

the importance of integrating these emotional factors into the analysis of workers' motivations in their decision-making processes during their working-life trajectories alongside the appeal of accessing material goods.

Additionally, Guthrie's work emphasizes the importance of gender in the LH of Southern Africa, even when women were not wage workers and forerunners in the emerging colonial wage labour market and capitalist economy. By doing so, his work encourages labour historians to pay more attention to the analysis of the weight of the invisible hand of women and family in male workers' decisions in terms of labour in their life trajectories.

Finally, *Bound for Work* shows the methodological and analytical gains of combining archival research with fieldwork and interviews with workers. In this way, this study is a call to labour historians to move beyond the paper trail of labour and workers deposited in archives and embrace the key role of oral history in the study of labour and labour relations not only in Africa, but worldwide.

Overall, by approaching the study of labour in central Mozambique through the lens of labour mobility, and by adopting a bottom-up approach following the life trajectories of migrant workers and their interactions with the colonial state, private entrepreneurs, settlers, local chiefs, and their families, Guthrie offers a new and refreshing look into the history of labour in Mozambique, Southern Africa, and sub-Saharan Africa. But the merits of *Bound for Work* are far-reaching, as this book also makes several key methodological contributions to the field of LH at large and to the GLH approach in particular.

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doi:10.1017/S0020859020000632

MUSCHALEK, MARIE. *Violence as Usual. Policing and the Colonial State in German Southwest Africa*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca (NY) 2019. 255 pp. Ill. \$49.95 (E-book: \$24.99).

Colonialism is almost proverbially enmeshed in violence. As the present book, based on a Cornell University Ph.D. thesis, demonstrates, it is the modalities and particulars of such violence that present challenging research topics and promise fruitful results.

Southwest Africa, today independent Namibia, experienced thirty years of German rule. Muschalek focuses on the closing period, from the end of the Namibian War (1907–1908) until the occupation by the South African army in 1915. According to widespread opinion, this was a time when violence extending up to genocide had ended, either in the quiet of a “graveyard” (Horst Drechsler), or in a combination of modest economic development and initiatives by indigenes to rebuild their communities. In this setting, the police were deemed instrumental to ensuring an order that was a prerequisite for colonial development.

Unlike earlier work, either apologetic (H.J. Rafalski) or focused on the institutional dimension and the perspective of officialdom (J. Zollmann), Muschalek takes a more actor-oriented approach. From her analysis, including an examination of personal files, she both reconstructs typical careers of policemen and shows indicators of their professional

mentality. Even though sources are much scarcer for African policemen, Muschalek manages to at least provide glimpses into their situation and concerns. She does so in five chapters, dealing respectively with “identity formations”; the demands on behaviour or, “proper bearing”; “tools and technologies of policing”; “daily routines”; and “violent regulations of the labor market”.

One important feature concerns the relationship between the police and the army. Muschalek represents this both in African and German members of the police force. For Africans, she points to the practices of precolonial “gun-owner societies” (p. 21) in southern and central Namibia, as well as to the recruitment by German soldiers of young African men as *Bambusen* or orderlies, which not only inducted them into a military way of life, but also integrated them into patron-client relationships that differed markedly from precolonial ones. At the same time, police service was a way of reconstituting a material basis also for a family. German policemen were largely recruited from among NCOs in the colonial army – a phenomenon also widespread in Germany proper. The presence of “European men” among the “rank and file” was an exception in the colonies, one linked to the relatively large settler population (p. 58). After years of military service, these men were steeped in military values and behaviour. As Muschalek shows repeatedly, particularly in the colony, the army and the police remained closely related, and police work resembled military work in a number of ways, not least in its actors sharing a “moral economy of honor” (p. 15). However, in mapping a concept of masculinity that relates to the police, there are also differences, chiefly that the policeman lives at home, not in a barracks, is generally married, and, as paterfamilias, has domestic responsibilities, although in reality this did not apply to the majority of Germans in the police force. Still, the tension between the “adventurer” (p. 32) and the family man was an important feature of German policemen’s masculinity, as was their subjection of Africans, decisively including their colleagues.

The institution of the police demanded proper, disciplined behaviour and appearance, as well as strict observance of the prerequisites of hierarchy. At the same time, policemen required “administrative and legal skills” (p. 61), which they were to acquire during their service. This system, along with the often secluded living conditions in a vast country, and a sparsely manned police force, created “poorly trained bureaucrats” (p. 68), who in effect were trained “to a large extent [in] riding and shooting” (p. 62), much being left to “practice and experience”, which for Muschalek rendered Southwest Africa “an affective state” (p. 73).

Muschalek recounts in considerable detail “tools and technologies of policing”. These include instruments for punishing or fixing the bodies of culprits. The use of guns was of particular importance, and here the author demonstrates incisive ways in which rules and norms followed an initially divergent practice, i.e. the widespread shooting of persons suspected of various crimes. At the same time, such practice clearly targeted Africans rather than “Europeans”, and stood in contrast to practice in metropolitan Germany. Muschalek also stresses the symbolic meaning of these practices, exerted in different ways, by German and African policemen, on whites and on Africans. Even if “instrumentally counterproductive”, these practices “become understandable [...] as complex cultural practices that functioned as markers and rituals of status distinction” (p. 97). Such evaluations need always to be considered against the background of the general scarcity of personnel in a vast open country, which often implied very sparsely manned solitary posts and pervasive “improvisation” (p. 99).

