On the Waterfront

NEWSLETTER NO. 22
OF THE FRIENDS
OF THE IISH
2011
Among the many activities organized by the Institute to celebrate its 75th anniversary was the exhibition Wereldverbeteraars or Rebels with a Cause, which was featured at the Special Collections building of the University of Amsterdam from the end of October 2010 through January 2011. It was viewed by over 65 visitors a day on average—a satisfactory result. The book accompanying the exhibition was sent to all Friends as a New Year’s gift. Written by the editors of On the Waterfront (and with an English version rendered by the magazine’s long-time translator), sections must have seemed familiar to our readers: at recent Friends meetings we have from time to time commented on some lesser-known episodes from the Institute’s history, and we intend to continue this practice in the near future. At the same time, we would like to use the meetings as opportunities to highlight special areas of the iish collection. At the latest meeting, it was music, as illustrated in the issue before you; at the next it will be Yiddish and Jewish materials. Women’s history is on the agenda.

Members of the Friends of the iish pay annual dues of one or five hundred euros or join with a lifetime donation of one thousand five hundred euros or more. In return, members are invited to semi-annual sessions featuring presentations of iish acquisitions and by guest speakers. These guest speakers deliver lectures on their field of research, which does not necessarily concern the iish collection. The presentation and lecture are followed by a reception. In addition to these semi-annual gatherings, all Friends receive a forty-percent discount on iish publications. Friends paying dues of five hundred euros or more are also entitled to choose Institute publications from a broad selection offered at no charge. The board consults the Friends about allocation of the revenues from the dues and delivers an annual financial report in conjunction with the iish administration. The iish was founded by master collector Nicolaas Posthumus (1880-1966) in the 1930s. For the past two decades, two of the institutes established by this ‘history entrepreneur’ have operated from the same premises: the NEHA (Netherlands Economic History Archive) since 1914 and the International Institute of Social History (iish), which is now 75 years old. Both institutes continue to collect, although the ‘subsidiary’ iish has grown far larger than the ‘parent’ NEHA. Detailed information about the iish appears in: Jaap Kloosterman, Jan Lucassen, Rebels with a Cause. Five centuries of social history collected by the iish (Amsterdam 2010).

For all information concerning the Friends, see http://www.iisg.nl/friends/.
Readers may remember that in 2007 On the Waterfront (15, pp 5-7) featured an item about an unpublished autobiographical manuscript by Paul Frölich (1884-1953), which had been rediscovered shortly before. In 1919 Frölich, a socialist from the days of his youth in Leipzig, became a founding member of the German Communist Party, from which he would be expelled in 1928. He was involved in the Munich Räterepublik of 1919 and the communist März Aktion in 1921. He remained politically active among the radical left, first in Germany, then in exile. The many books and articles he wrote include the first biography of Rosa Luxemburg (1939), whose papers he kept, and whose works he edited.

Frölich was among a select group of prominent militants to receive requests from the Institute in 1935 – even before its formal establishment – to write their autobiography, for which they would receive up to 300 guilders (estimated as equivalent to € 2,600 today). The Menshevik Petr Garvi (1881-1944) was long assumed to have been the only person who actually wrote something, a memoir first published by Boris Nikolaevsky and others as Vospominaniia sotsialdemokrata in New York in 1946. Yet, in 2007 a copy of Frölich’s paper surfaced at the iish. It had apparently been too long for publication, comprising 312 pages, rather than the prescribed maximum of 96.

Our item drew the attention of the Milan-based Edizioni Panta-rei, which had already published several of Frölich’s works (as well as a short version of Maria Hunink’s history of the Institute, Le carte della rivoluzione). As a result, a nicely produced and indexed Italian translation of his autobiography is now available for € 20.

Twenty-second Friends’ Day,
20 January 2011
PRESENTATION OF RECENT ACQUISITIONS

Salt in Zealand
The history of social security in the Low Countries originated with the system of provisions introduced by craft guilds in the late Middle Ages. At first, aid was largely informal and often issued in kind, as in the distribution of bread and peat, medical care, watching over the seriously ill, funeral and pall-bearer services, and the like. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries several guilds in Flanders and especially Brabant (mostly in what is now Belgium) started poor relief boxes, both for masters and for their journeymen. This innovation spread from the south to the north (the present Netherlands), with the earliest known example found in Dordrecht, the country’s foremost port, in 1387.

Nowadays, the very scarce documentation still in existence on these early practices is almost without exception kept in municipal and state archives – almost: at an auction held in Brussels in Autumn 2010, the Netherlands Economic History Archive bought the sixteenth-century manuscript rules of the guild of Saint John at Zierikzee, Zealand – roughly halfway between Flanders and Dordrecht. The document (now filed as NEHA Bijzondere Collecties, no 773) is undated, but the text clearly predates the Reformation, which came to Zierikzee in 1572-1575, while the paper is from the third quarter of the sixteenth century. All in all, the contents likely originated sometime between 1500 and 1550.

The 'Sint Jansgilde', known as a 'pannemansgilde', included porters working in the salt industry
reproduced here, we notice that the digging was done by men, while the women were occupied with the drying and burning. As Myriam Everard already discovered (Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis, 2005, 3, pp 81-102), women also worked in the salterns. Confirming this observation, Article 18 of our rules stipulates that the guild’s dean had the right, together with the porters, to “up de denne met die keetwyfs in broode en in biere verteren”: they were allowed to consume bread and beer on the wooden floor of the saltern together with the female employees and at the merchants’ expense.

Another interesting provision in our document is the mutual insurance system for the porters. According to the same Article 18, the merchants now had to contribute to the box used to help the needy members of the trade (“die dienaers vander neeringhe dier noot hebben”). The money was to be kept in a double-locked chest. Remarkably, the rules require that the accumulated capital bear interest. In other words, the money was not supposed to lie idle in the box until needed by a member, but was to be invested, presumably in mortgages; the interest thus received could then be distributed as aid. In view of this policy, it is hardly surprising that the rules require that accounts be kept, and that written annual financial reports be generated. Unfortunately, neither accounts nor financial reports remain; yet our document may be the earliest known example of social investing in the Netherlands.

