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REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

R. Cole Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1, *From the Beginning to 1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1987).

CANADA, THEY SAY, is a country with lots of geography and very little history and that may be why even the study of its past has, to a significant extent, been the work of geographers. Historical geography does seem to be a particularly well-developed field in Canada; think of the important monographs it can boast, from Andrew Hill Clark's *Acadia* and Cole Harris's *Seigneurial System* to A.J. Ray's *Indians in the Fur Trade* and Graeme Wynn's *Timber Colony*. Thus it is fitting that the most ambitious and most successful attempt in years to make sense of the Canadian past should take the form of an atlas. Not that the *Historical Atlas* is entirely the work of professional geographers. This wonderfully collaborative undertaking includes contributions from a number of distinguished historians and anthropologists (not to mention botanists, archaeologists, and others), but the methods and approaches represented here are primarily those of geography. Moreover, the themes the atlas deals with are those, such as population distribution on the land and trade patterns, that are suitable for cartographic treatment.

In this first volume, 69 plates portray the development of the Northern half of North America from the ice ages down to the end of the eighteenth century. The richly-coloured and cleverly-designed maps are supplemented by graphs, tables, pictures, and brief passages of text. Most Table of Contents for Reviews is on pp. 4 & 5.

of these plates are based on considerable original research and they present information that cannot be found in any other secondary work. Their strong point is the wealth of detail, consistently and apparently exhaustively presented. A series of fourteen maps by Conrad Heidenreich and Françoise Noel charting French commercial and military penetration into the western interior from 1654 to 1755 is a good example. Not only do these plates show the different trading posts and canoe routes, they also locate native trappers and commercial intermediaries and indicate their wars and migrations. The complex and shifting encounter of Europeans and Indians can be traced here as the focal points of diplomacy and exchange moved from the Great Lakes into the upper Mississippi and the eastern prairies. Other plates do an equally good job of reconstructing the Newfoundland cod fishery from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth.

Indeed, it is difficult to single out any particular sections of the atlas for special praise. I myself was fascinated by an entry on the pre-contact Coast Tsimshians by George MacDonald, Gary Coupland, and David Archer. One could spend hours on this one page absorbing all the information on village layouts, trade routes, and seasonal migration patterns. It is possible to follow the Tsimshian as they move from their winter villages in what is now the Prince Rupert area, up to the Nass River for eulachon fishing in early spring, then out to the western islands to gather seaweed in late spring and up the Skeena in summer and fall for trade and salmon fishing, before returning to their main

homes for the season of socializing and ceremonial activities.

The *Historical Atlas* is in some respects a revisionist work. Quite deliberately, the editors set out to redress some of the regional and ethnic imbalances of previous surveys of the Canadian past. The West, the Arctic, and the Atlantic regions get considerable, and well-deserved attention; in fact, I expect that many readers brought up on a diet of narrowly Laurentian history will find these the most interesting parts of the work. Native peoples are not slighted either. Eighteen of the atlas's 69 plates are devoted to the pre-historic period and, even when Europeans do appear on the stage, the Indians and Inuit are by no means forgotten. They appear prominently in many of the post-contact entries; even the map showing the growth of French-Canadian settlement is labelled with scrupulous correctness as "Resettling the St. Lawrence Valley." Yet the national scope of the atlas and, *a fortiori*, Cole Harris's nationalistic and Inuitian preface, fly in the face of the non-national realities of native history. The pre-history maps all tend to point to the artificiality of any conception of "Canada" before the advent of the French. I make this observation, not as a criticism of the fine work set out in the pre-contact section; after all, the maps have to end somewhere and none of the contributors is rigid in their respect for the forty-ninth parallel. It does suggest however that there is some contradiction between Cole Harris's desire to do right by the Indians and the patriotic themes that he stresses in summing up Volume 1.

In view of the time, money, and effort that went into the *Historical Atlas of Canada*, it is surprising that so many errors seem to have crept into its pages. Plate 68 by Cole Harris and David Wood, one of the two summary maps at the end of the volume, is certainly a disaster from this point of view. Portraying eastern Canada in 1800, this entry provides, among other interesting data, population figures for the cities of British North America, as well as circles of different sizes to display the same information graphically. Unfortunately, either the numbers or the graphics are wrong in several cases. Caughnawaga with a population of 900, to

take one example, has a symbol larger than that of Trois-Rivières whose population is given as 1500. Fredericton, population 1000, Lunenburg, 500, and Shelburne, 2000, all have circles with the same diameter. Halifax and Montreal also have identical symbols although the former was supposed to have 8000 inhabitants and the latter only 6000. To add to the confusion, the text (172) says that Halifax was only "a little larger" than St. John's (population 3000), whereas the map suggests that the Nova Scotia capital was almost three times as populous!

The other plates in the atlas cannot be checked for consistency in this way, and so we have to hope that the errors were limited to Plate 68 alone. The editors will really have to go over the atlas very carefully before it is reprinted and, in the meantime, they would be well advised to publish an errata. It would be a shame if sloppy proof-reading were allowed to undermine the credibility of this fascinating and very important work.

Allan Greer
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Bill Gillespie, *A Class Act: An Illustrated History of the Labour Movement in Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's: Newfoundland Federation of Labour 1986).

ORGANIZED WORKERS have learned their lesson the hard way. Too often they have lost the public relations war for the hearts and minds of Canadians as they sat by and listened to Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce trumpet the virtues of the private sector as the "Builders of British Columbia," Winnipeg, Truro, or wherever. This loss has cost labour dearly since many of the more critical industrial disputes have been won and lost not at the bargaining table or the picket line but through the behaviour of those affected, the buyers and users of goods and services. Traditional union methods such as union label campaigns, information pickets, and product boycotts have not worked any better than carefully-reasoned ap-

peals based on individual and collective rights and human dignity. But recent dramatic footage shot during disputes across the country have clearly demonstrated that labour will no longer be outmuscled to capture a place before the cameras.

Labour has also learned that members matter, and that potential members require periodic evidence to convince them that belonging and contributing to collective action is neither unique nor futile and that the principles they espouse and the amenities they enjoy cannot be taken for granted. They were won, often at considerable cost, and they are constantly under threat if vigilance is not exercised. For this reason over the past two decades various provincial federations of labour have sponsored the writing of histories of their organizations, or of the provincial labour movement which spawned them. The first such official history was Paul Phillips's *No Power Greater*, written for the British Columbia Federation to celebrate labour's centenary in that province in 1967. While seminal, the book was also episodic and somewhat shallow. Also disappointing is Warren Carragata's *Alberta Labour: A Heritage Untold*, written for the Alberta Federation in 1979, whose glossy appearance hides the fact that it fails to place the province's organized workers, then enjoying the fruits of the energy boom, into their social, political, and economic context.

In 1985, Doug Smith, a CBC journalist from Winnipeg, completed a book with a strangely church-like invocation *Let Us Rise*, written to motivate unionists affiliated with the Manitoba Federation to "pick up the torch" left by their predecessors in the class struggle. Yet, despite the considerable amount of secondary historical material available on Manitoba's movement, Smith's book is error-filled and the narrative views the past simply in terms of good and bad guys.

Bill Gillespie admits to using Smith's book as a model, but, aside from his book's inferior binding (the cover fell off immediately) and the numerous typo-

graphical errors the negative parallel does not apply. In fact, *A Class Act: An illustrated History of the labour Movement in Newfoundland and Labrador* is arguably the best of its kind. The author's background as a CBC journalist and commentator, as a committed NABET member, and as a long-time reporter on labour matters, plus his academic credentials earned by writing a superior MA thesis on the history of the provincial federation, is amply evident throughout the text. Despite the title and the content of the four-paragraph essay by Gregory Kealey at the beginning, what Gillespie reveals is not a series of "epic struggles" between the forces of darkness and light but rather a Whiggish story of working people who responded to individual and immediate circumstances pragmatically, giving due consideration to their unique society with its religious, economic, and social norms. This pragmatism placed a permanent stamp on the movement's personality as it gradually accumulated its share of "firsts" and "greatests" to become the most highly organized labour force in North America.

While Gillespie's story begins with a sealers' strike in Carbonear in 1838 he admits that the incident was isolated and that the centre of the activity was St. John's where a Mechanics' Society emerged in 1827 to provide sickness and death benefits for its members. However, a lethargic economy and isolation from "outside" influences impeded union growth and only with increased industrialization did the situation change in the 1890s, led by those who operated and serviced the Dominion's railway. Their resistance to its neanderthal owner, Robert Reid, finally brought him to the table in the spring of 1918 after a long strike. While the Newfoundland Industrial Workers' Association that emerged from this struggle was the island's first national industrial union, Gillespie concludes that the most effective turn-of-the-century organization was the Longshoreman's Protective Union which, through its grip on the economy of

the port city, eventually achieved a virtual monopoly on the waterfront. Elsewhere, the numerous miners working for BESCO on Bell Island were not as fortunate. The company retained the upper hand and repeated attempts to organize proved futile. Nevertheless, the growth of the movement continued before World War I, but, as before, gains were largely confined to St. John's and environs.

The Fishermen's Protective Union, the organization which, under the guidance of the visionary William Coaker, successfully challenged the economic control of the island's merchantocracy before and during the war, receives a chapter of its own from Gillespie. Here again we are introduced to an indigenous body created to meet a local need since the FPU managed to join class consciousness with many of the features of producers' cooperatives created on the prairies at about the same time. Although its influence was considerable it was never fully accepted, especially by the Catholic Church, so it declined and was not effectively replaced until the 1970s.

The depression decimated an already weak economy, but from these depths emerged a renewed desire by workers to resist employers' efforts to keep them subservient. The Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association was created among loggers cutting pulpwood for the mills at Grand Falls and Corner Brook and they joined with newly militant railway workers from across the island at Grand Falls in 1937 to form a province-wide federation. The new central body initiated an organizing drive in the late 1930s but World War II and the resultant prosperity delayed the process, in Gillespie's opinion, by deflecting workers' attention from more important social and economic concerns. But another aggressive campaign after the war left Newfoundland labour in the enviable position of having twice as many organized workers per capita as did Canada to which the island was constitutionally joined in 1949.

Gillespie views Confederation as a blessing initially because Smallwood, the old social reformer, seemed willing to apply national standards to the realm of industrial

relations. But the 1959 IWA strike showed otherwise, to the aging politician's detriment. Meanwhile, the growing strength of public sector unions over the next four decades nationally meant that the level of organization in Newfoundland and Labrador remained especially high because of the critical role that all levels of government played in the province's economy. Consequently, on the 50th anniversary of the Federation's founding Gillespie is very upbeat as he sees the labour movement regaining its ascendancy on the Canadian scene, assisted by the organizing successes among those employed in the fishery. Unfortunately he was unable to anticipate the present struggle between the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union and the Canadian Auto Workers, which has the potential to cause the movement serious damage.

While Gillespie has plenty to admire about Newfoundland workers' ability to overcome heavy odds to create a trade union movement with such economic clout, his treatment is surprisingly half-hearted. For example, even to the most ardent unionist a movement so devoid of discord must appear hollow. Moreover, outside of the description of the picket line violence at Badger in 1959 *A Class Act* lacks the drama associated with people staking everything for a principle and personal security. However, the photographs Gillespie has chosen make up for this deficiency as he takes the reader on a guided tour of the "mines, mills, and factories" as well as the stores, wharves, and ship decks which have served as the Newfoundland workplace. The selective skills of this visual practitioner capture not only the harsh environment but also the kinds of conditions which forced workers to seek change through organization. He sums up the process when he describes the Federation's accomplishments in 1949: "For the most part the work had been done without help from outside. It was a combination of local persistence, imagination and common sense." This statement also

sums up the book and establishes its importance.

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Bryan D. Palmer, *Solidarity: The Rise and Fall of an Opposition in British Columbia* (Vancouver: New Star Books 1986).

A FEW DAYS AFTER the Bennett government introduced its notorious 26 bills in July 1983, someone mentioned to me that there would be a protest rally that afternoon at the Memorial Arena in Victoria. I had heard nothing about it; nor had I seen any publicity for it. However, I was determined to be part of whatever protest there was, and made my way down to the Arena. I was not prepared for what I found: a huge, wonderfully varied crowd: good humoured, but amazingly militant: ready for a struggle, but looking for leadership. The speeches, mostly by union leaders, expressed people's anger and determination, but gave little indication of what was to be done. I left feeling exhilarated by the show of solidarity and militancy, but sensing that the leaders present had revealed a power that frightened and bewildered them.

My subsequent experiences of the Solidarity movement, from then until the Kelowna Accord of November, were a repetition of that first rally: an unexpected militancy and commitment among ordinary people; fear and irresolution among leaders who were caught up in a struggle they did not understand and could not control. Bryan Palmer's account of the Solidarity movement — the account of a participant/observer and a labour historian — helps make sense of these widely shared experiences. On his analysis, the fear and irresolution of the Solidarity leadership were the result of its organizational and ideological commitment to "social democracy" in its broadest sense. This commitment included many things: respect for the law and the legitimacy of existing institutions; a determination to separate the economic and political strug-

gle of the working class; a hostility to anything that would threaten the NDP or the established unions; a fear of disorder and of the rightist state that might exploit it. It was in the context of these commitments that the Solidarity leadership took up the struggle against Bennett's restraint programme. As Palmer indicates, the leaders were as anxious to contain popular protest as they were to reverse the government's measures. Thus, it is hardly surprising that they settled for so little in the end.

Palmer's book is both a polemic and an analysis. It is valuable on both counts, but one would have liked to have heard more from Palmer the historian. The analysis he offers is as rich and as fully documented as we have, but it might have been fuller. It is based on a careful reading of press accounts, interviews with some (but not all) of the key participants, examination of some of their files, and considerable personal observation. Thanks to his careful research, Palmer is able to clarify some of the controversial events in the history of Solidarity: the formation of the Solidarity Coalition and Operation Solidarity, the development of Solidarity's strategy, the sealing of the Kelowna Accord, the suspension of *Solidarity Times*. Throughout, he emphasizes the dominance of the labour "tops" and the complicity of the left in their dominance. Although the account is generally convincing, one is left begging for more information. There is very little, for instance, on the BCGEU, which was a key actor in the November events. Palmer's concern to draw lessons from the events and criticize the strategies adopted gets in the way of giving a full account of people's motives and activities. This book will be a valuable document, but evidently we will have to wait for a later historian to give us a fuller and more dispassionate account of the Solidarity movement.

Palmer's polemic, like his history, is satisfying up to a point. For those familiar with Trotskyist theory, the positions are predictable: social democracy appears as

an antithesis of socialism; Stalinists — that is, adherents of the Community Party of Canada — are excoriated for their opportunism and reformism; the broad left and its associated social movements are exposed as naive and ineffectual; the case is made for a principled socialist opposition that would lead the fight against the agencies of class collaboration.

Without a coherent oppositional stance, without an organized presence and a program to galvanize people around, the "broad left" was handcuffed and inevitably ended up following the lead of one or another organized currents: Ultimately the only way the bureaucracy could have been forced off the treacherous path on which it was determined to trample the movement was through the creation of a serious organized opposition within the ranks that it necessarily had to pay some attention to, the economically powerful base of the trade union movement.(89)

In effect, Palmer's argument is that those who ought to have known better were seduced by the appeal of solidarity into supporting the labour bureaucracy, which was bound by its organizational and ideological commitments to betray the Solidarity Movement. Thus, the broad left collaborated in a strategy which produced the Kelowna Accord, a "settlement" that not only delivered much less than the Movement could have obtained, but also assured the demise of the Movement itself. This was the only result the labour bureaucrats and social democrats could tolerate, but (according to Palmer) it was much less than Solidarity could have achieved.

The familiarity of Palmer's general position takes nothing away from its persuasiveness. His analysis of the leaders' efforts to contain the Movement is acute. And his argument is convincing that much more could have been obtained from the November strikes if the leaders had pursued their course of action with conviction, trusted their own followers, and developed a sensible bargaining strategy. What is much more doubtful is that an organized opposition to the labour bureaucrats could have been mounted within the framework of the Solidarity Movement. Of course, there were arguments about strategy and tactics, as Palmer reports, but

the overwhelming view was that solidarity had to be maintained if the movement was to be effective. In this context, an organized opposition would have been silenced quickly. What, in Palmer's view, ought to have happened, was simply impossible.

Palmer's book is nonetheless a useful corrective to more sentimental views of Solidarity. The Movement is dead in B.C., and there is no evidence that it had any significant effect on the provincial government. What effects it had on the left are more difficult to determine. The exhilaration of struggle and the discovery of solidarity are not to be discounted in the formation of political consciousness. The Movement's failure did not erase these positive effects. But the experience of Solidarity also poses the dilemmas of serious political struggle in an acute form. Palmer's analysis illuminates some of these dilemmas, but the solution he poses read too much like old formulas, drawn from the events of 1905 and 1917. We are as distant now from those events as Marx was from the Great Revolution of 1789. It is time we subjected the old revolutionary formulas — Luxemburg's, Trotsky's, and Gramsci's, as well as Lenin's — to as ruthless a criticism as Marx made of his predecessor and as Palmer has made of the labour bureaucrats.

Warren Magnusson
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Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1987).

ALAN METCALFE'S PIONEERING monograph demonstrates that the marriage between sport history and social history remains to be consummated. The author admits this, rueing the lack of interest that social historians have demonstrated in sport as a field worthy of serious analysis, and the dearth of historical training possessed by most Canadian sport historians — coming as they do usually from departments of physical and

health education. Metcalfe attempts to bridge this gap and to identify areas for future research as he charts the emergence of organized sport in this country from the early nineteenth century through the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Organized sport, Metcalfe argues sensibly, comprises an integral part of Canadian social history and possesses significant potential to illuminate that history. The author's approach is frankly selective, emphasizing the emergence of new sport forms within Canada as a direct consequence of the immense changes occurring during the aforementioned century. He accords primary focus to the interaction of organized sport with several major influences upon Canadian society — the ethnic composition of the population, demographic changes, the change-over from a producer to consumer culture, the triangular relationship linking Canada and Canadians to Britain and the United States, and, most significant, the pre-eminent role played by English-speaking middle-classes in Canada's urban centres.

More than any other group, Canada's urban Anglophone males played a disproportionate role in shaping organized sport, just as they exerted preponderant impact upon class and labour formation within the volatile milieu wrought by the convergence of urbanization and emerging industrial capitalism. Metcalfe mentions, but does not emphasize, the impact of regional variations in organized sport. Nor does he accord much importance to the role of such other groups as French Canadians, native Canadians, late-nineteenth-century immigrants, and women. He excludes these groups not because he considers them insignificant, but because he deems them peripheral to his central theme.

For Metcalfe, the history of organized sport is a very exclusive phenomenon, created by men whose sporting agendas much reflected their traditions, beliefs, attitudes, and values. His definition — with which some will quarrel — emphasizes the evolving form of games, the structure of competition, the degree of

participation, and the emergence of organizations to codify regulations, organize competition, and control sport. Hence, he finds, developments in the nineteenth century did add up to something new, something Canadian, albeit reflecting the British and Scots inheritance, as well as the ongoing cultural collision with developments in the United States.

