

## HISTORY 572: EUROPEAN LABOUR IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Fall Semester 1993 W 3-5 2125 Humanities

Professor Jonathan Zeitlin (5213 Humanities; 5-2523)

### Course Description

This course will introduce students to the major issues and debates in nineteenth-century European labor history through a comparative analysis of Britain, France and Germany. Key themes will include: industrialization and working-class formation; trade unions, employers and industrial relations; liberalism, socialism and the evolution of popular politics. Particular emphasis will be placed on variations in national patterns of development and the role of politics and the state in shaping the divergent trajectories followed by labor movements in the three countries.

### Requirements

In addition to active class participation, students will be expected to give one or more oral presentations introducing the week's reading and to complete three writing assignments: two short essays of 4-6 pages, which may be based on the oral presentations; and a longer paper of 12-15 pages comparing the experience of two or more countries on a topic to be agreed with the instructor. The first paper is due at the 6th meeting, the second paper at the 11th meeting, and the third paper at the final meeting of the seminar.

### Reading

All starred items are required reading, and students should come to seminar prepared to discuss them. Unstarred items are intended as further reading for those who wish to go deeper into individual topics, particularly for graduate students. All starred and most unstarred books will be held on reserve at the Helen C. White Library. Copies of journal articles and unpublished papers will also be placed on reserve at Helen C. White.

### Required Texts

Students should purchase the following required books which will be available at the University Bookstore:

Ira Katznelson and Aristede Zolberg (eds.), *Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986)

Dick Geary (ed.), *Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe before 1914*, (New York: St. Martins, 1989)

### Recommended Texts

The following books which we will read during the course will also be available at the University Bookstore:

R.J. Morris, *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1850* (Economic History Society pamphlet, New York: Macmillan, 1979)

William H. Sewell, Jr., *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labour from the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)

Jonathan Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals: The Democratic Movement and the Revolution of 1848-1849* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991)

**Week 1: Introduction**Part I: Industrialization and Class FormationWeek 2: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives

- \*Ira Katznelson and Aristede Zolberg (eds.), *Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), introduction and conclusion, pp. 3-44, 397-456.
  - \*Margaret R. Somers, "Workers of the World, Compare!", *Contemporary Sociology* 18, 3 (1989): 325-9.
  - \*E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (2nd edition, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), "Preface", pp. 9-15.
- Barry Hindess, *Politics and Class Analysis* (London: Macmillan, 1987), chs. 1-2, 6-7, pp. 1-34, 87-124.

Week 3: Britain

- \*R.J. Morris, *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1850* (Economic History Society pamphlet, New York: Macmillan, 1979), pp. 9-70.
  - \*Alastair J. Reid, *Social Classes and Social Relations in Britain, 1850-1914* (Economic History Society pamphlet, New York: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 9-64.
  - \*Gordon Philips, "The British Labour Movement before 1914", in D. Geary (ed.), *Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe before 1914*, (New York: St. Martins, 1989), pp. 11-47.
  - \*Patrick Joyce, "Work", in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 131-94.
- E.J. Hobsbawm, *Workers: Worlds of Labour* (New York: Pantheon, 1984), chs. 10-14, pp. 176-272.

Week 4: France

- \*Katznelson and Zolberg, *Working-Class Formation*, pt. I, chs. by Sewell, Perrot, and Cottereau, pp. 45-156.
  - \*Gerard Noiriel, *Workers in French Society during the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: St. Martins, 1990), chs. 1-3, pp. ?-107.
- Tony Judt, "The French Labor Movement in the Nineteenth Century", in his *Marxism and the French Left* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 24-114.

Week 5: Germany

\*Katznelson and Zolberg, *Working-Class Formation*, pt. 3. chs. by Kocka and Nolan, pp. 279-396.

\*Dick Geary, "Socialism and the German Labor Movement before 1914", in Geary, *Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe before 1914*, pp. 101-36.

\*Kathleen Canning, "Gender and the Politics of Class Formation: Rethinking German Labor History", *American Historical Review* 97 (May 1992), pp. 736-68.

Richard J. Evans (ed.), *The German Working Class, 1888-1933* (London: Croom Helm, 1982).