Anyhow, that the NEHA collection of guild records has been enriched by a unique specimen is clear from searching the large databases on guilds and boxes built by the Institute over the years (cf. On the Waterfront, 3, 2001, pp 3-4, and 17, 2009, pp 3-4). These are now partly available online, thanks to the excellent cooperation with our colleagues at Utrecht University. See www.collective-action.info, and look for datasets, journeymen’s boxes.

Kill the Walloon!
At the same Brussels auction, the NEHA gained another excellent opportunity as well. On offer was a complete manuscript of 30 densely-written pages of interest to both the history of economic thought and the migration history of the Netherlands. Now filed as NEHA BC 774, this was a final copy intended to be printed by Karel de Vrije at Middelburg in 1669. No printed copy exists in any library, however. In
fact, since only one other title is known to have been produced by this publisher (also in 1669), we have good reason to suspect his name was fictitious.

The anonymous pamphlet that was actually printed (Apologie, tegen de algemeene, en onbepaale Vrheyd, voor de oude Hollandsche Regeering) contained a strong defence of the position of the House of Orange in the Dutch Republic. Our manuscript's contents are similarly inspired. What distinguishes it from the pamphlet is that it is presented as a work by Pieter de la Court (1618-1674). Not only does the author hide behind the initials J.V.H. (De la Court used V.H. as a pseudonym), but he writes as if he is openly repenting the staunchly republican opinions for which De la Court was known. Under the title Afsvering van zijn onlangs verbooden Boeck van Hollandts heijlsame politique gronden en maximen, he attributes to De la Court sincere regret, in hindsight, regarding the political and economic ideas the latter had propagated in several books and pamphlets.

Who was Pieter de la Court? First, together with his brother Johan (1622-1660), he is sometimes considered a precursor of Adam Smith and one of the founders of the economic, social, and political sciences. In the somewhat elaborate language of the intellectuals of the Dutch Golden Age, he expounded on the causes of prosperity. That is why the NEHA has acquired most of his writings, as well as several manuscripts that circulated before being printed. His interest to migration historians derives from his public defence of free immigration, which he considered to be a condition for economic growth. In this respect, he depicted the province of Holland and his native city of Leyden as an example to the rest of the Republic and Europe in general.

This argument reflected a distinctively personal note. His father, also named Pieter, had fled the Spanish Netherlands in 1613 at the age of twenty. He moved to Leyden, married another refugee – at least 100,000 individuals fled from south to north around 1600 – and together with her started a flourishing textile company. The couple could even afford to send their sons Johan and Pieter to the new local university. So far, they were a typical migrant success story – and all the more so if we consider that Pieter Jr married a native Dutch belle and left the Eglise Wallonne of his parents for the official Calvinist Church, where only Dutch was spoken.

In spite of this, political opponents had no difficulty instigating xenophobic sentiment against this successful refugee family. In 1648 – i.e., 35 years after he came to Leyden – Pieter Sr was still denounced in a pamphlet as a garlic eater (“knuf-look vreeter”), who had arrived with more Walloon lice than dollars or ducats (“meer Walsche luyzen als daelders of ducata”). Nor was his wife spared. Yet this was harmless compared to the fate that befell Pieter Jr in 1668. As a partisian of Johan de Witt, the republican leader, he was so deeply hated that a pamphlet was issued demanding that he be hung. Weavers in Haarlem almost lynched an Amsterdam smith whom they mistook for De la Court. They pursued him crying out: “Kill the Walloon! Kill him, let the devil take him!” (“Sla doodt de Wael; Sla doodt, dat hem de duuyel haal”).

A year later – more than half a century after De la Court’s father immigrated – our newly-acquired manuscript once again expressed ethnic prejudice, having the alleged author describe himself as a meddling and cantankerous foreigner from Walloon Flanders, with the habitually restless and hot-tempered character of his nation (“een moeijallige en wrelvege vremdelingh uijt Wals Vlanderen, volgens de gewoone oonrustige en driftige aerdt van mijnhe natie”, p 4). In seventeenth-century eyes, then, the descendants of immigrants remained essentially different for a very long time. Clearly, today’s integration pessimists have a long ancestry.

Russian Marx

Although a Russian translation of the Communist Manifesto – long implausibly attributed to Mikhail Bakunin – was published in 1869, most writings by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels became available in Russian only from the 1880s. Like the Manifesto, printed by Ludwik Czerniecki in Geneva, many of the titles were produced abroad, such as the new translation of the Manifesto by Georgy Plekhanov, which was also printed at Geneva in 1882. The first legal publication in Russia of a book by Marx was the translation of the first volume of Capital by German Lopatin and Nikolai Daniel’son, which appeared at Nikolai Poliakov’s publishing house in St Petersburg in 1872 – a feat that did not aver its demise one year later. This translation had at first been undertaken by Bakunin, whose failure to deliver was one of many factors complicating discussions at the congress of the First International in The Hague in 1872.

As the custodian of two-thirds of the papers of Marx and Engels, the tisst basically collects all editions and translations of their
works and owns some 4,600 titles. With great interest, therefore, we noted in ‘Economic Thinkers 15,’ published in November 2010 by Bernard Quaritch, the antiquarian bookseller in London, no fewer than four titles – including three in Russian – that we did not hold. Contrary to what was thought or hoped by some after the fall of the Soviet Union, books by Marx have not become affordable: a first edition of *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie* currently fetches a cool £ 9,750, and the 1900 edition of Plekhanov’s translation of the *Manifesto* (again printed at Geneva) sells for £ 2,250. The prices of the items on our wish-list, though relatively modest individually, added up to £ 1,880 – a sum we cannot normally afford to spend on antiquarian books. Thanks to a gift from the sns Reaal Fonds, a foundation created by the successor to the Centrale workers’ insurance company (the Institute’s original funding institution), we were able to purchase these items after all.