The transformation of Canadian sporting endeavour — from ritual to record and from ill-determined to standardized boundaries and durations — comprises one of four major themes of the book, as does Metcalfe's discussion of changes in competitive structures. Rationalized procedures and the creation of leagues and championship matches, the author argues, provided the crucial variable that distinguished preindustrial from modern sport. Such structuring of sporting endeavour — a characteristic of the general search for economic and social order after 1880 — assumed that players and spectators alike would have sufficient leisure time for sporting activity for the foreseeable future. Third, organized sport in the nineteenth century became mass sport, in the context of age, social, and occupational group participation and in the growth of commercially defined spectator sport. Finally, the modern identity of Canadian sport owed much to the organizations that emerged after 1867 (The National Lacrosse Association) to transform sporting endeavour from *ad hoc* parochiality into a maze of national, provincial, and local organizations. This bureaucratization, buttressed by the middle-class ideology of amateurism, imbued organized sport with its most durable identification.

Students of labour history will find much to ponder in *Canada Learns to Play*. Metcalfe suggests that the amateur sport that came to dominate Canadian culture was created by a group of men whose impact far outweighed its numerical size. The Anglophone commercial, mercantile, and professional middle classes of Montreal and Toronto spread amateur

sport to larger centres across Canada, and thence to neighbouring communities. As Canadian sport developed in a manner similar to other industrialized nations, it borrowed its ideology basically from the British isles, but its answers to practical questions came from the United States. Hence, "Canadian" organized sport was in this era — as it would remain — a hybrid.

The affinity of workingmen for baseball, especially in urban Ontario, provided an interesting insight into the clash between defenders of amateurism and early professionalism. Workingmen who played that game were excluded from the network of elite sporting organizations that became the genesis of the exclusive, private, modern-day clubs. Workingmen often earned "wages" on the diamond, however, and became the bane of the amateur citadel — so much so that at times they were blackballed just as certainly as they were for union activities. Withal, they were merely tolerated. The middle-class drive for hegemony, with its undeniable class discrimination, extended to the ball diamond, as it did to other sporting venues.

Canada Learns to Play marks a needed addition to McClelland and Stewart's Canadian Social History series. Metcalfe is on occasion repetitive, and labour and social historians will no doubt lament his unwillingness to engage more with questions of theory; his omission of sustained treatment of groups that challenged and were stunted by the primacy of bourgeois amateurism and its masculine biases; and his narrow definition of culture.

Yet there is much of interest here, including a case study of Canadian lacrosse, assessments of this country's major sport forms and early sport bureaucrats, and the saga of Canada's forgotten national sport hero, Edward (Ned) Hanlan. Sport history in the United States recently passed through its "take-off" stage. If Canadian historiography still trails its American counterpart in sophistication by a decade or so, one may conclude that in achieving the goal he set for himself, Metcalfe has pushed this country's sport history closer yet to the launching pad.

Geoffrey S. Smith
Queen's University

Dianne Newell, *Technology on the Frontier: Mining in Old Ontario* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 1986).

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA historian Dianne Newell takes as her topic the adoption of new technologies to the frontier conditions of the Ontario mining industry to 1890. Essentially she tells a success story, outlining the ways in which mining interests within the province succeeded in modifying or improving British and American techniques or discovering new ones peculiarly suited to the marginal economy and particular resource configurations of Ontario.

In terms of organization, the book moves from a general discussion to three case studies and then back to the general. In her introductory chapter Newell outlines aspects of the historiography of technology, mentioning several international scholars, including H.J. Habakkuk, Paul David, Nathan Rosenberg, and Allan Pred, as well as Canadian contributors such as Harold Innis, Donald Paterson, and Richard Pomfret. The author places her own work within the emerging mainstream. The history of Canadian technology is seen as a series of innovative responses to particular engineering and economic circumstances and not as a failure to grasp opportunities. The unevenness of the technological landscape at any given time is emphasized: neat stages of development and smooth, automatic processes of change are rejected. Chapter 2 surveys the major breakthroughs in mining technology that were copied, modified, or made by Ontarians. We learn about the coming of such developments as the diamond drill so crucial to prospecting and exploration, compressed air drilling equipment widely adopted for extracting ores throughout the north, the Frue Vanner developed in Ontario to recover silver at Silver Islet, and a refining process that deodorized Ontario oils so that they would be suitable

for illumination. In chapter 3 the author examines "diffusion mechanisms," discussing the importation of skilled workers, the establishment of metallurgical engineering programs in Canadian universities, and the impact of technical publications, both imported and locally produced. The following three chapters are case studies of mining developments within the Upper Great Lakes district, the Canadian Shield fringes of southeastern Ontario, and the oil and salt mining areas of the southwestern peninsula. The final chapter studies Ontario's mining patent record and, on the basis of Ontario findings, speculates about "the relationship between invention and transitional economic development in small, open societies." She concludes that technological innovation occurred where possible and necessary, though this was no guarantee of profits or longevity of operations. Techniques well suited to frontier Ontario were typically small-scale, tailored to local fuel sources and required little maintenance.

I found the most interesting chapter to be the one dealing with the copper, silver, and gold mines of the Upper Great lakes district, for there the challenges were enormous and the possible rewards especially seductive. Take the case of copper mining at Bruce Mines. The Montreal Mining Company began operations in 1847, bringing in experienced Cornish miners who sunk shafts and with their families established a permanent mining community on the north shore of Lake Huron. But from its inception the undertaking was plagued by problems relating to geography, geology, and economics. The remoteness of the area and the severity of the winters led to serious difficulties with the furnaces that roasted and smelted the ores. Coal had to be shipped all the way from Cleveland, Ohio, and a brickworks constructed at the site. The engine house collapsed under mid-winter conditions, killing one man and disabling others. Cholera then struck, leaving tragedy and problems of labour supply in its wake. And before long it was

clear that the ore quality was second rate and required much additional treatment at considerable cost. Despite remarkable resourcefulness on the part of the innovating engineers and miners, profits and job security were delayed by problem after problem. The company steamer broke down in 1853, delaying for an entire winter the arrival of a new work force of Scots, and in the following year supplies and the steamer itself were lost in a storm. Though there were profits in some years, prospects appeared gloomy after copper prices on the international market plummeted in the economic crash of 1873. In the end the copper mines of the district never even began to approach the success of neighbouring Michigan mines.

In other districts studied by Newell the obstacles were different, but the interest in technical innovation was equally strong. In southeastern Ontario surface showings of iron, gold, lead, mica, and apatite held out great promise. But despite creative tinkering with techniques, it generally proved unprofitable to mine the small and often low-grade deposits, given low international prices and prohibitive transportation costs. In the southwest, shallow-lying and low-yield oilfields encouraged the persistence of pumping techniques regarded as outmoded in other regions of North America. However, the high sulphur content of the oil stimulated inventiveness, for it was imperative to eliminate offensive odours if the oil was to win acceptance in the lucrative market for illuminating oils. In the salt mining operations of the same district, we find a rare instance where, because of the nature of the resource and climate, it proved best to reject American techniques in favour of British ones. But despite the high-quality of the salt and the successful mining and processing techniques, Ontario producers could not even compete in the domestic market. Cheap English salt was shipped to Canada at remarkably low prices because it was a backload cargo. Thus in 1886, for instance, Canada imported six million barrels of English salt, and Ontario produced only 300,000 barrels.

Political economy, not a want of inventiveness, prevented the emergence of a strong nineteenth-century Ontario salt industry.

These developments — and many more — are outlined by Newell in succinct prose that is remarkably free of the kind of jargon that mars many writings on technology and economics. At times, however, the author's verbal economy is extreme. The uninitiated will find it difficult to comprehend the historiographical discussion, and the complex, sophisticated arguments of leading historians are sometimes reduced to a few cryptic words. Similarly, some of the descriptions of equipment are so brief that it is impossible to grasp the point being made. I hesitate to say that such passages should have been significantly lengthened, however, for even as it now stands many readers who lack a passion for machinery will find the going tough.

This raises a more serious criticism. Though there are gestures made in the direction of social history, the book fails to provide sufficient discussion about how people were affected by and responded to the dozens of technological changes described. Readers of this journal will be especially disappointed by the brevity of the treatment given to workers. Our appetites are whetted, but not satisfied by the few remarks about the Cornishmen who worked at Bruce Mines and Silver Islet or the dangers of gold mining near Madoc. To be sure, this is partly a function of the nature of the sources that have survived and form the backbone of this study. Patent records, technical publications, and government reports provide little information about the impact of technological change. Even so, more might have been done with the materials consulted. The short treatment Newell accords workers is also a function of her perspective. Like others writing in the mainstream of the history of technology today, Newell stresses the myriad of economic, geographic, and other structural factors that affected the pace and course of technological change. Workers comprise merely one such factor. Employee resistance to technical innovations and managerial strategies to reduce it are certainly not central to her analysis.

Technology on the Frontier is a valuable

contribution to the as yet scarcely mined history of technology in Canada. Labour historians will find much of interest in its pages. There remains the task of exploring the dynamics of change in Ontario mining technology from the perspective of the working class.

Ian Radforth
University of Toronto

Briton Cooper Busch, *The War Against the Seals: A History of the North American Seal Fishery* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985).

THIS BOOK HAS BEEN aptly titled, for it is, indeed, an encyclopedic chronicle of North Americans' exploitation and often near-extermination of the world's seal population. Organized geographically around the animals themselves, it recounts in interesting but relentless and grisly detail for one major herd after another the story of what the seals clearly experienced as an attack. Although in the course of the book, Briton Cooper Busch presents us with a great deal of valuable information on the men who organized, conducted, and purchased the products of this global hunt, *The War Against the Seals* is at heart an ecological history.

Beginning in the high southern latitudes of the Indian, Atlantic, and Pacific oceans, Busch tells us first about the operations of New England sealers against the dozens of different island herds at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Two detailed chapters follow on the harp seals and their hunters in Newfoundland; and a couple more describe the demise of the great herds of the North Pacific. Then the author considers a wide variety of different marine mammals — mostly seals but also walrus — that were hunted in the southern oceans in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Finally, he concludes by taking the story of sealing in Newfoundland and the Alaskan Pribilofs down to its virtual abandonment in response to environmentalist

pressure in the 1970s and 1980s.

Busch's first concern is always to chart and explain the herd's demise. He divides the book into units of varying length that begin with a zoological investigation of the species in question and end with a quantitative estimation of the kill. The human material in between is rich in detail but serves primarily as a logical bridge: the explanation of destruction. Hence, although he carries his case quite completely, that the last two centuries have not been happy ones for the seals, he only touches on the questions of interest to most historians — those concerning man — in a conceptually incidental way.

This is not to say that the cultural, social, and economic dimensions of sealing are ignored. The author spends many pages on such topics as the profitability of Alaskan sealing in the late nineteenth century, the paternalistic and even stifling rule of the United States government over the seal-hunting Aleuts of the Pribilof Islands, the meaning of the hunt within the culture and local economy of Newfoundland, and the recent world-wide conflict between seals and environmentalists. Moreover, his treatment, based on some original research and very wide reading amongst secondary sources, is generally an informed and fair-minded one. Thus, labour historians can make connections, using his material, between the declining mammalian resource base, the "sweated" character of the industry, a pattern of labor recruitment focused on North America's geographical periphery (and even points abroad), and the general failure of collective action amongst these hands. But in general, they will have to do the work themselves, for it is not the panoply of common historiographical problems that activate this book.

As an informative introduction to the history of any of the different hunts, *The War Against the Seals* is a useful springboard. But since it is seals, the book is lean on analytic value to the majority of historical readers.

Daniel Vickers

Memorial University of Newfoundland

Charles M. Johnston, *E.E. Drury: Agrarian Idealist* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1986).

RARELY HAS A DUSTJACKET photograph captured the subject of the book so well. E.C. Drury stares impassively away from the photographer, the collar tight, the hair neat and close, the forehead unfurrowed, the eyes expressionless; in short, everything so ordinary. Drury is scarcely an ideal subject for a biographer. He is hard to like, his career was a shambles, and his autobiography told a lot of his story albeit obliquely. Nevertheless, Charles Johnston has written a biography that is worth reading because he has managed, through remarkable research and a refusal to take Drury at his own work, to place Drury's career in a broader context. That context is the change in Ontario from an agrarian to a largely industrial and urban society.

Drury, in Johnston's view, challenged "the material values spawned by the modern industrial age." It is in this sense that he was an idealist akin to those late Victorian intellectuals who challenged "the utilitarian and mechanistic order." Drury harked back to the values he identified with rural community life, and his legislative initiatives on the family reflected his deeply-held beliefs. Drury may have seemed antique to many around him, but he represented a tradition which deserves respect.

Johnston's argument, however, does not always rest easily upon his description of Drury's deeds. Drury, as J.J. Morrison charged at the time, did not himself represent those on the back concession, the majority of farmers in the early 1920s, whose agricultural techniques had advanced little since Victorian days, but rather those more prosperous farmers whose practices were thoroughly mechanical and utilitarian. He was an Ontario Agricultural College graduate, familiar with "scientific" techniques and closely linked with the urban financial

structure which supported the modernization of Canadian agriculture. His own home, "Crown Hill," had indoor plumbing and most of the other accoutrements of the Rosedale manor. Unlike most farmers, he already was driving a car when he became premier in 1919. In many ways, he represented politically a world that was no longer his own.

The contradictions in Drury's politics abound. He was a prohibitionist yet he compromised with the United Farmers of Ontario's labour allies complained and ultimately he strongly supported Mitch Hepburn. He blamed his defeat upon the lack of integrity of his strongest opponents, J.J. Morrison of the UFO and Howard Ferguson of the Tories. Yet his own record is blemished. Johnston clearly shows that Drury was at best disingenuous in dealing with the Smith-Jarvis scandal. Even more seriously, Drury could not be honest about the problem in his own memoirs when the "smoking gun" could be found by anyone who cared to look.

What *E.C. Drury* reveals is the divisions within the Farmer-Labour government, divisions which reflected socio-economic divisions within Ontario society in the post-war era. Drury's contradictions are those of the movement which thrust him into the premiership and which very soon undermined the government which he led. The contradictions are also a product of his own contrariness. The alliance with labour did have some common basis that shrewder leadership on both sides could have exploited to build a more enduring political structure as was done in some European societies and even in some American states. But leadership was lacking and the differences became more striking than the similarities. Even within the agrarian movement, Drury and Morrison managed to exaggerate the divisions except for a last minute compromise before the 1923 election, an election which an angered Drury called without consulting his cabinet or his caucus, much less the UFO executive. Perhaps, as Johnston argues, Drury accomplished more than we have realized but, on the basis of the evidence in this book, one can surely argue that he did much less than he might have

done.

Johnston did not have the ideal subject for a biography. Drury is difficult to love or hate and his career abounds with disappointments. This is the definitive biography of Drury. It gently corrects Drury's autobiography and it places Drury within a recognizable setting. There is really no more to say about E.C. Drury but many questions remain about the sentiments, economic forces, and the societal divisions which carried this curious man into the premier's chair.

John English
University of Waterloo

Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life 1915-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1987).

THE DRAMA OF THE "GREAT WAR" of 1914-1918 — the gory spectacle of a generation of young Canadians killed over possession of a few yards of muddy French terrain — still fascinates us, yet developments on the home front, though less well-known, were of more long-term significance. The state became a major actor, organizing and regulating war production and developing centralized bureaucracies to deal with the victims of the conflict. War industries could be readily dismantled and demobilization of over a quarter of a million troops, although traumatic, was a short-term problem. Assimilating ex-soldiers into the work force and caring for those disabled, widowed, or orphaned by the war a long-term responsibility and a formidable financial burden. This book examines both the institutional response to the problems of post-war reconstruction and the role of organized veterans in that turbulent era. While its analysis of the former is insightful and illuminating, the book fails to do justice to the ideological complexity of veterans' groups and largely ignores the ex-soldiers' potential for revolution — a possibility much feared by contemporary authorities.

Morton and Wright argue Great War veterans' needs were central to the formation of Canada's modern state bureaucracies. Caring for the wounded and providing for the 60,000 widowed and orphaned and 70,000 with permanent disabilities made big demands on government funds and expertise. In this unprecedented situation "a small number of imaginative and clear-sighted Canadians, virtually unknown to their contemporaries and wholly unknown to posterity, created effective institutions and policies." In the post-war era, veterans, unlike their forerunners and the poor and the sick of previous generations, demanded that government make provision for their need as a right not a charity. The authors point to this claim for entitlement as a major new development in the nation's social awareness.

If Canada could boast that her military hospitals, pensions, retraining and reestablishment schemes were better than those in other countries, they nonetheless left much to be desired. *Winning the Second Battle* ascribes much of their character and rigid economy to Canadian avoidance of the U.S. example. South of the border an ill-considered Civil War pension scheme had led to badly distributed and exorbitantly expensive payments. Canada's massive Pension Board bureaucracy, which sought to remove the assessment and payment process from *political interference*, became notoriously insensitive to individual hardships. There were also structural inequities. Canadian pensions were based on military pay which in turn reflected rank. But as a private's \$1.10 per day was considerably less than the civilian wage, a pension based on this ensured his pauperization in the post-war era. Economy led to careful selection of candidates for retraining schemes. They were only available to the disabled who could not return to their former occupations. Courses, such as those in movie projection, were vocational. Assistance to disabled veterans who needed to finish their university education was given rarely and grudgingly. The

Re-Establishment Department owned its own artificial limb factory and refused amputees money to buy prostheses manufactured by the private sector. Government acknowledged only limited responsibility for able bodied ex-servicemen. Soldiers' settlement schemes provided free land, and low-interest loans for potential farmers. Although applicants were carefully screened and given some direction and training, the scheme fell victim to the post-war drop in farm prices. Most able bodied men, after a short period of post-discharge pay and the government-run Employment Offices' help in locating suitable employment, were cut adrift in a society that had changed dramatically during the period of their military service. The product of much careful research, Morton and Wright's detailed descriptions of programmes serving both disabled and the able bodied ex-servicemen illustrate the interaction between veteran's demands, financial constraints, and Canadian politicians' traditional reluctance to assume social commitments.