Part II: Protest, Organization, and Politics, 1800-1850Week 6: Britain: Radicalism, Trade Unionism and Chartism

\*Gareth Stedman Jones, "Rethinking Chartism", in his *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working-Class History, 1832-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 90-178.

\*Neville Kirk, "In Defence of Class: A Critique of Recent Revisionist Writing upon the 19th-Century English Working Class", *International Review of Social History* 32, (1987): 1-47.

\*John Rule (ed.), *British Trade Unionism, 1750-1850: The Formative Years* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), esp. introduction, pp. 1-28.

Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, esp. pt. III, pp. 491-915.

James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson (eds.), *The Chartist Experience: Studies in Working-Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830-1860* (New York: Macmillan, 1982), esp. chs. 2, 5-6, 8.

Week 7: France: Artisans, Republicans and Revolution

\*William H. Sewell, Jr., *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labour from the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), esp. chs. 7-12, pp. 143-284.

\*Jacques Rancière, "The Myth of the Artisan: Critical Reflections on a Category of Social History", in Steven L. Kaplan and Cynthia J. Koepp, eds., *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization, and Practice* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), pp. 317-34.

Roger Price (ed.), *Revolution and Reaction: 1848 and the Second French Republic* (1975), esp. chs by Johnson and Tilly and Lees, pp. 73-114, 170-210.

Week 8: Germany: Masters, Journeymen and the Revolution of 1848

\*Jonathan Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals: The Democratic Movement and the Revolution of 1848-1849* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), esp. chs. 1-4, 6-7, and conclusion, pp. 3-184, 223-304, 467-93.

Theodore Hamerow, *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Central Europe, 1815-1871* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958).

P.H. Noyes, *Organization and Revolution: Working-Class Associations in the German Revolution of 1848-9* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966).

Part III: Industrial Relations and Popular Politics, 1850-1914Week 9: Britain: Unions, Employers, and Collective Bargaining

\*E.H. Hunt, *British Labour History, 1815-1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1981), chs. 8-9, pp. 250-339.

\*Roger Tarling and Frank Wilkinson, "The Movement of Real Wages and the Development of Collective Bargaining, 1855-1920", *Contributions to Political Economy I* (1982), pp. 1-23.

\*C.J. Wrigley (ed.), *A History of British Industrial Relations, 1875-1914* (Brighton: Harvester, 1982), esp. chs. 5-8, pp. 99-186.

Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Hans-Gerhard Husung (eds.), *The Development of Trade Unionism in Great Britain and Germany, 1880-1914*, chs. 1-3, 5, 7-10, 14-15, 17-19, pp. 13-77, 100-113, 133-200, 250-82, 302-37.

Week 10: Britain: Liberals, Labour, and the People

\*Martin Pugh, *The Making of Modern British Politics, 1867-1939* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), chs. 2-7, pp. 22-157.

\*Keith Laybourn, *The Rise of Labour: The British Labour Party, 1890-1979* (London: Edward Arnold, 1988), ch. 2, pp. 9-31.

\*Eugenio F. Biagini and Alastair J. Reid (eds.), *Currents of Radicalism: Popular Radicalism, Organised Labour and Party Politics in Britain, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), esp. introduction, pp. 1-20.

Eugenio F. Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone, 1860-1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Duncan Tanner, *Political Change and the Labour Party, 1900-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), esp. pts. I-III, pp. 1-350.

Weeks 11-12: France: Socialism, Syndicalism and the Republic

Week 11 will focus on socialism and the readings by Magraw, Judt and Moss; week 12 on syndicalism and the readings by Friedman and Lewis. But the readings for week 11 contain a significant amount of material which is relevant for week 12 as well.

\*Roger Magraw, "Socialism, Syndicalism and French Labour before 1914", in Geary, *Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe before 1914*, pp. 48-100.

\*Tony Judt, "The French Labour Movement in the Nineteenth Century", in his *Marxism and the French Left* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), esp. pp. 84-112.

\*Bernard Moss, *The Origins of the French Labor Movement: The Socialism of Skilled Workers, 1830-1914* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1976), pp. 48-155.

