NEW APPROACHES TO GLOBAL LABOR HISTORY

New Approaches to Global Labor History

Michael Hanagan
Vassar College

Marcel van der Linden
International Review of Social History

Abstract

Employing innovative methods and new approaches to global labor history, the six essays in this collection explore important aspects of labor's role in global capitalism since the early modern period. Essays by Jan Lucassen and Jeffrey D. Glasco study the commercial agents, soldiers, and sailors that constituted the institutional framework for the global expansion of Western capitalism. Essays by Julie Greene and by Donna Gabaccia, Franca Iacovetta, and Fraser Ottanelli concentrate on workers who entered the international labor markets of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They show how employers attempted to use migrants to promote stratification within the working classes and how workers responded to these efforts by trying to fashion their own identities. Finally, essays by Josie Fowler and Victor Silverman investigate the international organizations created by labor movements, responding to global capitalism, and illustrate how these organizations have shaped the development of the labor movement.

The articles in this collection illustrate some major ways that historians have responded to the challenge of developing a new global labor history. By global labor history we mean one that focuses on class formation as a global process with deep historical roots and broad geographical sweep and encourages both micro-historical and macro-historical comparisons. The global labor history we envisage defines labor to include the vast world of unfree labor, including apprentices, bonded laborers, soldiers, serfs, indentured labor, prison labor, and slaves, as well as the world of the underemployed and the part-time worker. Defining labor broadly gives global historians the tools to analyze the intricate interlacing of free and unfree labor so characteristic of mercantile capitalism in the early modern period.[1] Global labor history must also include the informal sector of low-wage workers, some working many jobs, others involved in street vending, peddling, or prostitution, that support the higher-paying sectors of modern glob-

International Labor and Working-Class History
No. 66, Fall 2004, pp. 1–11
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https://doi.org/10.1017/S0147547904000146 Published online by Cambridge University Press

alized economies.[2] A global history so conceived will be well equipped to study the temporary and partial proletarians characteristic of modern globalized Third World economies as well as the dual economy of modern "global" cities such as New York, Paris, and Tokyo.[3]

In the deepest sense, labor history has always been global history. The great themes of labor history—the Industrial Revolution and the growth and spread of the labor movement—are intrinsically global phenomena. European labor historians' long concern with why European labor rallied to the flag in August 1914 essentially addresses the question of why the forces of nationalism proved stronger than those of internationalism.[4] Even the classic question of US labor history: "Why is there no socialism in America?" depends upon an implied comparison with other industrialized nations and assumes the existence of a whole set of interacting cross-border processes, industrialization, urbanization, and democratization that were simultaneously transforming the North Atlantic world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The question of "American Exceptionalism" only makes sense within this globalizing industrial world.

The six essays in this collection address important aspects of global labor history. They are typically rooted in newly reinvigorated subfields of history that offer especially promising possibilities for global labor history. Expanding interest in colonial, maritime, and migration histories have strengthened global labor currents within the historical profession. Further, the opening up of important sections of the archives of the Communist International in Russia promises a growing gold mine of information on an institution central to modern labor history.[5]

Our essays focus on key elements of a global history agenda for the modern period. Essays by Jan Lucassen and Jeffrey D. Glasco study the commercial agents, soldiers, and sailors that constituted the institutional framework for the global expansion of Western capitalism. Essays by Julie Greene and by Donna Gabaccia, Franca Iacovetta, and Fraser Ottanelli concentrate on workers who entered the international labor markets of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They show how employers attempted to use migrants to promote stratification within the working classes and how workers responded to these efforts by trying to fashion their own identities. Finally, essays by Josie Fowler and Victor Silverman investigate the international organizations created by labor movements, responding in kind to the problems of international labor markets, and show how these organizations have shaped the development of the labor movement. Neglected by a labor history focused on states, the history of labor internationalism remains one of the most unexplored fields of labor history.