All the books appeared in the years 1905-1906, when censorship was less rigid, due to the revolutionary situation in Russia. Two of them, *K evreiskomu vo-prosu* (On the Jewish Question, of which the cover is reproduced here) and *Karl Marks pered sudom prisiazhnikh*’ v Kel’ne (Karl Marx at the Jury Trial in Cologne), were part of the inexpensive series published by Znanie (Knowledge) in St Petersburg. This was a sort of writers’ co-operative founded by Konstantin Piatnitsky in 1898 and effectively headed by Maxim Gorky from the turn of the century until his departure abroad in 1906. Apart from Gorky’s own works, Znanie published books by Leonid Andreev, Ivan Bunin, and Anton Chekhov, among others, before it folded in 1913. The third title, Marx’s *O vobode pechati* (On the Freedom of the Press), contains, like the others, the first Russian translation of the work concerned. Finally, we bought a small pamphlet volume with Bulgarian versions of Marx’s *Lohnarbeit und Kapital* and the text by Engels known in English as *Socialism: utopian and scientific* (*Naemen trud i kapital* and *Razvitie na nauchniia sotsializm*, respectively). Both were translated by the Bulgarian social-democrat Georgi Bakalov (1873-1939).

**Practical Socialism**

Even before Engels wrote his *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique* in 1880, socialist theory in Europe had become averse to social reform experiments that risked absorbing workers to the point where they might refrain from the class struggle, thus weakening their revolutionary consciousness. Many reform movements were labelled ‘bourgeois’, a reputation they have had difficulty shaking. Vegetarians, naturists, neo-Malthusians, feminists, Theosophists, pacifists, and the members of all sorts of cooperatives were told at the very least that they were...
misguided. At the other side of the debate, their supporters were often attracted to such movements precisely because they considered them practical, in contrast to much socialist theory that drove the improvement of society and its ways into an uncertain future. One school of this both ‘utopian’ and ‘practical’ approach in the late nineteenth century looked to land reform for solutions. Popular works like Progress and Poverty by Henry George (1879), Looking Backward by Edward Bellamy (1888), and Freeland by Theodor Hertzka (1890) served as inspiration to many.

In this context, the Dutch psychiatrist and writer Frederik van Eeden (1860-1932) in 1898 founded the colony Walden, named after another famous book, Walden, or Life in the Woods by Henry David Thoreau (1854). Located in Bussum, about 25 km southeast of Amsterdam, it was meant to support itself through horticulture and to offer a place of rest to the mentally ill. In 1901 Van Eeden sought to extend his enterprise and founded Gemeenschapelijk Grondbezitt (ggb, Common Land Ownership). This organization was intended to bring together existing colonies and create new ones but soon evolved into a league of ‘productive associations’ in the spirit of Robert Owen. Walden went bankrupt in 1907. The ggb’s existence was also precarious, but it continued to function until 1958, spawning a foundation, the Methöferstichting – now Falconrui 47 – was purchased by François Franck in 1919 (on cooperatives) and 1919 (on interest in working for the ggb), respectively. In the first case, we even find a response from Belgium. The form reproduced here, sent from Ekeren, mentions a consumer cooperative in Antwerp at Falconrui 45. This building – now Falconrui 47 – was known as ‘de Kapel’. Constructed as an actual chapel with a ‘hofje’ in the mid-seventeenth century, it lost its religious function after the French Revolution and was purchased by François Franck (1872-1932) at the beginning of the twentieth century. Franck transformed it into an artistic and social centre. Van Eeden lectured there on several occasions. The site remains well-known among social historians.

Dangerous Wood
Charles B. Timmer (1907-1991), the deputy director at the iish from 1966 to 1982, started his career in his father’s trade as a timber merchant. He spent a lot of time working in the Soviet Union and would have loved the photo album inscribed Exportles: Leningrad Port 1931, donated to the Institute by Mr A. Greven. It contains 60 photographs affixed by hand and with handwritten captions in English, though a few minor errors suggest this may not have been the writer’s native language.

Exportles (or Eksportles) was the Soviet central foreign trade company for timber founded in 1926; in 1931 it opened a new quay in the port of Leningrad. Of course, this outfit was not established merely to accommodate organic growth in the market for wood, paper, and cellulose. The first five-year plan, introduced in 1928, in addition to calling for the industrialization of the Soviet Union, aimed at a fantastic increase in timber exports. Leningrad’s new quay was built to serve that purpose. As such, it was only one part of a larger ensemble: nearby, in Avtovo, which was growing into a southern suburb of Leningrad, a settlement was constructed for the workers who would service the outgoing ships. Apart from the port, the album shows the new housing development, with its kitchens, dining halls, cinema, and other facilities.

Unsurprisingly, the course of events was not exactly as planned. In The Great Urals, for example, James R. Harris reminds readers that in this region, which was supposed to make a huge leap forward in metallurgy and min-
ing, wood was still used as fuel, and there was simply not enough for local needs, let alone for exports. Efforts to expand forestry were hampered by a lack of peasant labour – a problem solved by recruiting forced labour. In the West, though, some started to worry about the effects of the Soviet endeavour on the European economy. In 1931, Hubert R. Knickerbocker (1898-1949), the chief Berlin correspondent for the New York Evening Post, even won a Pulitzer Prize for reporting on The Red Trade Menace (also a widely translated book). In the sequel Fighting the Red Trade Menace, published that same year, Knickerbocker noted the problems the Soviet five-year plan was causing for the Swedish and Finnish timber trade. At the same time, at one point in his research he was told “how expensive the Soviet’s loading difficulties are in Leningrad, where one ship is said to have waited so long for her cargo that after it had been loaded the demurrage charges when added to the freight exceeded the value of the cargo, and this loss was not in paper roubles, but in precious foreign currency.” Yet, he added, as a sobering note, this “cannot be typical.”

