BIBLIOGRAPHY

GENERAL ISSUES

SOCIAL THEORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE


Being dissatisfied with the present state of sociology ("Maybe sociology has degenerated to the point where it cannot even see its own decrepitude"), the French editor has (re)turned to the "life-record" approach of Thomas and Znaniecki. He has found a number of kindred spirits, including two Poles and one Hungarian, who have contributed to the present volume. For all their references to Sartre's *concret singulier* most of the seventeen items make a rather theoretical impression, but there are also some samples of concrete oral history.


This is a new book, not written by a historian and based on printed materials only, on the role played by secret societies in modern political and ideological affairs. Professor Fischer concentrates on the Rosicrucians, the Freemasons and, particularly as regards the German lands, the Illuminati. Unfortunately he has not used recent publications such as *Geheime Gesellschaften* (cf. IRSH, XXV (1980), p. 292). An index of names is appended.

HOOK, SIDNEY. Marxism and Beyond. Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa (N.J.) 1983. xii, 225 pp. $ 22.95.

The minor writings that make up the present volume link up chronologically with Professor Hook's *Revolution, Reform, and Social Justice*, which was noticed in IRSH, XXII (1977), p. 257. Most of the eighteen chapters are book reviews, e.g., of Kolakowski's *Main Currents of Marxism*. The author's critical appraisal of Marx and Marxism (especially neo-Marxism) has not really changed in the mean time.

The above study starts from the assumption that the essential controversy within sociological theory is not that between "bourgeois" and "Marxist", but the discord between those who want the social system to be central in the analysis and those to whom thought and will of the individual rank first. The roots of this dispute are searched for by the author in the starting period of sociology. By means of a detailed reconstruction it is traced how successively Rousseau, Saint-Simon and Marx made the connection between individual striving after freedom and the orientation towards society. Here Saint-Simon gets by far the most attention, for according to the author he was the link between Rousseau's radical philosophy of liberty and Marx's aim of a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.


The present studies have their origin in a seminar on the Utopian genre and Utopian thought at the Centre for Interdisciplinary Research of the University of Bielefeld, which was attended by historians, philologists and sociologists. While the opening volume is characterized by a systematic approach, the other two are roughly chronological. Vol. 2 has no less than four contributions on More's Utopia, including a somewhat dilettantish one by Norbert Elias. Each volume has a separate index of names, and Vol. 3 also has an aggregate subject index.

HISTORY


This little book deals, in a short compass, with the history of the Socialist International, starting with its foundation in 1951. As the International "cannot well be understood without a knowledge of its past", the author also deals with the organizations he considers to be its precursors: the IWMA, the Second International, and the Labour and Socialist International. Relatively much attention is given to the development since 1976, because in that year the Socialist International really started to take root in the Third World. As a whole the booklet is conveniently arranged but quite superficial, confining itself mainly to a discussion of congresses and resolutions.

The present volume is the catalogue of an ambitious exposition organized under the auspices of the municipality of Milan. It consists of richly illustrated capita selecta from the history of women in Europe, Italy in particular. Female labour and discrimination alternate with famous women and the feminist movement. Everything is seen from a feminist vantage point, and the appended bibliography is in keeping.


If the societal history of the ancient world is not the only subject of the above volume, it certainly is the main subject. The authors pay considerable attention to the component parts of the societies in question. Aimed at Dutch undergraduates, the book is written in a sometimes annoyingly popular style.


Basing himself primarily on materials in the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis and the Archiv der Sozialen Demokratie, Bonn, the author relates the institutional history of the Socialist Youth International, from the Fourth Congress in Prague (1932) to the outbreak of the Second World War, which meant the end of the organization. Though mainly descriptive, the study does not lack critical discernment. It is convincingly argued that the SYI did not practise what it preached, and that the close ties with the Labour and Socialist International are to a large extent responsible for this discrepancy.

OTHER BOOKS


CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

The ten studies that make up the present volume are concerned with the political and the socio-economic inequalities within and between Communist States. Four comparative analyses, constituting the first part, point to the dependency of the East European countries on the Soviet Union (Valerie J. Bunce), the contrast between revolutionary pretensions and actual political inequalities (the editor), the differences and similarities as to welfare ideologies and “policy styles” between the Soviet Union, Britain and the USA (John D. Robertson), and regional inequalities in Communist nations (Cal Clark). The second part comprises six case-studies, e.g., on inequalities as background of the Polish crisis of 1980-81 (Jack Bielasiak) and on regional contrasts in Yugoslavia (Susan L. Woodward).