The Creation of an International Labor Market

By beginning their studies of the working class with the English enclosure movements or the era of the Industrial Revolution, labor historians and global labor historians may have been too modest in demarcating their field. Large-scale proletarianization processes can be traced back much further in time. Cases in point

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are the numerous free and unfree sailors working in her majesty's navy or in the ships of chartered companies in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, and the harbor workers and the many urban artisans who catered to the maritime trades. The linking of proletarianization to the expansion of world trade cannot come as a surprise to students of European urbanization, who have long noted the growing number of large cities and the great increase in the population of the very largest cities in Europe between 1500 and 1800. This rapid growth of large cities was partly a phenomenon of state expansion, as centralized states increased the size of their capitals, but it was also produced by the growth of large port cities which "with only a few exceptions, engaged in the Atlantic trades."[6]

The global labor history that is the subject of this collection looks at the formation of international labor markets, at the market's role in matching work to groups of workers, and at the international efforts of labor to resist the classifications of international markets.[7] Our first two essays provide a much-needed long perspective on the relationship between proletarianization and the creation of an infrastructure for international commerce. Although slaves and forced laborers were part of the international work forces he examines, Jan Lucassen mainly looks at the soldiers and seamen employed by the Dutch East India Company who worked for wages; these were the great body of the company's workers. Meanwhile the seamen studied by Jeffrey D. Glasco were subject to military discipline, a highly repressive form of unfree labor.

Jan Lucassen's essay focuses on the emergence of an international labor market connecting Europe with southern Africa and south and southeast Asia. Lucassen shows the intertwining of commercialization and proletarianization in the institution that created and coordinated perhaps the most important international labor market connecting Europe to the Far East. By showing the importance of proletarianization to the extension of commerce, he helps to break down the traditional view of a long period of commercial transformation that preceded the formation of a true proletarian labor force.

The subject of Lucassen's study, the Dutch East India Company, the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie,* or VOC, was a truly remarkable institution. Commercial success, continued expansion into eastern markets, and the high mortality of its European workforce in Asia produced a voracious demand for labor that was satisfied by truly global labor recruitment. In both Europe and Asia, VOC needed a variety of workers. European workers were attracted to these jobs, even to the most dangerous ones, not by their high wages but by the threat of sustained unemployment. Earlier waves of commercialization had weakened agricultural workers' ties to the land and the repressive measures governments took against vagabonds, i.e. migrant workers, made their lives miserable. The measure of their desperation is revealed by the alacrity with which workers took such dangerous jobs.[8] Like all the chartered companies of the early modern period, the VOC employed a variety of workers both free and unfree but may well have been the largest employer of waged labor in the European (and perhaps the non-European world).[9]

While it was one of the largest enterprises employing wage laborers of its

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time, Lucassen detects little trace of class consciousness and, *pace* Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh, hardly a trace of occupational solidarity or militancy.[10] Part of the problem here may be the remarkable mortality among those who went east. While mortality was greater for soldiers than sailors and salaried employees—soldiers were less selectively recruited and subjected to dismal conditions in the barracks—mortality was extraordinarily high for everyone. One estimate suggests that less than one out of three of all those who left returned; while some of those who left may have chosen not to return such mortality is not out of line with that of other Europeans in Asia. Yet as in the seventeenth-century Virginia colony, high mortality also produced accelerated social mobility and hindered class formation.[11] Ranks depleted by death created new positions for those who survived. One result of this process on shipboard was that the upper ranks of the navy were dominated by old hands while the lower ranks were composed of newly recruited sailors. The seamen perhaps belong to that category of "partial proletarians" that have come to be so large a component of the modern working classes; many bought and sold goods as they moved from port to port and petty entrepreneurship may have been an important component of their income.[12] Lucassen's study of both labor recruitment and class formation represents an example of the growing field of colonial labor history and illustrates the opportunities for global labor historians within colonial history. Colonial history has always presented difficulties for traditional political and diplomatic history because it inevitably involves links between different types of polities, the weak or nonexistent states in the colonial world and the ever growing power of consolidated states in Europe. As illustrated by Frederick Cooper's magnificent study of labor and decolonization, the best colonial labor history has always been global history in that it recognizes that colonial history concerns relations between at least two—often differently structured—polities, sometimes quite distant from one another.[13]