Between Marx and Mailer

In November 2010, Elisabeth Malaquais, the widow of Jean Malaquais (1908-1998), donated his political papers to the Institute. Born in Warsaw as Wladimir Malacki, after finishing high school Malaquais set out on a journey through the Middle East and North Africa, subsequently settling in France. Here he earned a living as a miner in the Provence and a porter at Halles in Paris, in addition to other jobs. He met Marc Chirik (1907-1990) and joined the international communist left, a group formed by the critics of Lenin took on in his Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder (1920) and at the third congress of the Communist International in 1921. The left was critical of the Bolshevik tactics of ‘entrism’ in the trade unions, participation in elections, and the struggle for national independence. After Lenin’s death, they would naturally oppose Stalin.

In 1935 Malaquais met André Gide, who encouraged him to write. His first novel, Les Java-nais (1939), was about his fellow miners; he was awarded the Prix Renaudot for this work. Drafted into the French army, Malaquais escaped to Marseille after the defeat. He waited for an American visa together with other European intellectuals and leftists – a period he describes in Planète sans visa (1947), whose main character is modelled on Chirik. He travelled via Mexico to New York, returning briefly to Paris in 1947. Here he published Le nommé Louis Aragon, ou le patriote professionnel, a pamphlet against the communist writer’s attack on Gide in 1945. He settled in the United States and became an American citizen, making friends with Norman Mailer, whose work The Naked and the Dead (1948) he translated, and who dedicated Barbary Shore (1951) to Malaquais. In the 1950s he learned Danish to study the work of Søren Kierkegaard, the subject of his dissertation, part of which was published in 1971 (Søren Kierkegaard: foi et paradoxe).

While in Mexico he clashed with Victor Serge. He deposited his file on this conflict at the iish in 1996. He knew the Institute because of his collaboration, as a translator, with Maximilien Rubel, the editor of the Pléiade edition of Karl Marx’s Oeuvres. Because of his friendship with Chirik, Malaquais remained in contact with the Gauche Communiste in France in the post-war years, but he became more conseiliste as a result of his relationship with Rubel. The minutes of the meetings that Rubel organized from the end of the 1950s are an important part of Malaquais’s papers. Another interesting section is his correspondence with Chirik, Rubel, Serge Bricianer, Raya Dunayevskaya, Julián Gorkin, and others. There are also various typewritten political texts by Malaquais and his good friend Paul Mattick. The literary parts of his papers are now at the Harry Ransom Center of the University of Texas at Austin, where Malaquais taught French literature.

Anarchist Landscapes

The substantial archive of the British anarchist and publicist Colin Ward (1924-2010) was donated to the iish by his widow Harriet in 2010. Ward became acquainted with anarchism during his military service in Glasgow. After the Second World War he joined the editorial board of the anarchist weekly Freedom, founded by Petr Kropotkin and others in 1886. Ward contributed to the journal from 1947 until 1960. He subsequently headed the monthly Anarchy until it ceased publication in 1970 and then started to write books. He focused on themes like housing, architecture (he worked as an architect from 1952 to 1961), urban planning, children, and education. Among his most influential titles are The Child in the City (1978), Arcadia for All: the legacy of a makeshift landscape (1984, with Dennis Hardy), and The Atomist: its landscape and culture (1988, with David Crouch). The iish has a virtually complete collection of his publications, totaling 73 titles.

In his books, Ward explored the relationships between people and urban settings from an anarchist viewpoint. He concentrated on the multiple forms of auto-organization in society which, as
he said, germinate like seeds under the snow of capitalism, bureaucracy, and nationalism. His books were translated into several languages and widely distributed outside the UK. In addition to his extensive correspondence and the texts of articles, lectures, books, and reviews, the archive (7.85 m) comprises eleven scrapbooks about architecture and his work, kept from 1943 until 1999. The Friends of the 1tsh were kind enough to pay for transportation of the papers and related expenses.

The archive beautifully complements the already voluminous collection on British anarchism, which includes the records of Freedom Press and the papers of Stuart Christie, Vernon Richards, Nicolas Walter, and others.

**Soldiers’ Archive**

The 1990 Reader der ‘anderen’ Archive published by the 1d-Archiv im 1tSG called it the ‘Archiv Soldatenrechte’ and listed its location as ‘Harald Kater Verlag, Görlitzer Strasse 39’, a squatters’ address in Berlin’s Kreuzberg. It also quoted the archive’s Selbstdarstellung: “The Archiv Soldatenrechte aims to establish a politically independent documentation and archive of materials on the situation of male and female soldiers [SoldatInnen] in active service and their efforts to exercise their civil rights and to organize themselves in the military of past, present and future. The archive should close up a gap, since writers and historians have so far treated this topic almost exclusively from the perspective of the rulers, and only rarely from that of those involved. The archive is now under construction.” As our photograph shows, it remained in that state in September 2010.

Since then, the 200 linear metres of what was alternately known as ‘the soldiers’ archive,’ ‘the soldiers’ rights archive,’ or ‘the soldiers’ resistance archive’ have been at the 1tsh, where they will constitute the core of the Brünn-Harris-Watts archive, named after those who created it. Wolf Dieter Brünn (1951-2010) was the man who lived since 1981 on Görlitzer Street and ran the Harald Kater publishing house, named after the local tomcat. He was a political scientist who admired Erich Mühsam, and he maintained the archive. Most of the documents were collected by David Harris (1938-2006), himself a former GI, who founded the GI Counselling Center in Berlin in 1974 to assist Americans with serious reservations about their army’s presence in Vietnam, and by Max Watts (1928-2010), who helped him.

