



On the Waterfront



NEWSLETTER NO. 18
OF THE FRIENDS
OF THE IISH

2009



Steinbo

Introduction

FRONT PAGE:
SEE PAGE 5.

This issue is dedicated to Liesbeth Laman-Meyer, who resigned as member of the board, on which she served from the very beginning. We thank her for her many efforts on behalf of the Friends. Sadly, on 29 March 2009, we lost Arthur Stam, another old-time Friend, whose contributions to our meetings will be sorely missed.

*Members of the Friends of the IISH pay annual dues of one or five hundred euros or join with a lifetime donation of one thousand five hundred euros or more. In return, members are invited to semi-annual sessions featuring presentations of IISH acquisitions and by guest speakers. These guest speakers deliver lectures on their field of research, which does not necessarily concern the IISH collection. The presentation and lecture are followed by a reception. In addition to these semi-annual gatherings, all Friends receive a forty-percent discount on IISH publications. Friends paying dues of five hundred euros or more are also entitled to choose Institute publications from a broad selection offered at no charge. The board consults the Friends about allocation of the revenues from the dues and delivers an annual financial report in conjunction with the IISH administration. The IISH was founded by master collector Nicolaas Posthumus (1880-1960) in the 1930s. For the past two decades, two of the institutes established by this 'history entrepreneur' have operated from the same premises: the neha (Netherlands Economic History Archive) since 1914 and the International Institute of Social History (IISH), which is now 73 years old. Both institutes continue to collect, although the 'subsidiary' IISH has grown far larger than the 'parent' neha. (Detailed information about the IISH appears in: Maria Hunink *De papieren van de revolutie. Het Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis 1935-1947* (Amsterdam 1986) and in: Jan Lucassen *Tracing the past. Collections and research in social and economic history; The International Institute of Social History, The Netherlands Economic History Archive and related institutions* (Amsterdam 1989). For all information concerning the Friends, see <http://www.iisg.nl/friends/>.*

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PRESENTATION OF THE ACQUISITIONS

↻ European Mining

One of us is a specialist in brick-making and as such has long been familiar with Gabriel Jars le jeune (1732-1769). In 1766 this traveller visited a kiln in Moordrecht and a pot factory in Utrecht, which he described on 2 August 1766 for the fourth volume of the renowned *Encyclopédie*, published the next year.

Last year in Paris the NEHA purchased a huge monograph by Jars: a fine opportunity to describe him at greater length. His father was the director of a mine, and young Gabriel started his education at the Jesuit school in Lyon. At age 9 he and three other youths were admitted to the *École des Ponts et Chaussées* in Paris. After six years of academic study, he embarked on several major journeys. His travel reports, of which the Institute now holds one, reflect one of the mainstays of the Enlightenment: international comparisons to identify the benefits and drawbacks of the different practices. From 1757 to 1759, by then fluent in German, he visited the East-German, Austrian, and Hungarian mining areas. By 1761, before he turned 30, he had become a corresponding member of the French Académie des Sciences as a result. On his second and third international journeys, taken in 1765 and 1766 at a monthly cost of 400 French *livres* (a year's wages for a worker), he travelled to English and Scottish mines, respectively. Next, he visited the Dutch Republic to satisfy his curiosity about the metal industry there (he is believed to have travelled from Rotterdam via the Hollandse IJssel and Utrecht to Hannover) and then continued on to the mining areas in Western Germany, again to Saxony, and finally to Norway and Sweden. Following these second and third trips, he was

rewarded in May 1768 by being appointed *membre titulaire* of the Académie (he was selected over Lavoisier: practical experience appears to have weighed heavily in his favour). He enjoyed this notoriety only briefly, however, passing away the next year on 20 August at age 37, leaving a huge stack of notes. A small section had already



COAL TRANSPORT AT NEWCASTLE IN 1765 (ENGRAVING BY LOUIS LE GRAND IN JARS, *VOYAGES MÉTALLURGIQUES*, PLANCHE V, FIGURE 4; CFP 201-205; IISH LIBRARY 2009/18)

appeared in *Mémoires* (ZO 54817), which he published together with his fellow student and companion Duhamel and which the Institute acquired as part of the KNAW Library (*On the Waterfront*, 11, 2005, pp 9ff). His elder brother, Gabriel Jars l'aîné (1729-1808), decided to publish what was left, and in 1774 the first volume appeared of *Voyages métallurgiques, ou recherches et observations sur les mines & les forges de fer, la fabrication de l'acier, celle du fer-blanc, & plusieurs mines de charbon de terre, faites depuis l'année 1757 jusques & compris 1769, en Allemagne, Suède, Norwege, Angleterre & Ecosse : Suivies d'un mémoire sur la circulation de l'air dans les mines, & d'une notice de la jurisprudence des mines de charbon dans le pays de Liège, la province de Limbourg & le comté de Namur. Avec figures* (à Lyon, chez Gabriel Regnault, 1774; xxxii-416 pp + 10 tables). While the first volume was about

iron and coal mines, the next two volumes from 1780 and 1781 addressed extraction and processing of other metals.

Drainage to enable deeper extraction was of special interest to Jars. He compared traditional methods, such as manual pumps and horse mills, with the new steam pumps. He also considered oxygenation, enabling miners to work far away from fresh air. Regarding the Netherlands and Belgium, the inclusion in his descriptions of the mining areas surrounding Liège, Namur, and Aix-la-Chapelle is remarkable. Labour historians will learn not only from the accounts of working

methods but also from the ones describing labour relations and payment practices. Cooperative subcontracting by groups of miners paid piece rates seemed to be the general rule at the time. The level of detail that Jars provided is exemplified by his description of coal transports near Newcastle (see image). Transports were handled by foremen, who used their own horses to draw the carts of the mine owners. They were paid according to the distance they covered. The wooden cart had cast-iron rear wheels and rode on wooden rails. On downward slopes, the horse was hitched behind the cart, and the foreman operated the brake at the rear.

↻ Comicalities

The Cruikshank brothers were political cartoonists from the illustrious British tradition of Hogarth, Gillray, and Rowlandson. George (1792-1878), who was the most

THE UPPER,
MIDDLE AND
LOWER CLASS-
ES (POUNDS,
SHILLINGS,
PENCE) AT
DINNER, FROM
COMICALITIES
BY GEORGE
AND ROBERT
CRUIKSHANK.
THE POOR
MAN ON THE
RIGHT IS
SITTING IN
GRUB STREET,
NOTORIOUS
FOR ITS CON-
CENTRATION
OF DUBIOUS
WRITERS AND
PUBLISHERS.



renowned illustrator of Dickens's works, and Robert (1789-1856) became immensely popular for their joint illustrations to Pierce Egan's *Life in London* (1821-1822), describing the morals of a semi-secret London, where the bourgeoisie never ventured. The Institute already owned a series of pamphlets illustrated by the Cruikshank brothers, most from the years of the conflict between George IV and Caroline of Brunswick, which peaked in 1820, when the king, previously a regent for the mentally incapacitated George III, refused to allow his wife to attend his coronation.