Significantly, the following two chapters are titled, respectively, “Police Work” and “Policing Work” – Muschalek states that “most of the police’s time” was occupied in

tasks precisely to control African labour (p. 101). Not least, police work revolved around maintaining the norms of hierarchy and honour that lay at the foundations of their habitus but also of “bureaucratic procedure” (p. 107). Such procedure not only took up a lot of time, but proved “key to fostering power” (p. 107), and thus to legitimating the police also in its relations to other colonizers. Another important dimension was control of “an assigned territory” (p. 110), specifically partly in pioneering cartographic work, mapping the districts they served. Obviously, such work also involved violence, and Muschalek pointedly interprets “the police’s use of violence as work” (p. 127), including for instance the killing of large numbers of San (“Bushmen”), which was considered an indication of “particularly good performance” (p. 127).

The “violent regulation of the labor market” (p. 130), within the context of a regime of at least partly forced African labour, was linked to classical colonial stereotypes, as Muschalek can show especially with reference to the examinations taken for certification as a police officer. Thus, an “economy of ‘educative violence’” was aimed at forcing the proverbial “lazy native” into salubrious work. Again, this is intrinsically linked to the myth of *terra nullius*, i.e. unused and unworked land, open for settlement. So far, the topic recalls mainstays of colonial ideology and practice. Muschalek’s account is much more interesting, since she documents how police were instrumental in – mostly forcibly – recruiting workers for the needs of settlers, but also not infrequently how they came into conflict with employers who relied on their services to discipline their labour force, above all by returning runaways. This entailed the idea of projecting an image of constant supervision, which, of course, was at odds with the scarcity of personnel and the wide expanse of land the police had to cover. Still, the projection of “the personification of the paternal state” (p. 149) meant that, at least in some instances, police were actively enforcing discipline on workers, but occasionally also uncovered unacceptable working conditions that, also in their view, explained why workers absconded.

Muschalek regards the “moral economy of violence”, the production of “law” by policemen’s “daily practices” (p. 160) as a “form of improvised statecraft” (p. 162), showing not grand violent acts, but “people getting by, living with violence in the everyday” (p. 164). This, she posits, “produced a viable peace time order” (p. 160). In this way, Muschalek forcefully underwrites her claim to an everyday perspective. However, the notion of “peace” in Southwest Africa even after 1907 appears problematic, not only on account of the pervasive low-scale violence by the police as well as ongoing small-scale indigenous resistance, but even more so owing to the persistent and often overlooked large-scale violence such as the systematic “Bushmen hunts” from 1911 onwards, which are touched on here only in passing. Moreover, a Hobbesian view of order as implied here might be confronted productively with a systematic critique of violence and, by implication, the law, as formulated by writers such as Walter Benjamin. Again, where her sources apparently fail her, Muschalek supplements these at various places with observations from other (partly German) colonial settings or general work on the police. In these cases, she does not always distinguish clearly between the historical record and more general, partly nomothetic work. Concerning more empirical, source-oriented analyses of colonial states, the pathbreaking studies of sociologists and anthropologists Gerd Spittler and Trutz von Trotha are grossly underused or conspicuously absent. Supplementing her analyses with considerations on the porous, yet episodically despotic colonial state, or the *razzia* as a means of projecting power, would have helped to put Muschalek’s findings further into perspective. These critical notes notwithstanding, the great merit of viewing state violence from an everyday, as well as a dual,

African and German perspective adds significantly to our knowledge and thinking, not only of the police in German Southwest Africa, but also of the colonial state in a wider perspective.

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doi:10.1017/S0020859020000644

LIPOTKIN, LAZAR. *The Russian Anarchist Movement in North America*. Transl. and Ed. by Malcolm Archibald. Black Cat Press, Edmonton 2019. xii, 292 pp. Ill. \$24,95.

The history of Russian immigrant radicals in North America is a conspicuously unexplored topic, and virtually all researchers who have touched upon it do not themselves read Russian. The appearance of *The Russian Anarchist Movement in North America*, originally written in the mid-1950s by Lazar Lipotkin (real name Eliezer Solomonovich Lazarev), therefore marks a major breakthrough. However, Lipotkin was an activist rather than an academic, so this is neither a scholarly, nor a definitive work. Rather, given its inclusion of extensive extracts from radical manifestos, congresses, and correspondence, as well as Lipotkin's own views, it should be viewed more as a primary source than a work of history. Nevertheless, it is an important historiographical corrective and indispensable resource for scholars of early twentieth-century immigration, labor, and radicalism.

Lipotkin, already a veteran of Russia's 1905 revolution, migrated to the US in 1910 at the age of nineteen, and took part in a number of anarchist organizations and publications over the next five decades. *The Russian Anarchist Movement in North America* is a translation of his previously unpublished, handwritten Russian manuscript that was donated to the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam after the author's death in 1959, and was virtually unknown to English-speaking scholars until its recent rediscovery by historian Mark Grueter in the course of his groundbreaking research on Russian-American anarchists.¹ Now, deftly translated and edited by Malcolm Archibald, anglophone readers are finally privy to a detailed and sweeping overview of this forgotten movement.

The book covers the period from the late nineteenth century to the 1950s, with mixed results. The first four chapters provide brief surveys of the origins of anarchist ideology, the early anarchist movements of the US and Russia, and the late-nineteenth-century beginnings of Russian radicalism in America, none of which include original information or insights. The book's most important sections, and those most likely to be of interest to scholars today, instead comprise its middle portion, and recount the history of the Union of

1. Mark Grueter, "Red Scare Scholarship, Class Conflict, and the Case of the Anarchist Union of Russian Workers, 1919", *Journal for the Study of Radicalism*, 11 (2017), pp. 53–81; Mark Grueter, "Anarchism and the Working Class: The Union of Russian Workers in the North American Labor Movement" (Ph.D., Simon Fraser University, 2018).