\*Gerald Friedman, "The Decline of Paternalism and the Making of the Employer Class: France 1870-1914", in Sanford M. Jacoby (ed.), *Masters to Managers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 153-72.

\*Gerald Friedman, "Revolutionary Unions and French Labor: The Rebels Behind the Cause or Why Did Revolutionary Syndicalism Fail?", unpublished working paper, Department of Economics, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, 1991.

\*Steven C. Lewis, "Class Formation, Labor Markets, and Syndicalism: The *Bourses du Travail* and the Historical Development of the French Labor Movement", unpublished paper, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1992.

Adrian Rifkind and Roger Thomas (eds.), *Voices of the People: The Politics and Life of 'La Sociale' at the End of the Second Empire* (New York: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1988), esp. pt. III, "The Origins of the Commune", pp. 181-328.

Michelle Perrot, *Workers on Strike: France, 1871-90* (New York: St. Martins, 1987).

Patricia Hilden, *Working Women and Socialist Politics in France: A Regional Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

Peter Stearns, *Revolutionary Syndicalism and French Labor* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1971).

**Week 13: Germany: Paternalism, Repression, and Industrial Unionism**

- \*John Moses, "Socialist Trade Unionism in Imperial Germany", in R. Fletcher (ed.), *Bernstein to Brandt: A Short History of German Social Democracy* (London: Edward Arnold, 1987), pp. 25-34.
  - \*Michael Schneider, *A Brief History of German Trade Unions* (Bonn: Dietz, 1989), chs. 2-4, pp. 30-108.
  - \*Mommsen and Husung, *The Development of Trade Unionism in Great Britain and Germany*, chs. 11-13, 16, 20, 22, pp. 201-49, 283-301, 338-58, 370-89.
- Elaine Glovka Spencer, *Labor and Management in Imperial Germany* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1984).
- John A. Moses, *Trade Unionism in Germany from Bismarck to Hitler*, (London: George Prior, 1982), vol. 1, chs. 2-8, pp. 23-176.

**Week 14: Germany: Social Democracy, the Working Class and the State**

- \*Fletcher, *Bernstein to Brandt*, chs. 1-3, 5-6, pp. 1-25, 34-53.
  - \*Richard Evans, "The Sociological Interpretation of German Labour History", in Evans *The German Working Class*, pp. 15-53; reprinted in his *Rethinking German History* (London: Routledge, 1987).
  - \*J.P. Nettl, "The German Social Democratic Party 1890-1914 as a Political Model", *Past and Present* 30 (1965), pp. 65-95.
  - \*Richard J. Evans, "Proletarian Mentalities: Pub Conversations in Hamburg", in his *Proletarians and Politics: Socialism, Protest and the Working Class in Germany before the First World War* (New York: St. Martins, 1990), pp. 124-91.
- Gary P. Steenson, *"Not One Man! Not One Penny!" German Social Democracy, 1863-1914* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1981).
- Willi Guttsman, *The German Social Democratic Party, 1871-1933* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1981).
- Gunther Roth, *Social Democrats in Imperial Germany* (Totowa, NJ, 1963).

**Week 15: Explaining National Differences**

- \*Dick Geary, *European Labour Politics from 1900 to the Depression* (New York: Humanities Press, 1991), ch. 2, pp. 7-30.
- \*John Breuilly, *Labour and Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), esp. introduction and ch. 4, pp. 1-25, 115-59.

\*Ross McKibbin, "Why Was There No Marxism in Great Britain?", in his *The Ideologies of Class* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 1-41.

\*Friedrich Lenger, "Beyond Exceptionalism: Notes on the Artisanal Phase of the Labour Movement in France, England, Germany and the United States", *International Review of Social History* 37 (1992), pp. 1-23.

\*Christine Eisenberg, "The Comparative View in Labour History: Old and New Interpretations of the English and German Labour Movements before 1914", *International Review of Social History* 34 (1989), pp. 403-32.

Judith Eisenberg Vichniac, *The Management of Labor: The British and French Iron and Steel Trade Industries, 1860-1918* (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1990).

Gary Marks, *Unions in Politics: Britain, Germany, and the United States in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).