The concept of National Communism, nowadays topical with Western political scientists, does not refer to a phenomenon like the one-time German Nationalbolschewismus, but to the emergence of Communist States that are not dominated by the Soviet Union. According to the author of this study, which is mainly in the field of the history of doctrine, such manifestations of National Communism do not mark the decline and fall of Marxism-Leninism, but only bring out “the continued dynamism and vitality of communism”.

CONTINENTS AND COUNTRIES

AMERICA

Chile


The present study is intended “to provide a ‘bottom-up’ view of industrial relations in Chile”, and to refute many orthodox views of the historians Ramirez, Jobet and Vitale. The author offers a structural analysis of the working class, the trade unions and the labour struggle in Santiago and Valparaíso, proving the predominance of Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism in the organizations and the struggle, and stressing the fact that the Chilean worker functioned as an independent agent in the period under consideration. His book is based on manuscript materials from several countries, interviews and all kinds of printed sources. It contains useful appendices.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

United States of America


“This Dictionary of American Social Change [. . .] is in part a protracted essay in independent thinking. Its purpose is to be suggestive.” It certainly is an idiosyncratic enterprise rather than a work of reference. Most, but not all, of the entries pertain to the United States past and present, and the term “social change” in the title is pretty meaningless. The volume is printed in an impossibly small type.


The Masses was the best-known radical American periodical in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The contributors were mostly from Greenwich Village, New York City; among them were Upton Sinclair, John Reed, Emma Goldman, Walter Lippmann and Max Eastman. Professor Fishbein analyzes the short-lived history of the periodical, which was started by the Dutchman Piet Vlag in 1911 and came to an end in 1917 as a result of the Espionage Act, which had passed in that year. The author stresses, on the one hand, the innovatory intellectual sway of The Masses (the dissemination of, e.g., Freud’s ideas), but on the other hand she finds fault with the periodical, because it never realized an organic bond with the working class and thus did not fulfil its purpose as it was stated in its name.


In his Victorian Railwaymen Peter Kingsford investigated the emergence and development of railway labour in Britain (cf. IRSH, XVII (1972), p. 778), and now Dr Licht engages in the same task for the United States, in which he occasionally compares his findings with those of Dr Kingsford. The growth of the railway system is sketched from the beginnings (circa 1830) to the major strikes of 1877, and the author gives as well information on the industrial relations. The insecurity of the railwaymen’s living (“less than a majority of nineteenth-century railwaymen found constant employment in the trade”) is amply discussed, and so are the work incentives (relatively high wages, bonus systems, etc.) and the wage differences between various groups. The last chapter deals in short with the developments after 1877.

The present volume is a revised, expanded and updated version of Maurice Neufeld’s Representative Bibliography of American Labor History, which was noticed in IRSH, IX (1964), p. 513. The 7,261 titles listed are arranged thematically; the items gathered under the headings “Periods of Development” and “Individual Occupations, Trades, and Industries” occupy most of the space. On the whole the titles are rendered accurately, though there are some mistakes with publications that are not in English.

Asia

China


At least nine of the nineteen unions in Hunan were at strike from September to December 1922. Starting with an outline of the regional labour movement, in which Mao Zedong played a major part as head of the Labour Secretariat, the present author analyzes the four strikes on which the most documentary materials are available. The results of the investigation are truly remarkable. Contrary to what Jean Chesneaux maintained, viz., that the vanguard was made up by the workers from the modern capitalist enterprises, Dr Shaffer shows that it was the artisans, who were threatened by the changes in the guilds and by cheap juvenile labour, as well as the miners who belonged to traditional contract-labour gangs, that constituted the vanguard in the strikes.

Iran


The history of modern Iran is one big paradox. The Constitutional Revolution (1905-09) saw the short-lived triumph of the westernized intelligentsia, and the “pluralist” political period from 1941 to 1953 led to large-scale opposition headed by the Tudeh Party, but the Islamic Revolution (1977-79) brought the traditional clergy to the fore. In his thorough and well-conceived study Professor Abrahamian tries to account for this paradox. He traces in great detail the social and economic development of Iran from circa 1850 onwards, and argues, among other things, that the rapid societal change during the twentieth century (industrialization and urbanization) uprooted broad layers of the population, which came to voice
their social and political protest in terms of religion, since they had no political organizations or other means to defend their interests.

