

# On the Waterfront

newsletter of the friends of the IISH 2018 no. 35



internationaal instituut  
voor sociale geschiedenis

An Old Friend  
**Anton Bakels**

**Janssen Perio**  
and Statepensions

100 Years  
**Russian  
Revolution**

# Introduction: Old Friends, New Format

**Cover photo:**  
**See last page**

On 29 June 2017 the Friends met for the first time in the new format of a General Friends Meeting. Several people hope to involve the Friends more actively in the vicissitudes of the Institute. The old structure seemed top-heavy for a relatively small organization such as the Friends of the IISH. In addition, the IISH looks forward to more feedback from the general public about plans drafted within the Institute. Who better to consult first than your Friends?

This is why we have adjusted the organization in some ways. In addition to the IISH staff responsible for preparing and organizing the Friends, we are introducing a General Friends Meeting, which will consistently address at least one special theme. We will also discuss pending matters of the Friends and the IISH alike there. We are hoping for active and most of all mutual dynamics and a new platform for exchanging ideas and activities.

The results of the survey were discussed on 29 June as well. We received 27 completed surveys, a high score for 69 forms issued and indicating that our Friends are very involved. One of our conclusions has been to modify the dues.

The entrance fee is now 25 euros with the intention of attracting a new group of interested participants, who may have difficulty with the fee of 100 euros. Of course we hope that you will stay on as loyal Friends and welcome all help.

We are pleased to congratulate Maral Jefroudi, who on 11 October 2017 took her PhD on: "If I deserve it, it should be paid to me" *A Social History of Labour in the Iranian Oil Industry (1951-1973)*. We also congratulate Pim Zwier and Gijs Kessler on the 24 October premiere of their motion picture *Bouwen te midden van eenzaamheid* about the architect Van Loghem, who in the 1920s travelled to the

Soviet Union to help build the new society.

For a detailed report of the meeting on 29 June 2017, please see: [https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/verslag\\_first\\_avv\\_29\\_jun\\_2017\\_1.pdf](https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/verslag_first_avv_29_jun_2017_1.pdf)

Huub Sanders

## *About the Friends*

*Members of the Friends of the IISH pay annual dues of 25, 100 or 500 euros or join with a lifetime donation of 1,500 euros or more. In return, members are invited to semi-annual sessions featuring presentations of IISH acquisitions and guest speakers. These guest speakers deliver lectures on their field of research, which need not be related to the IISH collection. The presentation and lecture are followed by a reception. The Friends coordinator may consult the Friends about allocating revenues from the dues and delivers an annual financial report in conjunction with the IISH administration.*

*As a token of appreciation for their great contribution to the Friends, Jaap Kloosterman and Jan Lucassen were appointed honorary members in 2014.*

*The IISH was founded by master collector N.W. Posthumus (1880-1960) in the 1930s. For the past two decades, two of the institutions established by this 'history entrepreneur' have operated from the same premises: the Netherlands Economic History Archive founded in 1914 and the International Institute of Social History, which is now more than 80 years old. Both institutes continue to collect, although the 'subsidiary' IISH has grown considerably larger than its 'parent' NEHA. Additional information about the Institute may be found in Jaap Kloosterman and Jan Lucassen, *Rebels with a Cause: Five Centuries of Social History Collected by the IISH (Amsterdam 2010)*. For all information concerning the Friends, see [iisg.amsterdam/friends](http://iisg.amsterdam/friends)*

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**Design and layout:** Ruparo (Ivo Sikkema, Ingeborg Seelemann)

**Printed by:** Wilco, Amersfoort

**Website:** Machteld Maris

**Financial administration:** Guusje Varkevisser and Tjerck Zitteema

**Administrative and secretarial support:** Ineke Kellij, Jacqueline Rutte

**We are grateful to:** Frank de Jong, Henk Wals, Bart de Cort, Pepijn Brandon, Dennis Bos, Gijs Kessler, Jacques van Gerwen.

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*On the Waterfront* is supported by Koninklijke Brill NV  
ISSN 15742156



# An Old Friend: Anton Bakels (1898-1964)

Friends of the IISH have a long, impressive tradition. Anton Bakels exemplifies this help from 'Friends' of the IISH, even before the Institute was established in 1935. Along his travels in search of items for the IISH to be founded, probably in 1934, the future director N.W. Posthumus entrusted six crates containing the library of the Communistische Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein to Bakels for safekeeping in Berlin.

Anton Bakels was an anarchist and publisher – in that sequence. He was one of the few Dutch anarchists with any international standing. After completing the gymnasium [preparatory school for higher education], he strolled about Haarlem as a dandy, carrying a club and wearing gaiters. Presumably, he taught languages. He preferred Paris to Berlin and French poets and philosophers to German ones. Following brief stints as a publisher in Budapest, Brussels, and Warsaw, he was appointed director of the German subsidiary of the Haarlem-based publishing company De Spaarnestad in 1932. Bakels used his sojourn in Berlin to help old friends from the anarchist movement. Together with Arthur Lehning, he arranged Dutch passports for the Russian anarchists Senya and Mollie Fléchine, enabling them to travel from Berlin to Paris over the course of 1933. On one of his trips he also brought the manuscript of the *magnum opus* by his good friend, the anarchist Rudolf Rocker, *Nationalismus und Kultur* to safety in the Nether-

lands. After Rocker fled in 1933, people including Lehning and Bakels removed all items from his home. His library was later forwarded to him via Amsterdam.

After the Second World War, Bakels returned to Germany for De Spaarnestad, this time heading to Düsseldorf. He stayed in touch with the IISH via Annie Adama van Scheltema, teaming up with Lehning yet again to publish the memoirs of Fred Cornelissen.

During his lifetime, Bakels already donated several items to the IISH, such as notes that Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis had written to him in 1918, a photograph of François-René de Chateaubriand, the book of minutes from 1913 of the board of the London-based association of German socialists, the Sozialer Studien Cirkel (currently part of the Max Nettlau archive, issue 3050), as well as a photo album from the Berlin performance of Ernst Toller's *Hinkemann* in 1924.

Bakels is said to have had one of the finest personal libraries in the Netherlands. After his sudden death, his collection was put up for auction, but only after Lehning arranged to donate a section to the IISH, which featured this cherished donation in its 1964 annual report. The collection comprised e.g. the complete *Tagebücher* of K.A. Varnhagen von Ense [IISH D 215/4 A 1-15], the *Oeuvres complètes* of Charles Fournier [IISH F 1160/1 A-F], publications by Alexander Herzen, Alexander von Humboldt, Georg Herwegh, Freiligrath, Bela Kun, Sébastien Faure, some very rare stencilled newsletters from the Amsterdamer Zweig-bureau der III. (communistiche) Internationale from 1920 (presently part of the Komintern Collection, nr. 10), and 50 German political pamphlets from 1848-1849. Anything not already part of the IISH collection was auctioned off the next year, again including many fine items, such as works by August Bebel, Karl Kautsky, Peter Kropotkin, Cesare Lombroso, Max Maurenbrecher, and Nikolaï Gavrilovitch Tchernichevsky. There was also the 1893 volume of the French communist journal *Le Chambard Socialiste: satirique illustré*, featuring dazzling lithograph plates by Petit Pierre (Steinlen).