Like Lucassen's sailors and agents, Glasco's sailors represent the creation of the working-class infrastructure for international markets. Glasco's examination of the British navy studies a key western military organization used, among other purposes, for the enforcement of the rules of internationally-directed British commerce. Whether on the silk road or over the internet, regulative power is needed to protect traders and to enforce trade agreements. If the British fleet had been dissolved by mutiny in 1797, as the Nore mutineers threatened, it would have meant a deathblow to British colonialism and the triumph of French republicanism on the continent, but it would also have seriously hindered the progress of the Industrial Revolution. British industrialization depended heavily on access to Caribbean markets for cotton cloth and this access was secured by the British navy.[14]

As in the history of colonialism, the growing interest in maritime history also offers real opportunities for global labor history. Glasco's study of the two British naval mutinies focuses on issues of gender in an entirely male profession in which manliness and seamanship interacted to create a hierarchy quite different from that recognized by the navy. While Glasco focuses on the relationship between conceptions of manliness and seamanship in the politics of naval mutineers, his study is located in a context of British maritime laws and customs that

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constituted a worldwide maritime code. Glasco makes the point that the ship was a workplace like any other and this drives home an important point. As Glasco shows, in the gathering crises of 1797, ordinary sailors refused to follow orders that came down from the strict hierarchy of the naval command. They listened instead to respected seamen whose authority came from their acknowledged skill. This authority of these respected seamen resembled nothing so much as the male hierarchy of a workshop. To a significant degree the mentality of naval seamen remained that of the working class.

While Glasco rightly emphasizes the similarities between workshop and shipboard environment, still the ship was unlike other workplaces in some important regards. Maritime work routinely brought sailors into contact with foreign workers and exposed them to a considerably wider variety of information about other countries than the average British worker. Moreover, the radicals' fundamental demand in 1797, to sail the fleet to a Dutch harbor, illustrated a tactic unavailable to land-based workers.

Because it transcends territorial borders, maritime history has long been a stronghold of global labor history in a historical profession preoccupied with national history. The close connection between port cities around the world and the creation of an international labor force tying them together has inspired transnational comparison and, to a degree, decentered the centralized state. In part, possibly as a result of this decentering, not only sailors but longshoremen and harbor workers have been the subject of important comparative studies.[15] This thread has been followed in other fields of inquiry. A remarkable blend of photography and social theory such as Allan Sekula's *Fish Story* demonstrates the power of comparison in maritime history and a recent interview of Sekula by Jack Tchen appears later in this issue of ILWCH.[16]

Both the Lucassen and Glasco essays remind us of the vast expansion of the labor force required by the growth of colonial empires and the needs of commercial expansion. They suggest that the time honored debate about the origins of capitalism may be exaggerated. In this debate one side had argued that capitalism came to the fore when states intervened to secure colonial markets and capitalists increased their power through commerce. Other scholars have argued that the birth of capitalism is linked to the appearance of a mass proletariat of wage laborers. The importance of the Lucassen and Glasco papers is in showing that military expansion and commercial growth entailed an important degree of proletarianization and that the two processes were mutually reinforced.

These two essays underline that imperial and commercial expansion in the early modern period involved proletarianization on a worldwide scale. They argue that global labor history is not coextensive with the modern period and the Industrial Revolution. They suggest that global labor history must take a longer perspective and a more inclusive approach.