EUROPE


The essays collected in this volume have their origin in a symposium convened by the German Historical Institute in London in the summer of 1981, the purpose of which was to contribute to the comparative historiography of notably the German and the British trade unions in the period before the First World War. The twenty-two essays deal with many relevant aspects of the subject, and also give a good impression of differences in assessment with various authors. Topics are, for instance, changes in the labour processes (Richard Price, Alastair Reid), Syndicalist influences (Dirk H. Müller, Robert J. Holton), Social Democratic influences (Jay M. Winter, Hans Mommsen), and state interference in industrial relations (John Saville, Klaus Saul). Eric Hobsbawm puts the New Unionism in a comparative European perspective, while Sidney Pollard sheds light on its economic background.


From 1880 the decennial census conducted in the Austrian half of the Hapsburg Monarchy also inquired after the language commonly or preferably spoken by the examinee. Although this was not intended by the authorities, the Umgangssprache question became a political issue and a subject of dispute in the struggle between the nationalities. The present author gives the linguistic census returns of 1880-1910 in the form of tables and diagrams, but the body of the text is devoted to the concomitant struggle.

The present study uses the "contrastive method": a certain element of the French trade-union (and labour) movement is singled out and compared with the corresponding feature in the German counterpart. Thus several topics come up for discussion: the type of worker, the ideas on organization, the various forms of struggle, the relations with the State, and Socialism and revolution. Even if the authors base themselves on a very limited amount of secondary materials and tend to string together quotations from other historians, they yet bring out some striking antitheses by means of this method. Irritating, though, is their bias in favour of the French movement.


This is the first of two volumes on trade-union responses to the present crisis in France, Italy, Britain, the Federal Republic and Sweden. Professor Ross deals with the policy of the French unions, Messrs Lange and Vannicelli with that of the Italian unions, and Messrs Lange and Ross with the differences and similarities in the two courses of action. The essential conclusion is that during the 'seventies the French and the Italian unions came to develop highly divergent strategies. The French movement was marked by a "belligerent and principled refusal to play any role in the 'management of the crisis'", while its Italian counterpart was critically co-operative, aiming at a gradual transformation.

Austria


The present volume describes the development of Austrian Social Democracy from the Hainfeld Congress up to 1981. It is a compendious survey of the institutional moulding of the SDAP, the Revolutionary Socialists and the SPOe, and offers comprehensive data on membership and electoral performance. However, the author's approach remains superficial, as she concentrates almost exclusively on the party apparatus and the conceptions of the party ideologists. No light whatever is shed on the societal background, nor on the life experiences and outlooks of the rank and file.

Bulgaria

This “introductory history for the non-specialist” covers the period from the foundation of the modern Bulgarian State to the end of the First World War. The author deals with social and economic developments as well as with political events, both national and international. His main conclusion is that during the period under discussion Bulgarian history, for all the riots in the countryside (1899-1900) and in the towns (1906-07), was characterized by social stability, a symptom of which was especially the continuing preponderance of small peasant property. The argument is lucidly composed, but it is irritating that in the analysis of agrarian relations the denotation of words like holding and of square-measure terms should vary so much.

**Denmark**


Central in the present study is the Socialist People’s Party, which split off from the Danish CP in 1959. The relative success of the new party brings the author to raise the question whether the Welfare State obviates the preconditions of radical Socialism or whether it only provides a new breeding ground for such a political current. By means of a detailed analysis of the party (voters, members, activists) in particular and the Danish labour movement in general Dr Logue tries out eight hypotheses that claim to account for the attraction of radical Socialism. His conclusion is that especially two of the hypotheses are apposite: the one concerning political culture (socialization) and the one concerning new demands engendered by the Welfare State: “The Socialist People’s Party’s relative success has been a product of its ability to combine the traditional socialist appeal for economic equality with a new emphasis on redistributing authority.”

**France**


A few years ago President Mitterrand proclaimed that French Socialism is “the only new idea in Europe”. Professor Brown sets out to describe the ideological aspects of this “new” Socialism and place them in their historical context. He shows how in the second half of the seventies there was a confluence of various trends: a modified version of the idea of autogestion, which had become popular since May 1968, the critique of the old Social Democratic model, and the relative de-Stalinization of the PCF. At the same time the author points to the limits of the new vision as asserted by Mitterrand. In the practice of politics there never was a synthesis of the
revolutionary and the Social Democratic currents within the Left: "not yet, probably not for a very long time, perhaps not ever".