These pamphlets came from the collection on British social and economic history the IISH purchased from the London antiquarian Leon Kashnor in 1937. Unfortunately, their physical state reflects these origins. Presumably to facilitate cataloguing, many pamphlet volumes were at one point taken apart by the Institute, the individual items never to be rebound.

The collection was huge (some 11,000 titles) and cost a large sum (£ 7000). Kashnor, whose shop was across from the British Museum, was one of the first antiquarians to put together larger collections and sell them as a unit. As far as we know, he did so as early

as 1902 and as late as 1953, when he sold such a collection (as 'his' library) to the National Library of Australia, which had approached him in search of *The Economist*. Interestingly, the NLA collection comprises approximately 1,500 manuscripts listed in the 1938 IISH annual report as part of the IISH purchase...

At a recent auction a reasonably priced rarity of the Cruikshanks surfaced: a copy of the remarkable booklet *Comicalities*, published in 1830. This booklet, which consists entirely of drawings coloured by hand and provided with captions, lacks a title page; it is present in this format and with the same title in some other major libraries as well.

☞ See You Real Soon

Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen (1859-1923), now known primarily for his lovely felines, was also very active in the late nineteenth century as an artist for the radical and in some cases the anarchist press. As a result, the Institute has a fair amount of his printed work and has featured him in its web exhibition *Art to the People*. (See also the reproduction of *la Feuille in On the Waterfront*, 4, 2002, p 11.)

One of his later but widely disseminated drawings was *Guerre à la Guerre!* [*War on War*], which

the IISH owns in several different formats, ranging from posters to postcards. This work, produced after World War I, addresses the same theme as a trio of lithographs issued during the war that we also purchased at the aforementioned auction. Steinlen produced many drawings in the war years – Jacques Christophe's catalogue comprises about 200 specimens – highlighting the impact of the war on soldiers and civilians alike. In 1915 he was commissioned by d'Alignan's publishing house La Guerre to produce a first series of 32 prints. The fairly large run of 500 copies sold out rapidly. In 1916 the second series followed: *Actualités*. Two of our three lithographs are from this series. One is a copy of No. 4, *L'Heure tendre* (run size: 400), and the other an upmarket edition (100 copies) of No. 7, *A bientôt... pour de bon!* There is also a lithograph of marching soldiers, untitled and without any information about the run size, featuring a great many remarks at the bottom.

Another item bought at this auction was a note from Steinlen to the Dutch social-democrat and novelist A.M. de Jong (1888-1943), the author of widely-read works such as *Merijntje Gijzen* and *Bulletje en Bonestaak*. Steinlen was responding to a request for

a drawing to appear in the New Year's Eve issue of *De Notenkraker* [*The Nutcracker*], a popular illustrated Sunday supplement to the SDAP daily *Het Volk* [*The People*] which De Jong edited at the time. On 27 November 1923 Steinlen agreed, but he passed away on 13 December. *De Notenkraker* ran an obituary about Steinlen, featuring a facsimile of his letter.

❧ Shattered Crystal

While Jars was an engineer, imbued with a desire to describe technology and the labour it entailed, others were 'engineers of the human soul' (as Stalin said in 1932, borrowing a term from Yury Olesha). Two such individuals were Bertrand Russell (1872-1970) and his second wife Dora Black (1894-1986), especially with respect to their most intensive joint effort, raising their two children, first together (though obviously assisted by indispensable nannies) and subsequently from 1927 to 1934 at the school they opened in the Telegraph House on Beacon Hill, which they purchased from Bertie's brother. In 1934, after gradually drifting apart, Dora and Bertie separated, and John (born in November 1921) and Kate (1923) were sent off to boarding school, dividing their holidays evenly between their father and mother. Kate has written in her memoirs (Katharine Tait, *My Father Bertrand Russell*, 1977): 'They [Bertie and Dora] came from Cornwall, full of joy and hope, to start a school in which their children would blossom into the finest flower of mankind. At the end of seven years, they had lost each other, their children's confidence, their money and much of their hope. Those years shattered the crystal of our happiness and left us like jagged splinters, unable to touch each other without wounding. All of us longed for a give and take of love not possible in that public environment.'

What went wrong? To many, the answer has always seemed obvious: despite their vast intellectual endowment and didactical skills, their views about open marriage and libertarian education



À BIENTÔT
... POUR DE
BON! (SEE YOU
REAL SOON)
BY STEINLEN :
WIVES AND
LOVERS TAKE
THEIR LEAVE
OF OPTIMIS-
TIC SOLDIERS
(PERMISSION-
NAIRES) RE-
TURNING TO
THE FRONT. IT
IS 1916, THE
YEAR OF THE
SOMME (IISH,
BG D78/774)

doomed the two idealists. Kate provides a different explanation. The main problem was that the couple opened a boarding school. While she and her brother thus had excellent teachers, they lost their parents as such. Dora and Bertrand Russell took care not to favour their children, expecting them to eat with the other children, sleep in the same dormitory, and spend all their free time with them. They experienced their parents only as teachers and were unable to rely on them for the comfort they often needed. John was bullied a lot, although his parents never knew (children did not tell). Moreover, the children – as customary among the English upper class – were very young, and many idealistic parents who had no idea how to raise their children sent them to Beacon Hill. Bertrand, in hindsight: 'Many of the children were cruel and destructive. To let the children go free was to establish a reign of terror, in which the strong kept the weak trembling and miserable.' To make matters worse, Beacon Hill was financially loss-making, leading Bertrand and Dora to devote most of their time to writing commissions and paid lectures (involving extended periods of absence) to fill the money pit.

Dora's and Bertrand's divergent views about open marriage might well have led them to separate in any case (he believed that extramarital affairs should under no circumstances produce children; her third and fourth children were fathered by a different man,

although they bore Bertrand's surname, and he was legally responsible for them), but the Beacon Hill experiment was undoubtedly an important factor.

While the above is known, the IISH received material in September 2008 that sheds new light on these turbulent years, and this in a very literal sense. Harriet Ward, Dora's second daughter, presented the Institute with a box containing hundreds of photographs (prints and negatives), mainly from the 1920s and 30s. Together with a vast correspondence, this marks the second addition to the personal papers of Dora Russell.

DORA HAS THE
CHILDREN
SHOWER IN
TELEGRAPH
HOUSE ('MY-
SELF KEEPING
AT BEDTIME'),
PUBLISHED
BY VAUGHAN
AND FREE-
MAN, 44A DO-
VER STREET,
WI (IISH BG
A62/896)





FAUSTO COPPI BEFORE STARTING THE PAU-BORDEAUX LEG IN THE 1952 TOUR DE FRANCE. THE CAPTION ON THE REAR READS: 'ITALIAN CHAMPION FAUSTO COPPI CONFERRING WITH TEAM MANAGER A. BIRDA' (IISH BG A62/897)

The first arrived in 1994; the original archive was acquired in 1988, thanks to the efforts of Heiner Becker.