Movement within International Labor Markets

Having considered the creation of an international labor market and the conflicts attendant to its creation, we next examine workers entering the interna-

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tional labor market. We see how states and employers sought to shape class formation through laws and employment policies and how workers responded, often in complex ways. Essays by Greene and Gabaccia, Iacovetta, and Ottanelli look at the role of international migrants in class formation. The migrants studied in these two essays crossed international borders, Spaniards to the Canal Zone, Italians to many regions of the world. Where they settled, both groups struggled to create identities that they regarded as appropriate to their new circumstances and resisted efforts of authorities and employers to impose identities upon them. The transformations that occurred as working-class migrants crossed borders were far more extensive than the traditional dichotomy between natives and newcomers. They often found themselves assigned to unfamiliar racial and ethnic categories, categories that frequently carried connotations of inferiority.[17] Both Spanish and Italian workers resisted such categorization and, in the process, drew upon the resources of their own native radical traditions.

In the last decade historians have begun to reevaluate the relationship between struggles over ethnic, racial, and class identity among migrant populations. Partly this reevaluation has been based on a new appreciation of the role of the state. American historians long distinguished between the case of African slaves, brought to the US before the Civil War and the mass of migrants who came to the US voluntarily. Such distinctions ignored or treated as a minor factor the racial laws that barred first Asians and then all "non-Caucasians" from the US. Such acts not only crucially affected the demographic composition of the US labor force, but they affected attitudes towards Asian workers already installed in the US. And of course, as it was intended, such exclusionary politics had profound repercussions for the relationships between African Americans and the new migrant waves.[18]

Greene's article on Spanish migrants in the Canal Zone between 1904 and 1914 looks at a particularly interesting case of the construction of racial and ethnic identity in the process of class formation. She focuses on the efforts of US authorities to recreate US racial categories in an area of the world where different categories obtained. The position of the Spaniards, once masters of an empire, but lately the despised and defeated opponents of the US in the Spanish-American War, posed particular problems for the racial caste system that US authorities used to define jobs and status in the Canal Zone. Spanish migrants to work on the Canal were placed in a nearly unbearable situation by US policies that sometimes privileged them as "whites" but more often than not consigned them to the "non-white" category where they were poorly paid, poorly housed, and denied a wide-range of benefits given to white US workers. Protesting against their anomalous status, Spanish workers turned to anarchist doctrines but aimed much of their protest at the black Caribbean workers. As Greene shows, the militancy of Spanish workers originated in their ambiguous class and racial status; neither less skilled black workers from the Caribbean nor highly-skilled white workers from the US turned to strike militancy.

If Greene focuses on the application of racial and class categories to Spanish migrants to the Canal Zone, the essay by Gabaccia, Iacovetta, and Ottanel-

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li emphasizes the class character of Italian migration, the combination of ethnic and class identities, and the agential role of migrants in using labor militancy to create positions themselves in different receiving locations. Indeed some of the Italian workers they describe responded to a new environment in much the same way as did Spaniards in the Canal Zone; they embraced anarchist and radical ideas.

Both the Greene and Gabaccia, Iacovetta, and Ottanelli essays in this collection draw on the literature of migration history and, indeed, this is a subfield of history, like those of colonialism and maritime history, that has contributed much to global labor history. Migration historians long ago discovered the central role of kinship and village networks in European migration and demonstrated how migrants adapted their skills to the specialized needs of growing urban economies. But much recent research had begun to reveal that European migrants had kin ties to several locations in the Americas, considered multiple destinations, and some moved back and forth among several nations. More important, migrants often retained significant links to homelands, and migrants used current events in both sending and receiving lands to define their actions and identities.

We are only beginning to learn about migration as an ongoing interactive process in which migrants forged new identities based on their continuing involvement in the politics of both "old" and "new" countries. Some of the best work in this field has been done by a constellation of historians of Italian migration described in the essay by Gabaccia, Iacovetta, and Ottanelli. Indeed our own authors are leading contributors to this collaborative effort.[19] A series of collaborative studies, affectionately labeled the "Italians Everywhere Project," has shown that many in the first wave of Italian emigration had village or regional identities, and only acquired an "Italian" identity in the New World in response to nativist attacks. Italians, freshly-minted in the Americas, became involved in the politics of the newly-forming Italian state. Abroad most working-class migrants rallied to the republican cause because only republicans tried to attract popular support in the diaspora. While the republican cause was lost in nineteenth-century Italy, republican Italian migrants adapted their politics to their new homelands where they brought valuable recruits to democratic politics. In subsequent years, as the Italian labor movement radicalized, migrants played an important role in bringing socialist, anarchist, and syndicalist notions to the labor movements of the nations to which they emigrated. Italian women also played a significant role in this effort and the "Italians Everywhere" project has reinforced the emphasis on the agency of Italian immigrant women and given new prominence to the existing literature on this theme in Italian migration history.