Avoiding the well-known stereotypes to be found in the writings of Marx and Flaubert, Professor Chaline has made a pioneering study of the bourgeoisie of nineteenth-century Rouen. This is defined as an elite in terms of property and prestige, comprising about eleven per cent of the local population. An analysis of its social and geographical origins is followed by a detailed treatment of its economic record, its wealth, its way of life and its specific mentality. Full account is taken of intra-group heterogeneity and tensions, the elite presenting itself as a puzzle rather than as a block. Numerous diagrams are appended.


Louis Gabriel Gauny is one of the nineteenth-century labour aristocrats figuring in Mr Rancière's book La nuit des prolétaires, which was noticed in IRSH, XXVII (1982), p. 374. Although Gauny thought himself best qualified as a poet, the present volume is confined to his prose, samples of which are either reprinted or published for the first time.


This is a useful introduction to the recent literature on the social history of the French peasantry during the eighteenth century. Although various types of differentiation — social, regional and chronological — should be taken into account, significant comparisons and cautious generalizations are possible, e.g., as regards a trend towards proletarianization and the impact of the revolutionary legislation.


The present doctorate thesis (Nantes 1980) offers a detailed analysis of the workers' movement in the Vendée Department from the origins to the German occupation. The first part describes the development of the various occupational groups, for instance, the dockers and the miners; the second part is a searching investigation of the trends to be found in strike behaviour.
(rhythm, frequency, intensity, etc.); the third and final part delineates the history of the workers' organizations. The composition of the volume is fine, but the graphical content (notably the many maps) leaves something to be desired as to its technical execution.


Following in the footsteps of Eugen Weber and his pioneering *Peasants into Frenchmen* (cf. IRSH, XXII (1977), p. 124), Professor Singer traces the changes in the social positions of in particular priests and mayors in the French countryside up to the First World War, with an emphasis on Brittany. He starts from the strained relations and the latent tug-of-war between the two categories of village notables, and demonstrates how the schoolmasters operated as in-betweeners. Some of Weber's conclusions are sustained, though qualified; the ambivalent role of the notables, who, both protecting regional characteristics and promoting national integration, acted in defence of progress as well as of conservation, is stressed.


In this study Professor Wall puts the PCF during the years of the Cold War in a very unfavourable light. He speaks of "fascist-like chauvinism", compares the cult of Thorez to "the deification of a despot", and describes analogies between the party culture and "cults like Jonestown or the Moonies". On the whole, though, the analysis keeps to the cold facts; the author's endeavours to account for the developments he describes are commendable, but not always convincing. Thus, he tries to explain, with a certain inclination towards sociologism, the autocratic structure of the party from the "need to insure that an elite drawn from the working class remained in control".


In his new book Professor Wright analyzes the shaping of French thinking and course of action concerning the punishing of criminal conduct. The study covers the whole period from the middle of the eighteenth century up to the present, and shows how the penalties from the time of the ancien régime (servitude in the galleys, hard labour in shore-based bagnes) were replaced after 1789 by imprisonment and convict transportation to overseas penal colonies. Challenging all the time theoreticians like Otto Kirchheimer and Michel Foucault, the author asserts his view "that the relationship between values and socioeconomic base, then as now, was
reciprocal”, and that explanations should always be as simple as possible. “Sometimes, in human affairs, things are what they seem.”

OTHER BOOKS


Germany


Dr Beck has written a well-researched political biography of Julius Leber, the Social Democrat who even before 1933 criticized official SPD policies as well as orthodox Marxism, and who had the courage of his opinions till his death on the gallows on January 5, 1945. Much attention is paid to his relations with other Social Democrats during the Weimar Republic, his first detention by the Nazis (1933-37), and his (critical) co-operation with the Goerdeler opposition. Over a hundred pages of letters and diary notes (1933-45) are appended.


The present volume contains the proceedings of an international symposium held in Munich in 1981. The focus is on domestic politics in the Second Empire. However, this subject is not approached on the lines of the new orthodoxy represented by Hans-Ulrich Wehler, which for all its critique still overrates the role played by Bismarck. James J. Sheehan has contributed an interesting survey of the recent literature on the social history of German politics. The editor deals critically with the neo-orthodox generalization of the Sammlungspolitik. We further mention Ernst Engelberg’s contribution on Social Democracy and petty-bourgeois democracy during the ‘eighties, Werner Conze’s on Germans and Poles, and Klaus J. Bade’s on the foreign-labour issue in the Prussian countryside, 1885-90. There is one item in which Bismarck is very much in the centre, viz., a report on his newly discovered papers at Friedrichsruh, by Werner Pölts.


