



On the Waterfront

newsletter of the friends of the IISH 2015 no. 29



international institute
of social history

**Exhibition in
St.Petersburg**
The Russian Family

Dersim
Kurds and Zazas

**Social History of
India**
A Personal Account

Introduction

Cover photo:
see page 12

Only a selection of the many events at the IISH during the previous six months can be highlighted here. The centennial anniversary of the NEHA seems to be the obvious place to start. A century is a respectable age for this institution with which the IISH is so closely linked, and the celebration took place in respectable surroundings. On 27 June the community of economic historians convened at the Trippenhuys for a festive gathering. Two foreign celebrities with strong ties to the Netherlands, Jan de Vries and Joel Mokyr, delivered a magnificent account of advances in the discipline. A broader account appeared in the special issue of *TSEG* (Vol. 11, No. 2), published in recognition of this anniversary. This issue also related trends in the discipline of social history.

Milestones relating to the future of the IISH included the large grant awarded by the NWO on 1 July to a consortium of institutions for the CLARIAH project: Common Lab Research Infrastructure for the Arts and Humanities. The IISH figures prominently in this consortium, together with Utrecht University, in the component addressing economic and social history. While this introduction does not accommodate a more extensive description, the prominent role of the IISH in this digital world is certainly essential for the future.

I will conclude with two staff transitions. The first is that Leo Lucassen has joined us as director of research, officially from 1 September 2014. Soon after he arrived, he drafted some interesting ideas about the course of research. The Friends will definitely be hearing more about them.

The second change is that Willem van Schendel has retired. Involved in research and collection development about Asia since 1996, he worked closely with Eef Vermeij, Emile Schwidder, and Kathinka Sinha-Kerkhoff to chart new horizons in knowledge and collections. On 13

November he delivered a fascinating farewell lecture at the Old Lutheran Church. Fortunately, he will not be severing all ties with the IISH.

This issue features a report on the opening of the exhibition sponsored by the Friends in St. Petersburg *Together and Apart*, the presentations of collections on 19 June 2014, and the lecture at that occasion by Jan Lucassen about work in India.

This issue ends, sadly enough, with an in memoriam for Bart Hageraats.

Huub Sanders

About the Friends

Members of the Friends of the IISH pay annual dues of 100 or 500 euros or join with a lifetime donation of 1,500 euros or more. In return, members are invited to semi-annual sessions featuring presentations of IISH acquisitions and guest speakers. These guest speakers deliver lectures on their field of research, which need not be related to the IISH collection. The presentation and lecture are followed by a reception. 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 N.W. Posthumus (1880-1960) in the 1930s. For the past two decades, two of the institutions established by this 'history entrepreneur' have operated from the same premises: the Netherlands Economic History Archive founded in 1914 and the International Institute of Social History, which is now 80 years old. Both institutes continue to collect, although the 'subsidiary' IISH has grown considerably larger than its 'parent' NEHA. Additional information about the Institute may be found in Jaap Kloosterman and Jan Lucassen, *Rebels with a Cause: Five Centuries of Social History Collected by the IISH* (Amsterdam 2010). For all information concerning the Friends, see <http://socialhistory.org/en/friends>*

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From all Nooks and Crannies

Together and Apart.

The Urban Family in Russia in the Twentieth Century.

An IISH exhibition on Russian social history in St. Petersburg
18 September - 18 November 2014, extended to 7 December 2014.

After featuring successfully at the State Architectural Museum in Moscow in September-November 2013, the IISH exhibition *Together and Apart. The Urban Family in Russia in the Twentieth Century* has now moved to St. Petersburg. It may be viewed at the Museum for the History of St. Petersburg in the Peter and Paul Fortress, situated in the historic city centre, until 7 December 2014.

The exhibition was motivated by the desire to present the results of IISH research available to a broader audience and is based on studies conducted in 2002-2005 by a Dutch-Russian research team in Moscow with financial support from the Friends of the International Institute of Social History. *Together and Apart* premiered as a twin exhibition with *The Soviet Myth*, the overview of socialist realist painting at the Drents Museum in Assen, in 2012-2013 (see *On the Waterfront* 2013 no.26 15-16.). It revealed everyday life in the Soviet century from the perspective of the family.

Together and Apart was designed from the outset as an exhibition catering to Russian audiences as well. Russians were involved in the project from its very inception, from the research that served as the foundation through the making of the actual exhibition. Nevertheless, staging the exhibition in Russia was a challenge. Given Russia's sensitive and traumatic past, our peripheral approach could easily have backfired with a Russian audience.

These apprehensions turned out to be unfounded, as the exhibition was almost universally well-received. Incorporating several elements recognizable to Russian audiences in the exhibition was pivotal in achieving this outcome. The centerpiece consisted of nine family histories from the twentieth century in portraits from family albums. Scanned at high resolution and presented on large banners, they serve as cornerstones for the accompanying stories, as told by the current owner of the family photo album. In addition, two compilations of fragments from Soviet and Russian feature films aimed to capture two aspects that do not ordinarily figure in family photographs: the 'man-meets-woman' moment and household work and daily chores. A selection of objects from daily life provides a material timeline of twentieth-century social history.

In Moscow, the exhibition comprised a section dedicated entirely to housing and housing conditions, developed together with the Schusev State



Architectural Museum. In St. Petersburg the vast holdings of the Museum for the History of St. Petersburg were tapped to turn the material timeline of objects into a central element in the exhibition, including a reconstruction of a 1960s Soviet interior.

The results of the IISH research on which the exhibition was based were presented in a large three-screen projection conveying the impact of Russia's turbulent twentieth century history on the family and family formation. The projection combines photos, infographics by Gerd Arntz, and brief texts to make the results of statistical analysis and research easily accessible.

In a joint effort with the Netherlands Institute in St. Petersburg, a roundtable was convened with experts from Moscow and St. Petersburg on 'The Family in Russia in the Twentieth Century: Past, Present and Visual Culture.' Gijs Kessler participated in this event with a video-lecture. He presented the main research results the exhibition aims to highlight and explained how the makers had tried to achieve this objective.

The Museum of the History of St. Petersburg teamed up with Metro-news, circulating an invitation to people from St. Petersburg to submit their family photos, which would be published in the newspaper and simultaneously featured at the exhibition. The photos were also uploaded to a Facebook page dedicated to the exhibition and commented upon by curator Gijs Kessler with a view toward devising an online format for recording the family histories behind these pictures. The ultimate goal is to develop a platform to disclose such testimonies as a web exhibition.

IISH Director Henk Wals at the opening of the St. Petersburg exhibition, 18 September 2014

Together and Apart was made possible thanks to generous support from the SNS REAAL funds, the Committee of Culture of St. Petersburg, the Mondriaan fonds, the Wilhelmina E. Jansen fonds, the Drents Museum, the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Netherlands

Institute in St. Petersburg, and the Friends of the Institute of Social History (GKe).

