# International Labor and Working-Class History



WHAT NEXT FOR LABOR AND **WORKING-CLASS** HISTORY?





## INTERNATIONAL LABOR AND WORKING-CLASS HISTORY

Founded by Robert F. Wheeler

#### **EDITORS**

### Helmut Gruber Polytechnic University

Ira Katznelson New School for Social Research

#### ASSISTANT EDITOR

Kim Geiger New School for Social Research

#### REPORTS EDITOR

Bruce Levine
University of Cincinnati

#### EDITORIAL BOARD

Lizabeth Cohen
New York University

Geoff Field

State University of New York, Purchase

Michael Hanagan

New School for Social Research

Stephen Kotkin Princeton University

Bruce Levine

University of Cincinnati

David Montgomery Yale University Mary Nolan

New York University

Anson Rabinbach
The Cooper Union

Judith Stein
City College
of New York

Louise Tilly
New School for
Social Research

Barbara Weinstein SUNY, Stony Brook

Sean Wilentz
Princeton University

International Labor and Working-Class History (ISSN 0147-5479) is published twice yearly, in the spring and the fall, by Cambridge University Press for the editors of ILWCH. Additional support is provided by the New School for Social Research. Annual subscription rates for Numbers 45 and 46, 1994: Institutional US \$36.00 in the USA, Canada, and Mexico, UK £28.00 in the rest of the world; Individual US \$18.00 in the USA, Canada, and Mexico, UK £14.00 in the rest of the world; Single parts US \$20.00 in the USA, Canada, and Mexico, UK £15.00 in the rest of the world. Prices include surface postage and insurance. Add UK £5.00 for airmail.

**Editorial Office:** Manuscripts, editorial correspondence, and books for review should be addressed to Editor, *ILWCH*, Center for Studies of Social Change, New School for Social Research, 64 University Place, 4th Floor, New York, NY 10003. Tel. (212) 533-9341; Fax (212) 477-5409; INTERNET: ILWCH@CSSC.NEWSCHOOL.EDU.

**Publishing, Subscription, and Advertising Offices:** Cambridge University Press, 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211; or Cambridge University Press, The Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 2RU, England.

Copyright © 1994 International Labor and Working-Class History, Inc. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, electronic, photocopying or otherwise, without permission in writing from Cambridge University Press. Photocopying information for users in the USA: The Item-Fee Code for this publication (ISSN 0147-5479/94 \$5.00 + .00) indicates that copying for internal or personal use beyond that permitted by Sec. 107 or 108 of the US Copyright Law is authorized for duly registered with the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC) Transaction Reporting Service, provided that the appropriate remittance of \$5.00 per article is paid directly to: CCC, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923. Specific written permission must be obtained for all other copying.

The Board of Consulting Editors may be found immediately following the contents. See the back of the journal for subscription information.

**Cover photo:** Roy Lichtenstein. *Modern Painting with Bolt.* (1966). Synthetic polymer paint and oil partly silkscreened on canvas,  $68^{1/4} \times 68^{3/8}$ ". The Museum of Modern Art, New York. The Sidney and Harriet Janis Collection. Photograph © 1994 The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Judith Stein

#### **FALL 1994** NO. 46 Editors' Remarks 1 2 In Memoriam: E. P. Thompson **ILWCH ROUNDTABLE: WHAT NEXT FOR LABOR** AND WORKING-CLASS HISTORY? The "Bourgeois" Dimension: A Provocation About Institutions, Politics, and the Future of Labor History Ira Katznelson 7 Katznelson's Working Within the System Now Lizabeth Cohen 33 Signs of Crisis, Fin-de-Siècle Doldrums, or Middle Age? Geoffrey Field 37 Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow: Neither Crisis Nor Stasis Helmut Gruber 45 A Return to Liberalism in Labor History? Michael Hanagan 51 The History of Politics and the Politics of History Bruce Levine 58 From Scientific Socialism to Political Science? David Montgomery 63 Is Liberalism Really the Answer? Mary Nolan 67 Intellectual Crisis or Paradigm Shift? Anson Rabinbach 73 **Engaged History**