The personal papers of Bakels reached the IISH as well, following his death in 1964. Bakels' importance as an anarchist with international stature manifests in a few dozen letters to leading anarchists, albeit not the four hundred that the description of the contents suggests. The number stated is high, because this description was generated soon after the personal papers of Bakels arrived at the IISH. Much of the correspondence predated 1933 and had been smuggled out of Germany for Rocker by Bakels. The IISH later tacitly added this correspondence to Rocker's personal papers. This 'transfer' is probably also the reason that the listed correspondence with Luigi Ber-



Portrait of  
Anton Bakels,  
IISH call num-  
ber BG A 1/504

toni, Jacques Doubinsky, Emma Goldman, Hem Day, Bart de Ligt, John Mackay, Erich Mühsam, Prince Murat, Félix Ortt, and Augustin Souchy does not appear in the papers of Bakels.

There are other manifest gaps. Bakels' widow felt a duty to 'purge' from the papers everything that she believed might taint the reputation of her husband, within her very broad perspective that even included destroying the correspondence of her husband with the proto-fascist and artist Erich Wichman. Documents concerning a libel suit, forged letters of safe conduct from the war, indicating that Bakels supposedly worked

for the higher German occupation authorities, and his discharge letters from allegedly 'wrong' [disloyal] Dutch and Germans, ended up with others following the death of Bakels' daughter and were preserved for future researchers. Hopefully, they will soon be added to the personal papers of Bakels, as true Friendship never dies.

*Bart de Cort worked for the IISH, the NEHA, and the Press Museum from 1990 to 2006. In 2018 his biography of Bakels will be published by Kelderautgeverij: Het schynt dat ge u interesseert voor het anarchisme*

## Thirty-fifth Friends' Day, 29 June 2017

### Presentation of the Acquisitions

**Jan Burgers, a physicist who toyed with the Soviet Union but moved to the United States for his professional career**

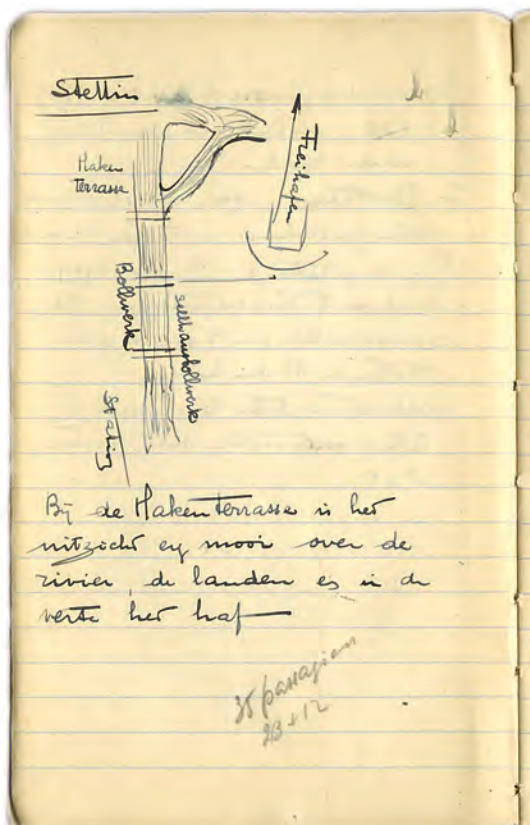
In the Spring of 2017 the IISH received an accrual to the personal papers of Johannes Martinus (Jan) Burgers (<http://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH00126>). Jan Burgers was a mathematician and physicist. While papers of scientists are ordinarily sparse in the Institute archives, Burgers made four extended journeys to the Soviet Union. Due in part to his interest in communism, Burgers had joined the Communistische Partij Holland (CPH). Around the time of his final trip to the Soviet Union in 1936, he cancelled his membership of the CPH. His experiences during this last journey convinced him that he had made the right decision. Ten years previously, in 1926, he had seriously considered accepting a chair as professor in Leningrad.

How did he become involved in Marxist

circles? Born in Arnhem in January 1895, Burgers was the son of a postal service employee. In 1914 he enrolled at Leiden University to study math and physics. Professor Paul Ehrenfest soon welcomed him into the group of students debating scientific and social issues, including Marxism. Both Ehrenfest and young Burgers observed the course of the Russian Revolution in 1917 with a combination of excitement and sympathy. Burgers soon met Albert Einstein, who was friends

Travel diary  
of Burgers,  
1929 with  
a drawing  
of a part of  
Stettin,  
inv. nr. 17

Picture post-  
card Stettin  
1929,  
inv. nr.19



with Ehrenfest, on his visit to Leiden.

Burgers soon graduated and was hired at the Physics Laboratory of the Haarlem Teylers' Stichting. This Laboratory was run by Leiden Professor of Theoretical Physics Hendrik Lorentz. The reconstruction of this laboratory of Lorentz at the Teylers Museum in Haarlem that was opened on 10 May 2017 is unlikely to have been a coincidence.

On 7 November 1918 Burgers took his PHD. Ehrenfest is rumoured to have just barely managed to dissuade the young PHD candidate from appearing at the ceremony in 'Bolshevik attire.'

Our young hero had become a professor of aero and hydrodynamics in Delft three months prior to taking his PHD. Turbulence, including its causes and consequences, aptly conveyed the essence of his research projects. Burgers also became a member of the Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, KNAW). Practice appealed to him as well. He was closely involved in projects by the Dienst der Zuiderzeewerken and the Staatsmijnen and readily engaged in measurement exercises that could at times be dangerous. Burgers travelled extensively within Europe and to the Soviet Union and the United States, maintaining a great many international contacts and holding offices, returning to the U.S. again in 1949. He intended to settle there, as he found Delft oppressive and the lab facilities dated. However, his prewar communist sympathies withheld him from moving to the U.S. In 1954 he wrote the story of his life, with his application to immigrate in mind. He accounted for his past dealings with the Soviet Union and the CPN. Only in 1955 did he obtain permission to settle in the U.S., where he became a professor at the University of Maryland. He died in Washington D.C. in 1981.

What became of Burgers' sympathies for the Soviet Union? What does the accrual to his personal papers contain? There are three files of Burgers' correspondence with his wife and children and his parents, written during his trips to the Soviet Union in 1926, 1929, and 1936. There are also two booklets containing dairy-style notes from the period of his journeys in 1926 and 1929. Burgers described the journeys to the Soviet Union, which included travel by sea, providing accounts of the harbours at Stettin (Szczecin) and Reval (Tallinn), as well as his short visits to the homes of Russian professors. Additional items are travel documents and over 60 photographs that Burgers took while he was in the Soviet Union. Finally, there is a package of correspondence from 1929-1935 with Nina Pavlovna, a lady friend of Burgers (who was married) in the Soviet Union.

Finally: what drove Burgers? Was it his career as a scientist, his political and for a while Marxist views, or was it his lady friend? Presumably, as happens in real life, it was some combination not captured in any formula from mathematics or physics. (BHi)



### A France different from that of Macron? The campaign of Pierre Juquin (1988)

In May 2017 Emmanuel Macron was elected president of France. This spectacular outcome completely altered the political landscape in France. In the first round Fillon's party Les Républicains (20.01%) were defeated, the Parti Socialiste was decimated (6.36%), and Marine Le Pen barely made second place (21.30%), qualifying for the next round. In the second round between Macron and Le Pen, Macron won, receiving 66% of the votes cast. This outcome might have suggested that the left no longer existed in France, but that would belie the fact that in the first round Jean-Luc Mélenchon received 19.58% of the vote with his movement La France insoumise.