Additional links:

<http://www.facebook.com/vmeste.vroz> (in Russian)

Twenty-ninth Friends' Day

19 June 2014

Presentation of the Acquisitions

Paul Mattick (1904-1981)

If the IISH archival inventories consulted the most frequently during a recent year (e.g. 2011) turned out to be those of Marx, Kautsky, or the CNT, nobody would be surprised. At the top of the list for both 2010 and 2011, however, is the inventory of Paul Mattick (see <http://socialhistory.org/nl/node/1676>). That he does not figure among the best-known leftist thinkers is most likely because Mattick espoused council communism, a movement that was far from dominant within the labour movement.

Paul Mattick was born to a communist family in Berlin in 1904. His father was active in the Spartacus League. At age 14, in the emotionally charged year 1918, Paul, an apprentice tool maker at Siemens at the time, joined the Freie Sozialistische Jugend. During the years of near-revolution in Germany, Mattick was delegated to the workers' council of Siemens. In this period he became more radical, was arrested several times, and eventually joined the KAPD, following the 'Heidelberg split' of the KPD in October 1919. Within the KAPD he worked for the youth organization and the journal *Rote Jugend*. In 1921 he was active at the Klöckner-Werke in Cologne. Once again, he was arrested several times and did not continue in any form of regular employment. Paul Mattick automatically became a career revolutionary for the KAPD and the Allgemeine Arbeiterunion. His encounter with Jan Appel, who steered him toward council communism, marked this period in his development. In 1926 Appel fell in with the group of H. Canne-Meijer and Pannekoek's GIC. And Mattick later took an intense and active interest in Pannekoek's views. As the revolutionary fervour subsided in Germany, and he was unable to obtain work, Mattick chose to emigrate. In 1926, he moved to the United States, settling in Chicago, where he joined the vibrant radical labour movement. Mattick was active in the rww, operated in leftist Leninist groups, but once again turned to council communism. In Chicago he and his group published the journal *Living Marxism. International council correspondence*. The American council communists maintained close ties with their Dutch and German political kindred spirits. Intellectual endeavours were a natural comple-

ment to political ones. In the 1930s Mattick took an intense interest in Marx's economic theories, after becoming inspired by the work of the Marxist economist Henryk Grossmann (1881-1950). Grossmann worked in Frankfurt from 1925 to 1933 at the Institut für Sozialforschung (IFS). Karl Korsch, who co-founded this Institute in 1923, was a regular contributor to *Living Marxism*. Little surprise, therefore, that Mattick connected with the IFS, which had transferred to New York, after Hitler seized power. In 1936 he wrote a lengthy sociological study about the American movement of the unemployed, originally intending to publish it in the 'Institut's' *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*. The text remained within the premises of the IFS and was published separately only in 1969 (see Paul Mattick, *Arbeitslosigkeit und Arbeitslosenbewegung in den USA, 1929-1935*, Frankfurt, 1969). The 'Institut' was said to be concerned that this radical study might offend its hosts in the New World. In 1942 Mattick lectured there. That

Paul Mattick
ca.1969



same year, in New York, he met Ilse Hamm (1919-2009). They became inseparable, had their son Paul in 1944, and were married a year later.

After the end of the Second World War, with the rise of McCarthyism, the left wing was forced onto the defensive in the United States. Mattick retreated to the countryside. He subsisted from publications that appeared irregularly. In the 1950s he devoted his intellectual energies to a critique of J.M. Keynes. That this work was published only in 1969 was probably no coincidence (see Paul Mattick, *Marx and Keynes; the limits of the mixed economy*, Boston: P. Sargent 1969). Mattick is part of the generation of thinkers rediscovered by the 1960s student movement. His correspondence from those years is a sampling of the generation that the students staging protests turned to for guidance. Individuals such as Lelio Basso, Karl Korsch of course, Herbert Marcuse, and Barrington Moore figured prominently.

IISH staff member Götz Langkau was closely involved in Mattick and his work. He signed off on the inventory of Mattick's personal papers at the IISH, as he did on those of Karl Korsch. Götz helped publish the works of Karl Korsch as well. We know that Götz corresponded with Ilse Mattick and Paul Mattick Jr in 1981 from an addition to Mattick's personal papers that the IISH received in 2013, and that have led us to highlight this collection. The addition was donated by Gary Roth, a researcher at Rutgers University. Roth, who took his PhD at the Freie Universität in Berlin in 1982, collected these documents for the biography of Paul Mattick, which he will publish with Brill in 2015. Everything has now come full circle, although the correct marxist interpretation of this remark would exceed the scope available here. (H5a)

Dersim

In Central Turkey (see the small map) lies a region that the central government long left untouched. This was certainly the case under the sultans but also remained so for a long time under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. This region was originally known as Dersim but now appears under the politically neutral name Tunceli. Inhabited by Alevi Kurds and Zazas, local customs and clan loyalties dominated in this region. This situation was obviously highly unsatisfactory for the new Turkish Republic, which from the 1930s increasingly instrumentalized internal rivalries to establish control over the area. Parallel to or possibly even instigated by this process of incipient Turkish national unification, Kurdish nationalist ideas propagated throughout the region. In 1936 the province was placed under military government, resulting in an uprising and immediate military intervention. In 1937 and 1938 approximately 10 percent of the population was executed. An official report at the historical department of the Turkish armed forces lists 8,000 victims. In addition, approximately 12,000 people were driven to places in Central or Western Turkey. Children of perished insurgents were placed in families of Turkish officers. This deliberate Turkification policy has been labelled ethnocide by Maarten



In red Dersim province

van Bruinessen, a Kurdish studies specialist and assembler of an important IISH collection of Kurdish materials (see: Van Bruinessen, M., 'The Suppression of the Dersim Rebellion in Turkey (1937-38),' in: George J. Andreopoulos (Ed.), *Conceptual and historical dimensions of genocide* (Philadelphia, Penn., 1994), pp. 141-170.

Although the uprising was suppressed, a rebellious undercurrent persisted in Dersim. In the mountains of this region support for the DHKP/C, TKP/B, TKP/ML, and PKK guerrillas remained relatively strong in the 1980s and 90s. Following the military coup of 1980, the regime appointed former General Kemal Güven as the new governor, and the new strategy was to gain the support of the population. His mission was to 'convince' the people of Dersim that they were not originally Kurds and Zazas but in fact Turkomans, who had moved from Central Asia to Anatolia centuries ago. He organized countless activities, courses, and gatherings to prove this. In addition, he arranged for all social, community, and political activities and scenes from the everyday lives of the inhabitants to be recorded on photographs and videos. Following the general elections in 1987, Kemal Güven was replaced by a civilian governor. The collection he had started disappeared from public view. There were rumours that he kept it in his home, or that it had been destroyed. But according to other rumours, the collection still existed. IISH staff member Zilfikar



Özdoğan discovered that the collection was held by Mesut Özcan. Mesut Özcan owned the Kalan publishing company and the journal *Munzur* in Ankara. 'Munzur' is the name of a well-known river in Dersim. After lengthy negotiations, Zülfikar Özdoğan acquired the collection for the IISH. Financial support from the Friends was indispensable to this end.

