

merkte verschillen in tijd en tussen wat de auteur 'katholieke' en 'protestantse' schakingen noemt. Dat er een verschil was wordt terloops meermaals bemerkt, maar onvoldoende verklaard.

In zijn voorwoord stelt Hage deze studie voor als een 'voor een groter publiek leesbare' herwerking van zijn proefschrift. Ondanks de complexe toelichtingen van tal van theoretische eerconcepten, slaagt Hage in deze opzet door de incorporatie van boeiende, concrete casussen waarmee hij de materie tot leven brengt. Bovendien presenteert deze studie een aantal vernieuwende resultaten die gelezen moeten worden door al wie geïnteresseerd is in premoderne huwelijksconflicten en familiegeschiedenis.

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Ad Knotter, *Transformations of Trade Unionism. Comparative and Transnational Perspectives on Workers Organizing in Europe and the United States, Eighteenth to Twenty-First Centuries* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018). 312 p. ISBN 9789463724715.

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This is a story about workers' efforts through three centuries to come together to better their lot and defend their dignity. The book is a collection of articles, some recently written, some previously published in reviews or books. They are all well researched and erudite. The book adheres to the program of comparative or relational and transnational history. Although Knotter' obvious solid knowledge of Dutch history is his starting point, he expands the study into other European countries and US. Bringing these analyses together gives a considerable added value.

Chapter 1 deals with the cloth shearers in north-western Europe in the eighteenth century. Knotter identifies a kind of trade unionism from the period between the independent artisan and the factory age, and coins the concept "manufactural unionism". One underlying logic that emerges from his treatment of these and other unions stems from their pre-Keynesian mental universe: Jobs - or at least good jobs - are scarce. The demand for labour is not easy to augment. Hence unions have to concentrate on controlling the supply side of labour markets by barring or limiting apprentices, women, unskilled or foreigners. This is a "regulatory unionism". If the number of sellers of labour power is limited, unions may through collective bargaining function as a cartel of sellers of labour power. The relation between supply and demand decides the power relations in the

labour market. Labour market control is the essence of unionism.

Chapter 2 is on cigar makers in the time of the First International, working in a transnational labour market. This theme of transnationalism is picked up in chapter 6, which deals with Dutch and German miners and Catholic and social democratic competing unions in the border areas. An important insight is that transnationalism is more than an ideology, it comprises also markets, cross border organizing, strike support, currency, commuting and social insurance.

A central theme in chapter 3 is producers' cooperatives as the specific form of organizing of artisans, founded on their belief that they could manage without capitalists. As capitalist relations penetrated various trades, craft unions gained ground, but still upheld the program of cooperatives.

Chapter 4 is on the efforts to regulate labour markets in Belgian and American flat glass industry and in the Amsterdam diamond industry before 1940. The chapter digs into the division of labour – producing flat glass demanded seven tasks to be covered, organized in a status hierarchy. From a position as a labour aristocracy with very strong craft unions, mechanisation eroded their status. Internal subcontracting – which could be a familial system comprising wife and children, but also outright exploitation – disappeared. Workers' cooperatives were unable to compete. These developments led to a reorganisation and emergence of more inclusive industrial unions. The same pattern could be observed among the diamond cutters. An interesting additional theme is the way emigration was used as means to regulate the labour market.

Chapter 5 takes on the theme of union intermediation of jobs in Western Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Several countries are investigated. Unions might try to intervene in various ways. They could strive to function as an employment agency, a *bourse du travail*, ideally with a monopoly in the market. They could regulate the supply of labour, by asking members to move to another town, thus creating a local 'vacuum' used to push up wages. An interesting observation is how the unions might look askance at unemployed; these could be liable to undersell themselves to get work. Thus unions had to develop a new instrument – unemployment insurance, actually as much for the benefit of the employed as the unemployed. But by and by the tasks of intermediation and insurance were taken over by public labour exchanges. Thus intermediation was transformed from an instrument for wage control for the unions to control of the unemployed. An important social policy innovation was the so-called Ghent system, linking union and municipal contributions.

Chapter 7 is a stimulating story about recent victories of cleaning personnel in several countries, known as "justice for janitors".

The articles are written at various dates and not as parts of a pre-planned project. Yet, his material may also be used as building blocks for more generalis-

ing theories, for pointing out historical limited regularities. We may learn much from Knotter on what dimensions have to be included in our in labour history. In an analytical scaffold we first need the concrete work and its division of labour. Then there are insights from studying the (local) communities where production takes place, reminding us that workers are not only active in production, but also in reproduction. Thirdly we shall study efforts for labour market control, In the upper part of such a scaffold we shall add national industrial relations, including the politics of the national state. Finally we shall follow the program of studying transnational relations.

Knotter has abstained from formulating such generalisations. In stead he offers a historical synthesising summary. In this conclusion Knotter gives an over-arching and concentrated history of 19th and 20th century unionism. It rests on the theorem that changing structures of production and labour market situations bring forth varying types of unionism. The first type is artisans' unions of the European and American 19th century – such as cloth shearers, window glass workers, diamond cutters, carpenters or cigar makers. May be surprisingly these categories of workers were internationalist, as was their labour market. A next phase came with mass industrial unionism, more orientated towards the national state, as the unions strove to influence national social politics. Then came a “Fordist” class comprise, and finally there is today the question whether unions today are dissolving.

Knotter polemicizes against the thesis that unions are about to be extinct. This is a Euro-centric approach, identifying the World with the Global North, he says. But as industry moves on the globe, in the Global South, so does unionizing. He foresees a possible new unionism shown in the janitors' strike – in service industry, with female dominance, organized from below and transnationalist in approach.

One theorem of Knotter's may be doubted. I agree with his materialist insistence on various types of unionism as answers to changing forms of production. Yet, one may question his claim (p. 11) that unions will arise “whenever” there are labour markets and societies based on wage labour. Religious beliefs and political suppression may curb any tendency towards organizing. Trade union, class based interpretations of the world often have to compete with nationalist or Christian views. Such national differences are discussed in chapter 6, on the complex pattern of miners' organizing in the porous Dutch-German border districts, with competing Catholic and social democratic unions. But the observations here might have been food for thought when integrating culture in the studies..

The insight from including nationality, culture etc. may be read as pessimistic; a revival is not bound to come “whenever” there are wage labourers. On the other hand there is ground for a measured optimism. Three centuries ago organizing

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plus appropriate interpretations paved the way for unions. Today's challenge is much the same. *Qui vivra verra.*

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