics, of course, fascinate. A rich and extensive literature on the Second International, but very little on the International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centres (ISNTUC, founded in 1903, but with its own pre-history), is a measure of this perennial attraction.

The inherent drama of the Second International has provided historians with many worthy themes, but this imbalance in the literature, this fascination with the party-dominated International at the expense of the most proletarian of workers' organizations, the trade unions, is problematical. It leaves out many union organizations, including the largest in France (*Confédération Générale du Travail* – CGT) and the USA (American Federation of Labor – AFL), which eschewed the Second International, but sometimes pursued their own international endeavours. More importantly, many of the International's most-discussed projects, such as May Day demonstrations or common action against war, required trade-union cooperation. The parties of the International could propose, but only the trade unions could dispose, and in disposing they consulted their own interests first. Moreover, trade unions could grow powerful enough to set national party policy, and through it, could shape policy in the International itself, as the German "Free" trade unions did by imposing their own opposition to the general strike on the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (SPD), the International's premier party. Histories that unduly stress the role of political parties cannot fully capture the complex forces at work within a wider workers' internationalism before 1914, nor even within the International itself.

*Dilemmas of Internationalism* very creditably contributes to redressing this imbalance.