While sensitive to the complexities of state bureaucracies, the book's analysis of veterans' groups is less perceptive. Its portrayal of Canadian servicemen's groups as politically neutral denies class as an aspect of ex-soldier's experience, and in so doing ignores a great deal of the surviving evidence. In wartime men from different backgrounds fought side by side, but there was little similarity between the experience of those who returned to the insecurities of working-class life and those who could look forward to continuation of secure middle-class employment, or a comfortable desk job in one of the new bureaucracies. Soldiers returned to a society where class was an important aspect of the contemporary debate as workers from coast to coast voiced their disenchantment with capitalism and their desire for a new social and economic order. Few were untouched by the ferment. In these circumstances the Great War Veterans Association's claim to stand above class

or party was not, as Morton and Wright maintain, a position of neutrality, but rather a denial of, and opposition to, labour leaders' position. The authors' statement that labour's overtures were rejected by veterans is somewhat at variance with the events of Winnipeg in June 1919 — the vigorous support a large percentage of the city's ex-servicemen gave to the strikers cannot be explained as due merely to the absence of foreigners on the strike committee. Relaying only the reactionary and nativist aspects of the larger veterans' organizations' official pronouncement, the book ignores the heated ideological debates that took place at the branch levels and the existence of left-wing, locally-based groups.

Perhaps the authors' most important omission is an assessment of authorities' fears of veterans. Could it be that the semi-official status of the Great War Veterans with its Ottawa headquarters and representation on parliamentary committees, reflected the authorities' perception of it as a conservative force, one which channelled ex-servicemen's discontents down the path of nativism and away from thoughts of revolution? Although the sources include the records of the Department of Militia, they exclude those of the RNWMP and its successor, the RCMP. Both groups include security surveillance estimates of the revolutionary potential of veterans and their organizations. The authors point out that their work is only a beginning. Further research may lead to an analysis that reflects the social and ideological complexity of veterans groups rather than the rhetoric of their official leadership, and one which takes into account the fears of the authorities.

Elizabeth Lees
University of British Columbia

David Frank, Carol Ferguson, Richard Clair, Richard McClellan, Raymond Leger, comps., *The New Brunswick Worker in the 20th Century/Les travailleurs au Nouveau-Brunswick au 20ième siècle: A Reader's Guide/Un guide au lecteur. A selective annotated bibliography/bibliographie choisie et annotée* (Fredericton: Department of History, University of New Brunswick/Department

d'histoire, Université du Nouveau-Brunswick 1986).

IF ACADEMIC FIELDS may be likened to human lives — beginning with fanfare, growing with promise, expanding into respectable middle age, and eventually giving way to more vigorous successors — the bibliographic period surely corresponds with the acne years. Bibliographies usually appear after a certain amount of learning has been done, but before maturity is gained. They generally indicate developing independence, coupled with anxiety about what the future holds. In the attempt to order a world perceived as ever more complex and challenging, they list earlier achievements (often impressive, singly, yet hardly integrated into a coherent "personality"). By thus "defining" a field, they purify its identity, and they provide a staging post from which scholars might embark on the difficult road ahead. Yet they are, in a sense, as ephemeral as pimples, quickly outdated by the very growth they memorialize and help to foster.

Reflecting the rise of new subfields within traditional disciplines during the last two decades, countless bibliographies have appeared in recent years. Published by university presses between cloth covers, or mimeographed for limited circulation, they have varied enormously in price (\$150.00 to \$5.00), pretension, and utility. At worst, their compilers seem to have accepted the transitory nature of their contributions with bad grace, simply spilling on to the page the contents of their file drawers. The results are all too familiar: madly scattered lists of sources neither complete nor especially helpful, barely organized according to temporal, topical and/or spatial categories.

The New Brunswick Worker is, in contrast, a model of what bibliographies can and should be. In common with most such works it seeks to identify what has been done, to legitimize the study of its subject matter, and to provide a starting point for future research (that might, in this case, make the working-class ex-

perience a unifying theme in New Brunswick history). But it is successful because its scale is right and because its compilers undertook the hard work of reading, summarizing, and cataloguing the entries in their "reader's guide." Limiting the bibliography to studies of twentieth-century workers in a single province allows for comprehensive coverage of a great range of sources, from autobiographies through community histories to theses and journalism. As the authors point out, the most recent bibliography of Canadian Labour History lists only ten New Brunswick entries; theirs includes 245, culled from a longer list of possible sources. Still this would be an amorphous mess without the annotations — one per entry, each between 50 and 500 words in length, intended to convey both the flavour and the focus of that item. The usefulness of *The New Brunswick Worker* is further enhanced by the index that cuts across the alphabetical listing of works by author, to give all entries on "accidents du travail," "Blacks Harbour," "fish-plant workers," "travailleurs forestiers," "women," and 150 other topics. Furthermore, each entry includes reference to at least one New Brunswick location at which the item may be consulted.

Reading the bibliography, I am impressed by its range, by the glimpses that it provides into the hard lives of New Brunswick men and women, and by the indomitable spirit that rises time and again from accounts of their experience. Almost any small selection of entries reveals these characteristics. Item 243 is a 1955 thesis: "A Study in Governmental Conciliation Procedure in Labour Disputes With Particular Reference to Experience in New Brunswick." The next entry refers to an occasional series of profiles of New Brunswick workers that appeared in *The Plain Dealer* in 1976 and 1977. Here we read of "Mary Boles, Cannery Worker" and of a day's work at a wood veneer mill in the Stanley area: "Exhaustion, monotony, long hours, no drinking water, a toilet room that had been spiked shut, and a distinct pos-

sibility that today would be the day you would catch a few hundred pounds of rock maple in the face, across your legs, or on your feet". Elsewhere we encounter the stirring prose of Frank Hatheway, New Brunswick's most prominent turn-of-the-century social reformer: "Adam with the sweat upon his brow, leans on his spade: Eve at the spindle watches her weary fingers. From the cities, from the farms, the workers look, hoping, wondering, asking 'Will we always be thus?'" Or, from *Poorhouse and Palace* (Saint John 1900) the argument that government should "make it extremely difficult for men to become millionaires and yet comparatively easy for all men to have a comfortable home, and enough income to ensure them against penury in their old age." Then we discover Hanks White, who spent the Depression planting potatoes, wishing, harvesting, trying to sell his crop, and storing it in the hope that prices would improve; who was driven off the land by hospital bills and disastrous contracts; who dodged his creditors and worked awhile in the Mine Woods; and who through it all survived to publish his story, in California, in 1972, under the title *Potatoes Without Gravy*.

Prepared with the assistance of a Canadian Studies Research Tools Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, distributed to schools and libraries across New Brunswick, and made available to union locals and labour councils in the province, this is a significant aid to regional scholarship. Comparable companion volumes, on the nineteenth century and on the other Atlantic provinces, would be equally invaluable. Copies of *The New Brunswick Worker* are available free of charge while supplies last from David Frank, Department of History, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N.B. E3B 5A3. No serious scholar of the twentieth-century Maritimes should be without one.

Graeme Wynn
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George MacEachern, *George MacEachern: An Autobiography, The Story of a Cape Breton Labour Radical*, edited and introduced by David Frank and Don MacGillivray (Sydney: University College of Cape Breton Press 1987).

LABOUR HISTORIANS and others interested in the history of industrial Cape Breton will welcome the publication of *George MacEachern: An Autobiography*. A leader in the dramatic struggle to organize Sydney steelworkers in the 1930s, MacEachern vividly describes these events and other episodes in the history of the Cape Breton labour movement in which he has played so prominent a role. MacEachern's knowledge of labour history is well known in Cape Breton; indeed, researchers are routinely advised to "go talk to George." Beginning in 1977, historians David Frank and Don MacGillivray heeded this advice and initiated the first of what would soon become many interviews with MacEachern. The document created through this process was supplemented with archival records to produce an enormous manuscript that MacEachern edited for publication with Frank's and MacGillivray's assistance. This process is carefully detailed by the editors in an excellent introduction that confronts the methodological concerns often directed toward oral histories and provides a helpful historical context for MacEachern's life story.

MacEachern's descriptions of his youth in Sydney, where he was born in 1904, are enthralling. Life in the working-class neighbourhoods located within the glow of the steelmill's furnaces is presented in marvelous detail. Especially interesting are the author's observations on education, religion, entertainment, family, community, and class loyalties. His description of gossip as "part of the entertainment that made life liveable" reminds historians that this is a subject that working-class cultural studies must not ignore.

MacEachern's youth ended on Armistice Day in 1918 when he left school to find work to supplement the family income. He "worked at jobs that were mainly long on hours and short on pay" until 1922 when he was hired as a machinist's apprentice at the

steelmill. The camaraderie he found there among the workers is effectively portrayed in the autobiography. But it is not a romanticized description of these experiences. The consequences for MacEachern and his family of the heavy drinking to which he was introduced in this exclusively male culture are disturbing. MacEachern's depiction in these early chapters of the arbitrary disciplining and firing of the workers, their low wages, and poor working conditions sets the stage for his excellent descriptions of the steelworkers' organizing drive in the 1930s.

The Depression marked a turning point in MacEachern's life. When laid-off in the early 1930s, he joined the local campaign to organize the unemployed. This activity was MacEachern's initiation into labour organizing and communist politics. Impressed by the communists he encountered in the relief associations and influenced by his reading of socialist literature, MacEachern joined the Communist Party of Canada, in which he is still active. MacEachern's party membership obviously influenced his personal and political decisions but little of this information is revealed in the autobiography. The author is also silent on the internal life of the party. These omissions will disappoint those readers interested in a history of the communist movement that reaches beyond its institutional development. Indeed, there is a noticeable change in emphasis in the autobiography at this point. The author narrows his focus from the broader working-class themes that enrich his description of his youth to a more traditional emphasis on the evolution of labour institutions. MacEachern consequently reveals little on the relationship between his commitment to socialism and his personal life. The autobiography feels incomplete without these recollections and it leaves one wishing to see the portrait completed.

One of the most interesting sections in the book describes the formation in 1936 of Local 1064 USWA by MacEachern and other steelworkers. This ac-

count revises the standard description of these events that attributes the victory to Silby Barrett's organizing skills. MacEachern demonstrates that local preparations for the drive began at least eighteen months before Barrett arrived in Sydney. Thus, the local that Barrett triumphantly delivered to the CIO in 1936 was not his personal creation, but the fruit of a long and considerable struggle by a committed group of Sydney steelworkers. The same can be said of the passing of the Nova Scotia Trade Union Act, for which Barrett also has received credit.

The ultimate tragedy of these events, though, is not that history books have ignored the role of the Cape Breton steelworkers and praised Barrett. It is that MacEachern and other founding members of Local 1046 were driven from their union by a vicious red-baiting campaign orchestrated by Barrett and the anti-communist headquarters of the USWA in Pittsburgh. By 1942 the situation became so uncomfortable for MacEachern and Dorothy, his wife, that they left Cape Breton and temporarily settled in Pictou County. The reader benefits even from this turn of events, however, for MacEachern's descriptions of labour relations in Pictou's shipbuilding industry during World War II are excellent. At the end of the war MacEachern moved to the Toronto area where he continued his union and communist organizing. In 1946 MacEachern, convinced that his loyalties lay with the Cape Breton labour movement, returned to Sydney, where he continues to reside. He again immersed himself in the local progressive movement, publicly debating anti-communists, organizing garage mechanics, supporting the CSU, and carrying the banner of the Labour Progressive Party in the 1953 federal election. These recollections offer readers valuable insights into the early Cold War experience. A pessimism invades these reflections of the 1950s that is only partly mitigated in an epilogue that reaffirms MacEachern's conviction that progressive social change is still possible.

MacEachern has written an engaging

autobiography. His depiction of working-class Cape Breton is fascinating and will interest anyone researching Canadian labour history. It is also a model of co-operation between a labour activist and academics that may stimulate others to initiate similar projects elsewhere in the country.

Nolan Reilly
University of Winnipeg

Jim Tester, et. al., eds., *Sports Pioneers: A History of the Finnish-Canadian Amateur Sports Federation 1906-1986* (Sudbury: Alerts AC Historical Committee 1986).

IN THE WAKE of the bitter Finnish Civil War of 1918 a group of Finnish emigrants, including a number of left intellectuals, trade unionists, and world-class athletes, left their homeland and made their way to Canada. One of the responses to their new home was to recreate the vibrant organizational life they had left behind. The core of that associational ethos was a combination of political and athletic activity with roots in the Finnish labour movement of the late 1800s. That movement, which called for "a complete change of lifestyle, a new dignity for labour," combined exercise, temperance, social and cultural activities, workers' education, and a left critique of bourgeois society and values. It flourished in Canada, and typified what Sudbury labour historian Jim Tester calls the Finnish "passion for social organization."

Sports Pioneers represents three years of diligent work by Sudbury area Finnish-Canadians to chronicle the achievements of these early Finnish immigrants. Aided by local labour historian Jim Tester and Laurentian University history professor Dr. Dieter Buse, the Alerts AC Historical Committee has produced a comprehensive and intimate portrait of the Finnish experience in Canada, based on the stories of former Finnish athletes themselves.

The Finnish workers' sports move-

ment really got off the ground with the formation of the Finnish-Canadian Sports Federation in 1925. This federation, affiliated with the Finnish Organization of Canada (FOC), established a movement which included sections in Ontario, Quebec, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia. Its growth was little less than phenomenal. In the 1920s Sudbury boasted 12 local sports clubs, with the Lakehead area supporting a further 13. The FOC had 80 branches, 70 halls where social, cultural, athletic, and political activities took place, and more than 20 athletic fields.

Sports Pioneers contains a balance of written and pictorial history. As a pictorial history the book works admirably well. Photographs of mass gymnastic displays, athletic fields blasted from the rock of the Sudbury basin, and group photos prominently featuring women and children as well as men, provide frank testimony to a sports movement based on family, community, and a social ethos. Perhaps the most evocative photo features 22 Finnish athletes, male and female, jammed into the back of a small stake truck, leaving Toronto for Montreal to participate in a 1932 track and field meet. In this and many other pictures, the depth of the Finnish commitment to amateur sports virtually leaps off the page. Unlike so many pictorial histories, which seem exhausted after a single perusal, *Sports Pioneers* has the ability to provide new insight or previously missed enjoyment even after a number of viewings.

The written history is comprised largely of local club histories, taped interviews, and an anecdotal selection of stories under the heading "People, Places and Happenings." The body of the book is set up by Jim Tester's introduction and a section on the Finnish background by Uno Korpi, taken from the official history of the Finnish Labor Sports Federation. A more detailed section describes the activities and development of the Finnish-Canadian Workers Sports Federation of Canada, beginning in 1925 with the founding of the Federation, and ending in 1983 with the decision to proceed with the FCASF history project.

It is disappointing that the club histories

and oral interviews which follow often fail to evoke the dedication to socialized sport so evident in the pictures. This is particularly true of the oral interviews, which could have provided important insights into the staying power of this participatory, non-professional, anti-bourgeois movement, and established meaningful links between the Finnish working class dedication to sport and the left politics of many of its leaders and rank-and-file participants. Instead, the interviews concentrate almost exclusively on individual achievements and individual participation. Individual competition was very important to Finnish athletes, but the Federation's resistance to involvement of its members in professional sports demonstrated that it was a competition with ultimately communal, rather than personal, goals. Fortunately, some of the club histories are related by 'ordinary' Finnish athletes who do emphasize that just participating, and being congratulated no matter where you finished, was its own reward.

The local club histories and oral interviews also fail to deal adequately with important political divisions which, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, often marred that shared Finnish dedication to sports. Here *Sports Pioneers* simply ignores or glosses over the distinct progressive (Communist), moderate (social democratic), and conservative factions within the Finnish community. The book does not deal directly with the role of sports clubs set up by the moderate Finnish Canadian Worker-Farmer Organization, or by the Loyal Finns of Canada, in order to draw support away from FOC sponsored clubs. The reader is left somewhat confused about the nature of the relationship between these clubs, and how that relationship evolved over time. One wonders if at least some of the fierce individual competitions which went on over the years might have had ideological overtones which added to the fierceness of the wrestling match or swiftness of the race.

Sports Pioneers leaves many ques-

tions unanswered. What role did left-wing ideology play in helping to sustain the Finnish sports movement? How deeply committed were rank-and-file Finns to the Federation's radical politics? How did the composition of the movement change over time, in terms of the active role played by left-wing, moderate and conservative Finns? Did second and third-generation Finnish youth increasingly rebel against participation in a culture which tended to mark them off from the social, political, and cultural mainstream of Canadian life? If the authors of *Sports Pioneers* leave many of these questions unanswered, it must be said in their defence that they have launched boldly and with great compassion into the study of a long neglected aspect of our history, and left academic historians with these exciting avenues to follow.

In a sense *Sports Pioneers* is a frustrating book, because it poses so many enticing questions and provides too few answers. Yet one can only marvel how well this group of local historians has captured the spirit and humanity of the Finnish commitment to amateur sports. The Alerts AC Historical Committee has given us a fuller appreciation of the alternative culture Finnish-Canadians forged in an age so often associated with the arrival of a mass culture of consumerism and apathy. The Finnish-Canadian Amateur Sports Federation, which continued to hold Sports, Song, and Music Festivals into the 1970s, and is still working to preserve the contribution of Finns to Canadian society, is to be congratulated for providing us with a model of socialized sport to reflect upon in this age of the spectator and the million dollar contract.

Peter Campbell
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Desmond Morton, *The New Democrats 1961-1986: The Politics of Change* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman).

CE LIVRE DE DESMOND MORTON figure

maintenant parmi les références classiques sur l'histoire du NPD au Canada. La présente publication est la troisième édition d'un ouvrage paru pour la première fois en 1974 sous le titre "NDP: The Dream of Power." L'édition actuelle est une version augmentée des deux précédentes. Elle intègre 25 ans d'histoire du NPD au Canada.

Professeur d'histoire à l'Université de Toronto, longtemps impliqué dans les rangs du NPD, particulièrement au début des années 1960, Desmond Morton traite d'un parti qu'il connaît. Il ne cache pas non plus sa sympathie pour le NPD. La force de l'ouvrage de Morton réside précisément dans sa capacité à présenter une synthèse de l'évolution du parti depuis sa fondation. Particulièrement au plan fédéral, en Ontario et dans les trois provinces de l'Ouest que sont le Manitoba, la Saskatchewan et la Colombie-Britannique. L'auteur retrace également quelques éléments de l'histoire du NPD au Québec. Ce livre est centré sur l'examen des performances du parti, notamment au plan électoral, et sur la vie interne du parti fédéral et des partis provinciaux affiliés.

Le NPD, explique Morton, a brisé l'idée selon laquelle le socialisme démocratique n'aurait pas de chance de développement et de survie en Amérique du Nord. Les 25 ans d'histoire du NPD prouvent le contraire. Depuis 1961, le NPD a formé des gouvernements dans trois provinces et au Yukon. Il est aussi devenu un sérieux rival aux partis conservateur et libéral sur la scène fédérale. Aujourd'hui, le NPD est le produit de plus de 90 ans d'expérience et d'action politique dans les rangs du mouvement ouvrier. Il s'appuie sur la population à moyen et à bas revenus, particulièrement sur la population labourieuse. En bref, par son livre, Desmond Morton cherche à démontrer en quoi le NPD demeure un parti politique crédible et solide, un rival menaçant pour les deux vieux partis, le parti le plus important à la gauche de l'échiquier politique.