Their accomplishment in studying Italian migration as a class migration, mainly a migration of less-skilled workers, responding to historically-constitued international labor-market demands is striking and stands out in comparative perspective. For example, Irish-American history is surely one of the most studied areas of US ethnic history, but in a recent survey of the literature, Kevin Ken-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0147547904000146 Published online by Cambridge University Press

ny notes that "The point that the Irish provided an international pool of cheap labor has been made often, but it has yet to be taken up in an sustained or transnational manner."[20] Kenny is not entirely correct in this regard. Important studies of labor migration and its affects on both sending and receiving populations and that include Ireland have been carried out by economists, Kevin H. O'Rourke, Jeffrey G. Williamson, and Timothy J. Hatton. These economists show that the migration of less-skilled workers from countries such as Ireland to the US did lower the wages of American unskilled workers and raise that of Irish unskilled workers.[21] These are important findings. But these books' single-minded focus on economic analysis, all the more underscores the achievement of the recent Italian historians here and also the work of Julie Greene who describe not one-dimensional economic men and women, but multidimensional figures who responded in creative ways to their circumstances in both old world and new.

A Response to International Labor Markets: International Labor Organization

Finally, our collection examines the international labor organizations that have so profoundly shaped the evolution of world labor movements. Fowler's essay looks at the activities of the Communist International in the Pacific during the interwar years, while Victor Silverman studies the recent evolution of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).[22] Such organizations are worth examining because, in the past, they played a leading role in the evolution of the labor movement. Today as international labor markets expand, international labor organizations may take on new importance.

Fowler's essay is built on archival material only recently available to Western historians.[23] Only a couple of decades ago, labor historians in the US and Western Europe regarded unfettered access to these archives as practically a utopian dream. Combining access to Comintern archives with geographical theorizing, Fowler focuses on the spatial aspects of trade-union organizing. She draws our attention to just how important site is to workers who seek to recruit and spread their ideas and how rarely it is available to radical workers. The Pacific seamen that are the focus of Fowler's study spent much of their time in relatively small social units moving across vast spaces. They arrived for brief stays at strange ports with which they were often unfamiliar and where they did not speak the language. For radical workers who sought to recruit them to their cause, the most obvious site for contact—at the ship's anchorage or on the docks as sailors left ship—were denied them by local police and vigilant employers. Similarly, shipboard activities were subject to the scrutiny and awesome power of the ships' officers.

While efforts to organize seamen presented formidable challenges, the fierce repression of maritime labor in Chiang Kai-shek's China and the increasingly harsh treatment of trade unions in Japan made international labor orga-

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nizing outside the ports of their own home country, the best site available to many Asian radicals. Although hardly welcoming of radicalism, the US west coast ports provided more available space for labor radicals than eastern ports.

Fowler shows that the foundations of Pacific maritime labor organization were laid by communist Asian seaman who took the initiative and established contacts with individual sailors. She also shows how these contacts could provide a widened scale for trade union organizing. Once an organizer had established a site for contacts with sympathetic seamen, the seaman's influence might be used in local struggles but also to enlarge the scale of trade union influence by building cross-Pacific networks that might lead to the recruitment of sympathizers in Shanghai or Hong Kong. In the case of seamen, a site was often difficult to find but once a suitable space had been obtained, it could be used to establish networks at a variety of geographic scales.