The New Left fashion of theorizing on Fascism has been particularly dis-
appointing when it comes to new scientific insights. Dr Jaschke tries his hand at the subsequent delivery of an empirical (and at the same time “materialist”) basis as far as Nazism is concerned. Brushing up the well-known application of Marx’s theory of Bonapartism, he first deals with the rapprochement between Nazism and big business (a political abdication of the latter for fear of social revolution is denied), and then with the question of what Nazism meant to its rank-and-file supporters. In Professor Hennig’s foreword it is of course Arthur Rosenberg who is quoted.


This is the final volume of selections from Jewish memoirs and autobiographies collected by the Leo Baeck Institute (cf. IRSH, XXII (1977), p. 282, and XXV, p. 127). It opens with some telling pre-1930 fragments from the memoirs of the Social Democrat Philipp Löwenfeld, and these are followed by other selections, mainly written by Jews with a middle-class background. Many of the selections pertaining to the Nazi era are real documents humains. Those written by Gerhard Bry shed some light on the Neu Beginnen group.


While Marxistische deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft 1917 bis 1933 resembles the misleading book titles not unusual in West Germany (thus, the historical writings of Arthur Rosenberg are ignored completely), the subtitle is a fairly exact description of what the present volume is about. The management of German and foreign history by the KPD, whether for support or for illumination, is treated in great detail. Together with the insights and hindsights of the present-day SED the reception of Leninism is applied as a yardstick of progress and truth.


The present volume is a well-researched monograph on Nazi policies in regard to women and the actual status of women in the Third Reich. As for the latter the author disagrees with the conclusion arrived at by Jill Stephenson in her Women in Nazi Society (vide IRSH, XXII (1977), p. 286), nor does she subscribe to the view that women contributed significantly to Hitler’s electoral successes. She has used a wealth of published and unpublished source materials, but she is less familiar with the secondary literature on the subject (cf., e.g., IRSH, XXI, p. 137, and XXVI, p. 399).

Mahnruf einer deutschen Mutter an die gemißhandelten deutschen Soldaten sowie andere Gedichte, die Arbeiterinnen und Arbeiter unter

In the Bernstein Papers in the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis there is a body of poems which were sent to the editors of the illegal periodical Sozialdemokrat in the years of the Anti-Socialist Law. Most of them are now published for the first time, as they were originally rejected, presumably because they were either too clumsy or too radical. Together they offer an interesting view of the mentality of the then Social Democratic rank and file. There is a short annotation by the editor, and the whole is concluded with a brief epilogue by Mr Emmerich.


The present volume, which is devoted to workers’ education in pre-1914 Social Democracy, comprises a great number of documentary texts from the period, introduced by essays, both short and long ones, and all meeting high standards. Three aspects are dealt with: the educational ideas that were approved of, the way these were actualized at the Arbeiterbildungsschule and the Parteischule in Berlin, and the education of proletarian women as a special kind of workers’ education.


The subtitle of this study is misleading in that attention is paid almost exclusively to the German workers’ movement, while the English hardly comes up for discussion. Basing herself partly on unpublished source materials, the author demonstrates how in the period 1900-14 the free trade unions were more and more negotiating collective agreements with the entrepreneurs (especially in the printing trade and in the building and timber industry), and how then during the First World War, also because of state intervention, those unions became once and for all domesticated.


The present Vol. VI of the ambitious Walther Rathenau-Gesamtausgabe, which is only beginning to appear, comprises the 450 letters exchanged
between Rathenau and the publicist Harden. Not only did the two men share a strained relationship with the non-Jewish German establishment, but their mutual feelings were highly ambivalent, which resulted in a definite break in 1920. Dr Hellige has annotated the letters quite copiously, and introduced them with an impressive “socio-historical-biographical study”. An index of names is appended.


The above handbook covers for the first time the legal discrimination against the Jews in the Third Reich. It summarizes, and in a few cases quotes, close on two thousand laws and decrees, both public and confidential ones. Outrage and petty vexation alternate; “Le ridicule le dispute à l’odieux” might have been an apt motto to the volume.


This study of the International Red Aid and its Secretary Willi Münzenberg analyzes the combine of the mass-media enterprises which aligned with the KPD, and which set out to affect a very wide working-class audience in the Weimar Republic by means of periodicals, films, etc. The author distinguishes three stages in the shaping of the “Münzenberg Concern”: the foundation of the IRA as a result of the famine in the Soviet Union and the first publicistic steps in connection with this (1921-24); the building of a “solar system of organizations” which allowed for bourgeois ideas (1924-28); and finally a more immediate orientation towards the class struggle, ensuing from the resolutions of the Sixth Comintern Congress (1928-33). The analysis makes it clear, among other things, that the influence of the IRA media, though not inconsiderable, was yet smaller than it is usually taken to have been.