Le livre de Desmond Morton est divisé

en douze parties.

Dans les premières sections de l'ouvrage (*Backgrounds, Foundation et Setbacks*), l'auteur retrace les origines, les conditions de fondation et les premières performances du NPD. Ce parti tire ses origines du Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, fondé en 1932. Mais en dépit de victoires en Saskatchewan, et un épisodique et relatif succès en Ontario, le CCF ne parvient pas à s'imposer comme parti au plan pan-canadien. Dans l'après-guerre, le déclin s'amorce. Dans la recherche d'une solution, les regards se tournent vers le modèle du Labour Party anglais qui trouve son appui principal dans les organisations syndicales. En 1958, le Congrès du travail du Canada (CTC), de concert avec le CCF, donne le coup d'envoi à la création d'un Nouveau Parti. En 1961, ce parti devient le Nouveau Parti Démocratique. A sa naissance, le NPD reconnaît la "thèse des deux nations," un non-sens selon Morton. (25) Les premières années sont marquées par les difficultés que rencontre le parti à consolider ses assises. Au Québec, la crise constitutionnelle s'enclenche. Le NPD nage dans le désert. Il connaît un scission en 1963 et en sort davantage affaibli. En Ontario et en Colombie-Britannique, le NPD connaît des scores décevants. En Saskatchewan, en 1963, le successeur du CCF perd le pouvoir. Ces difficultés de construction caractérisent le début des années 1960. Par la suite, succède une période transitoire de consolidation. De multiples élections se succèdent et bientôt un virage à gauche se manifeste. Les parties IV et V du livre (*Elections et Conflicts*), sont consacrées à cette période. Le NPD remporte plusieurs élections partielles en 1963. En 1964, le NPD ontarien consolide ses assises. Aux élections fédérales de 1965, le NPD connaît une légère croissance de son appui populaire. Au Québec, le parti enrégistre 12 pour cent du vote. Avec Robert Cliche, le parti tente de prendre son envol. En vain. Le vote de 1965 reste sans lendemain. Néanmoins, d'autres progrès se manifestent en 1966, en Saskatchewan, en Ontario et en Alberta.

De 1967 à 1969, le NPD connaît un virage à gauche et des débats virulents. La

crise constitutionnelle ébranle le parti. En 1967, le congrès fédéral adopte le principe d'un <statut spécial> pour le Québec. A compter de 1969, le Waffle se manifeste au sein du NPD. D'abord influent, ce mouvement radical de gauche connaît par la suite une baisse progressive de son influence jusqu'à sa rupture complète avec le parti. La période qui marque l'ouverture des années 1970 en est une de forte popularité du NPD dans l'Ouest canadien. La partie VI du livre (*Progress*) relate cette période très importante de l'histoire du NPD. Successivement, le NPD gagne trois élections provinciales: au Manitoba (1969), en Saskatchewan (1971) et en Colombie-Britannique (1972). Mais ces succès ne connaissent pas leur contrepartie en Ontario et au Québec. La section VII (*Clarification*) analyse la situation du parti dans ces deux provinces au début des années 1970. En Ontario, le parti est toujours divisé entre l'aile dirigeante et le Waffle, et l'organisation ne parvient pas à gagner le support de la masse de la population laborieuse. Au Québec, la question nationale provoque une nouvelle crise dans les rangs du NPD-Québec. L'aile québécoise réclame la reconnaissance du droit à l'autodétermination pour le Québec, sans succès. Pour Morton, le NPD-Québec s'avère alors une section embarrassante et source de troubles ("troublesome" 23).

Les parties VIII (*Performance*) et IX (*Frustrations*) traitent de la performance du NPD de 1972 à 1977. Une performance relativement décevante. En 1972, aux élections fédérales, le NPD parvient à recueillir près de 18 pour cent des voix et 31 sièges. Détenant la balance du pouvoir à Ottawa sous le gouvernement minoritaire de P.E. Trudeau (1972-1974) et placé au pouvoir dans trois provinces, le NPD croit enfin être en mesure d'effectuer une percée significative. Mais la stratégie d'appui au gouvernement Trudeau et les concessions multipliées ne donnent pas les résultats escomptés. En 1974, c'est la débâcle (169) aux élections fédérales. Parallèlement, dans les provin-

ces de l'Ouest et en Ontario, le NPD connaît certaines frustrations (partie IX). En Saskatchewan, le NPD réussit à se maintenir au pouvoir (1975). Mais il perd le pouvoir en Colombie-Britannique la même année et au Manitoba en 1977. En Ontario, la performance du NPD décline.

Les dernières parties du livre (Reappraisal et Regionalism), sont consacrées au tournant des années 1980 où, explique Morton, le parti tente d'effectuer une remontée. Après plusieurs déceptions, le parti gagne légèrement du terrain aux élections fédérales de 1980. Mais, constate Morton, vingt ans après sa fondation, le parti reste un parti régional, concentré en Ontario et dans l'Ouest canadien. (200) En 1980-1981, le NPD est divisé au sujet du projet constitutionnel du gouvernement Trudeau. L'aile fédérale appuie le geste de Trudeau, tandis que l'aile québécoise s'y oppose et qu'Allan Blakeney y ajoute sa propre obstruction jusqu'au 5 novembre 1981, date où il se rallie à Trudeau. Mais cette division au sein du NPD au sujet de la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1982*, estime Morton, a entraîné peu de dommage électoral pour le NPD. Pourtant, au Québec, ces événements provoquent de nouvelles secousses et l'organisation néo-démocrate est presque réduite à néant.

Enfin, en conclusion de son livre (Prospects). Desmond Morton décelle une période de consolidation qui s'ouvre pour le NPD à compter de 1984. Au plan fédéral, les déboires du gouvernement Mulroney ont entraîné un vaste mouvement d'insatisfaction. Les sondages ont témoigné de la popularité montante du NPD. Au plan provincial, le NPD a connu quelques succès: des progrès à Terre-Neuve, une victoire au Yukon, une percée en Alberta et une très bonne performance en Saskatchewan (qu'anticipait Morton au moment de la publication de son livre). Cependant, comme on le sait, ces progrès n'ont pas connu leur contrepartie en Ontario et au Nouveau-Brunswick.

Tout compte fait, le livre de Desmond Morton fournit à l'observateur un guide précieux lui permettant de connaître les

principales étapes de l'histoire du NPD. En particulier, le livre met en lumière le rôle clé des organisations syndicales dans la naissance et le développement du parti. Le NPD y trouve là ses assises, ses forces militantes et ses appuis populaires, en plus de chercher appui chez la jeunesse et les femmes. Les hauts et les bas de l'histoire du NPD sont aussi bien identifiés, notamment la période des années 1970. On constate que lorsque le NPD s'est appuyé fortement sur les organisations syndicales et populaires et mis de l'avant son propre programme de réformes, les succès ont été marquants. À l'inverse, lorsque les gouvernements néo-démocrates ont déçu et voire même affronté leur propre base électorale, le prix payé a toujours été élevé (Colombie-Britannique, 1975; Saskatchewan, 1982). D'autre part la débâcle de 1974 et les piétinements qui l'ont suivie sont particulièrement instructifs. La stratégie d'appui aux Libéraux au Parlement fédéral a entraîné une baisse des appuis électoraux du parti. Y aurait-il un parallèle à établir avec la performance décevante du NPD aux élections ontariennes de 1987, après deux ans d'appui au gouvernement libéral de David Peterson qui a recueilli le bénéfice des quelques réformes exigées par le NPD?

En terminant, une carence du livre tient à sa faiblesse dans le traitement de la question nationale, qui reste la cause principale de l'impasse du NPD au Québec. Desmond Morton semble partager les grandes orientations prises par le parti fédéral sur la question du Québec de 1961 à 1986. Mais aucune explication n'est donnée sur l'incapacité du parti à développer ses racines au Québec. Pourtant, en plus de la non-implication des organisations syndicales (sauf pour la FTQ pour un certain temps), l'attitude ultra-fédéraliste et l'opposition de la direction fédérale du parti aux aspirations nationales du peuple québécois y sont pour quelque chose. Les obstacles multipliés ont fait que les Québécois, bien avant la fondation du Parti Québécois, n'ont pas reconnu ce parti comme leur

parti. Depuis 1985, les attitudes se sont légèrement modifiées et des progrès se sont manifestés pour l'organisation québécoise sous la conduite de Jean-Paul Harnay. En tout état de cause, la prochaine période au Québec sera décisive pour l'avenir du parti tout entier. Nous verrons si le NPD restera un parti "régional" ou deviendra un parti solidement implanté au Québec comme au Canada anglais.

André Lamoureux
Collège André-Laurendeau

Milda Danys, *Lithuanian Immigration to Canada after the Second World War* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario 1986).

THIS BOOK, WHICH APPEARS in the Multicultural History Society of Ontario's series Studies in Ethnic and Immigration History, deals with Lithuanian displaced persons (DPs) in Canada from the mid-1940s until the mid-1950s, with a brief chapter on the 1980s. Milda Danys has written a very sympathetic volume based heavily on extensive research in the Labour and Immigration departments' files in the National Archives of Canada, as well as on oral testimonies from about 200 Lithuanian Canadians.

The volume is divided into three sections. Part One is a background to the immigration to Canada. A brief examination of the Soviet and Nazi occupations during World War II is followed by a review of Lithuanians in wartime Germany and in the DP camps. Danys uses oral testimony skillfully to reconstruct the activities and the socio-economic life of the camps. Part Two examines Canadian immigration and labour policy and the arrival of Lithuanian DPs in Canada under contract in forestry, mining, domestic service, and agriculture. A final part deals with the post-contract phase.

When World War II came to an end, about seven million people were stranded in Germany and Austria and by 1947 about one million Eastern Europeans whose countries were dominated by the Soviets remained to be settled. With its immense landscape and sparse population, Canada was under pressure from the International Refugee Or-

ganization to accept displaced persons. With the help of the Immigration and Labour departments, Canada eventually brought in, among other DPs, thousands of Lithuanians. Most instrumental to this programme was the Deputy Minister of Labour, Arthur McNamara. Under his guidance, the Department of Labour agreed that men and women would be allowed into the country for heavy and domestic labour. By resorting to the convenient order-in-council, the government admitted DPs on labour contracts for specific jobs. In this way, it was felt that the country might get first chance at the sturdiest immigrants.

It was not only moral suasion that influenced the government to admit DPs; so did various companies involved in forestry, mining, or in sugar beets, especially those that had depended on internees and German prisoners of war for the war effort and that no longer had those cheap sources of labour. Therefore, a selection team made up of Labour and Immigration officials picked candidates from the camps in the British and American zones of occupied Germany, basing their choices on the criteria of health and fitness as well as on the applicant's "suitability."

Labour historians will find useful those sections in the study which show the constant interplay between large and small resource companies on one side, and the Department of Labour on the other, with regard to the DPs. Terms and lengths of contracts, reimbursement of passage to worksites, and working conditions were perennial bones of contention between the two sides. The complex relations among the three parties stemmed from the system of contracts: both the DPs and the resource companies signed contracts with the federal government. Any labour tensions therefore recalled the presence of the Department of Labour. There was yet another element, the media. The DPs after all were guinea pigs for the federal government's plans to open the immigration gates despite opposition from the labour movement and the

Canadian public in general. Representatives from the Labour Department made regular visits to campsites to ease tensions or to quell unrest, and they did their best to keep reporters from particular work camps. Most of all the Labour Department kept its plans to import and place thousands of DPs at worksites across the country quiet.

There were internal tensions among the Lithuanians as well. New Lithuanians complained to the Labour Department about "old Lithuanian" foremen. The latter, who were often socialist sympathizers, had seniority on the job, usually as foremen, and they viewed the new Lithuanian refugees from Soviet rule as little better than Nazis. The conflicts continued as the new immigration grew and the DPs moved from the worksites to urban centres. In one instance in Montreal, New Lithuanians protesting the Soviet occupation of their homeland clashed with Old Lithuanians having a picnic at Ville LaSalle. This reader would have appreciated a clearer analysis of these tensions. Instead it seems that Danys tries almost to assuage both sides by stating that there were divisions but that the Old Lithuanians "showed a remarkable generosity of spirit" towards the newcomers (228). This is probably true, but it hardly allows the reader to understand the tensions.

Lithuanian Immigration to Canada is an informative book and contains a great deal of interesting material. The style is lively; the constant references, however, to documents in the departments of Immigration and Labour in Ottawa is disruptive. The reader is worn by lengthy quotations from bureaucratic letters, and by numerous allusions to files in the various departments and the materials contained in those files. As a result the volume is lengthy: it could probably have been shortened by about 20 per cent. The last three chapters, though interesting in themselves, are really a coda to the book. Nonetheless, this is a fine study and a good introduction to the DP immigration to this country. Labour historians will find much

helpful material here on the post-war period.

John E. Zucchi
McGill University

C. David Naylor, *Private Practice: Canadian Medicine and the Politics of Health Insurance 1911-1966* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1986).

THIS BOOK IS THE MOST in-depth study of the medical profession and its attitudes toward health insurance written to date. Given the recent doctors' strike in the province of Ontario and physicians' attempts elsewhere to continue extra billing, the question can be asked why so many physicians have not been able to accept the medicare legislation which was put into place two decades ago. Naylor's book helps explain that inability.

Naylor's focus is on the medical profession as an interest group and, as a result, the study is replete with descriptions of Canadian Medical Association meetings and policy statements. Individuals do not really emerge in the book except in the role of bureaucrats. Neither is the role of the public *per se* discussed except when it coalesces into either a supporting or an opposing lobby group.

What emerges from the study is a profession that dislikes interference in the doctor/patient relationship, which it views as essentially private and individual. It is a relationship entered into freely by both parties and it is this freedom which many practitioners believe a government medicare scheme undermines. However, the relationship between doctor and patient is never really equal, for individuals only become patients when they are ill and feel they are in need of some kind of medical assistance. At this point in time, they are vulnerable and probably do not see themselves as entering into the relationship freely but through necessity.

The profession's attitude toward state intervention in medicine has not always been constant. In the nineteenth century,

it was more than willing to see the state intervene to raise the standards of hospitals, medical education, and public health. This was especially true when the state endorsed regular practitioners against irregular ones such as midwives. However, when private groups wanted to intervene, the profession was less than entranced by the idea. This was not common but it did occur especially through working-class fraternal and benevolent societies. What upset physicians most about such arrangements was the removal of fee-for-service by either capitation fees or salaries. Indeed, this is still an issue about which the profession feels strongly.

There was some interest in government health initiatives at the end of World War I especially as the population was becoming accustomed to an interventionist government. Public health practitioners were also intrigued by the notion of state intervention in health. Unlike their colleagues in private practice, they were already on salary and consequently did not see government participation in health care as a threat to their status. However, the interest did not seem to translate into anything concrete and the 1920s saw a decline in discussions about state and private health schemes.

As is well-known, interest increased once again in the depression years of the 1930s. In many communities, doctors were placed on salary to ensure that medical care for the poor would be available. The profession had little difficulty accepting this intervention for many of its members were finding it difficult to make ends meet as their patients became increasingly unable to pay them for their services. The CMA went so far as to endorse a health insurance scheme. One of the major stipulations of such a scheme, however, was that it only be compulsory for those who were indigent. The government would guarantee payment for those individuals, but for those who could afford to pay the medical profession preferred to continue using a sliding scale of fees through which practitioners charged the wealthy more. This is what the profession had long been doing in order to subsidize medical care of the poor. It is difficult to understand why

the profession felt it was entitled to continue this approach if the government was going to guarantee payment for the poor. However, it was an issue which was central to physicians' opposition to medicare. Linked to the obvious economic self-interest of such a position was an overwhelming fear that if the government became the intermediary between patient and physician, it would interfere with the kind and quality of medical service provided.

Naylor's analysis of the profession's position throughout the years under study is always thoughtful and balanced. He notes when self-interest becomes uppermost but he also is able to delve beneath the self-interest and see how the profession coupled it with its perception of the nature of medical practice. His study is particularly good in clarifying the complexity of negotiations from the 1940s onward. It was in the forties that the medical profession and the government worked hand in hand to devise a health insurance scheme. The medical profession's motivation was clear. It recognized the inevitability of some kind of scheme and was determined to have as much say in its formulation as possible. Unfortunately, the Liberal Government under Mackenzie King delayed a decision and soon the profession was withdrawing support. Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, it instead endorsed private insurance schemes, first those run by physicians which were essentially non-profit and later profit based ones run by insurance companies. Indeed, by the time that medicare was implemented, the profession was giving more support to the latter since it saw the non-profit schemes as a vehicle for government use when and if it introduced a national health insurance scheme.

Naylor concludes his book by arguing that the medical profession was an effective lobbying force. Over the years, practitioners came to support the CMA in greater numbers and thus strengthened it accordingly. It was able to maintain an independence under the Canadian

medicare scheme which practitioners in Britain were unable to do. He even points out that fee-for-service is probably more entrenched in our system than in the United States where privately run health care facilities, which hire salaried practitioners, are growing apace.

Wendy Mitchinson
University of Waterloo

Cy Gonick, *The Great Economic Debate: Failed Economics and a Future for Canada* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company 1987).

THE PURPOSE OF THIS immensely readable book is to review the crisis in economic thought as a way of understanding the present crisis in the capitalist economy. In the process, the author shows a tremendous grasp of a broad scope of issues, including: the relationship between ideology and economics in the history of economic thought (Part I), the rise and fall of Keynesianism and its replacement by monetarism (Parts II, III), the advent of post-Keynesianism (Part IV), Marxist economics (Part V), and the causes of postwar economic prosperity, the crash, and the limits to capitalist recovery (Part VI). That all of these issues are dealt with in one book should prove useful to instructors in schools and workshops, who have always had difficulty in finding an alternative to mainstream textbooks and commentaries. As an introduction to radical political economy, this is the best survey that has been produced in Canada.

Particular sections of the book warrant special attention. Chapter 2 treats the Macdonald Commission as an ideological exercise in generating consent. Chapter 3 summarizes convincingly the "supply-side" character of postwar economic policy in Canada. Chapters 6 and 7 offer a particularly good and accessible explanation and critique of monetarism and supply side economics. Alternative capitalist policies — such as incomes policy, industrial policy, and industrial democracy — are explored in Chapters 9 to 11, and their structural and class limits

are delineated in precise fashion. Chapter 10 includes an excellent presentation of the dismal condition of Canada's industrial sector. Chapters 12, 13 and 15 provide a concise, comprehensible "mini-course" in Marxist economics. A history of the "capitalist state" is neatly told in Chapter 14. The Chapter 17 discussion of the impact of the new technology on employment and demand is especially good.