The period at the heart of Fowler's study is the so-called "leftwing turn" of the Communist International between 1928–1933. Generally this turn was an utter disaster—it helped put Hitler in power in Germany—but the stridency of this so-called "Third Period" might have provided the leverage or Asian or Asian-American communists to pursue policies that seemed peripheral to their white American comrades. Whatever its relationship to larger Comintern policies, Fowler allows us to get behind international rhetoric to look at international practice. The strength of Fowler's analysis is its concentration on the reports of labor activists who provide a local level perspective on international labor organizing. She also draws out attention to the remarkable international loyalties that the Communist International attracted in many places around the globe. Fowler's work confirms that global labor historians should use the unprecedented (and currently decreasing) archival opportunities to learn more about internationalist practice in this era.

The focus of Silverman's essay in this collection is almost the reverse of Fowler's, yet some common explanatory mechanisms—those of site and scale—can be found in both papers. Where Fowler focuses on the local level and pays little attention to the high level conclaves of the Communist International, Silverman looks at the changing attitudes towards environmentalism of the leaders of the ICFTU between 1970 and the present. Crucial to the ICFTU's change of position was the emergence of a site that could consider the issues in a different context than as a straight wage issue. This site was the ICFTU's housing commission. This commission had a community orientation that opened it up to ecological concerns.

The housing committee helped to introduce the labor movement to the concept of "sustainability," an idea already current among environmentalists. "Sustainability" insisted that economic growth must not involve the destruction of irreplaceable resources, pollution or the use of new technologies without considering their environmental costs. Far from being incompatible with the labor movement's commitment to a higher standard of living, sustainability was depicted as necessary for long-term economic improvement. Sustainability helped

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the labor movement distinguish itself from those ecologists who opposed economic growth while creating a bridge to green movements and alliances with environmentalists.

Armed with the idea of sustainability, a political program developed by a handful of trade-union leaders operating through personal contacts and small meetings began to spread widely on a much greater scale. The ICFTU used its influence to win such organizations as the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the United Nations to its position. In the process, ICFTU were able to spread the idea among many national labor movements and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC). Still, the efforts of the ICFTU and the ETUC to adopt a strong environmental orientation were somewhat troubled by the groups' refusal to take a stand on the issue of nuclear power, one that divided national labor movements. The case of the ICFTU shows that international labor organizations are not dead and can still have important influence on international organizations and on the broad labor movement.

Conclusion

In sum, the six essays deal with some of the most important elements of a new global labor history, with the creation of international labor markets, with the movement of workers within such markets, and with the efforts of international labor organizations to limit, restrict, or abolish international labor markets. In so doing, they expand our understanding of the deep roots of global labor history, its importance in the molding of ethnicity, gender and racial identities, its importance in shaping the labor movement's past, and its centrality to major themes of all labor history. An orientation towards global history equips historians to deal not only with the international labor movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but with the global organization of proletarian labor from the seventeenth to the twenty-first centuries. We hope the essays in this collection will inspire labor historians to join with us in this exciting historical enterprise.

NOTES

1. Jan Luiten van Zanden, *The Rise and Decline of Holland's economy: Merchant Capitalism and the Labour Market* (Manchester, 1993).

2. Jan Breman, Arvind Das, and Ravi Agarwal, *Down and Out: Labouring under Global Capitalism* (Oxford, 2000).

3. Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, 1991).

4. See Carl Strikwerda, "The Troubled Origins of European Economic Integration: International Iron and Steel and Labor Migration in the Era of World War I," *The American Historical Review* 98:4 (October 1993): 1106–39. See also Paul W. Schroeder's reply and Strikwerda's response. Also, Carl Strikwerda, "Tides of Migration, Currents of History: The State, Economy and the Transatlantic Movement of Labor in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *International Review of Social History* 44:3 (December 1999): 367–94.

5. See Brigitte Studer and Berthold Unfried, "At the Beginning of a History: Visions of the Comintern after the Opening of the Archives," *International Review of Social History* 42:3 (December 1997): 419–46.

6. Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, MA, 1984), 257.

