
Ellen Jacobs

The Revolution of 1905 in Odessa: Blood on the Steps is a study of the labour movement in this economically-vibrant Black Sea port in the year of Russia's first revolution. Robert Weinberg seeks to explore the interactions of class and ethnicity among Odessa's ethnically-heterogeneous labour force as the city's workers experienced them in 1905. Odessa labour began its struggles fragmented by economic grievances specific to each sector of this highly-diverse artisanal and industrial work force. It ended the year united by common concerns linking specific economic issues to the national revolutionary politics. Interspersed in this political evolution was the tragic pogrom of October 1905 in Odessa which diverted a part of the labour force—the unskilled and the marginal—away from revolution and toward a counterrevolution that served the interests of the state.

This work is a part of a large literature on working class history in pre-revolutionary Russia that seeks to understand the politicization of workers and, more generally, the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917. Weinberg's contribution is to shift attention away from the standard focus on Moscow and St. Petersburg, and to explore the 1905 Revolution in a city with a more heterogeneous labour force and varied economy. Weinberg's study is also unusual in that, like Charters Wynn's recent *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), it seeks to account for the darker side of labour activism that ended in violence rather than to place exclusive emphasis on the issue of workers' revolutionary class consciousness. Weinberg's explorations of class are greatly enriched by his analysis of ethnicity and antisemitism. The standard division of workers into skilled and unskilled to explain which ones possessed this darker side is too simplistic and certainly not wholly substantiated by the evidence in this work. Nonetheless, the book tackles a difficult and sensitive issue that is useful for those interested in Russia labour history.

For historians who are seeking a more general picture of Odessa in 1905, this is probably not the book. The book is more accurately a labour history. As such, it is thoroughly researched, although too often general conclusions are speculative and causation can only be suggested. The chief problem of the book is the lack of a clear organizing principle and thesis. It is not until page 145 that the author is able to step away from his evidence to suggest a thesis. As a consequence, the reading is not easy and one sometimes feels that the author has lost sight of the forest for the trees. In this sense, the book continues to read like a dissertation. Having said that, I can still recommend this work as a solid piece of research by a historian thoroughly versed in the source material on his subject.

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Early in *Power and Pauperism,* Felix Driver establishes the twin focus of his well-crafted and interesting study of the workhouse system in England from 1834 to 1884. His starting point is the reform of the *Poor Law* in 1834 and the accompanying ideological and administrative discourses which delineated the aims and goals of government social policy. "The debate which preceded the reform of the *Poor Law* in 1834 was, by common consent," he rightly notes, citing another historian of the period, "concerned as much with government as it was with poverty" (p.18).

One of the most salient features of the *Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834* was its attempt to differentiate between pauper and poor by insisting that the condition of the able-bodied pauper be less "eligible"—desirable or agreeable—than that of the "lowest class" of the independent labourer. To implement the principle of "less-eligibility" the Act proposed that relief for the able-bodied and their families by given only within the confines of the workhouse. In itself, the institution of the workhouse was not new; it was as old as the poor law itself and was generally intended as a means of caring for those who could not care for themselves. The workhouse proposed in the *Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834* was intended as a test of the neediness of the applicant for "the fact of his compliance and his self a confirmation of destitution.

For his theoretical paradigms, Dr. Driver relies upon Michel Foucault, Anthony Giddens and others who have theorized about the relationship between the disciplinary order of institutions and society at large. While Foucault is concerned with the "technologies of social policing," through an analysis of discourse, Driver aims to analyze the institutional programmes actually put into effect. Driver argues the case for a geographical perspective on social policy; "one which emphasises the fractured nature of nineteenth-century government and the uneven impact of surveillance." (p. 165) Drawing upon an impressive array of sources, including financial records of workhouses, reports by Poor Law admin-
This study is most engaging in the latter part of the book where the politics of the anti-Poor Law constituencies in the northern industrial counties of England are linked to the political practices and discourses of the nascent Chartist movement. Using the experience of Huddersfield, a northern regional centre for the distribution of raw wool and its finished products, as his prime example, Driver illustrates how central policy was a provisional outcome of processes of conflict and negotiation.

Students of social policy, geography, urban history and social history will surely benefit from this thoughtful and thorough study of the workhouse and social policy in nineteenth-century England. Historians of women will also be interested in reading of the role which middle-class women like Frances Power Cobbe and others active in the Social Science Association played in the design and execution of social policy. Driver’s evidence points to a gendered language of mid-century social reformers particularly with regard to the attempt to “domesticate” the workhouse system and to see inmates as part of an extended “family.” This would suggest an even earlier starting point for those recent studies which have analyzed the gendered nature of early twentieth century social policies.

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Professor Nussdorfer’s excellent study vividly illuminates the dynamics of munici-pal political interactions between the secular governors of Rome and their absolute monarch, the pope. The popes, who had almost continuously resided within Rome, ruled both the city and the neighbouring territories known as the Papal States. Like other monarchs in the 15th through 17th centuries, the popes had sought to strengthen their control over their subjects, both urban and rural. Professor Nussdorfer is part of the wave of recent scholarship which argues that absolutism had not, however, completely subdued urban and other particularist institutions; while both theory and power had certainly shifted in favour of the ultimate ruler, the recourses subjects took to remonstrate and obstruct remained plentiful, and so it was also in Rome.

In many ways, the popes’ relationship to their subjects and capital city was not the same as that of French or Spanish kings to theirs. For one thing, the popes were also spiritual rulers, not only over their secular subjects, but also over Roman (and most other) Catholics throughout Europe; this meant, among other things, that papal secular policy could be (and often was) confused with doctrinal assertions and that religious penalties could be added to other threats in any struggle over objectives. For another, the popes were elected, not hereditary, monarchs, so every papal election meant extensive changes in the personnel holding key offices in both the Church as such and throughout the Papal States. (Since changes in prime ministers, e.g., created similar uncertainties in hereditary monarchies, I do not fully agree with Professor Nussdorfer about the extent of this contrast.) Prominent local families, who expected to wield significant influence within Rome and its provinces, suddenly and continually found themselves having to deal with the relatives and friends of the pope from other Italian territories or even beyond. Would the receivers of papal patronage be sympathetic to the Romans’ concerns about markets, agriculture, taxation, law and order, bond ratings, street and bridge repairs, and individual/family sensibilities in neighbourhood churches or religious processions? Would prominent Roman families face pressure to marry their sons or daughters to the new pope’s upstart nieces or nephews? Personalities, issues and circumstances ensured that no answer to these questions was predictable.

*Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* is to be recommended, then, both to students of the 17th century and to modern urban scholars. Professor Nussdorfer solidly grounds the book in papal and Roman sources and informs her judgements on the basis of extensive reading in secondary studies that relate to her concerns. She describes the context of her study and then precisely and subtly analyzes the interplay of power and prestige surrounding Urban VIII (pope 1623-44), his family and other clients, the governing institutions and people of Roman, and the larger, common population of a renowned city then boasting a population of about 115,000. The exposition is both engaging and clear, and it makes a solid contribution to our understanding of municipal politics in the absolutist context of early modern Europe. The disciplined economy and focus of her work is also striking: the most famous names associated with Urban VIII’s pontificate are those of Galileo, Richelieu and Bernini, and of these the first two are not even mentioned. As a sculptor, Bernini contributed to aspects of civic government that Professor Nussdorfer needed to discuss; the others’ connection with her subject would have been too recondite, and the temptation to bring them in was resisted.

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