Other dimensions of the book are not as compelling. The book is very long and is recommended only as a text. Readers must wade through 300 pages before discovering an explanation of the present economic crisis. The scope and strategy of the book make the main line of argument hard to follow. For example, the economics of the New Right is presented in three different ways in different places, first as ideology (Part I), then as theory (Part III), then finally in concrete historical terms (Part VI), making it hard to connect the pieces. The Part I discussion of the relationship between ideology and economics is not particularly strong. The connection between ideology and the adoption of, say, supply side economics in 1975 or non-radical policy in 1945, is not at all clear.

The author's treatment of Keynes is schizophrenic. He admires his "vision," his radical critique of capitalism, his policy alternatives. But he also criticizes Keynes's political and economic naivete, the internal contradictions in his analysis, his construction of a grand illusion. Why, then, is anyone surprised at, or scandalized by, the fact that the "radical" Keynesian prescription was not applied by capitalist governments? Post-Keynesians like Joan Robinson, Galbraith, and Thurow — the "true" followers — are treated similarly. Their ideas were rejected only in North America and England, where weak anti-capitalist and strong liberal sentiments predominated. Gonick simply ignores the relationship between ideological conditions and policy choices in Canada and elsewhere in the immediate postwar

period. Ironically, Gonick effectively criticizes post-Keynesian measures such as incomes and industrial policy by showing how their use has perpetuated the uneven distribution of wealth and ownership and co-opted labour. He thereby inadvertently establishes the fact that "non-bastard" Keynesianism cannot be operationalized under capitalist conditions.

The casting of Swedish, German, and other European experiences in a totally negative light is too ungenerous. Can it be argued that workers in Europe are worse off because their governments did not pursue North American-type economic policies? Has nothing been gained from these experiences? Surely the strength of the New Right in North America and England is precisely the result of the absence of these kinds of socializing and learning experiences and institutional innovations undergone elsewhere. Gonick is correct in concluding that Keynesianism was important in ideological rather than policy terms in Canada. But it must also be assessed in terms of the policies that were not enacted. The postwar settlement in Canada was profoundly conservative because the legitimacy of liberalism and capitalism was retained and indeed strengthened. There was no ideological reconstruction, no institutional re-arrangements, no social experiments of the sort which would lay the foundation for the "participatory socialist" strategy that Gonick proposes in his Afterword. Instead, the New Right builds on an ideological past and institutional arrangements that were never really challenged or transformed.

In this context Gonick's treatment of the impact of technology is incomplete. For example, he only hints at the impact of what was the ideologically attractive hyper-rationality of Keynesianism. The postwar domination of "progressivism" built on conceptions of new kinds of knowledge (collective) and new kinds of agents (bureaucracy) to contain market irrationality. This crippled socialism ideologically. When economic conditions deteriorated, its false claims also laid the basis for the alliance of Friedmanite economics and Christian fundamentalism in an anti-rationality revolt.

The absence of a full, theoretical treat-

ment of the Kondratieff long wave of prosperity is disappointing. For much of the book, postwar prosperity is presented as a kind of *deus ex machina* in explaining a way why capitalism remained healthy even in the absence of the application of the Keynesian vision. The explanation of this cycle of prosperity is fairly descriptive, however. The positing as determining factors of the international economic order and profit conditions is accurate, but is somewhat removed from the book's theoretical framework. Marxist scholarship in Canada has yet to produce a convincing explanation of the upward and downward movements of the postwar long cycle. This is critical, inasmuch as the treatment of fundamental technological change must be addressed with considerable dialectical subtlety. Fundamental changes in the means of production have always generated corresponding changes in the organization of production and work, as well as in the arrangements of finance, the law, state policy, ideology, etc. Appropriate political and labour responses to these changes must be constructed on a holistic, theoretical treatment of the nature of these changes in the means of production.

Cy Gonick has produced a very useful book to assist in understanding the uncertainty in economic analysis and the persistence of the economic crisis. The study reflects the strengths of the Marxist political economy tradition in Canada. His successor volume on economic policy alternatives is eagerly awaited.

Robert Malcolm Campbell
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Don Wells, *Soft Sell: "Quality of Working Life" Programs & the Productivity Race* (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives 1986).

THE LAST DECADE has witnessed an explosion of rhetoric from managements, management consultants, and governments about the benefits of Quality of Working Life (QWL) programs for both workers and management. The literature

examining the effectiveness of QWL is dominated by evaluations conducted from a managerial perspective. In contrast to this literature Don Wells brings a refreshing alternate analysis and viewpoint which is unapologetically from a labour point of view. His central concern is to uncover the impact of QWL on workers and their unions. In other words, what is the reality of QWL for workers?

To say that Wells is skeptical of QWL programs would be an understatement. He sees them as "Trojan Horses" which offer increased workers' participation and democracy, increased job satisfaction, increased workers' control over jobs, and increased job security but contain instead the mechanisms through which management is able to solidify its control over workers. Furthermore, management is able to obtain the voluntary co-operation of workers in order to meet management goals. Wells succeeds in substantiating this view through a systematic and thorough investigation of attempts to introduce QWL into two unnamed industrial plants.

Management does not enter into QWL haphazardly or unprepared. The sites and the personnel were carefully selected to ensure a maximum likelihood of success. In Plant A the collective agreement provided for the implementation of QWL and the union leadership was instrumental in establishing a steering committee to achieve that end. In Plant B management, in consultation with QWL consultants, established the structure of the program well in advance of consulting with the workers or their unions. In either case, the end result is the same — the implementation of QWL is from the top down. This irony does not go unnoticed by Wells and he expands upon it by drawing our attention repeatedly to the predominant managerial orientation of QWL. While QWL promises to improve workers' lives on the job, its actual structure meets managerial goals by establishing decision-making frameworks and problem-solving techniques. This is a peculiarly managerial orientation and is

assured through what one QWL consultant for Plant B called "a lot of climate-setting" in "Co-operative Decision-making Groups" (CDMs). In Plant A it took the form of orientation sessions which included rather thinly veiled threats that if productivity did not increase then the cost would be jobs. Labour-management co-operation was to be the key to ensuring job security.

In point of fact, QWL was spurred on in both plants by the threat of job loss. Management's desire to be ever more competitive lead the way in their attempt to sell QWL to the workers. At first blush what choice do workers have? When jobs are at stake workers become more receptive to proposed solutions no matter who proposes them. Plant A is "part of a major industry in crisis" and Plant B was in the midst of "continuing massive layoffs." However, such threats do pose problems for management. It may make workers more receptive to QWL, but it also makes it much more difficult for management to deliver on its promises of job security.

The strength of Wells' study lies in its analysis of the goals of management and the real consequences of QWL for workers. Management's goals were not the openly-stated goals of QWL, but were goals beneficial to management in the form of increased control over workers. Wells argues convincingly that management wanted: (1) to have a controlled delegation of authority to a few workers in order to establish self-supervision and peer pressure as a means for increasing productivity; (2) to unlock workers' own knowledge of the labour process such that it could be utilized to management's advantage; (3) to promote work-group cohesion and efficiency so that the work-groups could be pitted against each other in a productivity race; and (4) to promote workers' identity with the product of their labour in the hopes that increased job satisfaction and loyalty would result. In sum, the argument is that QWL serves as the veneer for management's bid to conquer the "last frontier" in the on-going battle for control in the workplace. "The

important point that top management has grasped ... is that this last frontier can be crossed only with the *voluntary* co-operation of workers."

What do workers get for their voluntary co-operation? According to Wells, not much. Only a few workers directly involved in the QWL process gain any increase in discretionary authority or increased participation. The Quality Boosters in Plant A gained in this respect but the associated cost was their increasingly contradictory position within the work-group. They had to reconcile their positions as part supervisors and part workers. The expected increase in job satisfaction for ordinary workers did not materialize. Wells argues there is a temporary Hawthorne effect only. However, the lack of a payoff in terms of job satisfaction is a relatively minor matter considering the other attendant consequences of QWL.

Work-group cohesion serves as a case in point. From a labour point of view an increase in cohesion may seem to be a desirable outcome. Unfortunately, the coincident deterioration of plant-wide solidarity more than offsets any benefits. QWL pits work-groups against one another in an effort to spur productivity and inter-group relations suffer. Any resistance that may arise from increased work-group cohesion to management intransigency is severely eroded by the divisions at the plant level. These divisions are of a serious nature for the union because it affects organized resistance more than it affects individual resistance.

For the union the impact of QWL is particularly threatening. Such programs often constitute "an end run around the union" in that they most often fall outside of the collective bargaining framework. What management will not provide in collective bargaining they will proffer in QWL programs, but of course these deals may be withdrawn unilaterally and arbitrarily. Moreover QWL leads workers to be complacent about their contract to the extent that contract provisions are no longer policed effectively. If that is not enough, QWL threatens to circumvent the established shop steward structure. Worker representatives in the projects supplant the steward as the rep-

resentative the membership seeks out to resolve workplace problems. Overall, then, the union comes to play a lesser role in workplace relations even to the extent of losing some of its legitimacy and constituency.

Perhaps the most insidious side to QWL is that it provides a cover for the implementation of a secondary level of human relations reforms. These reforms are not part of the QWL program *per se* but are part of an "entrenched process far beyond the original programs." Even after the pilot projects in Plant A were dead (the union withdrew), the secondary QWL continued to diffuse throughout the plant. The creation of "Quality Boosters" was the central feature. They had some degree of discretionary authority and served to supervise groups of workers. This program seems to work well for management as they can divest some of their responsibility for supervision and for cajoling productivity increases to a member of the work-group. The Quality Boosters have a certain prestige and are usually workers who are seen to have leadership qualities. They are "a new first line of supervision."

Plant B had a similar diffusion of secondary QWL throughout the plant. The style of management changed to reflect a more human relations approach. Supervision was on a more friendly basis in an attempt to improve rapport. Supervisors were trained to use more co-operative approaches in motivating workers. This approach is fairly typical of human relations reforms which include the use of suggestion boxes and greater attention to workers' personal lives.

To the uninitiated these may seem like desirable reforms. As Wells says, "The name alone — Quality of Working Life — makes it sound as if unionists would be insane to turn down this new nirvana of work. Those who oppose QWL can easily be made to look arrogant, cruel, ignorant, and smug about the serious problems people face at work." Yet oppose it they must. The broader process of QWL slips outside of the safety net of

collective bargaining and workers become entrapped within the framework of a managerial point of view. They find themselves thinking about the workplace, the labour process, and industrial relations in the same manner as management does. This alone should give pause for reflection.

The final chapter provides a good outline of strategies for those confronted with a QWL program and its human relations baggage. Wells warns unionists to regard QWL "as part of a broader management strategy." Given the relationship between QWL itself and the broader QWL process, this seems like sound advice. Not only must workers be aware that it is part of a broader strategy but they need to determine the specifics of that strategy. The fine words and appealing concepts of the QWL supporters must be stripped away to reveal the stark reality of what the program will actually be like and how it will affect mechanisms already in place to protect workers' rights. Moreover, unions need to mount public relations campaigns partly to counteract management and government public relations and partly to keep their own membership informed about whether QWL is living up to its promises. Union education needs to be directed toward developing a more united and active membership base. It may then be possible to circumvent the broader QWL process through pressure to include QWL within collective bargaining, and through the exposure of management hypocrisy in cases where demands are refused in bargaining but proffered in QWL.

The strengths of *Soft Sell* are many and the weaknesses are few. It would have been helpful if Wells had included an appendix on resource materials for those who need to amass information to fulfill the call for more education. Materials from a labour point of view may be few in number but this makes it all the more necessary. Such resources need not be detailed studies such as Wells's but may be short and labour oriented. For example, Wells refers to a "justice and dig-

nity" clause that the steelworkers have in the can industry. The wording of this clause is not provided but it should be in order to give us an explicit illustration of what can be done. We can then decide for ourselves whether it is appropriate or needs to be modified to suit the specific situation.

A second weakness arises out of his analysis of the diffusion of the secondary human relations reforms. Wells takes considerable pains to note that QWL programs have a very slow rate of diffusion beyond the confines of the original projects. Yet the external baggage of human relations seems to spread quite rapidly throughout the plant without the guidance of the QWL framework. Why? Wells argues that union consent to QWL legitimizes the other human relations reforms. He says that "these changes were not generally questioned by workers partly because of the positive experience of the pilot projects." Yet this explanation is inconsistent with his evidence and with the thrust of his argument. After all, the union withdrew from the pilot projects in Plant A. In various places Wells notes: "an overwhelming majority of the membership and the local leadership were opposed to this kind of co-operation"; "a strong majority voted to withdraw"; and "the decision to pull out of the pilot projects was enormously popular across most of the plant." The pilot projects, at least as he presents them, hardly seem to be "positive experiences."

The diffusion of QWL and related human relations reforms in Plant B has not been rapid in either case. The reason seems to be that the plant is in such serious economic difficulty that all concerned are resigned that no amount of tinkering will save it. In any case, the central question about the differing rates of diffusion for QWL proper and human relations reforms has to be addressed. A more in-depth analysis of this serious issue is necessary.

Soft Sell is written for a popular (targetted to labour activists) rather than an academic audience. It is devoid of foot-

notes and references. Many academics will regard this as an unpardonable sin but it does make the studies extremely readable and avoids much of the dross of more serious scholarly attempts. Aside from the lack of resource material for those faced with the prospect of QWL, these omissions are really of little consequence. The uniquely labour perspective of these studies makes them a most welcome contribution to a body of literature already dominated by the *bon mots* of QWL centres and management consultants. For workers interested in the impact of QWL on workplace relations, for unionists interested in its impact on workplace solidarity and on the dangers for union leadership, and for academics studying and teaching industrial relations, this work provides valuable insights from a genuinely alternative perspective.

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Katherine L.P. Lundy and Barbara Warne, eds., *Work in the Canadian Context: Continuity Despite Change* (Toronto: Butterworths 1986).

THIS ANTHOLOGY OF 19 ESSAYS examines work in Canada from a variety of perspectives. The essays are arranged under five themes: Work and the Political Economy, dealing with the implications for Canadian workers of such structural conditions as an over-reliance upon staples and the high degree of foreign ownership and control of the economy; Changes in Work and Work Relations, focusing on historical changes in the work environment brought about by factors like technological innovation; Conflicts of Interest, highlighting the opposed interests of capitalists and workers; Women and Work, examining the problems confronting and sometimes overcome by female workers; and Manipulating Occupational Fate, illustrating individual and collective strategies to obtain work or entry to a profession.

This organizational scheme differs from the one used in the first edition of the book, published in 1981. Also, ten new essays have been added to the nine which were retained from the original volume. The editors have

tried with some success to present a comprehensive picture of the various approaches and methodologies used to study work in Canada. Inevitably there are gaps. As far as this anthology is concerned, the prairies might as well not be part of Canada. There are articles about the British Columbia forestry industry, the segmentation of the workforce in the Maritimes, the printers of Toronto, asbestos workers in Quebec, Newfoundland's offshore oil drillers, Yukon miners, Portuguese and Italian immigrants in Toronto, and medical students in Hamilton, but no mention of farmers or any other group of workers located in the prairie provinces.

In addition to geographical selectivity, the essays do not touch on some obvious themes. Although one of the articles discusses the historical background of the interventions of the federal government in the labour market, unemployment insurance, and income support, the role of provincial governments, which bear the primary responsibility for labour legislation, is ignored. The omission is particularly unfortunate given the importance of the political arena at the provincial level in determining the conditions and terms of work. A discussion of this dimension of the struggle for control of the workplace is especially timely when right-of-centre governments in various provinces are engaged in rolling back gains many workers had assumed were permanently won.

Other gaps might be cited. While female workers are well-represented, the section on women and work constituting 102 pages of the 369-page volume, there is no room for such groups as native Canadians, youth, and the unemployed. Of course, no anthology will satisfy every need and taste, and Lundy and Warne have managed to put together a fairly inclusive and representative set of essays. The editors have also taken pains to point out the thematic relationships linking the individual pieces.

Among the ten essays appearing in the second edition but not the first, Leslie

E. Martin's "Women Workers in a Masculine Domain: Jobs and Gender in a Yukon Mine" is outstanding. Martin worked as a labourer at the Faro open pit lead/zinc/silver mine and carried out in-depth interviews with the other 27 women in the 581-person workforce. She found that women adapted successfully to the tough masculine work culture by aggressively standing up for their rights. Women workers most often regarded themselves, and were regarded by others, as mineworkers first and foremost: drillers, pit labourers, equipment operators, and so on, rather than as "women in men's jobs." Moreover, women enjoyed the working conditions, particularly the camaraderie with fellow workers, the physical challenges, and the high pay. One woman pit labourer pithily summed up her feelings with the comment: "I hate typing and all that crap!"

If Martin's essay stands as an example of imaginative and lucid scholarship, Robert A. Stebbins' "Careers in Professional Football: Maintenance and Decline," occupies the other end of the scale. Stebbins studies not only objective career histories of professional football players, but also how careers are experienced and interpreted subjectively by the players themselves. He reports that all eight of the interviewees who had played in the Grey Cup game define it as a "thrill." He solemnly informs us that "place kickers are judged by the number of field goals and conversions they make, punters by the average number of yards their punts travel, cornerbacks and defensive halfbacks by their number of interceptions and the average number of yards they return the ball, etc."

On the whole, however, the 19 essays in *Work in the Canadian Context* are a good introduction and overview of the subject. The book will stimulate the general reader and serve well as an undergraduate textbook.

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Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1986).

IN 1832 PHILADELPHIANS STAGED a centennial celebration of George Washington's birthday. On the surface the celebration was "a simple representation of consensus and unity, [of] shared pride and patriotism."⁽⁴⁾ But underneath it represented a selected version of local social relations, for it excluded blacks, women, and many workers: these individuals, if they celebrated the day at all, did so in their own way, separate from the larger social drama. As such, the day's festivities tell us as much about class relations and competing visions of the new republic in the early national period as they do about the history of parades themselves. Thus Susan Davis calls her book *Parades and Power*, and she emphasizes the way in which parades in pre-Civil War Philadelphia were shaped by relations of power, and, at the same time, are highly revealing of them.

The period Davis focuses on, 1790-1860, is an interesting one, a unique historical moment in which the last vestiges of a popular and populist series of public rituals coexisted with newer attempts to stage both semi-official and alternative visions of the republic in the streets of Philadelphia. Take Independence Day, July 4, for example. On that occasion the city's elite sponsored gentlemanly ceremonies, private parties and dinners, along with orderly street dramas. Meanwhile, Philadelphia's workers ignored these attempts to develop rituals of national identity and purpose and instead made use of the occasion as a day of licence, striking fear into the soul of the city's elite. On other occasions Philadelphia's volunteer militias mounted public displays in an attempt to present themselves as universal defenders of the public interest. Inspired by the democratic ethos of the Revolution, still other citizens mocked these efforts, developing street burlesques which not only parodied elite values but publically

dramatized their own disaffection. Moreover, as Philadelphia's industry developed, and as the distribution of wealth in the city grew more lopsided, the increasing tension between masters and men led to spontaneous strike parades, a new kind of public street theatre which worried profoundly the moral guardians of the city.