81

History's Noncrisis  Louise A. Tilly	86
Labor History: Out of Vogue?  Sean Wilentz	89
ARTICLES	
Rethinking the Relation of Labor to the Politics of Urban Social Reform in Late Nineteenth-Century America: The Case of Chicago Richard Schneirov	93
Working-Class Consumer Power  Marcel van der Linden	109
Industrial-Relations Theory and Labor History  Dave Lyddon	122
RESPONSE TO CONTROVERSY: RACE AND THE CIO	
Race and the CIO: Reply to Critics  Michael Goldfield	142
REVIEW ESSAY	
Australian Labor History  Greg Patmore	161
REPORTS AND CORRESPONDENCE	
Social History Conference Thomas Winter and Andrew Kersten	172
North American Labor History Conference  Eric Fure-Slocum, Kim Nielsen, Dorsey Phelps, Anthony Quiroz,  Mark Stemen, and Paul Young	173
Eighth Biennial Southern Labor Studies Conference: Race and Culture Colin Davis and Michael Conniff	176
Labor History at the Social Science History Association  Lisa McGirr	179
"Ordinary People, Extraordinary Lives": Conference for Historians and Archivists  David V. Quigley	182

#### **BOOK REVIEWS**

Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History, by Dorothy O. Helly and Susan M. Reverby	
Reviewed by Marilyn J. Boxer	186
Labour and Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Essays in Comparative History, by John Breuilly Reviewed by David Crew	189
The United States and the European Trade Union Movement, 1944-1951, by Federico Romero Reviewed by Stephen Burwood	191
Fish and Chips and the British Working Class, 1870–1940, by John K. Walton Reviewed by William J. Baker	194
Labour's War: The Labour Party during the Second World War, by Stephen Brooke Reviewed by Geoffrey Field	196
Marxism at Work: Ideology, Class and French Socialism during the Third Republic, by Robert Stuart Reviewed by Christopher H. Johnson	199
Marxism and Communism in Twentieth-Century Mexico, by Barry Carr Reviewed by Vivianne Brachet-Marquez	202
Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels: Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery, by Stuart Schwartz Reviewed by Ira Berlin	205
The Brazilian Workers' ABC: Class Conflict and Alliances in Modern São Paulo, by John D. French Reviewed by Cliff Welch	207
Politics and Class in Milan, 1881–1901, by Louise A. Tilly Reviewed by Alexander De Grand	208
How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1945, by Victoria de Grazia Reviewed by Marta Petrusewicz	211
Geographical Inquiry and American Historical Problems, by Carville Earle Reviewed by Richard Bensel	214
In the Shadow of the Statue of Liberty: Immigrants, Workers, and Citizens in the American Republic, 1880–1920, edited by Marianne Debouzy  Reviewed by John J. Bukowczyk	216

The Course of Industrial Decline: The Boott Cotton Mills of Lowell,	
Massachusetts, 1895-1955, by Laurence F. Gross	
Reviewed by Gerald G. Eggert	219
Creating the Modern South: Millhands and Managers in Dalton, Georgia,	
1884–1984, by Douglas Flamming	
Reviewed by James A. Hodges	221
Industrial Democracy in America: The Ambiguous Promise,	
edited by Nelson Lichtenstein and Howell John Harris	
Reviewed by Melvyn Dubofsky	223
NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS	227

#### **BOARD OF CONSULTING EDITORS**

Kathryn Amdur Emory University

Ira Berlin
University of Maryland

Frederick Cooper University of Michigan

Geoff Eley University of Michigan

Patrick Fridenson

Ecole des Hautes Etudes
en Sciences Sociales

Andrew Gordon Duke University

Emily Honig
University of California, Santa Cruz

Michael F. Jiménez University of Pittsburgh

Linda Kerber University of Iowa

Alex Keyssar

Duke University

Nelson Lichtenstein University of Virginia

Mahmood Mamdani Centre for Basic Research, Kampala

Louis Menashe
Polytechnic University

Ruth Milkman University of California, Los Angeles Lutz Niethammer Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut, Essen

Bryan Palmer Queens University, Ontario

Luisa Passerini
Wissenschaftskolleg, Berlin

Jean-Luc Pinol
Centre de Recherches Historiques sur
la Ville, Strasbourg

Elizabeth Roberts
Centre for North-West Regional
Studies, Lancaster University

Joan Scott
Institute for Advanced Study

Ronald G. Suny University of Michigan

Marcel van der Linden International Review of Social History, Amsterdam

Adelheid von Saldern Universität Hannover

Judith Walkowitz

Johns Hopkins University

J. M. Winter
Pembroke College, Cambridge
University

Olivier Zunz University of Virginia