

its policy. I think one needs to carry out a more elaborate study of the implementation and monitoring of the measures adopted in the individual member states before one can satisfactorily comment on the ineffectiveness of the ILO's policy.

In this respect, the study might have been enriched by the inclusion of additional source material. Dahlén has based her study primarily on ILO reports and on the texts of its conventions and recommendations. This represents a great deal of archival material, and Dahlén has obviously performed a huge task in studying it all. Nonetheless, I wonder why she did not do more to summarize this material. And why she did not try to present a couple of case studies of the reception and implementation of ILO policy in individual member states (for instance, one "colonizer" and one "colony"). This might have shed more light on the actual impact of ILO policy and of discussions of that policy and its enforcement in practice. Conversely, it might also have served to explain the attitudes and motives of representatives of some important countries in the ILO debates, which are apt to remain implicit or unclear if one studies only the minutes of those debates.

Finally, there are two more practical points that would have enhanced this dissertation. Firstly, it lacks an index, and although the table of contents is rather detailed, an alphabetical keyword appendix would have served the reader better. Secondly, an appendix containing a chronological list of ILO member states, and perhaps also of when the conventions described were ratified, would have been convenient, making it easier to follow schematically the adoption of the minimum age conventions over time and by region.

One real asset of this study is that it highlights the diverging interests in relation to child-labour policy between member states, and between the different representatives of governments, employers, and workers. Another valuable observation made by Dahlén is that in the period 1919–1973 nobody actually represented working children themselves. Today, when the agency of individuals is said to be crucial, organizations such as the ILO would do well to draw important lessons from the past – another point made in this dissertation.

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KEN FONES-WOLF. *Glass Towns. Industry, Labor, and Political Economy in Appalachia, 1890–1930s.* [The Working Class in American History.] University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago. 2007. xxvii, 236 pp. DOI: 10.1017/S0020859008053467

In this important book, Ken Fones-Wolf explores two major American social and economic transformations that were closely interconnected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One was the industrial restructuring of glass-making as manufacturers sought to lower production costs and expand profits through a variety of means including mergers and trusts, new technologies and relations of production, and geographical relocation. The other was the transformation of the political economy of Appalachia as that region underwent a rapid makeover, shifting from agriculture (much of it subsistence-based) to industry. Northern West Virginia, in particular, was the locale where this drama unfolded most fully, and with the farthest reaching consequences. In short order, northern West Virginia became one of the nation's leading glass producers, and glass production, in turn, became a crucial component of that section's leap toward economic modernity.

Fones-Wolf's analyses of these complexly intertwined processes contribute significantly to both the industrial and labor histories of the United States and to our understanding of the social history of Appalachian regional development.

Glass-making paid some of the highest industrial wages in the United States in the 1880s. But this would soon change with industrial restructuring. According to Fones-Wolf, the stability of this situation had depended upon what he calls a "dual monopoly" that existed between unionized craft workers, who were able to negotiate high wages because of their ability to control access to their skills, and manufacturers whose domestic product pricing was protected from international competition by high tariffs. When, for a variety of reasons, this balance began to break down in the 1890s, technological innovations that reduced the need for skilled labor and organizational and managerial innovations that enhanced control over product markets and labor became critically important to capitalists. So, too, did the strategy of spatial relocation, especially to areas where cheap fuels and inexpensive unskilled labor were readily available. The new state of West Virginia was a prime beneficiary of these contingencies.

How workers – especially skilled, immigrant workers – responded to these changes, and how they influenced the economic, political, social, and cultural development of the towns to which the glass industry migrated in West Virginia, are at the heart of Fones-Wolf's complex but compellingly written investigation. So, too, is the story of what might have been in West Virginia had the political economy of glass rather than coal become that state's dominant development strategy.

West Virginia was formed in 1863 during the American Civil War by a generation of leaders whose political-economic vision involved making a profound break from the agrarian, slave-based ways of Virginia, the Old Dominion. The state-making movement was centered in the industrial city of Wheeling on the Ohio River – a city, Fones-Wolf tells us, that was one of the most highly unionized in the United States at the time, and where two-thirds of its population was born outside Virginia or the nation. Imagining a future for West Virginia that would eventuate in the new state becoming an integral component of the urban and industrial north-east – not the South, its founders passed a constitution promoting democratic reforms, education, commerce, and industrial development. But, the territory that became West Virginia also included rural counties in the southern part of the state that were reluctant to sever ties with Virginia, and where perhaps of one-third of the population actively supported the Confederacy. The result was a state divided over what roads to travel during the Post-Bellum era. Manufacturing, though significant for a while and in some locales, proved ultimately to be the road not taken when extractive industries, coal and timber, became the tail that wagged the West Virginia dog.

What might, for shorthand, be called the "glass road" involved a development strategy favored by some state Republicans who tolerated unions and stressed high wage manufacturing, protective tariffs, the expansion of a home market of the state's abundant energy resources, and infrastructure investments including education. Fones-Wolf terms this mode "the development faith" in contrast to the anti-union, low-wage, and low-tax policy favored by Democrats, extractive industries like coal mining, and southern West Virginia's predominantly "absentee" (out-of-state) owners. The development of a home market for local resources like coal and gas – the latter was especially crucial in lowering the costs of glassmaking – might indeed have helped offset the high costs of transporting West Virginia's natural resources to distant markets, a factor that augmented the need to keep labor costs in energy production low. But, ultimately, elites favoring low wages and

low taxes won out, guaranteeing West Virginia's permanent address on the periphery of the American economy.