Although this is one of the first books to focus on nineteenth-century parades, street theatre, public ceremonies, and social rituals in the United States, numerous studies of such phenomena in Europe have appeared. It is to these works that Davis is often indebted. She suggests, for example, that anti-industrial Luddite demonstrations in Britain inspired non-elite street dramas in Philadelphia, and she is also at pains to show how European charivaris in general, and British forms of public protest in particular, had their parallels in Philadelphia. The parallels are certain noticeable, although the actual connections between the forms of popular protest that took place on the two continents are often developed inadequately.

What differentiated street theatre in nineteenth-century Europe from that of the United States was the extent to which the United States lacked any focused and nationally-orchestrated attempt to develop civic rituals which might serve to unite disparate social groups. As early as the 1790s, the revolutionary elite in France was eager to construct a new model of national identity, while, as T.J. Clark has demonstrated, the revolutionaries of 1848 were also eager to establish the legitimacy of the new French republic through icons, images, and public displays of national, revolutionary unity. And in Britain, according to David Cannadine, the late nineteenth-century jubilees of Queen Victoria were public occasions on which workers in particular were offered a vision of citizenship in the hopes that identification with the nation might supplant identification with class. But, at least before the Civil War, the United States was a nation which lacked these concerted efforts to develop a national identity through public ceremonies. Some of the nation's defenders claimed that such rituals and ceremonies were inappropriate to the new republic.

Other struggled to give public form to their own, particular version of social order and republican values. In the United States, then — much more than in Europe — parades were more diffuse, capable of addressing larger questions about the nature of power, the sources of legitimacy and the criteria for belonging. Parades in Philadelphia were thus indicative of the attempts made by Americans of various social strata to work out their relationship with each other in a volatile period of state-formation and industrial growth.

Parades and Power is eclectic in its theoretical and methodological assumptions. The book is often inspired by Eric Hobsbawm's and Terence Ranger's analysis of *The Invention of Tradition*, and it offers a superb analysis of the conflict between various attempted "official" inventions of tradition by Philadelphia's elite and a more unofficial vernacular process of "traditionalizing." And it is also inspired by folklore studies, sociolinguistics, Mikhail Bakhtin's analysis of the carnivalesque, the anthropological studies of Emile Durkheim and Victor Turner, and the Marxist cultural analysis of Raymond Williams. At times interesting use is made of borrowed concepts, but in places mere lip-service is paid to them and they remain of little help in deciphering Philadelphia's unfolding street theatre. The reader is constantly reminded of the need to pay attention to the context of the parade structures examined, although the constant reference to context is often as annoying as it is meaningless. Statements such as "the range of meanings [parades] could be used to communicate was constrained by society and politics," (6) for example, remain unnecessarily vague.

While this is a study of parades, public ceremonies, and street theatre, it is also a study of the uses of public space. If the author's lack of engagement with the theory she borrows often remains problematic, her analysis of public space as contested terrain is superb. As Philadelphia's elites became more and more worried about non-elite uses of the

public arena, so social conflict in the city was manifested in battles around the uses of public space for purposes of self-promotion and national identification. It is, in the final analysis, a tribute to this book that, in describing the tense and often bitter conflicts over the public staging of various street dramas, it manages to capture the extraordinary fluidity of social conditions in the first 70 years of the republican experiment in the United States.

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Stuart B. Kaufman, et al., eds., *The Samuel Gompers Papers: The Making of a Union Leader, 1850-86*, Volume I (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1986).

RECENTLY, IN EDITING a collection of essays for the University of Illinois Press, I witnessed one of the more subtle aspects involved in establishing a person's place in history. Several of the collection's authors had made reference to Samuel Gompers in the possessive case, but they chose to ignore the press's instructions to write "Gompers's", preferring instead "Gompers'" Their protest against changing their ways compelled the copy editor to raise the issue at a staff meeting. Apparently after a long debate, a new policy was established that henceforth Samuel Gompers would join Moses and Jesus in being allowed to deviate from grammatical standards applied to others. Along with the stylistic advantages of the decision, one can strain to find symbolic meaning in the elevating of Gompers to such exalted company. Clearly, if labour scholars were forced to designate one individual as playing the pivotal role in shaping the American labour movement they would express near unanimity for Samuel Gompers.

The Making of a Union Leader, 1850-86 is the first volume of a projected twelve-volume series entitled *The Samuel Gompers Papers*. The *Papers* are themselves but an aspect of a larger project,

begun 1973 by Stuart B. Kaufman of the University of Maryland. The goal of the larger project is to assemble the total corpus of Gompers documents in a comprehensive microfilm and a selective printed edition. *The Making of a Union Leader*, then, is the first of the selected editions. It is the editors' hope that the printed volumes will be viewed as "a form of literature rather than simply a compendium of historical documents." (xxii) Particularly in the volume under review, the editors include a significant proportion of "non-Gompers" material and strive to combine "the methods of the 'old' trade union history with the insights of the 'new' labor history" (xviii) in order to convey context and "a sense of the unfolding of events over time." (xxiii) The editors should be congratulated for accomplishing this aim.

Kaufman and his associates have wisely avoided editorial comments that would place their enterprise amidst the ongoing historiographic debate regarding the character and achievements of Gompers, the Cigarmakers, and the AFL. In one eleven-line note at the end of the "Introduction" the editors advise readers where to look for a range of views. Throughout the remainder of the volume interpretations by John R. Commons, Daniel Bell, Bernard Mandel, Philip Foner, and others of the man and the movement receive scant attention. Readers interested in finding out how the documents presented redefine the picture painted by various historians will need to do that work themselves.

This is not to say that the volume lacks a point of view. The editorial essays, which draw heavily on Gompers' own *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* (1925) to provide background information, and the array of carefully selected documents combine to give us an understandable but complex picture. This volume covers the first 36 years of Gompers' life, a time when he was an energetic, dedicated, driven young man with a high self-esteem. Yet, regardless of Gompers' personal ambitions, during

these years he also displayed a genuine sensitivity to the conditions of working people, gained from his own life-experiences as well as from his study of theorists such as Marx and Lassalle.

Born in London's East End in 1850, forced by family circumstances to go to work at the age of ten and to immigrate to America at fourteen, witness to the disruptive consequences of mechanization and the reorganization of work through the tenement house system, Gompers reflects in this period an all inclusive outlook and not the narrow skill-craft perspective of his latter years. In 1872, for instance, he joined with Adolph Strasser in forming the United Cigarmakers for the unskilled Germans and Bohemians who were not allowed admittance into the Cigarmakers International Union (CMIU). Later when the United Cigarmakers merge into the CMIU as Local 144, Gompers made this body his home. Similarly, in his three days of testimony before the Education and Labor Committee of the U.S. Senate in August, 1883, Gompers dwelled on the working conditions of not just cigar makers, but also of freight-handlers, street car-drivers, tailoresses, tobacco strippers, shop girls, messenger boys, newsboys, bootblacks, and steamboat hands. At this point in his life he shows extensive concern for the problems of working women, perhaps reflecting a sensitivity developed from working alongside large numbers of women in the cigar shops.

The radicalism that Gompers espoused during his earlier years was, then, informed by his personal experiences, but it was also defined by the particular theoretical ideas with which he came into association. In his reading and discussions, Gompers gravitated toward a brand of radical thought circulating in the 1870s among the Marxist trade union wing of the First International in New York City. This orientation was clearly presented in the 1873 pamphlet *Praktische Emanzipationswinke* (*Practical Suggestions for Emancipation*) by the Saxony socialist Carl Hillmann. In his autobiography, Gompers praises this pamphlet for revealing to him "the fundamental possibilities of the trade union." The pamphlet was for me the most

revealing of the many documents included in this volume. In it, Hillmann rejects the Lassallean's political focus and champions the role trade unions can play in the emancipation of the working class. In essence, Hillmann contends that a soundly managed union, free from direct political ties, pursuing concrete objectives such as shorter hours, higher wages, and better working conditions, could provide "the elementary schooling and drill exercises of the proletariat." Hillmann's ideas, conclude Kaufman and company, "became the pillars of Gompers' trade union philosophy."

Many of the documents in this volume suggest Gompers' efforts to put his principles into practice. They also hint at the conservatizing tendencies inherent in such a philosophy, as Gompers fights to develop the highly structured unions out of which so much is expected. These bureaucratic impulses, however, are only subthemes in the 1880s and not at the heart of the CMIU's conflict with District Assembly 49 of the Knights of Labor, or the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions' differences with the larger Order. This first volume of the Gompers papers ends with the founding in December 1886 of the American Federation of Labor.

The general picture of young Gompers that emerges from this volume seems not far different from that found in Stuart Kaufman's *Samuel Gompers and the Origins of the American Federation of Labor, 1848-1896* (1973) or the forthcoming essay by John H.M. Laslett, "Samuel Gompers and the Rise of American Business Unionism" (in Melvyn Dubofsky and Warren Van Tine, *Labor Leaders in America*). All agree that Gompers was a committed young man, concerned about the well-being of his fellow workers; attracted to radical ideas, but also an organizational builder and potential bureaucrat. It will remain for the future volumes in the series to trace Gompers' maturation into a more conservative business unionist.

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Richard Jules Oestreicher, *Solidarity and Fragmentation: Working People and Class Consciousness in Detroit, 1875-1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1986).

FROM RECONSTRUCTION into the 1890s, the experience of industrial conflict and the effort to build unions and create an independent labour politics defined the contours of United States history for thousands. During these years, U.S. workers fought what amounted to a constant battle against their employers. Richard Oestreicher's study of Detroit adds to a growing body of scholarship which shows that at stake in the conflict between workers and employers was nothing less than the very meaning of democracy in the U.S.

Although Oestreicher's study does not directly address the question, it is important to note that the sources of this conflict were deep. Indeed, they are to be found not merely in the American past, but in "the great transformation" of Western culture that marked its passage to capitalism and found full-blown expression in the Industrial Revolution. Along with the ideas that the right to unlimited private property is inviolable and that human beings are economic creatures whose labour is but a commodity, the principal ideological bequest of the revolution was the proposition that the untrammelled pursuit of personal gain redounds to the benefit of all.

Opposition to these beliefs and to the social relations associated with them, of course, also was part of the legacy of the Industrial Revolution. In the U.S., artisans and small farmers, who led the first generation of opponents, looked to the republican tradition to define and legitimize their criticisms and aspirations. These first adversaries of capitalism saw a discrepancy between republican ideas and daily experience; they strove, as one U.S. historian has put it, to make the country "a republic in fact

and not merely in name."

As Oestreicher's important study shows, this also was the project of thousands of U.S. workers who contested the "competitive wage system" in the late nineteenth century. These workers strove to make Lincoln's pronouncement that man comes "before the dollar" a reality. Precisely how to accomplish this task, however, was something about which labour insurgents of the Gilded Age were not clear. Oestreicher notes: "the spirit of the movement was experimental; people considered a great variety of ideas and practical proposals to see which would work." (132) As Oestreicher knows only too well, this kind of ideological eclecticism reflected both strengths and weaknesses. Purposeful ambiguity could be useful in recruiting; it could help cement a movement that sought to attract workers from a wide diversity of backgrounds. But the story that Oestreicher tells is in large measure one that documents the unfortunate triumph of this diversity over the idea of labour solidarity. Indeed, the great strength of Oestreicher's study is that it excavates in superlative detail the dynamics of the collapse of labour insurgency in Detroit. Moreover, Oestreicher's argument holds implications for how this question was played out on a national scale.

The process of fragmentation, as Oestreicher explains it, found expression in a deadly internecine battle among four groups of workers: craft conservatives, German socialists, independent radicals, and artisan reformers. At times, the infighting looked like a left-right war; in truth, the situation was more complicated. To be sure, the process of fragmentation involved the all-too-familiar conflict between the Knights of Labor and craft unions. But the destructive cleavages within the Detroit labour movement owed much more to the shifting alliances of Oestreicher's four groups of workers as they confronted three questions — politics, trade unionism, and the Haymarket defendants — all in the immediate aftermath of 1886, the year of

labor's "Great Upheaval."

Oestreicher sets up his account of the demise of labour solidarity by showing that, in general, each of the four groups of workers drew their constituents from a single set of economic circumstances and a unique political culture. The craft workers, mostly Irish or native-born "Americans," regarded class solidarity as a threat to their interests and therefore advocated a conservative politics. Despite the conservatism of many craftsmen, however, the left in Detroit labour politics also was craft-based: it was the German craft workers who created the Socialist Labor Party. Also on the left were the independent radicals — led by Joseph Labadie and Judson Grenell — who accepted the socialist critique of capitalism, but considered the Germans ineffectual. Almost all of these workers were native-born, British, or Canadian, and their radicalism was anchored in republican thought. (Oestreicher asserts that the absence of primary sources on Canadians in Detroit may have skewed aspects of his study.) Finally, the artisan reformers, employed mainly in "marginal" crafts and located to the right of Labadie and other "independent" leftists, campaigned against the concentration of corporate power, but defended those "honorable" employers who "respected" artisanal rights.

Prior to 1886, the Knights of Labor were able to maintain peace among the four groups of workers. But the labour movement's very success in that year (Oestreicher gives a rich account of this in his chapter entitled "A Summer of Possibilities: May to Labor Day, 1886") exacerbated the underlying divisions within the movement. More deadly, however, was the jurisdictional dispute involving the *International Cigarmakers Union* and the Knights — a dispute which factionalized the house of labour not only in Detroit. Terrence Powderly, the *grand master workman* of the Knights, precipitated this dispute. And in Oestreicher's view, it was Powderly's gutless ineptitude regarding the question of clemency for the Haymarket defendants that held the most onerous implications for labour solidarity in Detroit. Indeed, Powderly's role in the Haymarket affair triggered the final disintegration of labour

solidarity in the city.

As Oestreicher explains it, the 1886 jurisdictional dispute involving the cigarmakers drove the already wary craft conservatives out of the Knights; but the decisive factor in the fragmentation process was the shift of the two "left" factions to the camp of the craft unions. And in Oestreicher's view, it was Powderly's red-baiting (he even claimed that "anarchists" were out to assassinate him!) that forced the labour left in Detroit into an alliance with the conservative craft unions *against* the Knights. The left sided with the craft conservatives not so much because the left was interested in preserving craft rights, but because the craft conservatives were opposing the Powderly-backed "reformers" in Detroit.

To be sure, "independent radicals" such as Labadie moved into this alliance only with great reluctance — and, as it turned out, with good reason. For they were soon to be outgunned in the craft-dominated AFL. With the national organization of the Knights on the brink of collapse in 1887 — again, thanks largely to the wizardry of Powderly — the "subculture of opposition," as Oestreicher terms it, was doomed in — and well beyond — Detroit. For the factional struggles wrecked the organizational infrastructure of what had been an expanding oppositional subculture. Oestreicher explains:

Thousands of workers were beginning to look at their own experiences and formulate a critique of the industrial system, but people who came from diverse cultural backgrounds and varying economic circumstances could not act together without formal vehicles for discussion, cooperation, and mobilization. Factional battles destroyed those vehicles. Without a broad array of formal institutions, the labor movement had no way to integrate the thousands of new recruits into a stable alternative (or complement) to the ethnic cultures to which they still belonged. The surge of the mid-1880s could not lead to a permanent realignment of working-class loyalties without that integration. (179)

Out of his confrontation with Gilded-

Age Detroit, Oestreicher has fashioned a convincing argument that traces the triumph of "pure and simple unionism" on the local level. But Oestreicher's study suggests an important link between developments in Detroit and in the national arena. The story of this triumph in cities and towns across the U.S. differed in detail, of course. Nonetheless, the theoretical model that Oestreicher puts forward also may prove suggestive to labour historians who understand that the received categories of Marxist analysis can bring little light to bear on the question of why "pure and simple unionism" triumphed all across the U.S.

In Oestreicher's view, the story of labour in Detroit cannot be understood by way of simple recourse to "classical Marxism, with its emphasis on proletarianization as a result of the development of productive forces ..." (xviii) and a consequent development in "class consciousness." About this, Oestreicher — and other labour historians who are well versed in their E. P. Thompson — are most assuredly correct. But this kind of "classical Marxism" is by now a kind of red herring: we know that "culture," for all its non-specificity as an analytic category, also has played a role in the triumph and consolidation of industrial capitalism. At his best, Oestreicher understands this, and has incorporated into his narrative the insights of Barrington Moore, Jr., and others who have been particularly sensitive to the public and private sources of obedience and revolt.

For all his criticism of "classical Marxism," and despite an elegant argument that social change in Detroit produced the intertwining tendencies of solidarity and fragmentation, Oestreicher's study still seems to carry with it a chunk of classical Marxism's theoretical baggage: namely, an unspoken expectation that workers *should* have achieved "class consciousness." To be sure, this expectation is never louder than a whisper in Oestreicher's book. As he explains, class consciousness is indeed a project; it is "dependant upon concrete vehicles for

expression." For a time, Detroit workers succeeded in creating such vehicles. "But," Oestreicher's conclusion states, "through their own actions they also helped to destroy the vehicles which had suggested new possibilities, and thereby helped to limit those possibilities. Perhaps there is a lesson there." (253)

It would have been helpful if Oestreicher had spelled out what this lesson was. My guess is that the lesson involves the formidable question of *why* some Detroit workers helped destroy the vehicles that suggested an alternative to industrial capitalism. Oestreicher, of course, provides some clues to an answer in his discussion of "craft conservatives," "artisan reformers," and the deadly "personal ambition and jealousy," as the Detroit *Advance and Labor Leaf* once put it, that deflected many labor leaders from their original insurgent course. Why so many U.S. workers also opted for the main chance, though, strikes me as the overarching problem. And one that labour historians have barely begun to address.

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Mary C. Grimes, ed., *The Knights in Fiction: Two Labor Novels of the 1880s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1986).

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR CUT an odd figure in working-class historiography. Long dismissed by historians as a passive, flaky, and ineffectual movement that was peripheral to the concerns of most labourers, the Knights are now dubbed as the major authors of working-class formation in industrial America. One factor in this reinterpretation is the development of a cultural approach to labour history that recognizes the relevance of the Order to working-class values and behavior, rather than simply assessing its record in industrial disputes. The University of Illinois Press has enriched further the cultural history of the Knights by reprinting two novels about them that were originally serialized in the American

popular press of the 1880s.

Both *Larry Locke, Man of Iron, or, A Fight for Fortune: A Story of Labor and Capital* (1883-84), by Frederick Whittaker, a middle-class pulp writer, and *Breaking the Chains: A Story of the Present Industrial Struggle* (1887), by T. Fulton Gantt, a railwayman, labour lawyer, and member of the Knights, are significant for their sympathetic treatment of the Knights, for their vivid portrayal of working-class life, and for their representation of nineteenth-century American attitudes toward issues such as heroism and feminism. Yet while these novels are useful in a documentary sense because of their social authenticity, their dissimilar achievements as literary texts also speak to the methodological issues involved in the writing of working-class cultural history.