Watts was born in Vienna as Thomas (Tomi) Schwaetzer; he changed his name after the 1965 riots in Los Angeles: Watts for the black district, Max for ‘maximum wattage.’ At age 10 he found himself alone in London, where he was assisted by the communist party until he was reunited with his mother in the United States in 1944. He left again to avoid fighting in Korea and lived in Israel, France, Algeria, Cuba, again France, and Germany, before settling in Australia in the late 1970s. In the meantime, he had graduated as a geophysicist and become a seasoned activist.

In France and Germany Watts had been involved with RITAS, or Resistance Inside the Army, a term devised in 1967 by Dick Perrin, who later wrote G.I. Reister: the Story of How One American Soldier and His Family Fought the War in Vietnam (2001, with Tim McCarthy). RITAS and FRITAS (‘friends of resisters inside the army,’ the most prominent ones being Jane Fonda and Jean-Paul Sartre) abounded in the Archiv Soldatenrechte and not just in relation to Vietnam. The collection contains lots of soldiers’ magazines from many countries and all kinds of studies on the armed forces. Some of the literature provides legal advice or is intended to be helpful in some other way; yet some is clearly illegal and subversive. The archive is not yet accessible, as arranging it will require a lot of work, and important additions are still expected.

**Amazing Solidarity**

At the end of the 1960s Northern Ireland saw the outbreak of what became known as ‘the Troubles,’ a bloody conflict between Protestant and Catholic nationalists that lasted until the end of the century and beyond. In 1975 Dutch activists were sufficiently interested to found the Ierland Komitee Nederland, or Campaign on Ireland, which started to publish the Ierland Bulletin. The committee has now deposited its considerable archive, including many posters from various countries, at the 1tsh.
Originating from the radical milieu of the Rode Hulp (Red Aid) and the Rode Jeugd (Red Youth), the campaign initially sympathized openly with the Provisional – as opposed to the Official – Irish Republican Army (IRA). Indeed, interest in ‘urban guerrilla’ and the ‘anti-imperialist struggle’ in general became so strong that some members joined a Palestinian training camp in South Yemen in 1976, where they encountered second-generation militants of the Rote Armee Fraktion, who were not impressed. Its brief flirtation with terrorism over, the committee disbanded, only to be resurrected in 1977, first in Amsterdam, then in Nijmegen. The committee now began to focus on the situation of IRA prisoners, most notably in the Long Kesh Detention Centre, around 15 km southwest of Dublin, and in Armagh Prison for women, some 40 km farther on. In Long Kesh, also known as ‘the Maze’, prisoners convicted of terrorist acts were housed in so-called H-blocks from 1976 on. Some IRA members, starting with Kieran Nugent (1958-2000), refused to wear prison uniforms in an attempt to obtain the status of political prisoners; not allowed their own clothes, they wrapped themselves in blankets and became known as the ‘blanket men.’ In 1980 and again in 1981 some prisoners staged hunger strikes; Bobby Sands and nine other hunger strikers died. Another defining moment for the Campaign was the arrest and subsequent extradition of two IRA members, Brendan McFarlane and Gerry Kelly, in Amsterdam in 1986. From 1987 on, the committee shed its ‘activist’ leanings and concentrated on publishing the Bulletin, continuing until 2002. The final issue told its history. The photograph reproduced here, taken from an album, shows Nugent (third from right behind the table) at a meeting organized by the committee at O’42 in Nijmegen in November 1980. Next to him are Dave Farrell, a trade-union representative in the Irish H-block committee, and Maureen Gibson, a former prisoner at Armagh. O’42 – named after its address at Oranjensingel 42 – was a ‘politiek-kultureel centrum.’

The Institute’s first address was Keizersgracht 264. The building, owned by the city of Amsterdam, had been constructed in 1876 as an ‘hbs voor meisjes,’ a new type of secondary school for girls. In 1936 it stood vacant, and the city agreed to let the new IISH use it free of charge for a period of ten years. The stacks could at first hold about five linear kilometres of books (about three miles), but within two years this space proved entirely inadequate. Most corridors had been filled with bookcases, the building was overflowing, and additional space had to be rented across the canal. There are not many photographs of the interior of the building, which served the Institute until 1969. In May-July 1967, however, a whole series was taken, probably by Wim Veen, the financial administrator, who was an amateur photographer. He photographed all staff members at work, as well as the senior staff meeting, the storerooms, and the view of the Westertoren from the top floor. His album was ‘rediscovered’ in the year of the Institute’s 75th anniversary.

The photograph reproduced here shows Annie Diaz-van der Goot (21 May 1901-31 January 1976), who was special in many respects. She was the younger sister of Willemijn Hendrika van der Goot (1897-1989), the second wife of Nicolaas Posthumus, the IISH’s founder, and herself a co-founder of the International Archive of the Women’s Movement in 1935. The two girls were daughters of Fiepko van der Goot (1869-1940) and Elisabeth Marijna Castens. Fiepko was an engineer who in late 1896 started working for the Nederlandsch-Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorweg-Maatschappij (NZASM) in the Transvaal, until the British threw him out in 1900, during the second Anglo-Boer war. Thus, while Willemijn had been born in Pretoria, Annie started her life in Nijmegen. In 1902 Fiepko was employed by the Ministry of Colonies. He took his family to the Dutch East Indies, where he became responsible for the development of the telegraph system in a large part of the archipelago. The NEHA Bijzondere Collecties (no 241) include several photo albums related to these works, donated by Fiepko’s second wife, B.M. Hartog, who hailed from Ambon. The NEHA also happened to obtain, probably in 1940, an interesting documentation collection on the NZASM (HC 493).