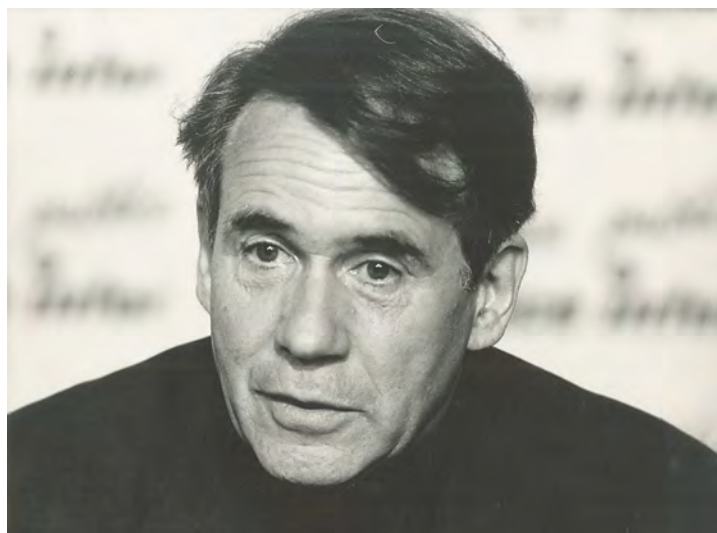
This result was cause to examine the personal papers of a candidate for president of France many years ago in 1988. In that year the results in the first round of the presidential elections were as in the table on the next page.

In the second round of these elections François Mitterrand won, thereby extending his presidency by another seven years.

The candidate of whom the IISH has a small archive is Pierre Juquin. This is the archive from

**Letter in French, authorizing Burgers to travel to the Soviet Union, 13 August 1929, inv. nr. 15**

**Pierre Juquin**





May 1988

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
François Mitterrand	Parti socialiste	10,367,220	34.10%
Jacques Chirac	Rassemblement pour la République	6,063,514	19.94%
Raymond Barre	Union pour la démocratie française	5,031,849	16.55%
Jean-Marie Le Pen	Front national	4,375,894	14.39%
André Lajoinie	Parti communiste français	2,055,995	6.76%
Antoine Waechter	Les Verts	1,149,642	3.78%
Pierre Juquin	Parti socialiste unifié		
	Ligue communiste révolutionnaire	639,133	2.10%
Arlette Laguiller	Lutte ouvrière	606,017	1.99%
Pierre Boussel	Mouvement pour un parti des travailleurs	116,874	0.38%
Total (turnout 81.35%)		30,406,038	100%

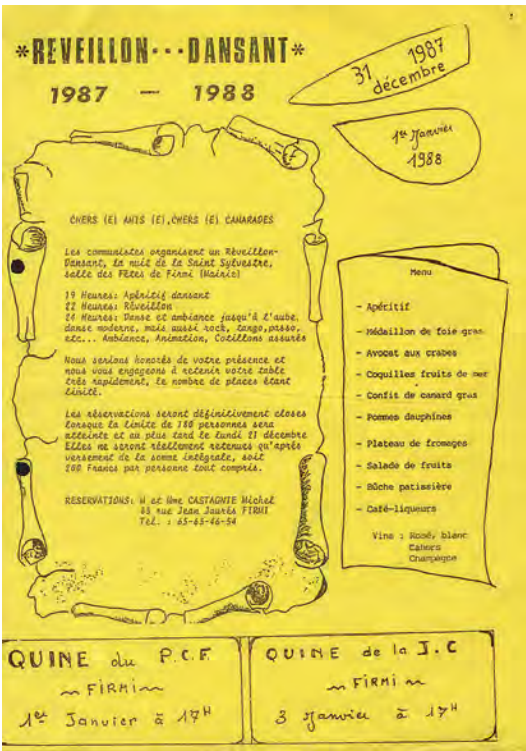
his campaign, rather than the personal political archive of Juquin.

The results of the first round in May 1988 were interesting. The strength of Mitterrand was obvious, but so was the massive support for the Front national. The communists were still on the list but were no longer very strong in France during the late 1980s. Les Verts manifested environmental concerns in politics. Three small left-wing parties and coalitions followed.

The one led by Juquin is interesting, because he attempted to innovate the left, even though he had once been among the seasoned communist executive. Juquin (1930) became interested in communism while in secondary school in 1947

and joined the Party in 1953. He attended the École normale supérieure and became a German teacher, visiting Germany frequently, in part as a representative of the Fédération internationale des syndicats d'enseignants. He translated works by Mehring into French and served on the editorial boards of journals from the communist movement. Gradually, he became the party specialist on International relations, peaceful co-existence, and German rearmament. In 1964 he joined the Central Committee. As a connection of George Marchais, he was part of the orthodox party line and was active in the French school-teachers' union (the Syndicat national des enseignants de second degré) and in 1967 obtained

Pamphlets from the Juquin campaign





a majority for the communists on its board. During the turmoil in May 1968 he defended the PCF line. This led to conflicts with radical leftist students in Nanterre, who prevented him from speaking. Juquin continued his career in the Party and in 1979 joined the *bureau politique* of the Central Committee, where he was in charge of the press and information desk, responsible for propaganda. Juquin defended the Eurocom-

munist line, which briefly tolerated support for dissidents in the Soviet Union. When this liberalization was reversed, leading the communist ministers to leave the government in 1984, Juquin objected. He became increasingly interested in ecology. From 1984 Juquin was marginalized in the Party and was expelled in 1987. In the 1988 elections he headed a coalition of leftist and non-conformist groups, from the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), section française de la Quatrième Internationale, to SOS Racisme. The campaign focused on educational reform, improving the positions of women, minorities, and migrants, and on protecting the environment.

The archive material gathered by Briec-Yves Cadat and Michel Renard conveys the campaign in detail, also regionally. It reveals that themes instigating heated debate in current politics, migration, racism, ecology, and the position of women go back a long way. Reflecting on the problems and mistakes from that period three decades later is enlightening. Perhaps there are lessons to be learned here.

The archive appears on Campagne Juquin Archives <http://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH01719>

Related collections are those of the Mouvement des rénovateurs communistes (Paris) Collection: <http://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH00906> and Michel Renard Documentation <http://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH01402> (HSA)

### The dream of the marechaussee: The Marechausseevereniging

The history of the Marechausseevereniging [gendarme association] began as a dream. In August 1906 the article 'De droom van Croes' appeared in several newspapers.



The Board  
of the 'Mare-  
chaussee-  
vereniging'



Trade union  
journal:  
Maandblad van  
De Marechaussee,  
Trial issue  
1 (1907)



"I was in a large, beautifully lit hall, surrounded by uniforms. [...] Brothers in arms! You have turned up in large numbers in response to invitations sent to you, meeting my expectations and hopes. The purpose of this gathering is to try to form a league that will represent our interests. (Jubilation resounded throughout the hall)." At that moment he was rudely awakened from his dream by his alarm clock, reminding him that it was time for his night duty.