School-children in Dersim 1980s

The collection comprises about 100 video

tapes, 200 slides, and thousands of polychrome negatives. It also contains materials of Mrs Sidika Avar, who figured prominently in the Dersim uprising. She ran a project for the orphans placed in Turkish families and later wrote over 1,200 pages of recollections about that experience. Some of her memoirs have been published. The complete set is now present in Amsterdam (largely as photocopies). The collection includes issues of the journal *Munzur* as well. (HSa, based on a draft by Zülfikar Özdoğan)

Auroville, the yoga of work

In 2014 the IISH received a tiny archive on Auroville. At first glance it seemed out of place, but in fact it fits in beautifully. This donation is from Henk Thomas, previously Professor of Labour Studies at the Institute of International Studies. He has published about the Cooperative movement in Mondragon and was involved in the experimental city of Auroville in South India in the 1970s.

The tiny archive consists mainly of publications about Auroville, the movement, and its founders, as well as the complete newspaper of the community. It nicely complements material already present at the IISH about Utopias and cooperatives or *kibbutzim*. In addition, the city accommodates experiments with new labour relations.

Auroville was founded on a dry plateau in South India in 1968. The 200 pioneers grew to about 2,000 inhabitants, in addition to providing work for about 4,000 people in the area. Auroville is a spiritual, ecological, and social experiment. Mirra Alfassa, nicknamed *The Mother*, did the spiritual part. Born in France in 1878, she was inspired by a meeting with Sri Aurobindo and subsequently arranged the implementation. The city advanced as she instructed. The plateau is now densely planted, and interesting build-

ings have been constructed, designed by the renowned architect Roger Anger.

Regarding the social-economic aspects of the experiment, *The Mother* has revealed several remarkable principles:

Private property does not exist in Auroville: the city is owned by nobody but belongs to humanity. Residents do not own land, houses or property, but they do 'have' their own things.

No money circulates in Auroville. Money is used in transactions with the outside world. The challenge is to determine how goods are distributed within the community.

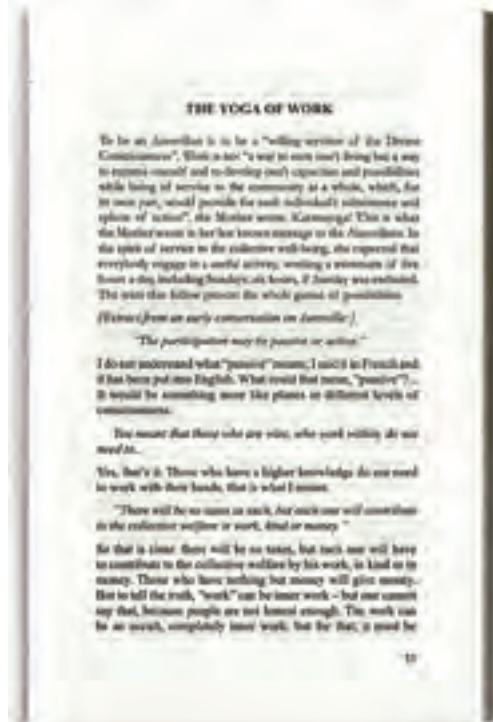
Items are available at the general store. These 'purchases' are not paid but are registered. The store does not list prices to avert any monetary sense.

Residents are not expected to work for their subsistence. Work serves for self-development and the benefit of the community, known as *Yoga of work*. Employment contracts have been replaced by trust and a basic stipend. Clearly, self-development is not always compatible with the needs of the community for work. Nor is the system self-sustaining, and much work needs to be arranged from outside.

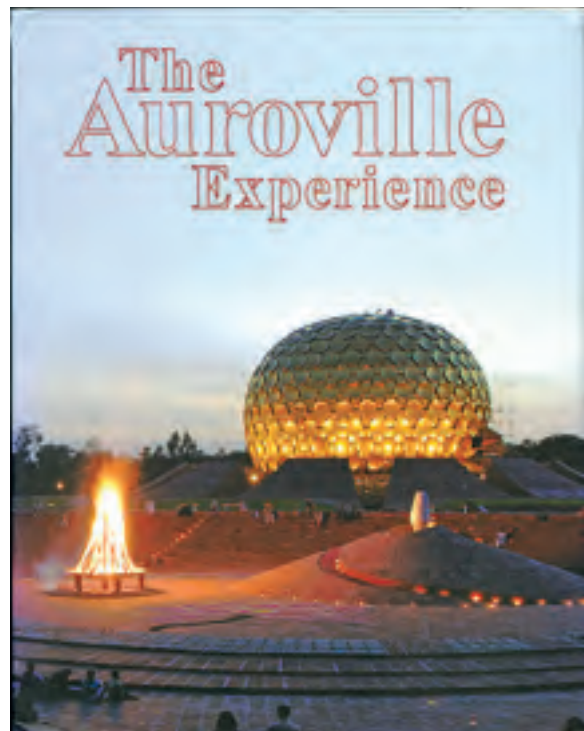
Finally, small businesses are permitted, although investments in economic industry are not allowed to generate a profit. Any profits go to the community. Integrating this type of industry in the economy of the outside world remains difficult.

The experiment is clearly ongoing and has not yet acquired its definitive form. Moreover, it transcends social-economic aspects. The objective is to bring about a universal community, where men and women of all nationalities coexist in peace and harmony. Experimenting with social ownership and working for the community also relate to the IISH research on Labour Relations. (EdR)

Left:
The New Being and the New Society, p. 53 (Auroville, 2012)



Right:
The Auroville experience (Auroville, 2006)





'The joy of cutting'

The collection from Auroville was a case of personal fulfilment, as another item in another collection exemplifies. A sawed-off nozzle in the NIZA collection might be attributed to an act of personal fulfilment by the radical anti-apartheid movement.

In April 2014 the book *Aan de goede kant, over de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse anti-apartheidsstrijd van 1960 tot 1990* was published. Roeland Muskens has devoted a section in this fine account to the 'hose cutters,' activists protesting the involvement of oil companies in the apartheid regime by cutting the pump hoses at a petrol station. He argues that hose cutting is a form of personal fulfilment by radicals, an 'entry-level access for ambitious activists,' so to speak. Such action required minimal preparation, could be performed *ad hoc* with few people, and always had a strong impact.

Cutting hoses at petrol stations in the struggle against apartheid happened mainly between 1986 and 1989. Well-known action groups include 'Blij dat ik snij' and 'Nachtschade.' Estimates put the number of such actions at around 180. Collection development on this practice is tricky, as such actions were rarely well-documented. Since they were illegal, these actions were announced as little as possible. Nor did they tend to be documented afterwards..