Gantt's novel, in particular, suffers from the kind of structural weaknesses that give proletarian fiction a bad name. Strong on Victorian morality and Knights of Labor dogma, but weak in terms of plot and characterization, *Breaking the Chains* is a zealous and propagandistic work that often lapses from fictional form. Set in Washington D.C., the social drama of the novel concerns a successful boycott led by the Knights against a local newspaper. At a time when many Americans were wary of the Knights' secrecy and feared that they were committed to radical goals, Gantt sought to demystify the Order by describing its byzantine administrative structure, and by emphasizing the dignity and intelligence of its members. Unfortunately, Gantt chose to make these points by lecturing his readers rather than appealing to their imaginations. Several passages in the novel go into great detail about the Order but contribute nothing to the development of the story; other segments work at cross-purposes to the plot. When the father of Maud Simpson, the book's protagonist, is killed in a job accident, the tragedy of the moment is reduced to absurdity by Gantt's insistence on explaining the benefits of a Knights' insurance policy: "Her brain whirled. What might not be done with \$500. The noble and holy order of the Knights of Labor was still watching

over the dead plasterer's daughter. The gray dawn of morning discovered the beautiful girl on her knees, clasping to her breast that paper token of humanity's greatest brotherhood."(126)

Overshadowing Gantt's specific concern with the Knights is the larger struggle between labour and capital which is the central motif of the novel. In Gantt's view this struggle is ultimately moral in nature, and the dichotomy between the two groups is both crude and absolute. Except for the "filthy, festering" (47) Chinese, all the working-class characters in *Breaking the Chains* are virtuous and pure. By contrast, the archetypes of business and political power are invariably cretinous and corrupt. Significantly, the differences between these two groups are played out in a domestic drama that overshadows the story of the boycott.

Echoing the political resonance of Lincoln's "house divided" speech, and drawing on the social currency of Henry George's critique of property, Gantt makes the image of "Two Houses On One Lot" the controlling metaphor of the novel. One house is the extravagant mansion inherited by Captain Arthur Barnum, a real estate tycoon and scion of an ex-slaveholding family. Emblematic of unearned wealth and exploitation, the mansion is perfectly suited to Barnum's personality. Just as the walls of the mansion conceal an opium den inside, so Barnum's public show of temperance and discipline is a front for his lechery and dissipation. The moral degradation of this lifestyle is made all the more striking by comparison with the modest, sober, and intellectual atmosphere of the working-class house next door. Formerly slave quarters, the Simpson home is a haven of domesticity and a center of social interaction for the Knights. The climax of the novel occurs when Maud leaves that working-class milieu to work for Barnum in his mansion. Shortly after Maud takes up her post as governess Barnum tries to rape her, and his attack is only foiled by the timely arrival of Harry Wallace, a plumber and member of the Knights who is Maud's

friend. Although this portion of the narrative is not especially well-written, its symbolism is obvious: the attempted rape is both an assault on feminine virtue and the integrity of labour.

As Mary Grimes and David Montgomery point out in their respective commentaries on Gantt's novel, this connection between femininity and labour is intriguing. Maud is clearly intended to seem the "perfect heroine" (Grimes, 21) of the Knights, a representative of the Order's openness and of the wider role women deserve to play in American society. And yet, like the feminization of nineteenth-century American culture as a whole, Maud is a more ambiguous character than she first appears. Not only does she perform traditional female work as a clerk and governess, she is also the personification of domestic virtue who derives moral authority from her roles as daughter, wife, and American beauty. Gantt's opening description of Maud is revealing: "Maud Simpson, aged about 20, perhaps looked her best as she prepared the evening meal — a little over medium height, finely proportioned." (36) Significantly, in the concluding episode of the novel, she marries Harry in a partnership that is truly union made. Noting that "Maud Simpson is no more," Gantt closes the book with a classic domestic image of "Mr. and Mrs. Simpson," "standing in the doorway, hand in hand, ... their house a rendezvous for earnest men and women struggling for the elevation of their class." (133)

By comparison with *Breaking the Chains*, *Larry Locke*, *Man of Iron* is a polished novel. Moreover, precisely because Whittaker is more committed to literature as art, his novel is arguably more evocative of labour's position in industrial society. Loosely based upon an actual steelworkers' strike in Pittsburgh, *Larry Locke* describes the role of the Knights in organizing workers in the fictional city of Holesburg. Distinctive from mainstream American fiction in its choice of subject matter, Whittaker's novel is doubly unusual for its favorable portrayal

of strikes and its broad sympathy towards organized labour. Like Gantt, Whittaker offers a message of reassurance to middle-class readers about the character of the Knights, while encouraging workers to recognize that organization and solidarity are essential to the improvement of their conditions. Unlike Gantt, however, Whittaker's analysis is based on a view of society that goes beyond a simple equation of class and morality.

Although individual characters in *Larry Locke* conform to the stereotypes of good and evil that are the stock-in-trade of pulp fiction, these attributes are not uniformly extended along class lines. There are some honest capitalists in Whittaker's novel, and there are also flaws and sources of dissension within the ranks of labour, including unresolved tensions between the striking steelworkers and unemployed tramps. The apparent validity of Whittaker's viewpoint is also enhanced by the realism of his characterization. Whereas workers in *Breaking the Chains* spend much of their time in Platonic dialogue, the characters in *Larry Locke* are visceral and active as well as intelligent: they sweat and bleed and toil, and in general experience a range and intensity of emotions of which Maud and Harry are only theoretically aware.

This is especially true of the book's protagonist, Larry, whose private struggle to complete the mortgage on his property — Henry George again — is an important sub-plot of the story. From the standpoint of cultural history, however, Larry is also significant because American folklore is filled with working-class heroes just like him. The orphan who makes good, the honest workingman who labours to support a wife and kid, the rugged individual who stands up for his rights, the champion of the disinherited, the good citizen who retains his faith in justice even when the law seems arrayed against him, Larry is the embodiment of the richest myths in white, male, American culture.

Yet close scrutiny reveals that, like Maud, Larry is a more ambivalent hero

than his creator perhaps intended. No amount of sympathy for Larry's plight can obscure the fact that he is an extraordinarily violent man — admittedly, a trait he shares with many American leading men. No one gets killed in the novel, but it's not for lack of trying: the "fight for fortune" is exactly what it says. What is perhaps more significant, though, is the paradoxical image of Larry that emerges from his incorruptible sense of class-consciousness. When his friend, the patrician mineowner Paul Van Beaver, offers Larry a partnership in the mine, Larry responds: "No, Mr. Paul, ... a workman I am, and always shall be. The Knights of Labor made me what I am, and if I was to go back on them now, and join the bosses, I know I couldn't stand the pressure that would be brought to bear on me to think capital and labor were enemies." (325) At one level a solemn oath of class pride, this statement can also be read, more negatively, as an affirmation of social obedience, a signal that Larry knows his place. Many transformations are visible in Larry through the course of the novel, but one of the subtlest is in his relationship to "Mr. Paul." Brash and cocky at the outset, Larry is almost subservient toward Van Beaver at the end, an attitude which is in marked contrast to his behavior with the other mineowners.

In summary, both *Larry Locke*, *Man of Iron* and *Breaking the Chains* are useful artifacts of the literature of nineteenth-century labour. Important in illuminating the struggle of the Knights of Labor for public acceptance in the 1880s, these novels have a wider significance to cultural historians in terms of the social values they convey, and in helping to locate fiction by and about workers in relation to American literature generally. It can only be hoped that the republication of more such works will soon follow.

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Patricia A. Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900-1919* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 1987).

"WHAT THIS COUNTRY NEEDS," Woodrow Wilson's vice-president once told the Senate, "is a good five-cent cigar." While the president was shaping the postwar world at Versailles his second-in-command left only this flippant remark to posterity. Now we learn that the comment was both timely and prescient because for nearly two decades tobacco capitalists had been trying to invent a machine that would manufacture just such an inexpensive smoke from quality leaf. Finally in 1919 AMF came up with the device that gave Wilson's vice-president what he wanted. But it also wiped out a whole way of life and work.

In this exhaustively researched, finely crafted, and sensitively-written study, Patricia Cooper breathes life into that world which the cigarmakers had created and which AMF's machinery soon destroyed. She appears to have unearthed everything remotely related to the industry from business publications to government reports, newspapers, trade-union records, and even some FBI files. The oral interviews alone make the book enjoyable as well as convincing.

At the turn of the century cigarmaking was an overwhelmingly male craft segmented into four major markets — Clear Havanas, Seed and Havanas, five-cent cigars, and stogies. Remaining aloof from the rest of the industry, Cuban emigres in Tampa rolled the expensive Clear Havanas. Stogies, the cheapest cigars, were made mostly by women in the Pittsburgh and Wheeling region. Cooper focuses on Seed and Havana cigars (ten cents and up) and the five-cent cigar sectors. It was here that the predominantly male cigar makers and their famous organization, the Cigar Makers International Union (CMIU), held sway. Because the industry remained decentralized and highly competitive, the CMIU exerted a stranglehold over the work process in these two branches of the trade for roughly three decades after 1880. During this period under-capitalized employers ran small craft shops that depended upon local markets and were in no position to

hire time-study people or to implement Taylor's management theories.

Cooper focuses in particular upon the work culture that emerged in these cigar shops. "I found a coherent system of ideas and practices forged in the context of the work process itself, through which workers modified, mediated, and resisted the limits of their jobs." Working in close proximity to each other without the deafening roar of machinery, cigarmakers were a very sociable bunch. They dressed nattily, wearing their neckties at their bench, and prided themselves upon their skill and speed. Traditionally they held back three cigars a day for their own use. Tramping, a rite of passage for most young cigarmakers, helped build strong feelings of mutual aid and contributed to an open and trusting atmosphere. Disgruntled cigarmakers often chose to set up their own one-man "buckeye" shops, keeping their union cards without having to take further guff from a boss.

"Tragically," Cooper argues, "the very strength of cigar makers' work culture proved to be their downfall." As employers gradually introduced machinery, sub-divided the work process, and consolidated their operations so as to serve a national market, skilled male craftsmen were displaced by young immigrant women. "Unable to open their doors to women team workers or to confront the vast changes in the industry," the author concludes, "union cigar makers guaranteed their own demise and the consequent collapse of their work culture." Cooper's analysis of the role of gender in the cigarmakers' labour process is the book's single most valuable contribution and is required reading even for those scholars ordinarily repelled by tobacco — or by Samuel Gompers, North America's most famous cigar maker.

Few historians would deny that craft unions were bastions of masculinity. But Cooper goes considerably further: "Male unionists viewed the expansion of female employment in the industry as a kind of economic threat, yes. Their policies and reactions to women cigar makers, how-

ever, signified their deep interest in preserving a degree of male privilege." (117) If the author had been practicing the "old" labor history, she would have stopped there for lack of additional evidence. But by pluck and luck she located two score elderly women cigar makers to interview about conditions in the emerging cigar factories of the early twentieth century and garnered enough material for three full chapters on them. Employers, bent on reducing the authority of the CMIU, set up factories in Pennsylvania and Ohio where large pools of young, single, immigrant women sought work. While the women did not (or could not) share the men's wanderlust, they participated in their own rich, work- and community-based associational life reinforced by the team system and ethnic or family bonds. Her analysis of both men's and women's work culture is stimulating and provocative although occasionally suffering from tunnel vision. For instance, portions of the cigar makers' work culture, notably tramping, were shared by many other skilled craftsmen. She overlooks the link between high turnover rates and the introduction of welfare capitalism in many of the cigar factories. By treating women workers separately (chapter 8), she initially distorts the differences between women's and men's work cultures. Fortunately, in late chapters she takes pains to delineate those workplace-centered areas of experience which cut across gender divisions.

At the end of World War I, both men and women cigar makers waged unremitting struggle for higher wages, shorter hours, and respect for their traditional prerogatives. Most were lost, including one in Boston to a firm which adopted the new continuous-flow machinery devised by AMF. Using the same equipment during the 1920s General Cigar Corporation marketed the first national brand of five-cent cigar. By the end of the next decade five-cent cigars manufactured by women tending automatic machines accounted for more than 80 per cent of U.S.

cigar production. Wilson's vice-president lived just long enough to see that the country got a "good," machine-made five-cent cigar whether it needed it or not.

This volume is one of the best of the crop in the "new labour history."

Robert H. Babcock
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Serge Denis, *Un Syndicalisme pure et simple: Mouvements Ouvriers et Pouvoir Politique Aux Etats-Unis, 1919-1939* (Montreal: Boreal 1986).

ONCE MORE, a scholar returns to the nagging question: why is there no socialism in America? This time Serge Denis, a professor of Political Science at the University of Ottawa, attempts to answer his own particular version, in the somewhat more restrictive form of why there was no development of a significant labour party in the United States in the 1930s.

This work cannot be termed an original research effort, since no archival sources and only scattered published primary sources have been consulted; nor is this a work of broad synthesis. Denis leans heavily on a variety of secondary sources to produce a rather eclectic narrative of trade union, radical, and political developments. He supplies us with much detail on the internal politics of various radical sects such as the Communist, Socialist, and Socialist Workers parties. Denis also surveys the familiar development of the AFL bureaucracy and the rise of the CIO industrial unions. His objective is to show the supposed failure of the left to pursue the organization of a genuine labour party, as well as to argue that Franklin D. Roosevelt and John L. Lewis were both formidable opponents of labour party efforts. Denis believes that the 1930s offered a moment when American capitalism was in crisis, when the worker's class consciousness was appropriately high but an opportunity was missed. He laments this failure to develop a labour party not only for American society but for the sake of the world.

Whether the social and political atmosphere of the 1930s offered a unique opportunity to lay the foundations for a labour

party is difficult to judge. The author, however, has made no attempt to assess the class consciousness of American workers. His choice was to write political history but if we are to judge whether there was an adequate base for a labour party movement, the answers are not to be found in the doctrines of leftist sects or the words of trade union leaders. It is insufficient to assume, as Denis does, that the growth of industrial unionism is in itself a measure of class consciousness that could have been translated into political terms. Perhaps those militant labour and radical leaders of the 1930s, who eschewed a labour party, may have known American workers better than Denis does.

The author does not choose to deal with the many structural and cultural explanations of American society. Scholars who have taken these approaches such as Louis Hartz and Richard Hofstadter and many others do not appear in his bibliography. Thus one finds no discussion of the particular problems of third parties in the American system or of the dominance of liberal ideology in American life. The author does briefly raise the issue of social mobility but seemingly without the benefit of having read Stephan Thernstrom and other specialists in the field. For that matter, he has not consulted Dubofsky and Van Tine's scholarly (1977) study of John L. Lewis, but relies on Saul Alinsky's older, popular treatment.

There are two final issues to be raised. First, the failure of the United States to turn left in the 1930s might be set alongside its success in not turning to the right — to fascism. That was not an inconsiderable achievement given the balance of forces within the United States and as measured against the fate of other industrialized nations. Second, while one may share his regret that the United States has no labour party, Denis's optimism about such political formations seems unwarranted. He suggests that a genuine labour party might have prevented a Watergate and even changed the shape of the world. This is more than the author's

privileged conclusions because it exaggerates the difference between the United States and the West European nations. Unfortunately, the Democratic party of the United States is most often separated from European social democracy not by an ideological ocean but by a semantic narrows. An American labour party, if it was possible, if it could have achieved some level of success, would not have guaranteed either a socialist United States or a better world.

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Michael Neuschatz, *The Golden Sword: The Coming of Capitalism to the Colorado Mining Frontier* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press 1986).

ONLY A HANDFUL OF MOMENTS in North American labour history have matched either the drama or the significance of Colorado's early twentieth-century "labour wars." Marked by the declaration of martial law in the gold towns of Cripple Creek and Telluride, the shutting down of pro-union newspapers, the arrest of union leaders, and the deportation of hundreds of miners, the events of 1903-04 drew national attention and led more than one worker to ask, "Is Colorado in America?" The strikes provided a near death blow to the radical Western Federation of Miners, while turning a number of its leading activists, notably Vincent St. John and "Big Bill" Haywood, towards the creation of a broader radical labour organization, the Industrial Workers of the World.

But despite their importance in working-class history, these events have not received much scholarly attention. Melvyn Dubofsky's discussion of the Colorado struggle in his history of the IWW, *We Shall Be All* (1969), is stimulating but brief; George Suggs's fine study of *Colorado's War on Militant Unionism* (1972) focuses more on the anti-labour administration of Governor James H. Peabody than on workers. In *The Golden Sword*, Michael Neuschatz offers a clear

and detailed narrative of this critical conflict and for this reason alone the book is highly welcome.

Neuschatz, however, has greater ambitions. This is a work of Marxist historical sociology, seeking to locate "what appears at first as an isolated and idiosyncratic explosion of labor strife" within the broad contours of capitalist development in the American West. Above all, it is the rise and decline of the WFM's radicalism that interests Neuschatz and his eyes are as much on the present as on the past. "By reaching back to a time and place where, at least for a brief period, a viable political challenge to capitalist structures of rule emerged from a militant labor union, we can begin to identify and examine the conditions that foster and hinder such developments."

The early chapters of the book focus on the rapid growth of the WFM in the state in the 1890s. The relatively egalitarian social structure of the early mining camps and Colorado's populist political tradition helped pave the way for the union. When combined with a labour shortage stemming from the rapid development of gold mining in the later 1890s, the situation was ideal for unionization. Though Neuschatz maintains that the WFM's goals were "strictly economic, albeit militantly so" in this period, he also argues that a "social vacuum" in the still new mining towns allowed the WFM to take on a number of important social functions (education, entertainment, etc.) and thus to emerge as an implicit "dual power" in a number of communities.

This situation would not last long. Neuschatz shows clearly that the same dynamic of economic growth that brought leverage to the WFM also triggered a massive flow of outside capital into the region. This led to a wave of business consolidations and technological developments that gave owners the power to challenge the union. But as employer resistance to WFM demands increased, the union transformed itself, moving from

simple economic militancy to political radicalism. The transformation of the WFM, reflected in its organization of the broad-based Western Labor Union in 1897 and its endorsement of socialism in 1901, led to an equally important shift in the owners' camp. Where they had earlier sought to resist new union demands, they now embarked on an all-out effort to destroy the radical Federation.

In his discussion of the ensuing strikes, which occupies most of the second half of the book, Neuschatz makes a number of important contributions. He persuasively interprets the strikes not as the result of conflict over the eight-hour day, the ostensible issue in dispute, but as a life-and-death struggle for political hegemony in Colorado and the West as a whole. He also convincingly delineates tensions within the employers' camp, especially those between eastern investors, local capitalists, and the Peabody administration. Though all three shared an interest in destroying labour radicalism, outside investors were fearful that the wholesale destruction of the union might have long-term adverse effects on profits. Meanwhile Peabody, for all the brutality of his policies, needed to consider the political effects of his actions in a way that local capitalists did not. It was the latter who, according to Neuschatz, provided the most active anti-union force, organizing the so-called "Citizens Alliances," leading mob actions against miners, and forcing pro union merchants and municipal officials into line.