Although the author’s claim that “this is the first comprehensive Who’s Who on the subject to be written in any language” is neither here nor there, his book may be welcomed as a useful and generally reliable work of reference. It houses a medley crowd of hundreds of individuals; thus, Himmler is found rubbing shoulders with his victim Hilferding and the composer Hindemith.
OTHER BOOKS


Great Britain


Professor Briggs has tried his hand at a social, or rather a societal, history of England. The result, which he modestly presents as a “preliminary attempt at a synthesis”, differs from Trevelyan’s famous English Social History in several respects. Though opening not with Chaucer but with the puzzles of Stonehenge, the text is about half the size, there are no notes and there is no bibliography whatever. As far as pre-Victorian times are concerned the author has largely confined himself to synthetizing, in often too short a compass, what others have written. However this may be, the volume is pleasantly readable, and the numerous illustrations are not only nice to look at, but real pieces of historical evidence.


The present volume is a counterpart to Sheldon Rothblatt’s study in the institutional history of Cambridge University, The Revolution of the Dons (cf. IRSH, XIII (1968), p. 128). During the nineteenth century the tutorial system as it existed at Oxford underwent a thorough de-clericalization and professionalization, but this process did not affect the collegiate system per se. The American author has based himself almost exclusively on primary materials, including manuscript sources.


Notwithstanding the lionizing of O’Connor in the main title this well-researched monograph, originally a doctorate thesis (Birmingham 1977), is above all a study of emergent Chartism and its political organization. In what amounts to a full rehabilitation O’Connor is represented as a very able
leader, the right man in the right place. The chapter on the *Northern Star*
was published before in a somewhat different form in IRSH, XXI (1976),
pp. 51ff. A composite index is appended.

**FRASER, DEREK.** The Evolution of the British Welfare State. A History of
Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution. 2nd Ed. Macmillan Press,
London 1984. xxxii, 326 pp. £ 4.95.

Since it was first published eleven years ago this history of British social
policy has made its mark as a standard work on the subject. After no less
than seven reprints it was cautiously revised, the text (and the bibliography)
being updated and clarified rather than remodelled. The original
framework, outlined in IRSH, XVIII (1973), p. 486, has remained the same.

**JENKINS, PHILIP.** The making of a ruling class. The Glamorgan gentry

The present work (a revised version of a Cambridge doctorate thesis) in-
tends to expose the connections between the Great Rebellion and the
Industrial Revolution by means of a regional case-study. The central
question is: what changes did the landed classes undergo in the seventeenth
and eighteenth centuries, and what prompted them to further industriali-
ization so enthusiastically? Concentrating on the Welsh County Glamorgan
(with, for instance, Cardiff and Swansea), the author shows how between
the 1720's and the 1750's there was a break in the development of the
gentry: the old dynasties, oriented to the County, were ruined, and in their
stead came a new elite that was attuned to London and applied “metro-
politain standards”.

**MORGAN, KENNETH O.** Labour in Power 1945-1951. Oxford University

One connects the Attlee administration with many events and develop-
ments: great popularity of the Labour Party, nationalization, the end of the
Empire and the birth of the Welfare State, and so the present author quite
rightly speaks of “a landmark in the history of Modern Britain”. Using
a large body of archival materials, he offers a fairly comprehensive view
of the rise and fall, the achievements and problems of the Third Labour
Government. To some extent the volume consists of two separate parts. The
first deals with various spheres of operation; the second investigates the
successive stages in a chronological order. The author concludes that the
Labour Party is up against a structural problem: “the rival tensions of
grass-roots pressure for a socialist society and the alternative demands of the
realities of power”.

**SCRIVENER, MICHAEL HENRY.** Radical Shelley. The Philosophical An-
archism and Utopian Thought of Percy Bysshe Shelley. Princeton Uni-
This study is a systematic inquiry into the libertarian and Utopian themes in Shelley's poetry and prose, due attention being paid to their social and historical setting. Godwin's influence is of course acknowledged, but it is qualified to a certain extent. Nor does the author gloss over what he calls Shelley's agrarian and leisure-class biases. By far the longest chapter is the fifth, "Prometheus Unbound in Context".