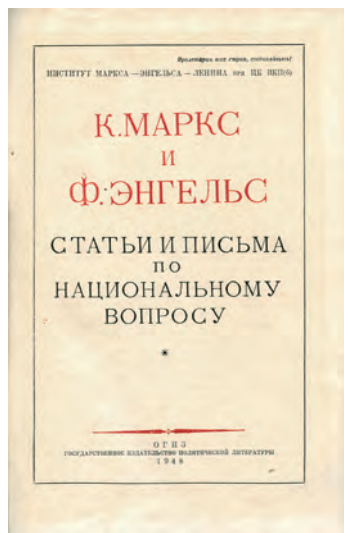
The happy ending is that the holiday snapshots from after World War II include a series featuring the Pau-Bordeaux leg of the Tour de France in July 1952. The date is not indicated on the photographs but may be inferred from the appearance of both the Dutch cyclist Jan Nolten and the Italian favourite Fausto Coppi (1919-1960). In addition to winning five *victoires d'étape*, Fausto won the Tour that year, finishing with both the yellow jersey and the red polka dot jersey. In those years Italy was hopelessly divided between left and right, as manifested in competitive cycling. The Church of Rome favoured Gino Bartali, because Coppi made no secret of his extramarital affair with *la dama bianca*, perhaps yet another reason why Fausto appeared on Dora's snapshots.

☞ Marx Unpublished

The IISH has always been known to have had many ties with – and even derives its original organisational structure from – the Moscow counterpart institution founded in 1919-1924 as the Marx-Engels Institute by David Ryazanov (1870-1938). In 1931 this institute merged with the Lenin Institute founded in 1924 (and which had already merged in 1928 with the Institute for Party History) and the Central Party Archive to form the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, under the aegis of

Vladimir Adoratsky (1878-1945). From 1954 to 1956 it was called the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute, after which it became the Institute for Marxism-Leninism (IML), until early 1991, when it was renamed the Institute for Theory and History of Socialism. It was subsequently closed, and the IISH took great pains to rescue its extremely valuable collection from disintegration.

One of the original objectives of the institution was to publish the works of Marx and Engels, but the priority soon switched to controlling which of those works should be published and which should not – an argument for those who in the 1930s wanted the archive of the 'classics' to go to the IISH, rather than to Moscow, which had been considered for a while as well. Stalin himself was cautious enough in this matter. In 1934, for example, he rejected a proposal by Adoratsky to reprint an article by Engels that Stalin rightly considered to have an excessive anti-Russian bias.



Over the years, the IISH has obtained some remarkable items exemplifying this type of control, as holds true for two books from 1948, which were printed but never officially released and consequently do not appear in library catalogues. One is a brief biography of Marx, of which there are at most 50 copies, the other a collection of articles and letters by Marx and Engels about the national question, a book that did not ac-

tually exist at all, as Stalin never wrote the foreword he promised to contribute on the subject.

The books have been donated by Nikita Kolpinskiy (1931-2003) and Vladimir Mosolov (*1932), who have worked with the IISH in various capacities, first helping in assembling the collected works of Michail Bakunin, which were published on CD-ROM in 2000. Later they wrote their memoirs at our request, although these have yet to be disclosed to the public. Mosolov has also written – once again at our request – a history of the iml, which covers the period until 1956 (more recent archival materials are not accessible). After some efforts, we found a Russian publisher, who hopes to issue the book this year.

☞ A Communist in the Dutch Resistance

Lambertus (Ben) Portegies Zwart (1916-2003) was a Dutch communist. His father worked for the KNSM, a Dutch shipping company, and he himself was employed by the Amsterdamse Droogdok Maatschappij, holding various positions in the Netherlands and abroad. Recently, the Institute obtained his memoirs, covering nearly 600 handwritten pages, in manuscript, in a private edition and in digital format. They were written from 1984-1993; slightly after the middle the author observes on 25 September 1991: 'Let's see how far I get. Time is running out, as I'm already 75. Impossible to believe!'

Although at first he was a member of the Arbeiders Jeugd Centrale (AJC), the social-democrat youth organization, Portegies Zwart soon transferred to their communist rivals, the Communistische Jeugd Bond (CJB). At the beginning of World War II, he was active in the underground communist organization founded by Daan Goulooze. He also helped organize the February strike in 1941 against the anti-Jewish measures taken by the Nazis. From mid-1943 he was in hiding at various addresses, to which several false identity cards attest. Following the Liberation he worked briefly for the Dutch Bin-

A BOOK THAT DOESN'T EXIST: ARTICLES AND LETTERS ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION BY MARX AND ENGELS, PRINTED BUT NEVER PUBLISHED FOR LACK OF AN INTRODUCTION BY STALIN (IISH, COLLECTION MOSOLOV)

nenlandse Strijdkrachten (BS), in which the main resistance groups cooperated, but he did not enjoy the experience. In his memoirs he wrote:

'I had convinced a great many BS men to subscribe to the communist newspaper *De Waarheid*, and, hoping to influence the course the BS was pursuing, I tried to get back in touch with the CPN, as I had not done so yet. I learned by word of mouth that one of the leading CPN members (the Friends of *the Waarheid*), a man named Frits Reuter, usually stayed with the Misdoms or the Vallees, who both lived on Esmoreit Street, which was fairly near us [on Gloriant Street]. I heard that a meeting was going to be held there, so I went. I found him at the Vallees. Before I could say a word, he lashed out at me, snarling in a very filthy tone "that I was with that traitor scum Daan Goulooze, and that I could join the party again only after I presented him with a signed statement affirming that Goulooze was a traitor." I stared at him in dismay. I was speechless with indignation and felt deeply hurt and disappointed. He pushed me out the door. "You've lost your mind," was all I could tell him. I was beside myself. [...] By now I am convinced that if the Russians had occupied the Netherlands and had put the CPN of Paul de Groot and Reuter in control, as they did in some East European countries, the members of the group by that name would have executed Goulooze. I often remember one of my last meetings with Daan during the war, when he already mentioned this with a cynical smile.'

Portegies Zwart remained interested in history. On 7 June 1992 he wrote to Joop Morriën: 'Dear Joop, Thanks for sending me the materials you promised me so quickly. The part about Annie Averink is very moving and reminds me of the CJB, which I joined when I was about 15. I vividly remember Annie (three years my senior) lecturing me about having too many AJC mannerisms. This was because I enjoyed nature



ONE OF SEVERAL FALSE IDENTITY CARDS USED BY BEN PORTEGIES ZWART DURING WW II (IISH, COLLECTION PORTEGIES ZWART)

hikes with the CJB members and often used this opportunity to sell our youth paper. I was afraid of her, but I will always remember her as a courageous woman.' We will learn more about her in our next item.

↻ Dutch Communists in China

The Dutch and the Chinese communist parties used to be on excellent terms in the 1950s. Of course it all started with Henk Sneevliet as the Comintern representative in the Far East from 1921 until 1923. After the Communists prevailed in China, they appear to have been particularly interested in the Dutch comrades, because of their excellent ties with newly independent Indonesia. By November 1949 Annie Averink, a prominent member of the Dutch Communist Party (CPN), spoke at length with Liu Shaoqi about the situation in Indonesia, and it was agreed to station a permanent Dutch representative in Peking. The first was Joop Wolff (1950-1951), the second Joop Morriën (1952-1953). In 1954 Dutch CPN Chairman Paul de Groot went on holiday to China with his family and spoke with all the party executives there.