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7. On this classification see Marcel van der Linden, "Transnationalizing American Labor History," *The Journal of American History* 86: 3 (December 1999): 1078–92.

8. Catherina Lis and Hugo Soly, *Poverty and Capitalism in Pre-Industrial Europe* (Brighton, 1979); Robert S. Duplessis, *Transitions to Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), ch. 7.

9. Material on other transcontinental maritime labor markets can be found in Paul C. van Royen, Jaap R. Bruijn and Jan Lucassen, eds., *"Those Emblems of Hell"? European Sailors and the Maritime Labour Market, 1570–1870* (St. John's, Newfoundland, 1997), and Pablo E. Pérez-Mallaína, *Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century* Trans. Carla Rahn Phillips (Baltimore, 1998).

10. See Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, Merchant Seaman, Pirates and the Anglo American maritime World, 1700–1750* (Cambridge, 1987); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hyrda: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston, 2000).

11. Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virgina* (New York, 1974).

12. See Shahid Amin and Marcel van der Linden, "Introduction" to special issue of *International Review of Social History* on the theme of "Peripheral Labor?": Studies in the History of Partial proletarnization. Supplement 4, vol. 41, 1996.

13. Frederick Cooper, *The Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, 1996).

14. Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789–1848* (New York, 1969).

15. See for example Frank Broeze, "Militancy and Pragmatism: An International Perspective on Maritime Labour, 1870–1914," *International Review of Social History,* 36: 2 (1991), 165–200; Laura Tabili, *"We ask for British Justice," Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Ithaca, 1994); and Sam Davies *et al.,* eds., *Dockworkers: International Explorations in Comparative Labour History* 2 vols. (Aldershot, 2000).

16. Allan Sekula, *Fish Story* (Düsseldorf, 1995).

17. Studies that explore these themes include Leon Fink, *The Maya of Morgantown: Work and Community in the Nuevo New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); and Gunther Peck, *Reinventing Free labor: Padrones and Immigrant Workers in the North American West, 1880–1930* (Cambridge, 2000).

18. Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenhip in U.S. History* (New Haven, 1997). The Caribbean is an important other case. There we see complicated entangled relationships between former slave populations and the indentured workers from India, Indonesia, and elsewhere, who arrived from the nineteenth century. See, for example, Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery. The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830–1920* (Oxford, 1974).

19. Donna R. Gabaccia and Fraser M. Ottanelli, eds., *Italian Workers of the World: Labor Migration and the Formation of Multiethnic States* (Urbana, 2001) and Donna R. Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas* (Seattle, 2000). See also Thomas Guglielmo, *"White on Arrival": Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890–1945* (Oxford, 2003).

20. Kevin Kenny, "Diaspora and Comparison: The Global Irish as a Case Study," *The Journal of American History* 90:1 (June 2003): 134–62, at 151. See also Michael P. Hanagan, "Irish Transnational Social Movements, Deterritorialized Migrants, and the State System: The Last One Hundred and Forty Years," *Mobilization,* 13 (1998), 107–26.

21. For instance, Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson, eds., *Migration and the International Labor Market* (London, 1994); Hatton and Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact* (Oxford, 1998); Kevin H. O'Rourke and Williamson, *Globalization and History: The Evolution of a Nineteenth-Century Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge, MA, 1999).

22. On the ICFTU see Marcel van der Linden, ed., *The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions* (Bern, 2000). This collection also includes a major bibliography of older studies.

23. Interesting efforts to use Comintern archives for the purposes of global labor history are: Tim Rees and Andrew Thorpe, eds. *International Communism and the Communist International, 1919–43* (Manchester, 1998), and Tauno Saarela and Kimmo Rentola, *Communism: National & International* (Helsinki, 1998). Still unpublished is the huge history of the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU, or *Profintern*) by Reiner Tostorff, "'Moskau oder Amsterdam': Die Rote Gewerkschafts-Internationale 1921–1937." Habilitationsschrift, Johannes-Gutenberg-University, Mainz, Germany, 1999.

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