In an earlier book Mr Seabrook gave an impression of working-class communities based on interviews (cf. IRSH, XXV (1980), pp. 300f.), and in this new one he publishes, verbatim, his conversations with working-class people on the subject of their youth. He has interviewed both very old and very young men and women. His inserted commentaries, which are often shrewd and always serious, elucidate continuities and discontinuities in the general development. A prominent place is reserved for the overall increase in prosperity, which has not been able to give the younger ones a sense of fulfilment in their childhood, their real abilities being systematically overlooked.


Outcast London was first published in 1971, and noticed in IRSH, XVII (1972), p. 779. The present volume is a facsimile reprint plus a "Preface to the 1984 Edition". In the latter the author replies to his critics, but also speaks self-critically about "the adjectival and metaphorical overkill to which I was addicted".


Mrs Tebbutt's study describes the history of pawnbroking from the early years of the nineteenth century to the present. Central is the ambiguous relation between the pawnbroker and his customers, and here quite a lot of attention is paid to the situation of the households of the workers and the role therein of the housewife. The pawnshop started to lose trade already in the last decades of the nineteenth century, but only really fell on evil days during the inter-war years, partly because of retailing innovations, slum-clearance programmes and new possibilities for the workers to obtain credit.


The present three authors, who all have first-hand experience of life at sea,
base themselves on oral-history interviews and on a wide range of socio-historical, sociological and anthropological literature. By means of these materials they give a comprehensive idea of life and work of British fishermen. It is shown, among other things, that for these people it was not easy to arrive at concerted trade-union action, as they were scattered at sea in small groups, and only occasionally met one another ashore in larger numbers.

The authors also reveal relations between the men's work, family life and religion. Apart from some more general observations the book comprises "close-ups" of developments in Lancashire, Aberdeen and East Anglia.


Dr Walton, who has already a social history of the Blackpool landladies to his name (vide IRSH, XXV (1980), p. 301), has now written a comprehensive study of the English seaside resorts. Apart from being a contribution to social history — the chapter on "styles of holidaymaking" is of particular interest in this respect — his new book deals with the economic, political and geographical aspects of seaside-resort development. The volume is well-researched, lucidly written, and both aptly and attractively illustrated.


The tenth of April 1848 was an important date in the history of the Chartist movement, and it has been subjected to a number of contrary interpretations. In his detailed study Dr Weisser follows up the work of, inter al., John Saville and David Goodway, and aims at a reading of the events which is as level-headed as possible. He distinguishes four stages (February to April 10, April 11 to June 12, June 13 to August 15, and August 16 to the end of the year), each of which had its particular emphasis and leadership. On the basis of his reconstruction the author also pleads for a rehabilitation of O'Connor.


The structure of this biography of Richard Carlile (1790-1843) is chronological. The numerous episodes from the life of the tin-plater who at the age of twenty-seven decided to spend the rest of his life on radical reform are unravelled with love of detail, and also the private life of the freethinking "paterfamilias who demanded total obedience" from his wife and children comes up for discussion. It is a pity that the biography should hardly consider the wider social developments.

Turning-points in the history of the Welsh nation are discussed here, in a vigorous and readable style, in eight separate essays. Professor Williams, who is deeply affected by the thought of Gramsci, includes social and economic factors as well as political, religious and cultural aspects in his considerations. He devotes a great deal of attention to the early workers' movement, especially at Merthyr Tydfil. Noteworthy is the essay entitled “Imperial South Wales”, in which it is argued that what is now generally regarded as “traditional”, Nonconformist, Welsh-speaking, radical Wales in particular” is to some extent an offshoot of the industrialization before the First World War.


Alexander McDonald (1821-81) is placed in the context of the British labour movement in this biography. The author succinctly traces the course of the leader of the colliers who worked for sixteen years as a miner himself, then embarked on a university education in Glasgow, and next made a great hit as a trade unionist and as an MP. The fact that at his death McDonald “had acquired shares in mining companies in Scotland and England amounting to a total value of about £3000” is discussed as dispassionately as the rest of the subject-matter.


This anthology contains twenty-nine extracts from the works of a wide variety of British Socialist writers, such as Hyndman, Morris and the Webbs, as well as Laski, Orwell and Crosland. In his short introduction the compiler points to the prevailing role ethics have played in the British tradition: “Its message was that socialism was about values, and that to be a socialist was to make a moral choice and not merely to assert an economic interest or to recognise a historical necessity.”