The next official delegation visited China from 20 November 1956 to 24 January 1957 and comprised Annie Averink (1913-1991), Gerard Maas (1913-1988), and Gerrit de Vries (1903-1992). They published a jubilant booklet about their trip (*China werpt het juk af*, or *China Throws Down the Yoke*, 1958). Upon acquir-

ing the personal papers of Gerrit de Vries (donated by his sons), the Institute obtained a wealth of new background material, enabling us to gain a better understanding of this journey and everything the trio describes. The items include a photo album of De Vries with detailed captions, individual photographs, and tourist paraphernalia, as well as over one hundred slides, Gerrit's diary notes, nearly 40 reports on



factories, communes, and the like (including an interview with a Roman Catholic priest), and finally letters from Gerrit to his mother and other relatives. The similarities and differences between this material and the very polished booklet are remarkable. Gerrit, a self-employed gardener from Andijk in North Holland and quite different from the average communist, was interested primarily in agriculture and noted his observations about that subject in detail. He was also interested in housing. A typical entry in his diary, written on 12 December from frigid Mukden (where

'HOUSE-BOATS ON THE PEARL RIVER IN CANTON', PHOTOGRAPH BY GERRIT DE VRIES, JANUARY 1957 (IISH, BG K88/744)

ACCORDING TO A CAPTION, THE NAMES OF THE PERSONS FEATURED ARE: (BOTTOM ROW, FROM THE LEFT) WANG TSJIAO SJANG, TENG SJIAO PING, DE VRIES, LIO TSJAO TSJI, ANNIE AVERINK, TSJU THE, GERARD MAAS, SJEN JUEN, YANG SJAU KWAN, (TOP ROW) TSJANG WEN WU, LI, TSJUNG FU, TSJAO I MING, LIU NING, LI TSJU LI, JU TSJIN (IISH, BG T2/696).



the temperature had dropped to minus 29° C, or minus 20° F, the previous night) reads: 'In the morning the three of us visited a housing complex. Completed in 1952. Very basic homes. Too basic. In 20 years they will have a housing problem again, as people will be more demanding by then. Now the people are perfectly satisfied with them.' Typical, in that he often starts on a critical note and then mentions a mitigating circumstance. Another example: 'When we arrived in China, the first thing we noticed in the fields were the archaic farming methods and the primitive tools being used. Telling people how to make improvements seemed simple. After a while in China, though, you understand that everything has a reason, and that people are aware that a lot can be improved, but that much of it depends on industrial development.'

➤ Moved Mountains

Our final treasure from the recent auction consists of selected documents by and about Joris Ivens (1898-1989), apparently from the estate of Charles Boost (1907-1990), who became known as an illustrator and an artist for the Roman Catholic daily *De Tijd* – like his brother Wim (Wibo), who drew pictures for the similarly Roman Catholic daily *De Volkskrant*. Before World War II, Charles was also a film critic for the leftist *Groene Amsterdammer* and co-founded the Dutch Film Museum.

Most of our documents concern the production of the motion picture *How Yukong Moved*

Mountains (Comment Yukong déplaça les Montagnes), which Ivens produced together with Marcel-line Loridan. The Ivens Stichting has provided the following description:

'Twelve-part documentary about the Cultural Revolution as the cornerstone of Chinese society. This motion picture, which took Ivens and Loridan four years to produce (from 1972 to 1976), was commissioned by Prime Minister Zhou En-Lai, who hoped to implement a more moderate policy, after the radical and violent early years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which had plunged the Middle Empire into a state of chaos, and about which he nonetheless hoped to convey a favourable impression to the outside world. Ivens and Loridan travelled with young cinematographers across many regions in the country, which was virtually closed to foreigners at the time. They visited factories, an army barracks, villages, communes, cities, a pharmacy, a university, and artists' workshops.

The motion picture seems to have been produced in a *cinéma vérité* style. It features Chinese people speaking at length, spontaneously, and freely, suggesting a true slice of life. Although the people appearing on camera are not lying and sincerely believe what they say, the motion picture does not show the excrescences, executions, famines, forced labourers, and many victims. To many Westerners, this was their first glimpse of a misunderstood empire. They were fascinated. Despite being very long indeed, the

motion picture was broadcast in its entirety on television in many countries.'

The motion picture opened on 10 March 1976 in Paris. On 9 September, however, the death of Mao changed China's political scene dramatically.

➤ Aiding Papuas

Of all Dutch colonial territories, New Guinea is undoubtedly the least represented at the IISH. While the Institute harbours a wealth of knowledge about the former Netherlands East Indies, presently Indonesia (see *On the Waterfront*, 9, 2004, pp 4-6; 12, 2006, pp 4-5; 15, 2007, pp 4-5), we have virtually no source material on its easternmost part.

This area emerged as a separate political unit only when the Netherlands was forced to abandon its 'emerald pearl' (see *On the Waterfront*, 9, 2004 p 11; 5, 2002, pp 6-7). The western part of New Guinea was excluded from the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia in 1950 and effectively remained a Dutch colony until 1962, when it eventually joined Indonesia as a result of international pressure, via an interim government of the United Nations.

A small group of Papua chiefs, who believed that this part of Melanesia had no ties with Indonesia, fled but continued to seek independence. Many ended up in the Netherlands. The body most receptive to their appeal was the foundation *Door de Eeuwen Trouw* (DEET), formed in 1951 by colonial-conservative forces, who had previously struggled in vain for an independent South Moluccan Republic (*Republik Maluku Selatan*, West of New Guinea). While resistance efforts in West Papua claimed many lives, internal dissent soon arose among the Papuas in the Netherlands. The DEET members wanted an independent united Melanesia. Nicolaas Jouwe was willing to settle for less and left the DEET to form the Freedom Committee West-Papua in late 1964. In 1972 several Dutch members, most of them devout Protestants with ties to the missionaries in Indonesia



and West Papua, separated from DDET. They founded a *Stichting Hulp aan Papua's in Nood* (HAPIN), which was dedicated to improving the economic and social-cultural plight of the Papuas through small-scale projects.

The Institute has obtained the archive of this foundation, spanning over two linear metres. Of particular interest are the contacts with the island and with the exiles, who pursued the same objective, but longed for independence as well. The ties between the different exiles figure throughout: who is related to whom, and which obligations do these relations entail (references to the adat – Malayan and Indonesian customary law – outnumber those to the Bible)? Other documents reflect plans of exiles in Papua New Guinea to emigrate to Vanuatu or the Solomon Islands in 1987-1989, grants for Papua students to pursue higher education in Indonesia (including detailed reports, most in Bahasa Indonesia), reports about guerrilla warfare, and of course the Stichting HAPIN's own development projects. Detailed travel logs have been drafted about this work. One, about a journey to Papua New Guinea in 1992, reveals that the line separating development work from support for armed struggle is often a very fine one. Local contacts of HAPIN have contributed beautifully detailed descriptions. Moses Werror, for example, is a town council member in Madang on the North coast, where 18 families from West Papua live. Eleven of these families are unemployed.