Marechaussee M. Croes dreams of a trade association representing the general interests, devoid of political, religious, or personal motives. He asks readers who support his appeal to send him a card and succeeds in this outreach: the trade association was established in 1907 and was named: Vereeniging van leden, behoorend tot het Wapen der Koninklijke Marechaussee, beneden den rang van Officier [association of members pertaining to the Arms of the Royal Gendarmerie, below the rank of Officer]. Croes was the first secretary. The problems the association aimed to tackle were mainly poverty, hard work and long hours, and support in the event of illness.

The Marechaussee is basically the military police force or the army of the police. These are not the groups researchers usually encounter in the IISH collection. Ordinarily, they surface as a topic of derision, or when they are deployed against social movements. In many cases they attempt to protect what is challenged in the IISH collection: aliens' policy, the monarchy, or law and order. At the same time these are people who work and would like to protect their interests, making the archive compatible with the tradition of trade union archives.

The Marechausseevereniging, however, is a special union, and its structure does not fully

align with traditional employee-employer divisions, representing ordinary gendarmes and non-commissioned officers, while officers were not allowed to join. Membership of the organization was high: 75% in the beginning and nearly 65% at present. In addition, members were very loyal to their employer, i.e. the government. The distinction between the Marechaussee organization and the trade association was unclear. The collection includes a copy of the new union song from 1931, which is more generally about the Marechaussee than about the union.

The archive of the industrial association is well documented and arranged and was transferred to the IISH in 2017. It contains all issues of the association journal (from July 1907), as well as many minutes and reports, articles of association, yearbooks, and anniversary editions. Several photographs depict the stewards, often appearing in full regalia.

In addition to documenting the association, much of the archive addresses social provisions. The association was dedicated mainly to improving terms for leave, housing conditions, medical care, support for widows, and legal status.

Even before the Marechausseevereniging was established, there was a Mutual fund "toward mutual support upon the death of the members of the Arms, below the rank of officers." Such support remained largely *ad hoc*. There was also a Sanatorium fund. In 1926 the association established the Support association covering all members and providing financial assistance to surviving dependents and a contribution toward medical or legal expenses.

The archive also covers the Second World War period. Booklets remain from members who continued to receive benefits. During those years the marechaussee was merged with the general police. This measure appears to have averted major conflicts about whether to continue working for the marechaussee. The most important part was support to the family members of marechaussee who were killed or injured, and these payments continued.

The marechausseevereniging is now part of the Security branch within the FNV trade union confederation. The archive has been placed at the IISH, and the banner and a few other objects are at the Marechaussee Museum in Buren. The archive inventory reveals how Croes made his dream come true. (EdR)

### Oei Tiong Ham Concern, a major Chinese trading firm

This archive is about Indonesia and the former Netherlands Indies, especially about the Chinese commercial spirit in what Multatuli called the emerald belt.

In early 2017 the Netherlands Economic History Archive was offered the papers of what had originally been a Chinese firm in the Netherlands Indies. The documents to be provided mainly concerned the imminent end of this firm: nationalization, confiscation, and the ensuing judicial procedures.

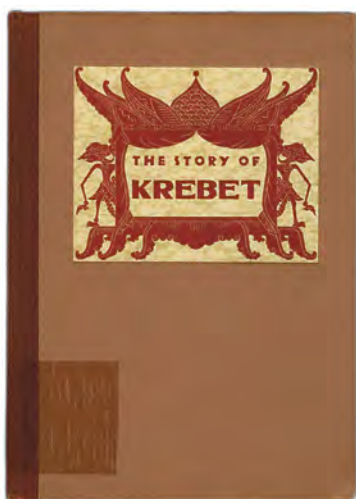
The small archive concerns what was known



as the Oei Tiong Ham Group (<http://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH04486>). Its parent company Kian Gwan Kong Si was founded by the Chinese entrepreneur Oei Tjie Sien in Semarang, Netherlands Indies in 1863. In 1890 his son Oei Tiong Ham took over management of the company, which expanded into one of the largest Chinese firms, as well as one of the biggest overall, in the Netherlands Indies.

During the nineteenth century the Cultivation System had been abolished, as had the corresponding trade monopolies; individuals were allowed to own and run plantations, and the Suez Canal had opened. All these changes boosted the growth of this Chinese firm.

The firm sold just about everything. Sugar long remained the main product, while cassava, rubber, kapok, coffee, pepper, tea, and all kinds of nuts, oils, and seeds were important as well.



Increased trading between the different islands in the archipelago of the Indies was another factor: in addition to Java, trade with Borneo, Celebes, and Sumatra grew substantially as well.

Branches of the firm opened in the United Kingdom (1910), Singapore (1914), Calcutta (1925), Karachi (1928), as well as in Hong Kong and Shanghai (1929) to access the Chinese markets.

A recollection about the firm from 1934 offers a neat, comprehensive list, omitting, however, any mention of one of the most significant sources of income: the opium trade. Around 1900 earnings from the opium trade enabled ongoing expansion of the firm.

A website about the history of Semarang (<http://www.semarang.nl/oei-tiong-ham/oei-tiong-ham-concern.html>) relates how exceptional this Chinese firm was, compared with other Chinese firms. This one was professionally run by capable management, and positions were not distributed within the family or within the broader Chinese community. The company also recruited Dutch engineers and managers.

Business flourished until the early 1930s, when dark clouds gathered on the horizon: the Great Depression, the threat of a new world war, and also the rising unrest as a consequence of ever larger groups clamouring for independence.



Photo from 3 September 1968 of the packaging department at Phapros (Pharmaceutical Processing Industries) in Semarang. Inv. nr. 7

During the Second World War the Japanese occupied the Netherlands Indies, and their departure paved the way for the post war Dutch military interventions, followed by independence. The group of companies stayed in business. During the 1950s Indonesian politics and public opinion condemned the Dutch firms that remained, and Sukarno eventually nationalized them.

Front cover of *The Story of KREBET* from 1932 (IISH call number 2011/975).



Documentatie-verslag inzake De rehabilitatie van de Suikerfabriek 'Krebet'. Page featuring 4 company photographs. 1954. Inv. Nr. 10

That is where the presently acquired archive surfaces, comprising documents from after 1945. The oldest documents present, which are from the period 1946-1949, concern the reorganization and future of the group. Most, however, relate to nationalization and confiscation. Others reveal how the Indonesians basically carried on the business.

I will not describe these legal battles here. The rise and fall of the firm has been depicted by drs. Tjoa Su Tjong in two series of articles published in 1963 and 1973 in *Economisch-Statistische Berichten*.