The IISH collection does contain manuals and descriptions in action newsletters. A 1986 issue of *Bluf* features a statement to the press from the group Nachtschade (*Shell naar de hel*). In 1988 the NN published a sabotage manual about cutting ('take the nozzle along as is, as it is expensive'). Modern petrol pumps had the added advantage that disabling one hose automatically disabled the entire station. This is nicely illustrated by the 1988 cartoon, which is a report about the Saw movement with a brief instruction manual.

Hose cutting often surfaces in discussions. The

more moderate anti-apartheid movement disapproved of the practice. From 1988 the focus shifted to the blockades, including that of the Shell building. Muskens believed that hose cutting had passed its peak and was in danger of becoming a ritual.

The book presentation was at the IISH in June 2014. That same day a small exhibition opened about the role of the Dutch in the struggle against apartheid, an exhibition featured simultaneously in the Netherlands and in South Africa, at the initiative of the South African Embassy in the Netherlands. South African Ambassador Piet Goosen, who was visiting that day, spoke at length about his gratitude to the Netherlands and the Dutch anti-apartheid movement, as well as to the IISH and to Kier Schuringa for preserving this part of history.

The nozzle nicely illustrates this. It may be featured at the Rijksmuseum as well, which is planning an exhibition on the relationship with South Africa. (EdR)

R. Didde, *Als het tij keert: Shell en Nederland, macht en verbeelding*, (Amsterdam: Ravijn, 1989), p. 85

Nozzle with its hose cut, date and place unknown. Call number BG X1/62



On the Ethiopian revolutionary movement

This fine collection comes from Ethiopia, an area we do not ordinarily cover extensively. Acquired by the Africa Desk, it features a great many leftist books and journals from the period of the Ethiopian Civil War. This complements comparable material at the IISH from other parts of the world, as well as collections about Ethiopia from the 1950s and 60s.

In 2014 the Ethiopian Revolution marked its fortieth anniversary: on 12 September 1974 Emperor Haile Selassie was driven out. Several marxist groups were involved, but the Derg prevailed and soon seized all power. This grip was tightened under the aegis of Mengistu, and all opposition was liquidated.

In an effort to imbue the population with the revolutionary spirit and the Marxist legacy, several journals were issued and Marxist works translated into Amharic. In the 1970s and 80s, *Revolutionary Ethiopia*, *Meskerem* (September, the month of the revolution), *Yekatit* (February), and *Serto Ader* (newspaper of the Ethiopian Workers' Party) were widely known periodicals.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the East Block, the Ethiopian government encountered difficulties as well. It was again a coalition of rebel groups, who in 1991 put an end to the Mengistu regime. One of the most important of these groups was the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, formerly a communist group that opposed Haile Selassie but forced un-



Left:
Yekatit (February), Ministry of information (Addis Ababa), No. 8, 1977
'The world will belong to the workers'

Right:
Meskerem (September), Workers' Party of Ethiopia, No. 4, April 1981
'Marxism-Leninism is our guiding ideology'

derground under Mengistu.

The collection comprises about 400 titles, most in Amharic. In addition to the aforementioned journals of the Mengistu regime, some are from opposition groups, such as *Down and New Flag*.

The book collection in Amharic about Marxism consists of leaflets and brochures, as well as translated classics, such as: *The Communist Manifesto*, *The Capital*, and *The State and Revolution*, as well as a few Marxist-Leninist dictionaries.

In recent years many combatants have written their memoirs. The collection includes thirty books of their memoirs and biographies as well.

The material, which is mainly from the 1970s, tends to be very fragile and rare. During the civil war it was often dangerous to have in one's home, and interest waned after that period. In Europe this material is almost impossible to find. The only such collections are in Addis Ababa and at the Library of Congress. Additions to the collection are expected to continue arriving.

Interest in the Ethiopian Revolution is growing, and many books are being published on the subject. On 14 November 2014 a conference took place at the IISH about the historical significance and the social effects of the revolution. Bringing this collection to the IISH may help ensure sufficient sources to support this research (EdR).

Letter by W.M. Dudok. 1933, Inv. nr. 210.

Henri Wiessing, Journalist and unaffiliated communist

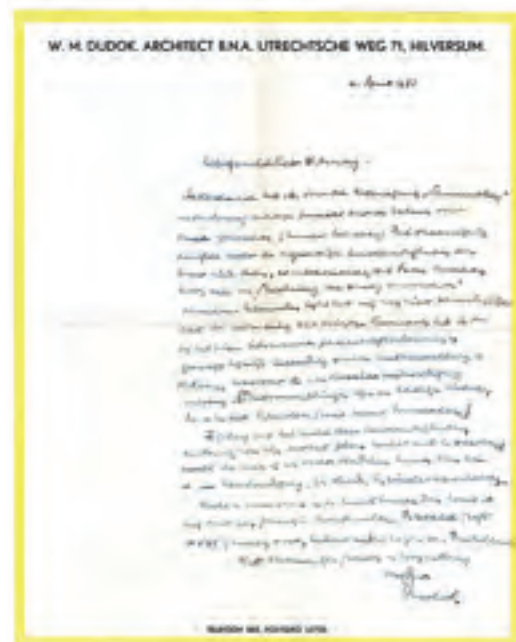
In the spring of 2014 the IISH received a fine, voluminous addition to the personal papers of H.P.L. (Henri) Wiessing (1878-1961), from an affluent Catholic home, was a journalist with communist sympathies. He never joined a party and had the air of a non-conformist gentleman. In 1907 he became the executive editor of *De Amsterdammer* when he was still fairly young. Upon his dismissal from this paper in June 1914, Wiessing promptly started his own paper *De Nieuwe Amsterdammer*, of which he was the publisher and executive editor from 1915 to 1920. In late December 1920 the paper folded, in part because under the aegis of Wiessing, a self-proclaimed communist since the Russian Revolution, the political course had become increasingly radical. From that point onward, Wiessing found generating an income to be immensely challenging for many years. He freelanced as a writer for many

magazines and newspapers, including the American magazines *Building* and *Wood*, where he regularly published about Dutch interior design and architecture in the late 1930s. Shortly before the Nazis invaded the Netherlands, Wiessing went to Paris on assignment for *De Haagsche Post*. He did not return to the Netherlands but set foot on English soil in June 1940. In London he soon became prominent within the Dutch community of exiles, *inter alia* as editor of *Vrij Nederland* (in London). Shortly after the war ended, Wiessing was the editor of *De Vrije Katheder*, a paper launched by the resistance. Aimed at connecting communist and non-communist intellectuals and artists, it succumbed to internal tensions in 1950. In 1956 Wiessing was expelled from the Dutch branch of the PEN [Translator's note: Poets, Essayists and Novelists] for defending the suppression of the Hungarian Uprising by Soviet troops.