About Werror: 'Werror has no luxuries. The same old car (20 years), he sleeps in a cubby hole measuring 1.5 x 2.0 metres. The space has also served as his desk, bookshelf, and private residence for 2 years. He could no longer afford to rent a real home. He wants to purchase a plot of land from the community to build there.'

What We All Scream For

Ethnic occupational specialization is a popular topic among migration historians. Specialists in Greek cuisine and Slovenian miners have figured previously in *On the Waterfront* (13, 2006, pp 8-9; 14, 2007, pp 14-15). One of the best ways for ethnic occupational specialists to retain and strengthen their position is to construct their own history, emphasizing how old and unique the specialization is among the group concerned. Italian ice cream vendors from the Cadore valleys, in the North of the North-Italian province of Belluno, claim that ice cream originated in the Far East. Via circuitous routes, it is believed to have reached Sicily, although according to other lore Marco Polo brought the recipe to Venice. The German union of Italian ice cream makers Unit Eis believes that inhabitants of the Zoldo Valley in Cadore traditionally travelled to Ferrara in the Po Delta to work as confectioners in the winter. Legend has it that one of them spent summers there as well and received the recipe from a Sicilian. Whatever may be true about this tale, in the 1860s the inhabitants of Zoppè from the

Zoldo Valley turned up in Vienna with their ice cream carts. After World War I, Italian 'ice cream vendors' reached the Netherlands as well. The Dutch anthropologist and IISH Friend Frank Bovenkerk (see *On the Waterfront*, 3, 2001, pp 12-14) wrote an interesting account of the course of events with some colleagues in 1983. By the 1930s Italian and Dutch ice cream vendors had become fierce competitors. Back in 1929 the Dutch ones formed a union to eliminate competition from Italian aliens.

From the 1960s the Dutch grew more affluent, and ice cream became increasingly popular. But the competition intensified as well. At this point the Italians took the initiative, and four of them teamed up to highlight the unique quality of their ice cream. On 14 November 1972 they founded the *Coöperatieve Vereniging Italiaanse Ijsbereiders en Ijsalonhouders in Nederland "Ital" UA*. As reflected in the archive that the IISH obtained in the Autumn of 2008, thanks to the good offices of Ital's secretary, the main concern of the Italian ice cream vendors was how they would pre-



DESIGN FOR A 'LABEL FOR SHOP WINDOWS AND THE LIKE' FOR ITAL, PRELIMINARY DESIGN BY K.F. MISSET, JR IN ARNHEM, CA 1972-1973 (IISH, COLLECTION ITAL, MINUTE BOOK II, 'ITAL 1978').

vail against *Ijsfrica*, the Dutch association of ice cream and fried food vendors and cafeteria owners. The Italians had the good sense to join, primarily with a view toward remaining informed about what was happening there and planning their own strategy accordingly. At the general members' meeting of March 1983, it was mentioned that Ijsfrica hoped to organize an advanced ice-cream making course. This provoked the wrath of the Italians, who believed 'that Ital should not assist with a course about specialization, to preserve our cultural heritage.

[...] Because of historical cultural tradition, Italian ice cream makers will not compromise on ice cream quality, although their Dutch counterparts will.' Years later, however, they appear to have achieved a *modus vivendi*. The journal *Horeca Nederland* (No 1 from 1997) reflects that *Ijsfrica* has become a section of

Horeca Nederland. A small group of traditional ice cream makers, as they called themselves, established their own foundation, which they named *Het Ijsbereiders Gilde* [ice cream makers' guild]. History still sells! In that same issue, we also learn that Ital, which by now has 27 members, has remained distinctive. Their great trump is

that their figurehead Edi Granucci from Wageningen has been awarded the prestigious Coppa d'Oro at the international fair in Longarone, where all self-respecting owners of Italian ice cream parlours convene every winter. His explanation is simple: 'I still use the same recipe as my father did seventy years ago.'

Report of the General Friends' Meeting, 22 January 2009

- For the first time in the history of the Friends, which held its first meeting almost nine years ago (*On the Waterfront*, 1/2, 2000-2001, p 3), Mieke IJzermans is unable to attend because of family obligations. She sends her regards to the Friends and will certainly be back by the next meeting. Apologies have also been received from our publisher Ben Scharloo, as well as from Piet Hagens and Arthur Stam. This is also the last meeting at which our Friend-from-the-start Liesbeth Laman-Meyer is present as a member of the Board. The Friends thank her for her extended and dedicated efforts on their behalf.
- After the distribution of our latest issue, *On the Waterfront* 17, those present receive a copy of this year's gift, *Het Socialistenboek*, on the history of socialism in the Netherlands. It is richly illustrated, mainly from the collections of the Institute. Friends not present will receive a copy by post.
- Two important new faces are introduced to the Friends: the new director, Erik-Jan Zürcher, and the new information officer, Aukje Lettinga. Erik-Jan explains the major issues ahead, including the public relations plan for which Aukje has recently been appointed.

Aukje holds an MA in history from Leiden University as well as degrees in public relations (including a traineeship at Hill and Knowlton and at job at Christie's, both in Amsterdam), and will assist the Friends in the years to come. As a newcomer she has already shared some valuable observations and suggestions, and we will be hearing more from her. Useful remarks in the discussions on this subject also came from Bert Altena, one of the Friends. At our next meeting we will present some concrete plans.

- Membership figures are fairly stable. There have been some gains and some losses, and we will report about them in more detail next time, when Mieke is with us again. One member has asked to convert an annual membership into a lifetime one. This request has been granted with pleasure because of her exceptional merits for the Friends.
- The financial results of the Friends (see p 15) show the same stability as the membership. Additional donations exceeded 4,000 euros, the majority of which have been earmarked toward purchasing rare Chinese posters. The Director of the Institute has spent the 2008 gift from the Friends on three projects: an update and restyling of our website on Rus-

sian Archives (7,000 euros, see www.iish.nl/abb); a recording of pre-1965 communist songs in Indonesia, which has nearly been concluded (2,000 euros); and reproduction equipment for an oral history project in Sudan (3,256 euros). The budget for 2009 closely resembles that of 2008, and 10,000 euros will be made available for the Institute. The Director has gratefully accepted this amount and will present ideas about how to spend it in due time.

- The planned legal transformation of the Friends of the IISH into an independent Foundation (see *On the Waterfront*, 17, 2009, p 15) is still under consideration; all the benefits and drawbacks will be discussed at our next meeting.
- Coming up: the nineteenth meeting will take place on Thursday 25 June 2009 (lecture topic: Financial Crises throughout History) and the twentieth on Thursday 7 January 2010 (topic: Representations of Nature and Environment). In November 2010 the Institute will celebrate its 75th anniversary, to which the Friends will pay tribute as well.