The archive presently acquired was presented in 2002 by Tan Swan Bing, Esq., former executive secretary and accountant at the Oei Tiong Ham Concern, to Leonard Blussé van Oud Alblas, who at the time was professor of European-Asian Relations at Leiden University. Blussé donated the material to the NEHA/IISH in 2017. (BHi)

### Ellen Weber: A lifetime of service to the DKP

Ellen Weber  
demonstrates  
against the  
Iraq War

Ellen Weber (née Weispfennig, 1930) is old enough to remember part of the Third Reich. Raised in socialist labour movement circles, her maternal grandparents were members of the SPD. Her father belonged to the Wandervogel and the Sozialistische Arbeiterjugend Deutschlands and worked for the Bund für Volksbildung, until he was dismissed from his job by the Nazis in 1933. The family had to make do, with the father selling soap door-to-door at first and later ending up working in the Frankfurt war industry. In 1943 the family lost their home in a bombing and fled to Oldenwald. Ellen Weber remembers the indelible impression that the Nazi execution of Johanne Kirchner (1889-1944) made on her family. Kirchner was an SPD activist in Frankfurt. After 1933 she tried from Saarbrücken to organize resistance against Hitler. In 1942 she was extradited by the government of Vichy France and was executed two years later. The friendship between Ellen Weber's mother and the daughter of Johanne Kirchner reinforced the impact of Kirchner's execution on the Weispfennigs.

In 1944 and 1945 the Weispfennigs sided with the anti-fascist forces in Germany and chose the



KPD in 1945. Ellen found work at produce gardens for schoolchildren and trained as a social worker. She had difficulty finding employment in that occupation, however, as the KPD quickly aroused political suspicion. An opportunity arose in the GDR, where a Workers and Farmers faculty was established, allowing the children of workers and farmers to enrol without the educational prerequisites in a three-year programme culminating in a diploma, after which they could sit for another exam and then continue on to university. A few hundred West-German young adults registered, as did Ellen Weber in Leipzig. During the uprising on 17 June 1953 these young communists were armed with rifles and were ready in the university buildings to defend their state. In 1955 Ellen returned to the West and married Eberhard Weber, a journalist for the antifascist *Die Tat*. Ellen Weber participated in the struggle to avert prohibition of the KPD in 1956. After it became prohibited, the KPD took its operations underground. Many members moved to the GDR.

In the late 1950s and early 60s she worked at a typewriter factory, where she became a representative for IG Metall. She was also active in the Deutsche Friedens Union, an organization decried by adversaries as 'Die Freunde Ulbrichts.' Together with the DFU, she organized successful Easter marches for Peace and Disarmament.

In the late 1960s views on communism softened. In 1969 the DKP was founded, basically as a successor of the KPD, which nonetheless disbanded only in 1971. Ellen Weber left the DFU to join the DKP and served on the board, becoming chair of the Hessen chapter.

Ellen Weber conducted research on issues in world politics and in 1972 took her PhD on the 'roll back' at Humboldt University in East Berlin. The 'roll back' was the U.S. strategy to curtail

Bottom row 1  
to r: Wolfgang  
Abendroth,  
Lisa Aben-  
droth, Doro-  
thee Sölle.  
Row above  
that: 1 to r:  
Ellen Weber,  
Peter Gingold,  
unknown  
woman.



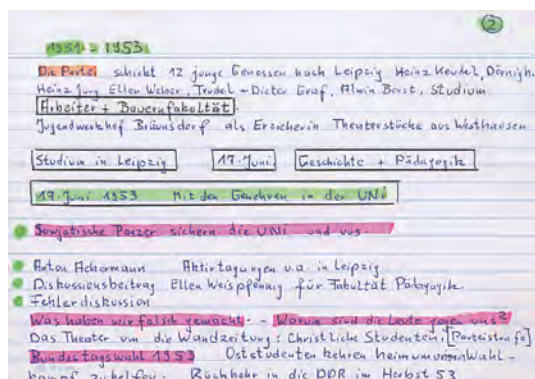


communism worldwide after 1945. She remained active in the DKP, serving as vice president of the party between 1986 and 1990, that spectacular era at the end of the actual existence of socialism. From 1990 to 2012 she continued to serve on the board.

Membership of the DKP was always rather modest, peaking at 40,000 in the 1970s. The best election results were in Bremen in 1971, when the party obtained 3.1% of the votes cast. The DKP received financial support from the SED governing the GDR. Estimates place this SED funding for the DKP at 30 million DM in 1974. This money was allocated, for example, to the large number of officers. Despite its modest size, the party had up to half the number of officers of large parties, such as the CDU and the SPD. Members who lost their jobs as a consequence of their role in the party received financial aid as well. To avert misunderstandings: the SED did not control the DKP but was so closely involved that its influence was considerable.

Aside from all these political activities, Ellen Weber worked at the women's house Die Kanne in Frankfurt from 1990 to 1995.

The archive spans 2.5 metres and will enable a detailed review of her political work. For a description, see: <http://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCHO4490>. (HSA)



## Papers of Gerrit Janssen Perio, activist for state pensions

Gerrit Janssen (1859-1932) chose to publish under pseudonyms, such as: an administering mercenary, Aqua Pinctura, Bernadotte, Mucius Scaevola, Oli Pinxit, Peer Corstiaan, Prophylactus, Schoolteacher, and Zondig Paterken [sinful Father]. He was known by his pseudonym 'Perio,' which he also indicated after his name: Janssen Perio. In addition to being a publicist, Janssen Perio was known for advocating a universal state pension and founded the league for state pensions (Bond voor Staatspensionering). His personal papers, long kept by his family, were placed at the IISH by his great grandson in 2016.

As a young man, Janssen was sympathetic to the rise of socialism and started writing for e.g. *Recht voor Allen*. He soon started to publish in various other periodicals, especially in *Bredasche Courant*. His papers include some reprints and brochures. His career as an author emerges most



clearly from the scrapbooks. A scrapbook from 1908, compiled as a tribute to his silver jubilee as an author, abounds with notes referring to his publications, including some by W.H. Vliegen and F. Domela Nieuwenhuis. He had a falling out with Domela Nieuwenhuis in 1894. In the scrapbook Janssen has added a cynical commentary to the note from Domela:

"An erstwhile friend, if he had the power, I would already have been guillotined several times. The good man does not have such power."

In addition to publishing extensively about social injustice in several journals, Janssen wrote at length about his own life. He recorded his handwritten memoirs for general readers in 1904, starting with his childhood and describing his life as a writer. Here too, his strained ties with Domela Nieuwenhuis are mentioned. Typed transcripts are among his papers as well, later published by his great grandson J.M. Verhoeff. Janssen's personal life is also reflected in a scrapbook for his silver wedding anniversary and one more after his death.

The overwhelming majority of the publications is about state pensions, featured not only in pamphlets but also in plays and songs. In the late-nineteenth century Janssen grew increasingly interested in this practical improvement to the lives of the workers. In 1899 he launched the journal *De Nederlandse Pensioenpartij* and in 1900 the League for state pensions (Bond voor Staatspensionering). He believed that only the state had the necessary means to fund pensions and therefore had a duty to make such arrangements. Politicians were divided on the matter. The left discussed a nice bonus for the wealthy, while the right feared such a system might discourage the workers from toiling.

Still, a great many of the reactions were positive. Another scrapbook contains all kinds of reactions in recognition of 25 years of propaganda for Private and Social Insurance (1916).

Janssen died in 1932, long before his ideals were realized and recorded in the act on old-age pensions by Prime Minister Drees. Janssen also looked further into the future than the 20th century. In 1903 he published the brochure *Nederland in 2500 (Een toekomstbeeld)*.