In March 1961 Wiessing passed away. In the spring of 1960 the publication of his memoirs *Bewegend Portret. Levensherinneringen* by Mousault publishers had opened a lot of old wounds. Wiessing was a singular individual, who enjoyed debating with many but was also inclined to argue with some. In his memoirs he had something for everyone, sparing neither friend nor foe, and told all about his extramarital affairs with e.g. Suzanne van Thijn, which was far from customary in those days.

In July 1960, a few months after the publication of *Bewegend Portret*, Wiessing and University of Amsterdam Professor Jacques Presser corresponded briefly. Wiessing expressed his opinion of Jan Romein in these letters. Presser found his sections about Romein to be 'downright offensive.' He believed that Wiessing had obtained his information from the 'communist rabbinate.' Wiessing challenged Presser to write an article defending Romein, but Presser, a sensible man, declined the offer.

This is not the place for a complete biography of Wiessing. For a biographical sketch, see the BWSA (<http://socialhistory.org/bwsa/biografie/>)



wiessing).

The addition to Wiessing's archive spans more than 1 meter and contains a lot of correspondence from the years before 1940. Many documents from his London years clearly convey Wiessing's duties and contacts during the Second World War.

The oldest correspondence comprises the letters he exchanged with his best friend, the poet Carel S. Adama van Scheltema, from the period 1900-1906. Carel Adama (1877-1924), who died young, was married to IISH librarian Annie Adama van Scheltema-Kleefstra (1884-1977). Wiessing also received letters from her father J. Kleefstra, founder of the Brinio School in Hilversum.

Wiessing was well-connected in circles of writers and artists. His personal papers include letters from e.g. Jacques Bloem, W.M. Dudok, Leo Gestel, Chris Lebeau, J.J.P. Oud, Willem Sandberg, Clara Wichmann, and Ossip Zadkine.

The letters from Oud are interesting. In a letter dated 5 December 1960, for example, Oud described in detail how he and John Rådecker had worked together and divided the tasks in designing the National Monument on Dam Square in Amsterdam.

Two letters from 1929 by Ossip Zadkine, the sculptor from Belarus who had settled in Paris in 1909, are exclusively about Zadkine's request for permission to reproduce a few photographs. The handwriting and vernacular, however, beautifully exemplify accounts from a successful immigrant.



This addition also features documents about the journey that Wiessing and his wife made in 1955 to the Soviet Union, where Henri's son from his first marriage Matthijs Wiessing (1906-1987) lived. Matthijs had moved to the Soviet Union around 1930 to contribute to the New Society as an urban planner. During the months they spent in the Soviet Union, Henri's wife Rosy Wiessing-De Sterke spoke regularly on Radio Moscow, describing her impressions from her journey through Russia and talking about the Netherlands. The personal papers contain her texts, as approved by Radio Moscow, as well as other documents by Rosy De Sterke. In her early years, Rosy worked for IISH founder Nico Posthumus and listed Professor N.W. Posthumus and H.P.L. Wiessing, Esq. as references in November 1916 in a letter of application that she presumably never sent to the Amsterdam law firm Meerkotter and Co.



Arrangement of this addition to the personal papers of Wiessing has now been completed. See: <http://search.socialhistory.org/Record/ARCHO1641/Description> (BHi).

Wiessing in Schierke im Harz 2 January 1920. Inv. nr. 373.



A curious document: from the Wiessing archive: Label of a tea bag 'Nederland zal herrijzen. Uit Vrij Ned.-Indië een groet. Houdt moed'. 1941. Inv. nr. 355. These tea bags were dropped from English bombers above occupied the Netherlands with tea from the Dutch East Indies and greetings from the still free Dutch population over there. See: http://www.verzetmuseum.org/museum/nl/kinderen/over-de-oorlog/koninkrijk_der_nederlanden/nederlands_indie/nederlands_indie-voorbereiden

A few archive files, a pile of old books, the IISH and the shadow of Arthur Lehning

In early 2014 a purchase and exchange was agreed with the Rotes Antiquariat in Berlin (<http://www.ropes-antiquariat.de/>) comprising about 2 crates of archival documents, roughly from the period 1920-1950. Some of this potpourri of documents of immense value for the IISH is from the library of Arthur Lehning. Lehning (1899-2000) helped found the IISH and was affiliated with the Institute for several decades as a specialist on anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism, and the Russian anarchist and revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876). The Friends provided funding toward this acquisition.

How these items from the possessions of Lehning and / or the IISH ended up with a left-wing antiquarian in Berlin is difficult to explain. What matters is that these archival items and printed materials are now (back) at the IISH.

The printed materials, such as books and brochures, many containing old, authentic notes, account for the majority of the materials. But first a few words about the two archive-type items.

One file contains documents from 1933, which may be regarded as an addition to the archive of the International Working Men's Association. The IWMA, which was basically the Anarchist Interna-

Wiessing at home, 1959. Inv. nr. 396.



**Max Nettlau
Bakunin
en de Meiomwenteling
in Dresden.
Finally home.**

tional, convened a conference in Amsterdam from 22 through 24 April 1933 to share ideas about the recent course of events in Germany, where Hitler had gained power shortly before. The minutes from this conference are in French, and there is a German typescript 'Die Lage in Deutschland.' Understandably, the conference concluded with a statement harshly condemning these developments in Germany. See: <http://search.socialhistory.org/Record/ARCH00658/Description>.

Another file contains documents concerning the People's Russian Information Bureau in London. This bureau was opened in 1918 by British socialists from various groups, such as Sylvia Pankhurst (Workers' Suffrage Federation) and Shapurji Saklatvala (Independent Labour Party). It was dedicated to supplying information about the newly established Soviet Union, especially about the adversaries of the Bolsheviks and the economic reconstruction (i.e. recovery) under the Soviet regime. The documents are mainly from this Bureau and include circulars and brochures. There are also some newspapers and miscellaneous materials. All these documents from the period 1916 – 1919 are about the situation in Soviet Russia, the struggle between the Bolsheviks and their adversaries, economic decline and reconstruction, and,

Postcard dated 12 July 1922. From unknown person in München to Lehning. Stamp illustration: Reichspostamt in Berlin.
See: <https://www.google.nl/search?q=Reichspostamt+Berlin+briefmarke&biw=1680&bih=846&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=WB0HV1GJE8JJoemdGfAE&ved=occuQSAQ>



remarkably, also about the mass slaughter among the Armenian population during the war in the Caucasus in those years. These documents have been entered in the Collection 'Great Britain. Various Manuscripts.' See: <http://search.socialhistory.org/Record/ARCH01733/Description>.