FINANCIAL RESULTS FOR 2008 AND BUDGET FOR 2009

	FINANCIAL RESULTS		BUDGET	FINANCIAL RESULTS		BUDGET
	AS OF 31-12-2007		FOR 2008	AS OF 31-12-2008		FOR 2009
	€	€	€	€	€	€
OPENING BALANCE		16.744,68	21.879,27		21.879,27	23.625,30
REVENUES						
Dues	10.107,33		9.000,00	8.898,70		9.000,00
Donation M. Nienhuis	7.000,00			1.244,94		
Donation Krader	87.280,11					
Grant AD-Druk	4.000,00		4.000,00	4.000,00		4.000,00
Other donations	0,00			846,49		
Revenues exhibition Chinese posters	0,00			2.000,00		
Adverting revenues	240,00		240,00	240,00		240,00
Other revenues	450,00					
Rente	47,69		50,00	16,21		50,00
TOTAL REVENUES		<u>109.125,13</u>	<u>13.290,00</u>		<u>17.246,34</u>	<u>13.290,00</u>
EXPENDITURES						
<i>Publishing costs</i>						
On the Waterfront June	3.741,30		4.000,00	3.401,61		4.000,00
On the Waterfront December	<u>3.741,15</u>		<u>4.000,00</u>	<u>3.401,61</u>		<u>4.000,00</u>
		7.482,45	8.000,00		6.803,22	8.000,00
<i>Grant issued</i>						
IISH, Chinese Posters, MN	2.564,06		4.435,94	1.645,57		4.084,81
IISH, Chinese Posters Kunsthal				700,00		1.300,00
IISH, donation Krader	87.280,11					
IISH, collections 2007	6.000,00			-6.000,00		
IISH, collections 2008			6.000,00			
IISH, collections 2009						10.000,00
Website Russian Archives				7.000,00		
Collection Indonesian militant songs				2.000,00		
Photographic equipment Sudan				<u>3.256,02</u>		
		95.844,17	10.435,94		8.601,59	15.384,81
<i>General administrative expenditures</i>						
Public relations	663,92		250,00	95,50		250,00
Banking costs and exchange differences	<u>0,00</u>		<u>50,00</u>	<u>0,00</u>		<u>50,00</u>
		663,92	300,00		95,50	300,00
TOTAL EXPENDITURES		<u>103.990,54</u>	<u>18.735,94</u>		<u>15.500,31</u>	<u>23.684,81</u>
CLOSING BALANCE		<u>21.879,27</u>	<u>16.433,33</u>		<u>23.625,30</u>	<u>13.230,49</u>
BREAKDOWN CLOSING BALANCE						
Bank balance		26.210,57			21.995,87	
Still payable to IISH 2007		-6.000,00			0,00	
Still payable to IISH for Chinese posters		0,00			-1.645,57	
Outstanding publishing costs		-1.566,30			-1.500,00	
Contributions to be received from Friends		2.275,00			3.575,00	
Advertising revenues to be received		960,00			1.200,00	
		<u>21.879,27</u>			<u>23.625,30</u>	

Lectures by Marcel van der Linden and Ulbe Bosma on the research on Global Labour History at the Institute

GLOBAL LABOUR
HISTORY
(MARCEL VAN DER
LINDEN)

Since the IISH was established in 1935, social historiography has been approached as a deliberate effort to shed light on social contrasts and as such to further social emancipation. In the first issue of the *International Review of Social History* (1936) Director Nicolaas Posthumus expressed hope that the Institute and the journal would bring about 'more structure, more knowledge, and more insight' and would 'perhaps' even contribute to 'a deeper, more complete understanding of our era.' This pre-scholarly principle inspires us to this day.

Posthumus's broad interpretation of the 'social history' concept remains valid as well, although his interpretation at the time was heavily influenced by what would nowadays be described as 'methodological nationalism' and 'Eurocentrism.' Posthumus argued that 'social history encompasses the history of the groups, social layers and classes of a nation, insofar as they have a fairly clearly defined economic subsistence base.' In social history, he believed that 'the relation of the parts of a nation to the whole, or the way the individual parts related to one another, was of the utmost importance.' Social inequalities and cohesive elements, provided they were economically justified (!), thus became the centre of attention during the early years.

These areas of interest were long manifested primarily by the collection policy. Until the mid 1980s little research was conducted at the IISH, except for some excellent source publications. The first re-

organization (1984-1986) augured the start of more expansive and more systematic research, leading to the official establishment of a research department in 1993. The new department was assigned the following objectives:

1. Developing an independent research programme reflecting an international orientation.
2. Elaborating this research programme on the one hand via research by Institute staff and on the other hand by forming multinational research teams.

These objectives have gradually been accomplished. During the early years research focused primarily on internationally-comparative studies concerning 'classical' labour history – this primarily entailed examining types of organizations and action by 19th and 20th-century labour movements in industrialized nations, Eastern Europe, and a few 'settler colonies' (such as Argentina and South Africa).¹ These early research activities were clearly flawed with respect to research question, methodology, and spatial and chronological circumscription. Nonetheless, their broad, innovative scope made for coverage in professional journals, and the published results are used by colleagues to this day.

By the first half of the 1990s,

some shortcomings in the early research activities became clear:

- failure to address large parts of the world (especially Asia and Africa) meant that cases did not cover as broad a variety as possible, and several transnational processes went unidentified
- the dominant interest in the period after 1800 made long-term and very long-term trends impossible to identify
- the main areas of interest were

labour relations and political conduct of wage-dependent individuals, rather than their family relationships and social-cultural networks

- international comparisons focused mainly on contrasts between national cases and rarely culminated in verifiable hypotheses.

Since the early 1990s, research activities may be perceived largely as a gradual effort to devise convincing responses to these four problems.

- Development of a more global and less Eurocentric approach was facilitated by the IISH activities undertaken in the late 1980s regarding Turkey and the Middle East. This trend in the collections was followed by increased research interest in the 'Third World,' especially in South and Southeast Asia.² Asian history has now become an integral part of the IISH.
- Early modern history now elicits considerably greater interest, as manifested by projects regarding migration, guilds, and women's labour in the 16th to 18th centuries.
- The scope has been expanded from individuals to include families/households deploying a 'repertoire' of 'strategies' to ensure subsistence and the gender aspects inherent in such repertoires. Research on security provisions as one of the possible family strategies has been equally important.
- The need for hypothesis-verifying comparisons has led to the construction of large databases for quantitative analysis of some research questions. Examples include the Historical Sample of the Netherlands (and the comparison with related data

in Taiwan) and the ongoing worldwide inventory of prices and wages. Construction of a transnational occupational classification system (HISCO) is a parallel effort. In a slightly different field, a global study is in progress of occupational groups: first longshoremen, then textile workers, probably prostitutes in the near future. There is also the comparative study of guilds in Europe, Africa, and Asia.

We hope to continue our research along the present course. The need to devise a 'global' perspective is becoming increasingly clear.

Two tacit principles have long prevailed in our discipline. I mentioned them above in passing: methodological nationalism and Eurocentrism.

