

Drew Keeling, *The Business of Transatlantic Migration between Europe and the United States, 1900-1914* (Zurich: Chronos Verlag, 2012), 345p., ISBN 978-3-0340-1152-5

We've had to wait half a century for someone to properly answer Frank Thistlethwaite's call to look at transatlantic mass-migration through the eyes of the shipping companies. Except for some worthy attempts during the 1970s, which were both limited by their scope (to a segment of the market) and by their sources (mostly not stemming directly from the shipping companies), this has remained a blind spot in a richly studied part of our historiography. Keeling now enlightens us with a sharp analysis of the 'Big Four', consisting of German (Hamburg-Amerikanische Packetfahrt-Actien-Gesellschaft and Norddeutscher Lloyd) and English shipping companies (Cunard Line and White Star Line). In particular the extensive primary source research at both sides of the ocean and the fresh quantitative interpretations of the collected data are impressive. Keeling puts these business interests forward as a new important link between what so far has been considered as the main actors of transatlantic migration: the social networks of migrants and state migration policies. Keeling cunningly describes the importance of private transport companies as a third actor next to the migrant and the state. The interplay between the three is tested against the background of economic fluctuations during this peak period of mass migration. This book has great potential to become a reference work in international migration studies and to serve as a cornerstone for those researches analyzing the underrated role of private companies in migration.

Keeling's original perspective focuses on how migrants moved instead of why. The latter question on motives is even turned around asking why so many did not move. These are treated over the seven main chapters. Chapter one describes the rise of migrant transport into big business in the hands of a limited number of shipping companies. The second chapter uncovers the business logic behind migration in relation to the risks involved for the three main actors. In chapter three and four Keeling explains the mechanism of horizontal consolidation that shipping companies developed to mitigate the risks of cut-throat competition in a business characterized by high-fixed costs. Both mergers and cartels are respectively explained through the formation of the International Mercantile Marine Combine and the Atlantic Shipping Conference. The fragile equilibrium is illustrated by the rate war of 1904. Chapter five shows how migration policies became a growing threat to passenger transport companies during this era of 'big business' and 'small – but growing – states'. Based on the interest groups involved Keeling explains why the policies remained focused on the quality rather than the quantity of transatlantic migrants. The following chapter uncovers how the transport business weathered through the major business downturn of 1907/08.

The final chapter deals with the hazards of the crossing itself and its evolution towards a modern service business. It explains the strategies behind developing first, second and third-class accommodations and their impact on improved travelling conditions. The epilogue focuses on the 'irrevocable' impact of World War I on transatlantic migration.

Through meticulous data analysis Keeling provides answers to the profitability of the business, the cost and risks of migration, the business logic behind it, the impact on migratory flows and patterns in both directions, and much more. It will appeal to migration, maritime and business historians alike yet may leave the latter two wondering why the study was not integrated more in the models developed by both disciplines (maritime history is not even mentioned in the dual theoretical framework). Keeling's strength, the quantitative analysis may also be his biggest weakness. The focus on 'big' numbers led to the choice of limiting the study mainly to the Big Four and the period 1900-1914. From a business and maritime perspective the 1892 pool agreement between the major continental steamship lines seems a more appropriate starting date. This would have instigated the study to focus also on the impact of the cartel agreements towards vertical integration, which now remains limited to horizontal consolidation. The internal business structure of passenger lines and how they managed the vast network of migrant agents remains largely unaddressed. For a study that lays so much emphasis on the cartel agreements it is surprising that so little is said on the content of these or on the minutes of the meetings leading up to them. Overall the book is full of very nice illustrative quotes of the varied primary sources, yet some extracts of the agreements should have been incorporated. This could have avoided some minor glitches such as the mentioning of percentage-based commissions for agents while these were fixed for third-class tickets. It would also have indicated that second-class ticket prices were fixed according to third-class fares, not unimportant for Keeling's argument about capacity utilities on board.

Despite the focus on the Big Four the book has the great merit to encompass the whole North Atlantic passenger market and not the least smaller players such as the Red Star Line and the Holland America Line. On the other hand the focus on the Big Four limits the analysis of the cartel agreements to neutralize internal competition between existing members. The book does not explain how the cartel reacted to external pressures such as the establishment of new lines or the constant US anti-trust government threat. These gaps are illustrative for the style used. Keeling opted to present the interpretation of the data in a very black and white narrative manner. More critical annotations on what sources were used and how, could have erased certain doubts on some of the propositions. For instance the calculation that two thirds of second-class passengers are migrants remains unexplained and hence questionable. The generally conclusive style is surprising given the vast new

field Keeling tackles. Some grey areas and suggestions for further research could have been more appropriate. For instance in the epilogue the literacy test and Quota Acts (which are first enforced in 1921 not 1924) are treated as an irrevocable impact of the World War. Yet the statement is unsubstantially founded and it could be argued that these are much more a logical outcome from pre-war pressures which had been building for long.

These minor observations do not devalue in any way the crafted efforts of Keeling to process an enormous amount of data and present them in a comprehensible way. The big business of migration is finally being unraveled. Although there is still a lot to be uncovered using this new perspective across disciplines and time, Keeling will be accredited for having unraveled the tip of the iceberg. As a maritime historian I can only underline how important this is as the book also provides the platform to unearth its fundamentals. Hopefully this will inspire researchers to follow in his footsteps. Those with research interests in the low countries have an advantage as the most complete passenger shipping records are located in the Rotterdam City Archives with the Holland America Line collection. Unfortunately (with the notable exception of the late Frank Broeze) Dutch maritime historians, as their international colleagues in the past, have totally neglected passenger transport. With his book Keeling reaches out to the new generation to pick up on this promising field of research.

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Anne Morelli (red.), *Rebellen. Van de Galliërs tot de Indignados* (Berchem: EPO, 2013 (oorspr. 2011)), 343 p., ISBN 978-94-91297-23-6

We leven in roerige tijden. Je kunt de televisie niet aanzetten of opstandige burgers komen in beeld. Na de bezettingen van Puerta del Sol, Tahrir, Syntagma en Taksim lijkt er niet veel veranderd, maar die protesten hebben één ding duidelijk gemaakt. Het ooit aangekondigde einde van de geschiedenis is nog lang niet bereikt. Wel roepen velen om verandering van wetten, instituties en regelingen.

Verandering doet vaak pijn voor degenen die belang hebben bij behoud van het bestaande, waarop de voorstanders van verandering meer middelen uit de kast halen dan redelijk overleg. Die voorstanders grijpen soms naar schijnbaar onredelijke protestvormen. Omdat er slecht naar hen wordt geluisterd, hanteren mensen aan de onderkant van de maatschappelijke piramide vaak dergelijke