The acquisition includes an interesting copy of a title by Max Nettlau *Bakunin en de Meiomwenteling in Dresden*. The jacket reads 'reprinted from *Van nu en straks*, May 1898.' This copy of the Dutch translation, which has traditionally figured in the IISH library (see the IISH stamp), was borrowed by Arthur Lehning on 5 August 1969. It has finally returned, after 45 years. The book escaped the experience of the years the IISH was located near Sloterdijk Station.

There are also about ten pages from Nettlau's manuscript 'Eine Übersicht der Geschichte von Malatesta's Zeitschrift.' On the reverse of the handwritten pages are some notes taken in pencil. What are they about? The front or the reverse of the pages? They are probably mainly the notes, processing or 'completing' the other sides of the pages.

There are also three books in Russian that were once part of the library that the IISH purchased in 1936 from the Austrian anarchist and collector Pierre Ramus (1882-1942). These are Russian translations published in 1921 and 1922, respectively, of texts by Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis (1846-1919) and James Guillaume (1844-1916), as well as a work by Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921). Since in each of the three books, many pages have not been cut, these copies are unread but have been well preserved.

Also in Russian, but issued in Detroit (United States), is a special issue of the journal *Probuzhdenie* (Awakening), published to commemorate the tenth anniversary of Kropotkin's death.

Another noteworthy item is a copy of *Pauperismus und Assoziation*, written by Hans Stein (1894-1941) and published by Brill in Leiden in 1936. This may well be Stein's own working copy, with notes he added with the intention of generating a revised edition (which never materialized).

Finally, along the lines of historical anecdotes, are two postcards addressed to Lehning. In 1954 IISH librarian Maria Hunink sent him a card featuring a scene of a journey by sleigh through snow drifts from Davos (Switzerland). The other postcard, which reads 'Blick von der Theatinerkirche in die Ludwigstrasse' and reflecting a German text in pencil, is dated 12 July 1922 and was sent to 'Lieber Arthur!' from Munich (BHi)

Michael Bedford. Activist, researcher and manager

In 2013 the IISH acquired the personal papers of the American researcher and manager Michael Bedford. Bedford, born in Pennsylvania in 1946, lived and worked on the Philippines in the years 1970-1972 and 1975. As a student and activist, he fell in with the anti-Marcos movement, which opposed the Philippine potentate and U.S. involvement in Philippine politics.

In 1986 Bedford returned as a researcher to the

Philippines to conduct interviews in the period 1986-1990 about the course of events that led to the fall of the Marcos regime and especially about the turbulent years following his downfall. His research objective was to understand the political changes that occurred under the state of siege in the post-Marcos period.

He was interested on the one hand in what he described as the Legal Left, which he viewed as comprising trade unions, human rights groups, news media, and some lawyers. Sections within the Roman Catholic Church that propagated liberation theology pertain to the Legal Left in a sense as well.

This was countered by a motley coalition of groups representing the conservative wing of that same Catholic Church, an increasing number of Protestant missionaries from the United States and often connecting with a similarly growing number of local anti-communist vigilante organizations claiming they were acting on behalf of Jesus Christ. Aside from these wings that could be attributed clearly to the left or the right, there was the government of Corazon Aquino, who was president from 1986 to 1992.

During these years, burning churches, executions of civilians, and assaults on representatives and leaders of the Legal Left were commonplace.

The research Bedford conducted on the Philippines is not known to have culminated in a publication. This may be in part because after his years as an activist and then as a researcher, Bedford increasingly operated as a manager. He founded Third World Reports, an organization that launched fact-finding missions to the Philippines and Haiti. Bedford also interviewed Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a former Roman Catholic priest and president of Haiti from 1991 to 1996. Bedford later held positions as Oxfam America's regional manager in Asia and U.S. Peace Corps director in Bangladesh. Eventually, Bedford returned to teaching and research and is presently affiliated with Lesley University in Massachusetts.

Bedford's collection comprises dozens of audio cassettes of interviews, a few hundred photographs, and about 2 meters of archives and docu-

mentation.

The audio cassettes contain the interviews Bedford conducted with representatives of most of the parties involved. He spoke with Rex Samson, a right-wing vigilante fighter, as well as with proponents of liberation theology and government representatives.

Bedford compared the situation with Guatemala, where Protestant fundamentalists affiliated with right-wing paramilitaries had similarly seized their opportunity. In the interviews Bedford tried to gain insight into what had actually happened. He wrote up the accounts about Protestant ministers or missionaries distributing money and goods to recruit members for their church and, more importantly: informants. These fundamentalists worked together with right-wing paramilitary groups, which persecuted adherents of the New People's Army (NPA), a leftist – and according to some: Maoist – paramilitary group believed to be affiliated with the Communist Party of the Philippines (CCP) led by José Maria Sison and also on speaking terms with representatives of the Legal Left. Since the adherents of NPA and CCP obviously persecuted the right-wing operators, the situation in this country was generally unsafe.

People were picked up and abducted on the street or were publicly executed as a message and warning.

The photographs convey demonstrations and protest meetings of the various parties and groups of left and right alike. Some also reveal living conditions among the population and natural disasters that tormented this archipelago at times.

Bedford's personal papers comprise notebooks, correspondence, and transcriptions of about twenty interviews. The audio cassettes and photographs have now been listed and made accessible without restrictions for research. (<http://search.socialhistory.org/Record/COLLO014/Description>).

Bedford's personal papers are now also available at (<http://search.socialhistory.org/Record/ARCH04328/Description>) (BHi).

Left:
'Stop Nuclear Arms Race'. Men with masks. inv. nr. 59.

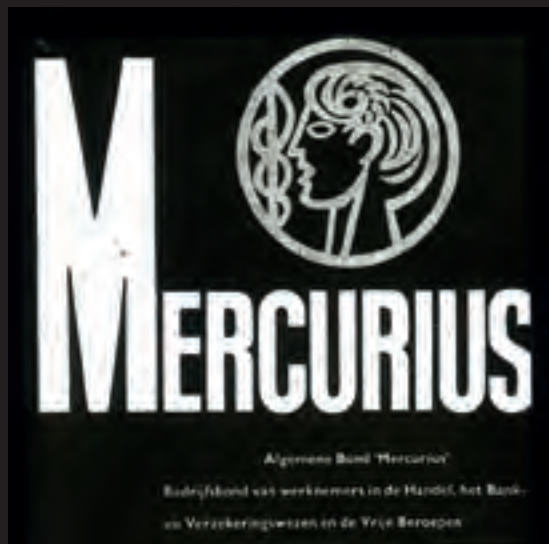
Right:
'Disband the Vigilantes' inv. nr. 63.



Slides about Mercurius

Bob Reinalda has been affiliated with the IJSH for many years and is known for his writing on the Dutch labour movement. He has also been the driving force behind the *Biografisch Woordenboek van Socialisme en de Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland*, which is hosted by the IJSH. The IJSH holds archival materi-

als of his father and grandfather. In 2014 Bob donated an immensely varied collection to the IJSH, including a slide series about the Algemene Bond 'Mercurius.' The slides are sufficiently interesting for us to present ten here without an extensive historical explanation. The accompanying texts are translations of the original captions. We believe that the slide series was made around 1962/63. (HSA)



Slide: 'Mercurius' symbol
This is the symbol of the General 'Mercurius' Union, serving those employed at commercial, banking, and insurance companies, as well as those working for professionals.