After the couple divorced, Fiepko’s first wife moved to Switzerland, where her daughters attended a boarding school in Lausanne; later she settled in San Remo, where she lived until her death in 1929. In 1919, the girls returned to Holland, living in Scheveningen. Willemijn attended the Handelshogeschool, the
I n addition to a vast collection of images and audiovisual sources, the IIISH manages a substantial music collection, comprising both sound carriers and sheet music and lyrics. The 22nd Friends’ Meeting was a welcome opportunity to pay tribute to music and the labour movement.

Mieke IJzermans presented a selection of well-known specimens from the IIISH music collection, such as the original manuscript of the text of ‘l’Internationale.

Board member Bauke Marinus and IIISH staff members Aad Blok and Lex Heerma van Voss delivered brief presentations highlighting aspects of the relation between the labour and working-class movement and popular music.

Preliminary exploration of labour movement music items at the Institute reveals that such material is abundant, has not undergone a preliminary exploration of the printed material, ‘Dorsman’s booklet,’ and Eisler (Bauke Marinus)

Preliminary exploration of labour movement music items at the Institute reveals that such material is abundant, has not undergone a

History of Labour in Popular Music: Music Collections of the IIISH

In addition to a vast collection of images and audiovisual sources, the IIISH manages a substantial music collection, comprising both sound carriers and sheet music and lyrics. The 22nd Friends’ Meeting was a welcome opportunity to pay tribute to music and the labour movement. Mieke IJzermans presented a selection of well-known specimens from the IIISH music collection, such as the original manuscript of the text of ‘l’Internationale.’ Board member Bauke Marinus and IIISH staff members Aad Blok and Lex Heerma van Voss delivered brief presentations highlighting aspects of the relation between the labour and working-class movement and popular music.

Preliminary exploration of the printed material, ‘Dorsman’s booklet,’ and Eisler (Bauke Marinus)

Preliminary exploration of labour movement music items at the Institute reveals that such material is abundant, has not undergone a
systematic inventory, and, as far as the sound carriers are concerned, is often poorly accessible.

Printed materials (both texts and sheet music) comprise the following general categories:

- battle and militant songs, mainly about solidarity in action and spirit;
- songs elevating the working class, performed in concert halls, often by professional choirs;
- general, non-socialist booklets of lyrics, often from folk songs.

Most of these materials are from the period of the modern labour movement since the late nineteenth century; a far smaller share is from earlier periods.

The Institute holds a great many books of minutes from German choral societies and reading clubs in Paris from the second half of the nineteenth century, starting with the Commune. In the period between the Commune and the outbreak of the First World War, German migrant workers sang eagerly and often stridently. In my own library I have a booklet that once belonged to my grandfather, ‘Dorsman’s booklet’. Dorsman placed the lyrics of popular songs in this booklet in 1904, when he apparently worked in Paris. He sent it to his former co-workers in Leiden, members of the L.J. Coster typographers’ association. This presentation seemed like a nice opportunity to add Dorsman to the Institute’s collections.

In the course of my preliminary exploration, I also discovered Hanns Eisler (1898-1962). I once teamed up with the composer Paul Prenen to produce a programme about Eisler. I knew that during his years in the United States Eisler had worked on movie scores; this time I noticed that he once performed an experiment with the movie The Grapes of Wrath (directed by John Ford and based on the book by John Steinbeck), for which Alfred Newman had written the original music. Eisler composed his own music score for this movie as well. The DVD accompanying the new 2006 edition of the book Komposition für den Film, which Eisler originally published together with Theodor W. Adorno in 1947, features two versions of the same clip from the movie, one playing the music by Newman, the second the music by Eisler. Newman’s music ties in well with subjects that will be elaborated in the following two accounts: the traditional folk music played by workers in the United States. Eisler related to workers through music as well, first in Germany, but also after he fled to the United States, together with Bertolt Brecht. They dedicated themselves to the struggle of the working class against National Socialism and fascism. One of their achievements was the famous Solidaritätslied. I once heard the song performed at a national assembly of the cpn (Dutch Communist Party) in East Groningen during a protest demonstration against closing the strawboard outfit. Everybody present (including myself) was already deeply impressed by the passionate speech that Fré Meis delivered at the occasion, but the sound of the Solidaritätslied was emotionally overwhelming, exemplifying how singing moves groups of activists.

When Eisler recorded his own soundtrack to Ford’s movie in Hollywood, the sound was different, identifying him as a student of Schönberg. In some respects, composing battle and action songs was detrimental to Eisler. It withheld him from what Schönberg described as ‘writing notes’. “That is where his talent lies, he should let others do the rest,” he added ironically.

Eisler must have realized this, too, based on his statements before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, where he was summoned to testify after the Second World War. The chairman of the committee, convicted soon afterwards for illegal land speculation, hardly let Eisler speak. Eisler just barely managed to say, “I am a composer, not a songwriter. If that displeases you, try playing Open the Door, Richard” (a popular jingle at the time). Schönberg described as ‘writing notes’. “That is where his talent lies, he should let others do the rest,” he added ironically.

Eisler left the United States.

American protest songs continued to reflect the traditions of American workers’ songs after the war. In the GDR Eisler reverted to the European traditions established during the struggle against fascism in the 1920s. The East German comrades prohibited the Faust Opera he composed. Eisler was too much of a composer. In Western Europe, when ties
with the original social democracy weakened and were eventually severed altogether, interest increased in American protest songs, which derived from a tradition that was entirely different from the West European socialist heritage of songs.