Methodological nationalism links society and state and therefore regards the different nation states as Leibnizean Monads of historical research. Eurocentrism entails a mental order of the world that emanates from the North Atlantic region: the 'modern' era begins in Europe and spreads gradually all over the world; the temporality of this core area determines the periodization of developments in the rest of the world. Historians have reconstructed the history of the working classes and labour movements in France, Great Britain, the United States, and the like as separate developments. Any observations they made about the classes and movements in Latin America, Africa, or Asia over the course of history were interpreted according to North Atlantic classifications.

Methodological nationalists make two seriously flawed inferences. First, they naturalize the nation state, in that they regard the nation state as the basic analytical unit of historical research. Even though they acknowledge that nation states came to fruition only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they nonetheless interpret history before that period as *history preceding* the subsequent nation state and regard cross-border processes or processes that compromised

borders as contaminations of the 'pure' model. This reflects a teleology that we will need to discard altogether. From a global perspective, the existence of nation states remains an essential feature of the modern world system, albeit one that needs to be thoroughly historicized and to be perceived in cohesion with subnational, supranational, and transnational aspects. Second, methodological nationalists believe that society and state are connected in the sense of societies overlapping geographically with nation states. The United States has its own society, Mexico has its own society, China has its own society, and so on. Here too, an entirely new approach is needed. *Eurocentrism* exists in at least two versions. The *first* version is *neglect*: only part of the world receives consideration; the author takes the liberty of writing the history of 'his' part of the world without paying attention to the rest. This attitude manifests in the distinction between 'the West' and 'the Rest,' as mentioned by Samuel Huntington and others. The *second* version is *prejudice*: authors observe global contexts but nonetheless believe that Greater Europe (which also encompasses the United States, Canada, and Australia) sets the course. This Eurocentrism figures among modernization theoreticians.

The aim at the IISH is to further a new historiographical approach without methodological nationalism and Eurocentrism. Its limited resources, however, necessitate curtailing the research scope. Within this restricted scope, the IISH focuses on a cohesive programme of (1) data collection, (2) conceptualization, (3) theorization, (4) empirical research, and (5) transcontinental scholarly collaboration.

The IISH research is dedicated to Global Labour History. We envisage this process as follows:

- Regarding *methodological status*, I would suggest that an area of interest is what matters, not a theory to which everyone is expected to subscribe. The research accommodates different

views and approaches – and that is the way it should be. Pluralism may be very intellectually rewarding, provided that we are willing to take each other seriously and work together.

- *Thematically*, Global Labour History addresses transnational and even transcontinental study of labour relations and labour movements in the broadest possible sense. 'Transnational' means that we try to consider even the tiniest geographical units in a far broader context, through comparisons, studies of interactions with other units, or a combination of the two.

Labour relations denote both free and unfree labour and both paid and unpaid work. Labour movements comprise formal organizations and informal activities. Both in research on labour relations and in research on labour movements, the counterparts (entrepreneurs, authorities, etc.) merit serious consideration. Male and female workers are viewed not as isolated entities but as parts of households and broader social networks. Gender relations figure prominently within these households, networks, labour relations, and movements.

- Regarding the *period*, Global Labour History is not intrinsically subject to chronological restrictions, although I would advocate on practical grounds that such research focus for the time being on developments since the fourteenth century (rise of world capitalism). Earlier periods may of course be examined as well, for example to enable comparisons (e.g. slavery in the Roman Empire and in the Caribbean).

Overall, this exercise is highly ambitious and has only just started. Global Labour History study will need to overcome various obstacles to thrive as a field of scholarship. Such obstacles include practical problems, for example the absence in many countries of the Global South of archives that have proper climate control facilities and engage in active acquisition. I will not elaborate on these techni-

cal difficulties here (although we will be happy to address them in the discussion).

With respect to substance, we will require new concepts. All core terms from traditional labour history are based primarily on experiences in the North Atlantic region and should therefore be scrutinized. This holds true for the concept of 'labour' as such. In the most important Western languages (English, Spanish, French, Italian, etc.), a dichotomy exists between 'labour' and 'work,' where 'labour' seems to denote strenuous exertion and toil, while 'work' is more likely to refer to creative processes. This binary pair of words – to which a philosopher such as Hannah Arendt has attributed sweeping analytical consequences – does not exist in many other languages. Some do not even have a word for 'labour' or 'work,' because these terms are abstracted from the specific features of individual labour processes. We will therefore need to assess carefully whether the concepts 'labour' and 'work' are useful in transcultural respects, and we will at least need to define their content far more precisely than we ordinarily would. Where does 'labour' start, and where does it end? How do we distinguish 'labour' from 'work,' or is that distinction less obvious than is often believed?

The term 'working class' merits intense scrutiny as well. It appears to have been devised in the nineteenth century to distinguish a specific group of 'respectable' wage earners from slaves and other unfree workers, the small business owners (the 'petit bourgeoisie'), and the poor outcasts, the *lumpenproletariat*. For all kinds of reasons that exceed the scope of this lecture, this circumscription would not work in the Global South. The social groups that are quantitatively insignificant from the perspective of Old and New Labour History – the exceptions confirm the rule – set the standard in large parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We will need to devise a new conceptualization focused less on excluding than

on including dependent working groups and to acknowledge that pure wage workers are only one way of mobilizing labour in capitalist systems. Other forms merit equal consideration, such as slaves, contract workers, *métayage*, etc.

The need to reconsider our theoretical and methodological principles has not deterred us from taking on empirical research at the same time. Presumably, the opposite is true: the interaction between conceptual innovation and exploratory research may enable us to construct Global Labour History.

We can channel research activities at various levels. First, there is data collection, which comprises two interrelated tasks.

- One is gathering large sets of quantitative and qualitative data about matters such as the global structure of the working population, actual wages, demographic changes, and labour movements.
 - The other is reconciling all these data by devising techniques for comparing different historical and geographic contexts. One example is the HISCO project (historical classification of occupations). In this project the thousand most common occupational titles of men and women have thus far been codified for eight countries for the period 1670-1970 (Canada plus seven European countries). Additional codifications are in progress for Colombia, New Zealand, Russia, and the United States, while India is under development, and Portugal and Spain are nearly ready.
- The second level at which we may operate is of course conducting genuine historical research. Two approaches are possible here as well for the time being.
- One involves comparing different parts of the world. For example, brick-makers in Europe, India, and Russia (Jan Lucassen), longshoremen in twenty countries (Lex Heerma van Voss).
 - The other is to reveal interactions between different world

regions to answer questions that were not even asked until recently. An infinite range of research questions may arise from the new approach. Examples include research on what are known as commodity chains and the current project *People, Plants and Work*, which Ulbe Bosma will be describing below in more detail.

Global Labour History will not only enable us to perceive transcontinental developments in their mutual context. It will also shed new light on the past of our own regions. The objective will be to elevate Old and New Labour History in a new approach that places the wealth of insights we have already acquired in a different and broader context. This will enhance our ability to comprehend and explain the world.