We are dedicated to protecting interests concerning the working conditions of nearly 30,000 members. In this slide series we present who our members are, and how our union serves them.



(10) Slide: department store
Any large department store abounds with activity. Customers see only the sales associates, but those working behind the scenes

include e.g. window dressers, carpenters, electricians, shipping and stock clerks, and clerical staff. All have a place within 'Mercurius.'



(14) Slide: typewriter
Many members work at the offices of notaries, lawyers, bailiffs, estate



(22) Slide: Collier
Our membership also includes workers in the fuel trade. The number of coal workers is

declining. The municipal utilities company is replacing them, as natural gas increasingly dominates the market.



(31) Slide: Congress
This part is about the organization of the union. The congress is the highest policy organ in the union. Once every three years delegates

gather from all 140 chapters. This scene shows the Amsterdam delegation listening to a lecture by the union official.



(32) Slide: Executive Board
In the years between two congresses the Executive Board is responsible for supervising operations. In this



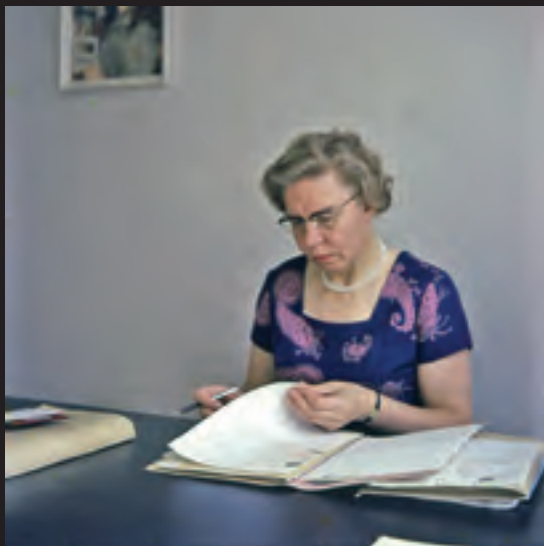
agents, and basically all active professionals. A good typist is a valued worker.

(16) Slide: Machines Any substantial office is equipped with the proper machinery. At

this relatively small office, new machines are put to good use.

(17) Slide: Mrs Van Oostveen Concierges and house-keeping staff employed at offices and department stores are eligible to join 'Mercurius' as

well. A well maintained office or workshop and not to forget.... a nice cup of coffee make life more pleasant.



scene co-worker De Weerdt, delegated from The Hague, is speaking. His original style of discourse and keen insight into all kinds of issues are always fascinating.

(38) Slide: Miss J.H. v.d. Born In our chapter paid officials are at your service. The administration department

is chaired by Miss Van den Born, whose other duties include protecting the specific interests of our female union members.

(39/40) Slides: home visit Goores / Aleid signs a form. Home visits remain a good way to recruit members. Our small group dedicated to home visits welcomes

any additional support. On this scene our treasurer P.A. Goores is completing a registration form, which is signed as proof of confirmation by the new members shortly thereafter.

A social-economic history of India since the Middle Ages

Presented by Jan Lucassen at the Friends meeting
on 19 June 2014

This lecture is about the history, or, more specifically, about my personal quest to explore the history of India (especially its social-economic history). The convoluted start suggests that there is no straightforward interpretation, no 'grand narrative,' or at any rate none that I find satisfactory. And that is indeed my opinion.

Large manuals on the history of India were of course already available, when I embarked on my quest about twenty years ago. They reconsidered the historical account depicted by the proud English masters of the 'Raj' and the ensuing response from the Indian nationalists. Both emphasized the uniqueness of the subcontinent. Gandhi and Nehru, men of stature, embraced this view. In *The Discovery of India* (1945; Penguin edition 2004, pp. 43-44), Nehru wrote 'There seemed to me something unique about the continuity of a cultural tradition through five thousand years of history, of invasion and upheaval, a tradition which was widespread among the masses and powerfully influenced them. Only China has had such a continuity of tradition and cultural life.'

This tradition strongly emphasizes the unchanging rural society, the reciprocal jajmani system and – for the Marxists – 'the Asiatic mode of production,' which is the topic of the PhD thesis of our former colleague Fritjof Tichelman. In addition to agriculture, which until recently was how the majority of Indians subsisted, crafts once thrived. The English Arts and Crafts movement reflected on that period with nostalgia. Understandably, such a society was ill equipped for the modern era, which colonialism and capitalism imposed on it. Equally understandably, poverty and exploitation remain omnipresent, and the labour movement is not gaining momentum. Nor is it surprising that labour in South Asia brings to mind child labour and bonded labour, with the Union Carbide gas tragedy in 1984 and the collapse of the textile factory in Bangladesh in 2012. The foregoing is an overly brief and thus a rather blunt characterization of most of the information available on Indian history until recently.

Still, reading this very firm and logically consistent account of India, seemingly the logical cesspool in the history of labour, at times raised doubts in my mind. Nationalists, marxists, and even Hindu nationalists will identify with this version, albeit for entirely different reasons. Any comparative historian will be irritated, when a society is described as unique, whether this is attributed to a yearning toward Orientalism or from the perspective of its critics. But irrita-

tion alone will not suffice. More importantly, in recent decades several historians have successfully compared different parts of Eurasia, greatly emphasizing the similarities over the differences – at least until the 'Great Divergence,' which they argue dates back only a few centuries. Ken Pomeranz instigated this debate with respect to China, as authors such as Prasannan Parthasarathi and Tirthankar Roy have done for India.

As for myself, I was confronted with India and its history unexpectedly only twenty years ago. Willem van Schendel asked me very directly, in a mildly reproaching tone: 'But have you ever ventured outside Europe?' Mustering my courage, I replied that I had spent a few months working in a granite mine in New South Wales, had journeyed throughout Morocco for years on end, and had seen quite a bit of Turkey as well. I saw myself as a true world traveller, but I could tell from his distinctive and at times was somewhat deprecating smile that he did not mean these modest undertakings.

His message was clear: I had never truly ventured outside Europe, and it was high time that I do so. After all, at the research department we had been developing a global labour history programme for years. In addition to the objectives of covering all types of work and starting well before the Industrial Revolution, the scope would need to be intrinsically global. Willem was being considered for an endowed chair on Modern Asian History (funded in part by the IISH) at the University of Amsterdam, to which he would be appointed on 13 September the subsequent year. This choice was very fortunate for the IISH and in particular for the research department then under my aegis, as we would greatly enhance our expertise at the same time.