By rendering a sophisticated and complex account of the diverse agents and contradictory political-economic forces and policies that were in contention in the making of "modern" West Virginia – including those that favored mining over manufacturing, divided Democrats and Republicans, and were variously supported by working-class and ethnic groups – Fones-Wolf offers refreshingly new insights into why, despite its "wealth" in natural resources, West Virginia (and by extension, other Appalachian areas) remain so poor today.

At the same time that West Virginia capitalists and politicians were struggling to define the future of West Virginia, workers in the state's new glass industry sought to defend their wages, prerogatives, and job control under new industrial conditions that challenged long-standing craft traditions. In doing so, they, too, had profound impacts on the industry as well as the social, political, and cultural identities of the towns where glass was manufactured. Fones-Wolf extensively compares three such West Virginia towns, each of which was home to a distinct branch of the industry: tablewares in Moundsville, bottle glass in Fairmont, and window glass in Clarksburg.

Moundsville benefited primarily from one large, highly mechanized tableware company, Fostoria, which brought a contingent of skilled German and Irish craftsmen to this rural setting. Tensions initially arose between this largely Catholic immigrant population and the local Protestant farming and business population, but since mechanization in this branch of the industry created extensive job opportunities for unskilled native workers, immigrant and local communities were eventually integrated. Skilled workers, nonetheless, set the tone for the workers' community in culture and politics. In regard to the latter, they broke with the "development faith" of their Republican employers and variously supported both Democratic (often white and racist) politics and Socialist opposition. Craft unionism and a reputation for socialist sympathies, however, dampened investors' enthusiasm for further investments in the town.

Fairmont was home both to coal mining and glass-making. Its major local capitalists flirted with building both a local manufacturing base and a home market for coal. Instead, they created one of the nation's largest coal companies, the mammoth Consolidation Coal Company. Consol's need to keep labor costs in mining low in order to offset high transportation costs to its principal Great Lakes' market meant, ultimately, that local economic diversification was sacrificed to social control. High-waged, skilled, and unionized craft workers in bottle-making did not fit the plan. Besides, mechanization limited their viability in a town that boasted giant factories using new sophisticated technology. Immigrant craft workers, while profoundly influencing the local culture of Fairmont, failed to build an effective local political organization as they did in Moundsville and Clarksburg. Indeed, according to Fones-Wolf, Fairmont's unskilled glass workers – many of them Italian and African American – were more likely to support socialist candidates than were its skilled workers, and to be sympathetic toward their peers in coal mining who were struggling at the time to organize United Mine Workers' locals. Together, those groups would later help to win over the area to the New-Deal Democrats.

It was in Clarksburg, when window-glass manufacture was the town's economic life blood, that glassworkers built what Fones-Wolf calls a "craftsmen's paradise." Here, a large cohort of skilled window-glass craftsmen from Belgium, opposed to working in the new continuous tank furnaces that were revolutionizing the industry, formed coopera-

tively-owned factories that allowed them to maintain an industrial niche where craft skills and work traditions were preserved for nearly a generation. In doing so, they left a lasting imprint on the occupational, political, religious, musical, recreational, and community life of northern West Virginia – helping to build a transnational culture that challenges the simplistic stereotype of West Virginia and Appalachia as a culturally homogeneous place where time stood still.

Ken Fones-Wolf has written a fine, provocative and iconoclastic book that merits the most serious attention. It encourages a rethinking of glass-making on both sides of the Atlantic and a much needed reappraisal of the making of one of America's most interesting and perplexing regions.

Dwight B. Billings

WILDT, MICHAEL. *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung. Gewalt gegen Juden in der deutschen Provinz 1919 bis 1939*. Hamburger Edition, Hamburg 2007, 432 pp. € 28.00. DOI: 10.1017/S0020859008063463

Michael Wildt begins his book with the “dense description” of a photograph. During a lazy sunny Sunday afternoon on 19 August 1933 in Marburg, a man in a dark suit is walking with a picket sign which reads: “I have violated a Christian girl”. A closer look reveals that this man was forced to march between columns of SA brownshirts. It was a sight to see for a crowd of onlookers: a middle-aged woman with a young baby in her arms, a lady shading her eyes against the sun with her right hand, a plump lady saluting the SA columns by way of a “German greeting” with her right hand held high, poker-faced bystanders, a young lad on a bicycle following the march, and cheering young lads who are curiosity-seekers by nature. But it is difficult to catch what these spectators were actually thinking deep in their hearts. This book can be read as an *Alltagsgeschichte* historian's challenge to this defying issue.

Wildt argues that these public actions of humiliating Jews could be successful only when bystanders, though reluctant and not yet really convinced, were involved and transformed into silent accomplices. It is these spectators who filled the seemingly boring SA march in the lazy sunny Sunday afternoon with historical meaning. It is at this point that bystanders become silent accomplices to the anti-Semitic politics, even though they might not be the perpetrators. But Wildt is critical of the “totalizing consequence” of identifying German society between 1933 and 1945 as the “perpetrators' society” as a whole. In his book, the moralist conception of “perpetrators” is replaced by the complex reality of “actors” as historical agents.

The focus on historical agents leads Wildt to explore how ordinary people participated and engaged in the process of making a racist “national community” (*Volksgemeinschaft*) and how the violent, exclusionary anti-Semitic everyday praxis among ordinary people transformed the German nation. The ordinary people cease to be passive objects of the regime's propaganda, mobilization, and political engineering. Rather, the people appear on the historical horizon as active subjects who try to seize any opportunity for their own cause. The title of his book, which can be translated as “national community as self-empowerment”, implies the author's focus on ordinary people as active agents.

Anchored in the neo-Marxism of the New Left, the “history from below” of the Third Reich was initially pregnant with optimistic assumptions about the self-activity and