1. The following publications are representative: Frits L. van Holthoorn and Marcel van der Linden (eds), *Internationalism in the Labour Movement, 1830-1940*, 2 volumes (Leiden: Brill, 1988); Marcel van der Linden and Jürgen Rojahn (eds), *The Formation of Labour Movements, 1870-1914*, 2 volumes (Leiden: Brill, 1990); Marcel van der Linden (ed.), *Social Security Mutualism. The Comparative History of Mutual Benefit Societies* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1995).
2. Representative publications include: Marcel van der Linden and Jan Lucassen (eds), *Racism and the Labour Market: Historical Studies* (Bern, 1995); Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (eds), *Migration, Migration History, History* (Bern, 1997; reprinted 1999); Tom Brass and Marcel van der Linden (eds), *Free and Unfree Labour: The Debate Continues* (Bern, 1997); Marcel van der Linden and Richard Price (eds), *The Rise and Development of Collective Labour Law* (Bern, 2000); Willem van Schendel, 'Working Through Partition: Making a Living in the Bengal Borderlands', in: Arvind N. Das and Marcel van der Linden (eds), *Work and Social Change in Asia. Essays in Honour of Jan Breman* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2003), 55-89;

Ulbe Bosma and Roger Knight, 'Global Factory and Local Field: Convergence and Divergence in the International Cane-Sugar Industry, 1850-1940', *International Review of Social History*, 49 (2004), 1-25; Rebecca Elmhirst and Ratna Saptari (eds), *Labour in Southeast Asia. Local Processes in a Globalised World* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004); G.K. Lieten, Ravi Srivastava and Sukhadeo Thorat (eds), *Small Hands in South Asia. Child Labour in Perspective* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2004).

3. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958).



WORKING FOR THE
WORLD
(ULBE BOSMA)

The IISH *Working for the World* project is part of the Global Labour History focus. Although this project is about sugar, tobacco, and indigo production in India and on Java, an extension to coffee and tea is under development. It also relates closely to the IISH project about oil production in Iran, as well as to an interesting one on global diamond processing and trading, which still awaits funding. All these studies disclose interactions between labour relations in different parts of the world.

Sugar, tea, and coffee were luxury commodities in the early modern period but became consumer items for the working masses during the industrial revolution. In the seventeenth century sugar was a luxury commodity purported to have curative attributes and was sold by pharmacists. By the industrial revolution, workers were consuming cups of coffee with sugar daily. Changing labour relations and paces of work gave rise to new patterns of consumption, which in turn led to massive cultivation of tropical crops in other parts of the world. This practice often involved coercion and even slavery.

This takes us to my own contribution to the IISH Global La-

bour History research, which is about sugar cane production. No item is more connected with slavery than sugar cane. The largest sugar cane producers (Brazil and Cuba) used slaves until the end of the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century, most sugar in Europe was imported from the Caribbean. After the uprising by Toussaint L'Ouverture on Haiti, however, and the prohibition of the slave trade by the British Parliament in 1807, India and Indonesia entered the scene. Both were populous, fertile regions suitable for cultivating sugar, as well as indigo, coffee, and tea. As a result, social relations in Indian and Indonesian societies experienced dramatic changes, which lasted until long after both countries became independent.

My central research question is why Java became the biggest global exporter of sugar made from sugar cane after Cuba during the nineteenth century, while British India, where sugar cane had been grown in unequalled quantities since time immemorial, never gained any leverage on the global market. The knowledge that the Dutch used equipment built in England, English and Scottish engineers, and in some cases even British capital to develop sugar production on Java makes this difference still more remarkable. India even had two major advan-

tages over Java. In the nineteenth century price competition on the global markets intensified, and profit margins were small. In India, labour was somewhat less costly than on Java, and India was closer to Europe. On Java the social and ecological conditions for mass production of sugar cane must therefore have been substantially superior to those in India.

Comparing India with Java therefore raises several questions about which social relations and ecological conditions are important for sugar cane production. This also brings us to the core of the well-known forced farming system (1830-1870), which was buttressed by close co-operation between the colonial system and the indigenous elite. The convergence of labour and capital on Java during the nineteenth century was unique. The greatest success of the forced farming system – at least if we may describe it as such – was that early in the nineteenth century the foundation was established for the 180 sugar factories that dominated Java's colonial economy in the twentieth century. Each factory was at the centre of a circle with a radius of a few kilometres, from where sugar cane could be obtained without competition from other factories. The entire system was devised by Count Johannes van den Bosch, whose adminis-

WOMEN
PLANTING NEW
SUGAR CANE
PLANTS, FROM
DE SUIKER-
FABRIEKEN
WATOETOELIS
EN POPPOH IN
BEELD, THE
HAGUE, 1926,
IISH LIBRARY,
EHB 251/B/29



TRADITIONAL GRINDING FEAST, HELD IN THE FACTORY HALL BEFORE THE START OF THE SUGAR CANE CAMPAIGNS, FROM DE SUIKER-FABRIEKEN WATOETOELIS EN POPPOH IN BEELD, THE HAGUE, 1926, IISH LIBRARY, EHB 251/B/29

trative experience and familiarity with the Caribbean, as well as his experience as a land owner near Batavia, made him an expert on sugar production.

Shortly before leaving for the Dutch East Indies to serve as governor general there, Count van den Bosch had explained to King William I that a sugar factory required a steady and regular supply of sugar cane, which needed to be processed within 48 hours. He had also observed that the sugar cane grown in the *sawahs* in the fertile eastern corner of Java was superior to what came from the dry soil near Batavia, which had been the hub of sugar production thus far. Van den Bosch signed sugar contracts with entrepreneurs who agreed to process sugar cane into sugar and subsequently sell the sugar to the government warehouses at rates set in advance. He made the government civil servants – both the European and the indigenous ones – pivotal in this system. They identified the *dessas* near the sugar factory expected to plant sugar cane on part of their *sawahs* (irrigated lands) every year.

Dessa residents received a modest planting fee. At first they were responsible for transporting the sugar cane to the factory as well. After repeated objections, however, the colonial government made the sugar contractors, who were making a fortune anyway, pay for this transport, as well as for factory labour.

In the *Working for the World* research project, labour and other relations in and around the factory are an important area of interest. The vast IISH archive is especially useful here. Consulting the surveys and studies conducted by the colonial authorities at the time – in some cases at the request of the nationalist movement – sheds light on the social relations. Much of this material has been processed for research purposes at the IISH. We also have lovely visual sources, which are indispensable for this study. Literature from the colonial period ordinarily refers to Javanese farmers, possibly giving contemporary readers the impression that these farmers were all men. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Women and sometimes even children planted and tended new sugar cane plants. Cutting the sugar cane, however, was hard work and was often done by migrant workers from different parts of Java. Until narrow-gauge railways were built between the fields and the factories, a special class of cart pullers, who often owned their carts, was responsible for transporting the sugar cane. In the factories the most important European and Javanese workers held permanent positions. They were the small and – from the perspective of the sugar manufacturers – highly strategic workers' elite, who during the twentieth-century sugar campaigns expanded into a labour force of one million. The indigenous aristocracy and village chiefs invited at the start of the sugar campaign to the traditional grinding feast in the factory hall were of equal strategic importance. They were expected to ensure 'peace and tranquillity' and possibly to prevent angry farmers or workers from setting the sugar cane ablaze. This danger was by no means hypothetical.