

cent sexuality grew, in part, from an unstable foundation of interracial dependency and proximity” (27). Southern society functioned according to strict rules governing race, class, and appropriate gender roles and mill girls and other young rural transplants threatened this order by blurring the lines between child and woman, poor white and poor black and spirited youth and modern decadence. Cahn does note one important class distinction; where whites in the late 1920s were mostly concerned with policing white working girls, blacks focused on middle class girls, education, and uplift. Both races were concerned with sexual “delinquents” and Cahn devotes a chapter each to black and white girls reformatories. Whites seemed to police adolescent white sexuality out of a fear of “social disorder and racial degeneracy,” while the uplift and reform efforts launched by black clubwomen were meant to argue against natural racial inferiority, since a reformed girl was proof that degeneracy was not a fixed condition (49, 70).

Cahn admits that her later chapters on rock n’ rollers, pickup girls, and high school students focus on whites, though she argues that the specter of black female sexuality is always present and is frequently invoked, either as a contrast against white virtue or as a castigation against all too similar white sexual deviance. But the conversation shifted over time from a focus on class distinctions to racial interest. By the 1950s, teens of both races had “developed a more autonomous and widely shared culture,” in which boys and girls mixed freely, and racial mixing was a constant threat (308). With the social order thus challenged, white leaders—and who exactly they are could be better defined—struggled to restrain and constrain female adolescent immorality. As the New South grew through its own difficult adolescence, Cahn argues, the teenaged girl came to represent the instability of families, class distinctions, gender roles, and especially the systems of patriarchy and white supremacy. It is a provocative argument and Cahn adds greatly to our understanding of sexuality and adolescence during a pivotal period of Southern history.

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**Peter Cole, *Wobblies on the Waterfront: Interracial Unionism in Progressive-Era Philadelphia* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007).**

Concluding his superb study of the largest African-American local in the Industrial Workers of the World, Peter Cole underscores the main theme of the book: “Local 8 demonstrates what can be accomplished when workers overcome racial and ethnic differences...(even in the face of) the myriad, powerful forces that can defeat such efforts” (176). In order to probe the conundrum of how Local 8 sustained itself for over a decade (from 1913 to 1922) as a bulwark of IWW unionism in the face of powerful racial divisions and massive political

repression, Cole incorporates the important case studies of Eric Arnesen and Bruce Nelson on racially mixed dockworkers, local histories of Philadelphia during the Progressive Era, primary and secondary works on African-American history, and national and international examinations of the Wobblies and syndicalism during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Acknowledging that his focus is the “institutional history of Local 8” (6), Cole, nonetheless, provides exceptional insights into the job, class, gender and racial/ethnic identities of those workers who laboured on the docks and inside the ships in the busy port of Philadelphia during this period.

In addition to exploring the interracial dynamics of Local 8, *Wobblies on the Waterfront* does not shy away from one of the most persistent paradoxes associated with the IWW, that is, in Cole’s words, “how to form a strong, well organized union fighting for important albeit not revolutionary gains...while striving to overthrow the economic system” (4). Developing a pragmatic approach to job control and facilitating a radical sense of solidarity and oppositional politics makes Cole’s book a fascinating and significant addition to not only histories of the IWW but also studies of working class social and labour movements. The story told in this excellent study is further complicated by other issues he highlights related to the role of local control and leadership. That leadership, exercised by the Philadelphia-based African-American Ben Fletcher and national IWW organizer George Speed among others, confronted constant challenges from the persistent racial animosities stoked by job competition and the on-going harassment by the racially segregated AFL unions, often in collusion with employers seeking to snuff out the militancy of Local 8.

In examining the growth and eventual collapse of Local 8, Cole renders a critical and valuable investigation of how the IWW was able to capitalize on working class mobilizations and strikes, especially of dockworkers in the US (and in other places such as New Zealand and Australia). From the successful organizing effort in 1913 to the 1922 lockout and demise of the IWW on the Philadelphia waterfront, the book charts how the union contended with the arrival of ever new unskilled immigrants, whether from Eastern Europe or increasingly from the West Indies and the South, as immigration from Europe was curtailed during WWI. In particular, Cole notes the disruptive addition of Southern blacks whose regional background often “further complicated the union’s efforts” (98). Especially during WWI and its immediate aftermath, racial tensions only exacerbated the difficulties of keeping up class and revolutionary solidarity. The book is particularly revealing in laying bare how the themes of “anti-German/immigrant hysteria, anti-Bolshevism, and the open shop” (103) became critical weapons utilized by the government and employers to challenge and eventually destroy Local 8’s control of the Philadelphia waterfront.

In light of the incisive and subtle reading that Cole provides of the interracial unionism of Local 8, it is unfortunate that he continues the established tradition, dating back to the seminal work of Dubofsky’s *We Shall Be All*, of misreading the IWW’s

resistance to WWI and, in particular, the draft. Without belabouring all of the egregious errors of such a misreading, it is important to note that Cole relies, as does Dubofsky and so many other studies of the IWW, on what those Wobblies and their supporters said during the 1918 trials for treason about their wartime records, especially on the draft. One example of this is the claim that “fully 100% of Local 8’s members registered for the draft” (82). The only empirical evidence for this comes from the testimony of Local 8 and national IWW organizers Walter Nef and E.F. Doree, both of whom were under duress because of the government’s indictment on treason. Given the documented evidence of Wobbly resistance to the draft from Irish miners in Butte to Finnish and Austrian miners on the Iron Range to whole locals, such as that in Rockford, Illinois, marching against registration, it seems reasonable to suggest that the record of Local 8’s participation with the draft and its anti-war activities is more mixed and more contentious than Cole proposes.

While Cole is not oblivious to the contradictory nature of Local 8’s political activities during WWI, his use of the highly contested term “patriotism” is definitely suspect in its less than tentative application to the black rank-and-file of Local 8. Given the illuminating insights into the dominant African-American role in Local 8, Cole seems to falter in the exploration of contradictory tendencies among those African-Americans during WWI. Certainly, the influence of W.E.B. DuBois in urging blacks to get behind the war effort is noted by Cole. On the other hand, he completely overlooks those voices challenging Du Bois on this question within the black activist community, whether from William Monroe Trotter or A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, editors of the militant and IWW supporting journal, *The Messenger*. In fact, a November 1917 editorial in *The Messenger* made very explicit their opposition to war-manufactured national chauvinism: “Patriotism has no appeal to us; justice has.” Thus, although there were obviously black dockworkers in Local 8 who followed Du Bois’s lead and joined the Army, there were countless others for whom wartime patriotism was just another “shuck and jive” of a white supremacist political order.

On the other hand, in navigating many of the extant contradictions on Philadelphia’s waterfront and in Local 8’s Herculean pains to foster racial and class solidarity while under constant economic, social, and political pressures, especially in the dire circumstances of the 1920’s, *Wobblies on the Waterfront* manages to tell a very inclusive and important story of interracial unionism. As a probing rendering of the intersection of IWW revolutionary objectives with the grinding realities of defensive unionism, Cole’s book is essential reading not only for understanding working class self-activity during the first two decades of the twentieth century but also for recognizing the on-going difficulties of generating and sustaining a social and labour movement for a diverse and often divisive working class.

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