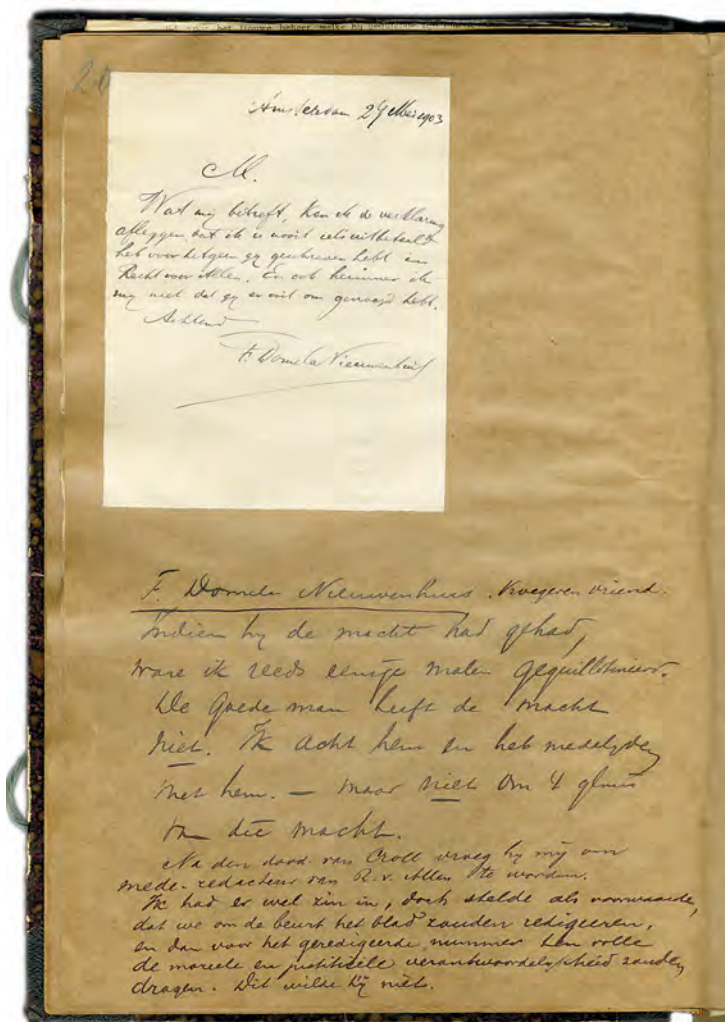
**Ellen Weber (left) meets Hermann Axen and Erich Honecker (right)**

**Autobiographical notes of Ellen Weber**

Portrait of G. Janssen Perio, by W. Bleuzé, 1928  
From: Papers of G. L. Janssen, inv. nr. 47



Note from Domela Nieuwenhuis (1903), with comments from Janssen Perio.  
From: Papers of G. L. Janssen, inv. nr. 7



Janssen predicted that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century inequality and contrasts and concentration of capital would be so severe that world revolution would ensue. Social democracy would prevail and ultimately lead to a world parliament and general disarmament.

In the century thereafter, he expected that this would lead to massive discontent, with a large meteorite causing still greater damage. Salvation would come from Mars. Martians would settle on Planet Earth, learn French (the lingua franca) and turn out to have solutions to all problems. Only then would large, new cities with great buildings and lots of parks materialize. People would work only 5-6 hours a day, everybody would be employed, and there would be no more starvation or poverty. Moreover, everybody would be vegetarian, the armed forces would exist only in museums, and men and women would be equal. The booklet ends with: "A shining future awaits them!" Janssen Perio concluded on that note. (EdR)



Brochure *Nederland in 2500. Een toekomstbeeld*. [1903]  
From: Papers of G. L. Janssen, inv. nr. 35



# Lectures and miscellaneous

The lectures on 29 June 2017 revolved around the Russian Revolution. A good 100 years after it took place, this historical event merits consideration. Pepijn Brandon reflected on its influence on the people and organizations found in the IISH collections. Dennis Bos followed up on his discoveries about the hammer and sickle symbol, on which he wrote a contribution for OWF 2017 nr. 33. His investigation took him along a different

trail, which he elaborated into an article about a family of communists and their activities in the Netherlands that we are publishing in this issue. Finally, there is the story that Gijs Kessler told at the guided tour behind the screen about the Russian collections at the IISH. This guided tour was provided to the friends of the Hermitage. Given the large turnout, the joint project has been a success.

## Pepijn Brandon: The effects of the Russian Revolution

Almost twenty years to the day after the Russian February Revolution started in 1917, the IISH officially opened in Amsterdam (1 March 1937). In many ways – positive and negative alike – the Institute and its collections relate to the revolutionary events of 1917, one hundred years ago this year. Positive, because the Russian Revolution long remained an important source of inspiration for the social movements and socialist political parties of which the IISH preserves the papers. Negative, because some of the collections that were the foundation of the IISH in fact belonged to the socialist ‘losers’ of the Revolution. I will cover both sides briefly in my lecture today.

The positive bond with the Russian Revolution is almost obvious. Admiration for the revolution, sometimes without even a hint of criticism regarding the new Soviet regime, at other times harshly condemning the regime that came to power following the transition, figures prominently in the many archives of socialist, communist, and anarchist movements at the IISH. The combination of near-idolization and caustic criticism surfaces from the outset, as exemplified in the many magnificent cartoons about the Russian Revolution in the Dutch socialist press in this period – from Albert Hahn’s cheerful prints for *De Notenkraaker* to Willy Sluiter’s colourful front pages of *De Nieuwe Amsterdammer*.

The negative ‘spin-off’ of the Russian Revolution has been at least as significant in defining the image of the IISH collection. At the renowned Second All-Russian Soviet Congress in Petrograd, where the October Revolution was decided, Trotsky is known to have relegated his Menshevik adversary Martov to the ‘ash heap of history.’ This set off a protracted process, in which first more moderate socialists, such as the Mensheviks and right-wing Social-Revolutionaries, and later anarchists and oppositional movements within the Russian Communist Party were sidelined. From the late 1920s, Stalin’s consolidation of power meant that both the leftist opponents



and their material legacy were threatened with destruction.

One of the main reasons for establishing the IISH was to rescue these papers. Boris Nikolaevsky, also a Menshevik and exiled from the Soviet Union in 1922, was key in acquiring these collections. The most important early acquisitions included the archive and the library of the Russian Social-Revolutionary Party, the papers of the co-founder of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers’ Party, and prominent Menshevik Pavel Akselrod, as well as a – rather small – part of the archive of Trotsky. While political repression in Russia did not bring the political adversaries closer together, it did achieve this effect for their meandering papers.

**Portrait of  
Boris Ivanovič  
Nikolaevskij,  
ca. 1935. IISH  
call number  
BG A10/367**

## Dennis Bos: Three generations of battle and their traces in the IISH collections

Advertisement in  
*De Tribune*, 20  
April 1921

Previously *On the Waterfront* published about the introduction of the hammer and sickle in the Netherlands (2017, nr. 33). Retracing the paths that brought the symbol of the Russian Revolution – now a century in the past – to the Netherlands, I encountered a few small trails that I could not possibly ignore. In retrospect, they revealed several fascinating links with divergent Institute collections.

Early in 1920 the Dutch communists first became acquainted with the hammer and sickle via printed matter. Only later on did the party logo appear in other media as well. Propaganda crews painted entire walls and fences full of hammers and sickles in white chalk or red lead, women party members met for group embroidery evenings to adorn chapter banners with the new logo, while communist florists filled stages with hammers and sickles made of dried flowers.