South Asia was thus indispensable for somebody with my ideas and aims, and Willem arranged for both of us to travel to a congress in Bangalore (South India). On 20 February 1995 I delivered a lecture there about the 'Prolegomena for a Global Labour History,' from a text I had written together with Marcel van der Linden. I do not recall that it was a resounding success. Although I never had any difficulty discussing the subject with Willem, originally a cultural anthropologist, I sensed a large gap between myself and the other congress participants, who I remember were all social scientists and zealous representatives of NGOs (a concept I first encountered there).

While my memories of that congress may be vague, the westward excursion I departed on the next day remains very vivid in my mind.



Brickmaking in modern India. Moulder. The carriers are exclusively women and children (both carry the bricks on their head) and boys using yokes, and they are paid individual piece rates. IISH, collection Jan Lucassen on Indian brick-making, factory 10, photo 13-0A.

I boarded a bus with flapping curtains and filled entirely with Indians, who were pleased to help me tour the medieval temples of Belur and Halebidu. I was fascinated still more by brick works I glimpsed en route from the window than by the magnificence of the temples. I had already published extensively about pre-industrial brickmakers in Europe but had never actually seen this work in progress, not even on old photographs or etchings. I had of course imagined it, based on the written sources. And here it was still taking place! With a shock, I recognized that my own fantasy had come alive.

Thanks once again to Willem (who had joined my department on 1 January 1996), I was invited by IDPAD to deliver a series of lectures at different Indian universities. I asked him whether, since I would be there anyway, I might actually tour the brick works where manual labour was in progress. He thought the idea sounded wonderful. My trip was extended by a few weeks, and, with some assistance from Jan Breman, I embarked on a tour of brick works in the area of Ahmedabad, New Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, and Hyderabad, interspersed by a total of 10 lectures.

Over the years that followed, I visited still more brick works and started examining archival materials on this occupational group as well. In addition to the obvious differences, I also began to notice similarities to pre-industrial brickmakers in Europe, especially the ones from the German Principality of Lippe-Detmold and Wallonia: co-operative subcontracting, piece rates per 1,000 bricks, and, to my considerable amazement, strikes when necessary. In the ominous revolution year of 1848 – I assume by coincidence – hundreds of brickmakers, working as seasonal migrants on the Ganges Canal, staged an extended strike, which culminated in success. I also discovered such collective actions from the late nineteenth century among servicemen and their wives. Especially the detailed study of the thousands of workers from the Ichapur Gunpowder Manufactory in the period around 1780-1810 (one of the largest factories in the world at the time), reinforced my impression that labour migration, wage labour, and collective action were

far more widespread this far back than was previously thought. One special discovery concerned a pension for victims of occupational accidents and their surviving family members, introduced in May 1783. Still more impressive was a major improvement to the pension system achieved in 1797 by the private action of one single woman, Khoosoomdi from Chittagong, 700 kilometres from Ichapur. As claimant of the pension of her son, who had died in a gunpowder explosion, she succeeded in changing the rules. From now on, claimants were to receive the pension in the district's capital where they lived instead of at the factory's offices far away.

It is probably far too soon to distil an alternative labour history of India from these limited detail studies. They do, however, cast sufficient doubt as to the presumed, entirely individual Indian society from before the arrival of the English, in which reciprocity rather than markets determined the place and remuneration of the workers. This brings me to the final section of my archival research: the emergence of markets and in particular labour markets. To this end, I have devised the hypothesis that the propagation of cash – which was clearly used to pay wages in India – may be regarded as a guide fossil for the presence of labour markets. If this hypothesis proves accurate, we can trace the emergence of this labour market not only to the arrival of the colonial rulers but also far earlier, to the sixteenth century. Deep monetization in India is likely to have been at a level similar to that in Europe and China. The initial findings on India of the Collaboratory on Global Labour Relations of the Institute certainly do not contradict these conclusions, nor does the PhD thesis by Mattias van Rossum (2013) on the Indian sailors for the VOC do so.

This is the present state of my research: enough to seriously doubt a total Indian 'Sonderweg,' enough to strengthen ideas in terms of similarities between Eurasia before the Great Divergence came about (which at present I am inclined to date around the seventeenth or eighteenth century), but still insufficient to advance an alternative 'grand narrative.'

Bart Hageraats 1950-2014

On 11 December 2014 Bart Hageraats suddenly passed away. Bart (12 July 1950-11 December 2014) served as secretary to the board of the Friends of the IISH from its inception. He studied history at the University of Amsterdam and in 1988 published *De stoelendans rond Jan Romein* about the contested appointment of Romein as professor at the University of Amsterdam (UvA). On 14 December 2012 he took his PhD at the UvA for his thesis *De mens is het verwandlungsdiër. Elias Canetti over verwandlung, massa en meer*, reflecting several years of intensive research on the philosophical background and contemporary significance of one of the most unfathomable writers of the 20th century. The book conveys Bart's almost infinite erudition and his encyclopaedic approach to his topic.

Bart forged his special bond with the IISH in the early 1990s, when he initiated and edited the collection 'Geloof niet wat geschiedschrijvers zeggen...' *Honderd jaar Jan Romein 1893-1993* (1995) issued by Stichting beheer IISG (later Aksant publishers) the publishing company of the IISH. Operating as a freelance editor, he was involved in a great many publications of the IISH and the Stichting beheer IISG/Aksant since then, as an exceptionally meticulous and erudite desk editor, compiler of registers, bibliographer,

always eager to think along with authors and editors. From his initial encounter with the IISH (via the archive of Jan Romein), he soon became part of that small group that even without being employed by the Institute was closely involved in the material and immaterial heritage that the IISH manages, as well as with the people working at the Institute. This was also the case when the Friends of the IISH was founded in 1999: Bart agreed to serve as secretary (without pay) to the board, an office he continued to perform with his distinctive rigour and dedication until his very premature death. One memorable achievement was the special Friends Day Bart organized on 7 January 2010 in recognition of the publication of the collection he edited *Kijken naar natuur. Sprong uit de moraal?* He delighted the IISH Friends and staff present to three lectures and a musical interlude about his other great intellectual passion: how nature and perceptions of nature, especially owls, have mirrored our culture for many centuries. True to his own nature, Bart remained modestly in the background on that cold afternoon in January, while the entire gathering radiated his intense passion for both nature study and the world of books. Never again will an owl appear the same to us. (ABI)



ADVERTENTIE



Memories of Belonging: Descendants of Italian Migrants to the United States, 1884-Present

Christa Wirth, University of Zürich

Memories of Belonging is a three-generation oral-history study of the offspring of southern Italians who migrated to Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1913. Supplemented with the interviewees' private documents and working from U.S. and Italian archives, Christa Wirth documents a century of transatlantic migration, assimilation, and later-generation self-identification. Her research reveals how memories of migration, everyday life, and ethnicity are passed down through the generations, altered, and contested while constituting family identities.



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