**THE 'WORKING-CLASS HERO' IN AMERICAN POPULAR MUSIC (AAD BLOK)**

The American protest songs that dominated popular music all over the world for a while from the 1960s and have deeply influenced modern pop music, thanks to the illustrious work of Bob Dylan and – later on – Bruce Springsteen, hail from a tradition that derives largely from the renowned American poet Walt Whitman. At any rate, such is the view that Bryan Garman elaborates in his interesting study *Race of Singers: Whitman’s Working-Class Hero from Guthrie to Springsteen* (2000). The poem ‘I hear America singing’ from *Leaves of Grass* is Whitman’s most famous ode to the working man, who in his view personified the true soul of the American nation. Whitman’s love for the working class became an important inspiration for the vast collection of songs by America’s most renowned folk singer, Woody Guthrie (1912-1967). Although today Guthrie is remembered mainly as the author of the patriotic *This Land is Your Land*, he dedicated most of his career to the radical struggle by the American proletariat and against capitalism and fascism. The folk music that came about in the rural United States during the early twentieth century (in which influences from older European folk music resound, thanks to immigrants) served the radical leftist movement as an easily accessible propaganda vehicle from the 1920s onward, with Guthrie as one of the major proponents.

The genealogy described by Garman then continued to Guthrie’s substantial influence in Dylan’s early work. Although Dylan later tried to discard his reputation as a protest singer, he is remembered primarily for songs such as *Blowin’ in the Wind* and *The Times They Are a-Changing*. Coming full circle, Bruce Springsteen, who in his early years was labelled ‘the new Bob Dylan,’ mentioned Guthrie as one of his most important role models. In 2006, in his album *We Shall Overcome: The Seeger Sessions*, Springsteen paid tribute to the work of Pete Seeger, who in the 1950s and 60s carried on Guthrie’s work and was active in the American radical leftist movement.

This genealogy of the working-class hero from Whitman to Springsteen seems to revolve mainly around the individual, white American working man. Whitman’s romantic, patriotic interest in workers reflects little awareness of the specific forms of disadvantage and discrimination that black Americans faced. And Guthrie is known primarily for defending the poor white farmers and sharecroppers deprived by the Dust Bowl of their basic subsistence (the subject of Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath*). Finally, in the 1980s, Reagan’s Republicans embraced Springsteen’s hit song *Born in the USA*, despite the composer’s obvious leftist views – which in 2008 led him to support Barack Obama’s campaign in his song *Working on a Dream*.

Black American culture, however, has its own, autonomous tradition of folk songs, manifesting primarily in the blues. Blues music is known to derive from the work songs of black slaves, and the blues is known to have been pivotal in the rise of modern rock music as well. But Black folk music has its own working-class hero: John Henry, the mythical black railway worker who opposed the steam engine, paying for his victory with his life. His story is told in many versions of the song, interpreted and sung both by black singers like Mississippi John Hurt (1892/3-1966) and by white ones, including Guthrie, Seeger, and Springsteen.

Not only did a specific black music culture exist in the United States, but uses of folk music in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s – a black social movement if there ever was one – differ substantially from those in the largely white radical-leftist movement in the 1920s and 30s. In a recent study the American sociologist William Roy shows how (mostly white) communists and other leftist radicals appropriated folk music for propaganda purposes, having the public listen passively to the leftist message conveyed by folk music. In the civil rights movement, on the other hand, those participating in marches sang well-known songs from the same tradition of American folk music to promote solidarity against police violence.

** PURE FOLK MUSIC, THE AVANT-GARDE, AND MUSIC COLLECTORS (LEX HEERMA VAN VOSS)**

In the second half of the 19th and 20th centuries relations between the leftist movement and music were therefore not free of conflict. One of the main causes was the penchant among sections of the Left for what was regarded as pure music and a possibly ‘leftist’ disposition toward innovation and avant-garde art, also in music.

For centuries, mainstream, classical music experienced regular innovations, which did not instantly meet with automatic public acceptance. In the 19th and 20th centuries this trend appears to have intensified. Many resisted music by avant-garde composers such as Schönberg (1874-1951) or Bartók (1881-1945). The preference for ‘pure’ culture, which in music often denoted folk music, was not specific to the Left. In keeping with Herder (1744-1803), many regarded the people, i.e. ordinary folk, as the conveyors of a national culture. This view still imbues today’s definition of folk music as a genre: “All working men’s songs, children’s songs, and songs of myths and legends that have been passed on orally across generations for centuries
and characterize a specific country, region, or culture."

Many important composers, such as Grieg and Bartók, derived inspiration from these folk songs. They were collected by well-known and less well-known composers. In the First World War a collector such as Cecil Sharpe (1859-1924) gathered folk music in the Appalachian Mountains in the United States. He believed that there, in isolation, the old music of Scottish and English immigrants, had been more purely preserved than in the home country. Another example was Percy Grainger (1882-1961), who collected folk music in England in the 1900s but was also the first to cover jazz in musicology lectures at New York University in the 1930s. Opinions varied as to what was pure and folk art. This is an ongoing conflict surrounding folk music. Music enjoyed by ‘the people’, such as sung by Johnny Jordaan or Jan(tje) Smit in the Netherlands, for example, is regarded as overly commercial and ‘fabricated’ by folk music aficionados.

In the 1930s Americans such as John Lomax (1867-1948) and Charles Seeger (1886-1979) collected field recordings of folk music. ‘Field’ sometimes denoted very unusual settings: Lomax and his son Alan (1915-2002) recorded the singer Leadbelly (1885-1949) at the State Penitentiary in Angola, Louisiana. The Works Progress Administration collected life stories and songs by former slaves. These efforts helped preserve the grass-roots culture, which was overlooked by most official custodians of musical heritage. In this respect, they were comparable to the collection and rescue operations of the iish. In the Netherlands song culture was collected as well (somewhat later than in Anglo-Saxon countries). One of the driving forces was Ate Doornbosch (1926-2010), who recorded folk music from 1957 to 1993, first for the VARA programme *Onder de Groene Linden* and later on for a sister institute of the iish, the P.J. Meertens Institute.