In 1921 pins featuring the hammer and sickle were introduced. These were undoubtedly

manufactured in the Soviet Republic and are very likely to have reached the Netherlands via Germany. The communist daily *De Tribune* features ads for the pins. On 20 April 1921 the first notice appeared in which party member Asser



van Gigch (1884-1943) advertised 'Soviet stars featuring a hammer and sickle' for sale at his address, a basement home at 22 Weesperstraat in Amsterdam. According to this advertisement, the stars were 'beautifully done,' and, moreover, 'every communist' owed it to the cause to wear this hammer-and-sickle pin. They must have sold like hotcakes. Van Gigch ran the advertisement

Portrait of  
Henri Polak  
IISH Call  
number BG  
S15/3





for a full year, occasionally needing to ask his clientele to bear with him, as the items were sold out, and he was waiting for replenishments. Van Gigch soon expanded the selection, offering three versions: large pins, a brooch, and a smaller tie pin. Remarkably, the party did not interfere in this trade at all. Comrade Van Gigch retained a monopoly here for years as a small entrepreneur and even set up a national network of retailers by offering a special discount for party chapters and door-to-door salesmen.

In 1903 Asser van Gigch had moved from Leiden, the city where he was born, to Amsterdam. After practising a variety of occupations, such as medic, tanner, grocer, sales rep, singer in an opera choir, and cinema employee, he advanced to selling second-hand books on Waterlooplein in the centre of Amsterdam's Jewish quarter. In the 1920s and 30s, he sold batches of remainders of socialist and communist brochures and other items there. The first signs of his political involvement date back to the summer of 1910, when the social-democratic daily *Het Volk* reported that Asser van Gigch, then 26, had re-established the socialist cyclists' club 'Het Roode Licht' [Red Light]. In the years that followed Van Gigch cycled with other, mainly Jewish fellow party members to Het Gooi, the Zaan area, and Waterland to proclaim the new gospel there.

During these years Van Gigch must have discovered that entrepreneurial spirit and socialism were not mutually exclusive. In October 1912 the artist Johann van Caspel exhibited his portrait of the diamond workers leader Henri Polak. The painting was purchased by the ANDB and is now part of the IISH collection. The ANDB archive includes a letter to Henri Polak, in which Asser van Gigch requested permission on 13 December to sell photographic replicas of the painting, 'more specifically among the diamond workers.' A stenographic note on the reverse of the letter indicates that Polak did not approve the plan.

After the First World War, Van Gigch's notoriety extended beyond the communist press. The Central Intelligence Service regularly identified him and his wife Roosje Denneboom (1890-1943) as zealous door-to-door salespeople 'with revolutionary brochures, etc. at meetings.' The archive of the Amsterdamse Plaatselijk Arbeids-Secretariaat [Amsterdam local labour secretariat] contains a wealth of documentation about a strike at cinemas in Amsterdam in November and December 1924. During that strike Van Gigch was a key figure, but, according to his file, he was also pivotal in a conflict that arose afterwards between the PAS-Amsterdam and the communist party. Finally, the collection at the Press Museum comprises only the November 1925 issue of *De Amsterdamsche Marktkoopman*, the monthly that Van Gigch edited, from a radical trade organization he founded for market vendors.

Van Gigch's daughter Sara (1912-1943) became a hairdresser and communist. In 1930 she married fellow party member and pastry chef Isaac Simon van Bergen (1912-1943), with *De Tribune* editor Alex Wins as their witness. The birth of their daughter Chaja in 1935 did not deter Ies van Bergen from joining the de International



Ies van Bergen  
with his  
daughter

Brigades, when the Spanish Civil War broke out. His biography is part of the collection 'Dutch volunteers in the Spanish Civil War' on the IISH website.

After losing his left arm in the battle at the Jarama, Van Bergen returned to the Netherlands at the end of 1938. Divorce followed, and Sara van Gigch became involved in a new relation-



De Amsterdamsche  
Marktkoopman, 15 November 1925

Noor Diamant  
(second from  
left, back row)  
at De Rode  
Valken,  
ca. 1935



ship with the communist former fighter from Spain Sally Dormits (1909-1942). At the beginning of the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands, the two were active in the early, armed communist resistance in Rotterdam. Both were arrested and murdered.

In the meantime, Asser van Gigch's former son-in-law Van Bergen had remarried; his new wife was Noortje Diamant, a nurse from a social-democratic family and also active in Spain. As part of the staff for the Amsterdam underground paper

*De Waarheid*, Van Bergen was arrested and murdered as well. Copies of the postcards he sent his family from various concentration camps are kept at the Institute. His daughter Chaja survived the occupation in hiding. After the war she joined the CPN-affiliated *Organisatie van Progressieve Studerende Jeugd (OPSJ)* [organization of progressive student youth]. A school notebook in which she kept clippings from various communist periodicals in the IISH collection attests to this activity.

## **Gijs Kessler: Guided tour of the IISH collections on the IISH Russian Revolution**

### **The revolution in a nutshell**

Four original Soviet posters from the IISH collections convey the story of the revolution in a nutshell. A poster by Dmitry Moor from 1919 depicts the three 'heroes' of the Russian Revolution, from left to right: the soldier, the farmer, and the worker.

The soldier is a central figure, as the Russian Revolution broke out in the middle of a war and quickly turned into a bloody civil war. Soldiers deserting the tsarist army supplied the first revolutionary storm troops. They deserted over their discontent at Russia's heavy losses in battle and welcomed the rhetoric of the Bolsheviks, who advocated peace with Germany. Revolutionary sailors were in fact still more iconic than the

soldiers – sailors were driving forces behind the revolution, well behind the front lines in the civil war and extending to deep into Siberia.

The farmer may well be the most important of the three. In 1917 Russian society was still overwhelmingly agricultural: 86% of the population lived in the countryside. Since the 1870s, industrialization had been under way, but major changes in occupational structure had not been forthcoming. The vast majority of the Russian population therefore consisted of small farmers, whose support the Bolsheviks gained with the simple but effective slogan "Land for the farmers." This slogan catered to deep-seated notions that the land should belong to those who worked it, a legacy from large land ownership and serfdom, which had been abolished only in 1861.





Upon the revolution, large land ownership was abolished. Land was nationalized and divided, ushering in a fleeting Golden Century for Russian farmers. The contemporary spirit is aptly conveyed in a poster by the poet and artist Majakovskii, on which the sub-caption reads: "May the fields become a paradise".

Support from the farmers was decisive for the Bolshevik victory in the revolution and civil war, but the farmers came up short in the end. In the late 1920s, Stalin started collectivizing agriculture, transferring management of the land from the farmers to the collective farms and proclaimed a system of compulsory grain contribution to the state.

The third figure on Moor's poster, pictured at the far right, is the worker, on whose behalf the Bolsheviks, in keeping with Marxist ideology, established the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, hardly any members of the working class were in Russia at this time, and those who were vanished overnight, upon the collapse of the economy in the war and civil war. The Russian working class consisted largely of people who came from farms and often maintained "close ties with their home village." They had kept their land as a safety net for their golden years or in the event of sickness or economic adversity and returned there in droves. Suddenly, therefore, the Bolsheviks were leaders of a workers' state without workers; this was of serious concern to them, because it meant they lacked a natural social foundation for their position of power. Only with industrialization in the 1930s did a new working class emerge, once again consisting of people who were originally peasants, but this time peasants who were fleeing the collectivization in the countryside and severing all ties with their village.