Italy


The present volume reprints two books prepared by the reformist anti-Fascist Matteotti towards the end of his life: Un anno di dominazione fascista, published in February 1924, and Il fascismo della prima ora, a selection of Fascist statements made in 1919 and 1920, published posthumously. The editor has provided a short introduction, and appended a
few articles from *La Giustizia* (1924) and an index of names. A foreword by Gaetano Arfè is also included.

**The Netherlands**


This doctorate thesis (Groningen 1983) gives a detailed analysis of the emergence of the workers' movement in Maastricht, where industrialization started, for the Netherlands, quite early. The author describes in detail how in the 1890's an initial strike was successful and led to Socialism fanning out among larger groups of workers, how shortly after that a second strike foundered, and how the Roman Catholic Church then more or less managed to canalize the rising movement in organizations of its own, which partly imitated the Socialist ones. The study is mainly institutional. A summary in French is appended.

**Poland**


The present author has set himself the task of providing a comprehensive economic, social and political history of Polish Jewry in its relationship with Polish society during the inter-war years. Being an economist and a political scientist rather than a historian, he concentrates on the social and economic aspects. His partly original research is mainly based on statistical data. Especially commendable is his attempt to define and assess the “national income” of the Jewish community and its “national wealth” on the eve of the Second World War. Numerous tables illuminate the account, which is on the whole vividly written. The principal shortcoming of the book is its treatment of politics, which does not go beyond a rather flat description of the events.


This is the opening volume of the first large-scale study of Polish Zionism. The author presents a meticulous account of the broad range of Zionist organizations. Far from confining himself to the political arena, he provides a valuable insight into the social background and the process of social mobilization within the Jewish community. The Zionist organizations offered the Jewish youngsters a kind of new home in an antisemitic environment. Unfortunately the important problems of the impact of
Polish nationalism and the Arab question have been relegated to two short appendices.

**Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — Russia**


Unlike Gregory L. Freeze’s study *The Russian Levites* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), the present volume is not based on any unpublished materials. On the other hand it has a wider scope: not only has Dr Bryner not confined himself to Central Russia, but there are special chapters on the episcopate and the seminaries. It is shown that, unlike the other *soslovija*, the secular or “white” clergy was transformed into a quasi-caste during the eighteenth century.


This study, deriving from a State-doctorate thesis (Paris, I, 1980), intends to discover constants in the writings of Lenin that are characteristic of Bolsheivist thinking, and which are also to be found in later Stalinist and post-Stalinist patterns of thought. The author discusses, for instance, the models which Lenin had in mind in his organizational work (the orchestra, the army, the machine, the factory), and related themes such as centralism, control and purge. Although the book is to some extent very illuminating indeed, the author is not always aware of discontinuities. Breaks in Lenin’s thinking — e.g., with regard to Taylorism — are never pointed out, nor are the breaks between Leninism and Stalinism.


The well-known biographer of Martov has now written a very sympathetic study of the Kronstadt Soviet in the Russian Revolution. He concentrates on what he calls “Kronstadt’s forgotten golden age of Soviet democracy in 1917-18”, and it is particularly in this respect that he breaks new ground. Exploding the degeneration myth invented by Trockij for political purposes, he emphasizes the basic continuity of the experiment up to the open conflict with the Bolsheivist dictatorship.

In his new book Professor Lincoln examines the preliminary stage of the reforms introduced by Tsar Alexander II in the early years of his rule. The author’s primary argument is that it was a combination of two factors that made it possible for the reforms to be carried through. Firstly, Russia’s international position had grown steadily weaker over the century (a fact which the Crimean War defeat made once more abundantly plain), and, secondly, there existed a group of “enlightened bureaucrats” who in the 1840’s and 1850’s had made themselves thoroughly familiar with the country’s situation. The latter element in particular can explain “how the Russian bureaucracy, which contemporaries and historians have condemned as ponderous, inefficient, and corrupt, could have produced such a vast corpus of reform legislation in the space of about five years”.


This interesting book (originally a Birmingham doctorate thesis) concentrates almost exclusively on the factory workers in Petrograd and their struggles on the shop-floor. The author argues that in 1917 the working class in Petrograd was roughly divided into two groups: “on the one hand, were peasant workers, women workers and workers new to industry, who comprised around 60% of the workforce; on the other, were older, proletarianised, skilled, male workers.” It was especially the latter group that built the factory committees and trade unions after the February Revolution. According to Dr Smith Bolshevik agitation was not quite as important in the achievement of work-based organizations as it is often supposed to have been.

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