Many folk singers whose work was collected in this manner had traditional political views. But not all. Leadbelly, mentioned above, and Woody Guthrie (another source of the Lomaxes, covered here in detail as well), were ardent leftists. Several trails lead from these collectors to the folk revival of the 1950s and 60s. Charles Seeger’s son Pete was very active in this effort. His band The Weavers recorded Leadbelly’s *Goodnight Irene*, which topped the charts for thirteen weeks in 1950. As explained above, Woody Guthrie served as a role model for Bob Dylan in his early years, and Pete Seeger transformed the spiritual *We Shall Overcome* into a leftist battle song. As a leftist singer, Seeger was prosecuted by McCarthy.

The labour movement has always produced songs, such as Pierre de Geyer’s *L’Internationale*. Many battle songs were written and sung in the labour organizations, albeit in fairly traditional musical vernacular. By the early 20th century some composers started to use more modern music, classical and popular alike, as Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956) and Hanns Eisler (1898-1962) exemplify. Though dedicated to the labour movement, they were interested in contemporary and avant-garde music as well.

Stem des Volks (1898-2002) was a Dutch choir that sang traditional labour movement songs. Such choirs often progressed to a non-socialist, classical repertoire, because it was more complex and musically interesting. Social-democratic leaders such as Henri Polak did not object and in fact advocated introducing workers to classical culture for several reasons. Folk songs drew interest within the socialist movement, where Piet Tiggers (1891-1968), for example, propagated singing folk songs in the AJC youth movement.

In the 1960s and ‘70s battle songs, including socialist ones, experienced a revival, inspired in part by the American folk movement, vocalized by singers such as Boudewijn de Groot. The hit song *Zeven dagen lang* by Bots (1976) figures in the same tradition. Jaap van der Merwe (1924-1989) figured prominently in preserving, passing on, and recycling performances of classical socialist and other protest songs. He produced the VARA radio show *’t Opvoer knaait* from 1968 to 1975 and is the author of what remains to this day the most important book about Dutch protest songs: *Gij zijt kanalje! heeft men ons verwen: het proletariërslied in Nederland en Vlaanderen* (1974).


At the time of the meeting, the financial report for 2010 was not yet available; it is now published below. Notice the Friends’ assistance with regard to the acquisition of the Colin Ward papers. The Institute’s directors will decide later on how to spend our gift of € 5000 for the year 2010.
### Financial Results for 2010 and Budget for 2011

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<th></th>
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Niek Scheps

Weersta van het begin maar slechts met het geesteszwaard
Het verzetswerk van J.H. Scheps 1940-1945
isbn 978 90 5260 369 8, 380 pp., € 35,00


In tal van spreekbeurten en brochures riep hij zijn landgenoten op tot dezelfde houding. Hij ging er tot het einde van de bezettingstijd mee door, ook in de periode 1944-1945, toen hij een jaar lang in Amsterdam en Amersfoort gevangen zat. Scheps' brochures, vaak in een opmerkelijk hoge oplage verspreid, moeten door tienduizenden Nederlanders zijn gelezen en hij moet met zijn spreekbeurten meer dan twintigduizend toehoorders hebben bereikt.

Niek Scheps, neef van J.H. Scheps, is de eerste die zijn tientallen brochures en maar liefst vijfhonderd spreekbeurten heeft onderzocht en beoordeeld. Daarbij komen ook de ongemakkelijke, zo niet onmogelijke dilemma's aan de orde waarvoor Scheps door zijn beginselvaste houding kwam te staan.

Aniek Smit

‘Mijn vader had een Afro!’
Hoe Marokkaanse migranten in Nederland zich kleden sinds de jaren zestig
isbn 978 90 5260 391 9, 216 pp., € 22,50

Aan de hand van foto’s, en interviews met leden van de verschillende generaties schetst dit boek een beeld van de ontwikkeling van het kleedgedrag van Marokkaanse migranten in Nederland in de periode 1965-2010. Daarbij legt Smit een verband met andere studies over de integratie van deze groep, de manier waarop zij zich identificeren en hun maatschappelijke positie. Verschillen hun kledingkeuzes wezenlijk van die van hun ouders?

Aniek Smit laat zien dat er ten onrechte problemen worden gemaakt over het kleedgedrag van Marokkanen. In tegenstelling tot eerdere studies blijkt dat er weinig sprake is van een traditionalisering of islamisering. Een direct verband leggen tussen kleedgedrag en integratie blijkt onmogelijk. Door de aandacht te vestigen op de context waarin men bepaalde kleding draagt, wordt duidelijk dat er sterke variaties bestaan in de manier van kleden. Factoren als gender, leeftijd, herkomstgebied en het modeaanbod spelen daarbij een bepalende rol. De keuze voor een hoofddoek blijkt niet altijd een religieus statement te zijn.

Judith Frishman, David J. Wertheim, Ido de Haan en Joël Cahen (eds)

Borders and boundaries in and around Dutch Jewish History
isbn 978 90 5260 387 2, 208 pp., € 22,50

De artikelen in deze bundel belichten de veelzijdige betekenis van ‘grenzen’ voor de joodse geschiedenis binnen en rondom Nederland. De auteurs schetsen met hun bijdragen een beeld dat ingaat tegen de klassieke notie dat joodse gemeenschappen te definiëren zijn langs de grenzen van getto’s, natiestaten, religie, of vanuit een vaste etnische identiteit. In plaats daarvan tonen de zij vanuit een anti-essentialistisch perspectief hoezeer wisselende geografische, politieke, nationale en ideologische omstandigheden van invloed zijn op de constructie en veranderlijkheid van collectieve joodse identiteit. Of het nu ging om de invloed van Duitse joden op de vorming van een liberaal jodendom in Nederland, de Portugese identiteit van de joden van Salonika of de Antwerpse diamantslijpers die naar Israël emigreerden, telkens blijkt dat grenzen in de joodse geschiedenis zowel bepalend, als veranderlijk zijn.