Women were one group of winners emerging from the Revolution not depicted on the poster by Moor. From the outset, the Bolsheviks pursued a deliberate emancipation policy, aimed at liberating women from the constraints of family and household, so that they could work and help build socialism. From the 1920s, therefore, women gained general acceptance as participants in the Soviet work force, many decades earlier than in most other European countries.

Poster by  
Dmitry Moor

### Revolutionary collections

The revolutionary collections of the IISH take us back to the history of how the Institute came into being. After the Bolsheviks seized power in October 1917, they neutralized their political opponents in the Soviet Union. This held true for political opponents at the far right of the political spectrum and for the many other revolutionary groups and movements in Russia. Their organizations were prohibited, their leaders arrested and driven into exile, and most soon went abroad, often bringing their archives with them. Those papers ended up in many different European countries, and the IISH, established in 1935 to document and study the history of the labour movement, started to collect that legacy systematically. Important Russian revolutionary archives thus ended up at the International Institute of Social History, including some the papers of Trotsky, Stalin's greatest adversary, who fled the country in 1928.

The International Institute of Social History also houses the archive of what was by far the largest and most important revolutionary party in Russia back then – the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries (PSR). The PSR was a non-Marxist, socialist party that aimed to achieve the revolution by the working people – a term that did not specifically denote the workers, small in num-

Poster by  
Majakovskii





Van de  
Muyzenberg-  
Kiessler  
photo album



The Peter the  
Great salt  
mine where  
Leendert van  
de Muyzen-  
berg worked



ber as they were, but referred especially to the peasants. This guaranteed support for the party among broad segments of the population; at the elections for the Legislative Assembly in November 1917 the socialist-revolutionaries received 40% of the votes, compared with 25% for the Bolsheviks. But the party lacked cohesion and was unable to instrumentalize this victory in the revolutionary power struggle over the years that followed. In 1921 the party was prohibited and had thus run its course.

After this early period the development of the IISH Russian collections was synchronized with the broader shifts in collection development policy at the Institute over the following decades. Whereas at first social history research had been focused on political thinkers and organizations, the perspective broadened to encompass societal processes and social movements. This was paralleled by the depletion of the sources of archives of Russian origin, as the most important papers



of political *émigrés* had been included in the collection of the International Institute of Social History. Most of the later additions to the Russian collection came from non-Russian sources, comprising of the personal papers and private archives of Dutch people involved in Russia or the Soviet Union in some way.

At the Friends Day we showcased three of these collections. The first is the Van de Muyzenberg-Kiessler family archive. Leendert van de Muyzenberg was appointed in 1888 at the Peter the Great salt mine in what is presently Donetsk and advanced to become the director there. This mine was owned by the *Hollandsche Maatschappij tot Zout-exploitatie in Rusland*.

The family lived there until the revolution, leaving for the Netherlands in 1920, after the Bolsheviks had forced the owners to sell the factory to the Soviet state for the token sum of 1 rouble. The family travelled extensively, and the archive contains a unique collection of picture postcards from all corners of the Russian Empire. Sometimes these picture postcards feature tourist sites, although most depict all kinds of industrial and infrastructural objects, trades, and population groups, because those were simply what this family fancied. This makes these albums of picture postcards wonderful for exploring the social and industrial history of late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century Russia.

The second personal collection with a link to the revolutionary events of 1917 is that of Louis Hermen Grondijs, a Dutchman originating from the Netherlands Indies, who became involved in the revolution as a war correspondent on the Russian front – albeit on the “White” side. Grondijs disliked communism intensely, and, as the civil war (1918-21) progressed, he increasingly transitioned from a war correspondent to a participant in the conflict, as revealed by a docu-



ment in the archive, in which a White general praises the fearlessness and heroism of Grondijs during a bayonet attack on the red positions. Nonetheless, Grondijs also continued his work as a correspondent, taking rare photographs of the acts of battle and the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary troops on the many battlegrounds of the civil war. On his collection, see *OWF* 2006, nr. 13, pp. 6-7.

After the revolution had crystallized, a steady stream of socially inspired Dutch people travelled to the Soviet Union to help set up communism, until under Stalin the country started to become entirely closed off from the rest of the world in the late 1930s. Over the years the International Institute of Social History has amassed a vast collection of letters, travel reports, photographs, and other personal papers of these people who journeyed to Russia. In recognition of the centenary of the Russian Revolution the IISH

**Red Guardists taken prisoner, 1919. IISH collection**

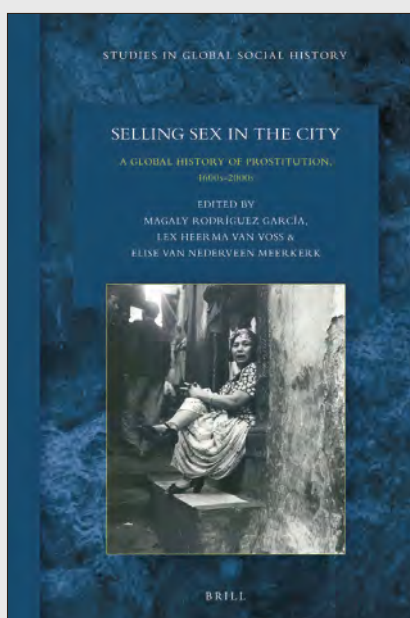


**Louis Hermen Grondijs (middle row, left) with officers from the Kornilov corps. IISH Collection**

Soldiers from the White army of Admiral Koltschak, 1919. IISH collection



teamed up with Director Pim Zwier to produce a documentary based on one of these collections – the letters that Berthe Neumeijer wrote to her parents during her stay in Kemerovo in Siberia in 1926-7. Berthe Neumeijer was married to the architect Han van Loghem, who was brought by the engineer Sebald Rutgers to Kemerovo to build homes for workers and to draft an urban development plan for the Autonomous Industrial Colony (AIC) to be established there. With help from foreign specialists and communists, this AIC built the coal industry in Kemerovo for the Soviet state. Imbued with idealism and longing for professional and personal fulfilment, Van Loghem departed for Siberia to implement the ideas he had previously conceived while constructing Amsterdam's Betondorp neighbourhood and other suburbs. After a year and a half, however, Van Loghem grew disillusioned and returned to the Netherlands. He had realized only part of his plans, before the AIC was placed under Russian control at the end of the 1920s. The letters from his wife Berthe beautifully convey the daily routine in the colony and the backgrounds and drivers of Van Loghem on his Siberian adventure.



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## Selling Sex in the City: A Global History of Prostitution, 1600s-2000s

Edited by **Magaly Rodríguez García, Lex Heerma van Voss** and **Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk**

September 2017  
Hardback (xviii, 894 pp.)  
ISBN 9789004346246  
Price € 165 / US\$ 190  
E-ISBN 9789004346253  
E-Price € 150 / US\$ 173  
*Studies in Global Social History*, 31

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