Like some other examples of historical sociology, *The Golden Sword* relies more on a reading of older secondary works than on deep research in primary sources. As a result, the book is sometimes thin on issues of concern to labour historians. For example, the heavily immigrant character of the mining workforce, while noted, is not discussed systematically, a point which partly undermines the analysis of the WFM's social functions. No evidence on rank-and-file opinion is presented and, as a result, comments made on this subject are unconvincing. Most problematic for a book concerned with labour radicalism, the precise character of the WFM's ideology is never assayed. In

light of recent studies which have provided fine-grained analyses of the texture of working-class ideology or have drawn out the complex implications of militant craft unionism, Neuschatz's simple distinction between economic militancy and anti-capitalist radicalism does not seem very illuminating.

Nonetheless, the book has much to offer labour historians. Particularly valuable are Neuschatz's attention to employer strategies and intra-capitalist conflicts, his discussion of the uses of state power, and his analysis of large patterns of economic growth. These have not been dominant issues in many recent working-class studies and it is instructive to find them so well handled here. Even more impressive is Neuschatz's effort to grapple with what was distinctively "western" about western labour history. His points about the endemic shortage of labour in the West and the "social vacuum" in mining camps, while not strikingly original in themselves, are effectively linked to the distinctive pattern of labour organization in the region. The book is essential reading for those interested in western labour history and has much to offer historians of other regions as well.

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Roger D. Waldinger, *Through the Eye of the Needle: Immigrants and Enterprise in New York's Garment Trades* (New York: New York University Press 1986).

IN YET ANOTHER ATTEMPT to explain the social forces that influence the distribution of immigrants in specific sectors of the capitalist economy, Waldinger has married the cultural theories of ethnic studies to the economic theories of dual labour markets. While his effort is laudable, it offers the reader few new insights into either garment industry economics or ethnic enterprise. The weakness lies primarily in the narrow focus of the work. By concentrating his

analysis on the social and cultural attributes of immigrant contractors and manufacturers he has lost sight of the particular form that the extraction of surplus value has taken in these small shops where continued dependence on cheap female labour rather than specific ethnic qualities of the entrepreneurs have always determined success or failure. Waldinger hypothesises: "Immigrant firms enjoy a competitive advantage in small business industries because the social structure of the ethnic community provides a mechanism of connecting organizations to individuals and stabilizing these relationships." (15) To prove his point he has focussed his research on an industry he knows well, the New York needle trades.

Waldinger's acquaintance with the trade goes back to 1975, when as an organizer and labour educator for the ILGWU, he began work with the industry. After several years of graduate study on immigrant enterprise, he again returned to work in the industry: "I began to work for the union as a consultant; and, without rupturing ties to the ILGWU, later worked for the employers' association and for the city of New York as a consultant on a number of projects related to the garment industry." (16) Through the assistance of union, management, and government Waldinger has been able to gather data from a large variety of sources: unpublished union documentation of wages and conditions in contract shops; membership rolls of union locals, allowing him access to some 100 Hispanic garment workers; and surveys and interviews with 136 immigrant contract shop owners and 35 New York-headquartered manufacturers. Yet after such advantages as these we could expect more than the book has offered us.

In an industry which employs almost exclusively female labour (comprising 80-83 per cent of the workforce), he has managed to write without a single reference to either class or gender. Today, when the political issues of gender are continually on the minds of many

academics and as historian Joan Wallach Scott has cautioned in the *Radical History Review*: "Gender must be understood not just as a physical or social fact, but as a way of organizing and talking about power; not only the relations between men and women, but also between the powerful and non-powerful," it is incumbent upon progressive-minded sociologists and historians to be conscious of the significance of gender relations in their work. In the case of Waldinger's study of immigrant enterprise the omission is inexcusable.

In fact the gender of the workforce is an important component of the recruitment process. The seasonal character of the trade, which he gives as an important reason for the growth of contract shops, also plays an important role in recruitment of women workers. Married women with families can often only find work in seasonal trades, and since over half of the women in the American labour force are married and their number continues to grow, the presence of married women in the garment shops will continue to be significant. The fact that immigrants come in two sexes and that contract shops have made extensive use of kin connections and patriarchal power relationships, is hardly addressed in the text.

Most of the research on ethnicity and enterprise has concentrated on examining the specific characteristics and actions of immigrant groups that have made them "successful" in the Western cultural milieu. This work has focused on social and cultural variables that have aided the immigrants in their struggle to "make it" in America. Waldinger reviews many of the components of effective integration citing the works of Ivan Light (1972) and Edna Bonacich (1973, 1980) as seminal works in the field of ethnic enterprise. But what he does is in many ways more interesting, for he goes beyond both cultural and social theories of immigrant enterprise to suggest instead that such theories have ignored the economic context of ethnic enterprise and have failed to examine the "relationship between

immigrant's ethnic resources and the requirements of the industries in which their businesses grow."(15)

Much of Waldinger's thinking on the subject of immigrant enterprise has taken direction from the work of M. Piore. In *Birds of Passage* (1979) Piore suggested that the secondary labour market's low status, dead end and poorly paying jobs are seen as unattractive to native workers forcing employers to turn to immigrants to fill the jobs. Waldinger points out that in the garment industry low wages have caused most of the traditional workers to leave the trade resulting in shortage of labour in the industry since World War II. As a result, the central problem in the garment industry has become the recruitment and training of new workers. Into this gap has come the immigrant entrepreneur: with his family connections and ethnic community ties he has been able to recruit new workers. Waldinger suggests that, "Whereas natives shun secondary jobs whenever possible, immigrants accept these same conditions." The explanation, according to Waldinger, "lies in the expectations and orientations of immigrant workers." Because many immigrant workers see themselves as temporary workers, they are "indifferent to the issue of upward mobility and unconcerned with the instability of employment conditions that trouble native workers." The powerless position of immigrant workers, however, is not even considered, nor does Waldinger address the particular vulnerability of 'illegal' immigrants. Waldinger has become so enamoured with the functional aspects of immigrant enterprise he has lost sight of social and economic conditions in the trade.

After outlining the economic history of the New York trade — taking the reader through a brief history of its growth, the development of large firms during the 1970s, and the re-emergence of contract shops in New York — he concludes that the continued existence of small contract shops in garment manufacturing in New York is a direct result of immigrant enterprise. Yet there are other ways of looking at and explaining the proliferation of small-scale production.

As the clothing industry has increasingly

found itself squeezed on one side by the large retail firms and on the other by the continued monopoly concentration in the textile sector, efforts to extend technology and to standardize production, while they have met with some success in keeping labour costs down, have only been successful in those sectors of the trade where commodity products cater to regular and steady demand. It is in the search for ways to keep those labour costs down that the ongoing symbiotic relationship between the large manufacturers and the small contract firms can be understood. Unfortunately Waldinger shows only a limited understanding of the relationship between small contract shops and large-scale manufacture.

In fact what Waldinger has documented is the process of restructuring the New York trade. The production process has been reorganized to meet the specific demands for the industry's varied products. Large standardized shops have grown up in sectors of the trade where style change is limited, (men's clothing, sportswear, underwear), while the production of highly seasonal and variable commodities such as women's outerwear, in particular dresses, has relied on smaller firms and contract shops, concentrated in New York. "Market segmentation is inexorably squeezing out the middle-sized producer, leaving smaller, flexibly organized firms to absorb the instability of the market," observes Waldinger as he explains why garment shops continue to survive in Manhattan.(95) But this process of market segmentation is not new to the industry, for as long as ready-made clothing has been made in the United States the size and nature of the production unit has been determined by the type of product and the demand that existed for it.

A system of contract shops has always flourished as a part of the garment industry, their presence noted by historians of the industry as early as the 1880s and 1890s. They have provided the trade with a reserve pool of labour that could be drawn upon during rush seasons

in the industry. To the contractor shops goes the honour of developing the sweating system, for these enclaves set the pattern of extreme exploitation of women and children in the trade. In a trade which required production to move from only a few garments a week to several thousand garments a day these small shops served an important role. Contractors were an essential element in a trade reliant on flexibility as they provide back up for overflows of production demand during the rush season, and produced short runs of specific styles not anticipated by larger manufacturers prior to the season. Here immigrant contract shops have found their home, producing highly seasonal fashion items at the lowest wages possible, defining immigrant women as the sub-proletariat of the New York rag trade. Surely this factor warrants a place in any analysis of the "success" of immigrant enterprise. The ethnicity of immigrant groups associated with the super exploitation of labour in the trade may have changed over the last hundred years, but little else about the nature of expropriation of surplus value has altered. To analyze successfully the New York trade it is important to separate the components of the industry in terms of their production process rather than their ethnicity.

At times Waldinger tends to treat both contract shops and manufacturers as equivalents, but contractors are not manufacturers in the real sense. In fact contract shops have become little more than outside workshops for large manufacturing and retail firms. Contract shops provide the "path of entry for ... new immigrants." Waldinger notes that immigrant firms are "the reactive and subordinate partners to the manufacturers with whom they are engaged in a division of labor because manufacturer/contractor linkages are unstable, reflecting New York's role as a spot market for late-developing demand." (148) This relationship would have been an important one to explore, but instead Waldinger continues to interchange the two types of production units as if they were equivalents and does

not tell the reader when he is referring to immigrant entrepreneurs who work as contractors or when he is referring to those who are manufacturers.

The latter chapters of the book explore conditions under which immigrant firms have been able to prosper and which ethnic groups are more successful than others. At one point he makes a loose comparison of the failure rates of native and immigrant firms and notes that immigrant firms fail more frequently. He concludes that the reason for this is the fact that immigrant firms are mainly new firms and as such failure is more likely, but while "older entrepreneurs may be losing some of their competitive edge, their experience and knowledge of the market, and ties to customers and suppliers are assets that still work to their advantage." (134) But since the failure rate in contract shops is likely to be higher than other forms of production units, unless we know which of the firms are inside manufacturers and which are contract shops, this evidence has little significance. Again ethnicity has provided a way of obscuring reality rather than enhancing it.

Because Waldinger has failed to understand the continued relationship between small contract shops and larger manufacturers, he has not been able to explain effectively the presence of immigrant workers and entrepreneurs in the trade. The ability of immigrants to exploit their own kin and kind has given them continued advantage in the trade, but this is not a new phenomenon: only the ethnicity has changed. What Waldinger offers us is a limited explanation as to why particular ethnic groups seem to have been more successful in this exploitation than others, but in the process he has told us very little about the political and economic realities of the trade.

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Ronald Lawson, ed., *The Tenant Movement in New York City, 1904-1984* (New Brunswick:

Rutgers University Press 1986).

WHILE MANY SCHOLARS have shown interest in the question of tenure patterns in urban North America, most of their attention has been focused upon the ownership side of this issue. The volume under review here provides a welcome perspective on the rental component of housing tenure. Based on the results of a multidisciplinary investigation of tenancy in New York that was directed by the editor and funded with a \$200,000 grant from the Center for Metropolitan Studies at the National Institute of Mental Health, the volume represents a sweeping yet cohesive examination of tenant activism in North America's largest city. It serves as a useful addition to our comprehension of several important aspects of the tenure question.

Research for the book involved the analysis of fairly traditional primary sources that were abundant for the New York area — newspapers (both English and foreign-language), tenant-group minutes, government records, and personal interviews with many of those who were involved in the movement. These sources have been carefully mined to provide an interesting and detailed story of tenant activism in New York between 1904 and 1984. The volume contains both an introduction and a pictorial history compiled by the editor along with five substantive chapters which examine the tenant movement in a chronological fashion — pre-World War I (Jenna Weissman Joselit), the 1920s (Joseph A. Spencer), the Depression years (Mark Naison), 1943-1971 (Joel Schwartz), and 1970-1984 (Ronald Lawson). The flow and sense of continuity within the volume are admirable for a work of this type. What emerges from a reading of *The Tenant Movement* is a very definite sense of the evolution of tenant activism in New York from rather tentative beginnings to a phenomenon that possessed "diversity, sophistication, and power" (271) by the mid 1980s. As Lawson notes in his introduction, "the history of the tenant movement [in New York] affirms popular insurgency even under difficult conditions." (7)

The failure of the private housing market to provide appropriate and affordable hous-

ing for many New Yorkers has created a series of housing crises in the primarily rental metropolis throughout this century. Tenant response to these conditions began with sporadic rent strikes in buildings populated largely by poor, left-wing Jewish residents and progressed to a level of organization that included metropolitan, state, and national tenant bodies that employed a wide range of tactics (lobbying for legislation such as rent control, court battles, building take-overs, and the formation of neighbourhood planning groups). By the 1970s tenant activists included in their number many members of the middle class who sought both to conserve neighbourhoods and to protect themselves from escalating rents and deteriorating conditions.

To someone such as myself who is used to conducting research on the small city of Hamilton, Ontario, the statistics associated with New York's housing problems are staggering — 103,000 tenement buildings to be inspected in 1916, 500 buildings organized for a rent strike in 1919, over 400,000 apartment units added to the city's housing stock in the 1920s, more than 40,000 units removed from that stock between 1933 and 1936 due to demolition, abandonment, and conversion to other land uses. By 1965 the New York City Housing Authority was landlord to over one-half million people in more than 100 projects and had a waiting list of more than 100,000 families. In 1966 there were 781,000 registered building code complaints in New York City. While New York is an eye-opening setting for the study of the twentieth-century tenant movement, one is left with a sense of the uniqueness of that locale. We still need research into tenancy and tenant activism in smaller cities before any theories concerning the tenant movement can be developed. To what extent, for example, is the New York experience relevant to tenants in Baltimore and Calgary?

Due to the nature of the tenant movement in New York, this book should be of considerable interest to historians of

various stripes. The role of women in New York's tenant movement, for example, was prominent throughout most of the period examined. To a large extent, moreover, this movement was spear-headed by an ethnic response to big-city life, especially by Jews, Blacks, and Hispanics. Students of housing policy formulation also will be interested in the story told in this volume, for there is rich detail here concerning both legislation and lobbying. Finally, interesting parallels between worker/manager relations and landlord/tenant relations are drawn in several places which should be of interest to labour historians.

The Tenant Movement is not without a few minor problems. While it contains 30 very good photographs, maps are totally absent. Those without a very detailed knowledge of New York's neighbourhoods may find the numerous place references rather confusing. The use of acronyms, while unavoidable in a study such as this, seemed excessive and numbing to this reviewer. Perhaps an index of these should have been included to complement the useful indices of names and subjects that were provided. Finally, a concluding chapter to summarize the major findings of the research would have been helpful.

All in all, this a useful collection and case study. It is not very theoretical; but a second volume is promised by Lawson to address these concerns. I hope that this second volume materializes. Much more work on the obverse of homeownership is needed if we are to more fully understand the meaning of tenure in urban North America.

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Ruth Bordin, *Frances Willard: A Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1986).

FRANCES WILLARD (1839-98) served as

president of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union during its most significant years in the late nineteenth century. For nearly two decades she headed the largest women's organization in the United States, one claiming by 1890 nearly 200,000 dues-paying members and countless supporters. Willard used both her position and popularity to broaden the scope of WCTU activism and to build alliances with other progressive forces, including the Knights of Labor, Prohibitionists, and Populists. With skillful tactical manoeuvres, she overcame conservative opposition to women's enfranchisement and made the WCTU the era's largest woman suffrage society. Her interests ranged widely, from collective housekeeping to nationalization of the railroads, and she gained audiences for such controversial ideas where others failed repeatedly. On the day of her funeral, flags across the country were lowered, and a nation mourned. In Chicago, crowds endured the seasonal February cold as they waited to pay last respects; in one day a procession of 30,000 filed past her coffin.

A sad commentary on the selectivity of our historical memories, Ruth Bordin must begin her book by justifying its existence. It is not simply that nearly a half century has passed since the publication of a full-length biography of Frances Willard, although such an explanation should satisfy earnest scholars. Or, that Bordin recently gained access to 40-volumes of original sources, including diaries, which had been unavailable since the early part of this century. Rather, Bordin's most convincing reason is simple: scarcely anyone today knows who Frances Willard was or why she should be remembered. That the most celebrated and influential woman in North America should fade so completely from the historical record is truly astounding. With ample reason and new resources, then, Bordin set herself to restore a remarkable chapter in nineteenth-century history.

A few misconceptions also needed correcting. Willard's first biographer, her

devoted companion Anna A. Gordon, published a volume certain to enshrine the beloved "St. Frances" among her temperance followers. Gordon's *The Beautiful Life of Frances Willard* (1898) made its subject appear, albeit in a very respectful way, monomaniacal about the evils of alcohol. No one questioned — or, indeed, paid much attention to — this interpretation until 1944, when Mary Earhart published her very controversial *Frances Willard: From Prayers to Politics*. Earhart brazenly contended that Willard opportunistically used temperance to pave the way for other political campaigns as well as to accrue power for herself. Although Earhart admired Willard's tactical genius, she drew virtually a machiavellian caricature of the nineteenth-century leader.

Bordin's interpretation is itself decidedly more temperate. She appreciates both Willard's shrewd political sensibility and the sincerity of her dedication to the cause of temperance. In our own times, when alcohol and drug abuse is once again a public issue, the earlier reformers regain a degree of legitimacy. As a consequence Bordin is able to deal straightforwardly with Willard's understanding of the social and medical effects of alcoholism, which included, of course, domestic violence and premature death. Bordin also emphasizes that Willard, like many reformers of her time, adopted a sociological perspective on the issue, and saw intemperance, not as the cause of social disorder or individual dissolution, but as the result of some larger systemic problem. For this reason, Bordin explains, Willard advocated temperance yet searched for a solution along other, broader avenues.

Once she became president of the National WCTU in 1879, Willard began to test the political winds and to search for allies. The Prohibition party, which claimed one million supporters, seemed the most congenial bedfellow and easily won recognition from the non-voting women of the temperance ranks. Alliances with other organizations and movement proved, however, more problematic.

Willard's overture to the Knights of Labor is a case in point. In May, 1886, a WCTU delegation appeared at the national

convention of the Knights of Labor. Grand Master Workman Terence Powderly cordially accepted its greetings and noted, nonplussed, that the temperance women were the first outsiders to be admitted to a Knights' convention.

There was some basis for this friendly exchange. Powderly advocated temperance, and the Knights barred membership to anyone involved in the liquor trade. Longtime supporters of the principle of equal pay for equal work, the Knights by this time were also organizing women into local assemblies. Yet, as Bordin points out, Willard chose a very peculiar moment to act. The middle classes, including many WCTU members, were still reeling from the Haymarket bombing a few weeks earlier and, despite Powderly's disassociation from the events, extending little sympathy to the labour movement. Willard, Bordin explains, risked losing the favour of her constituency but seemed able to look beyond the immediate tragedy to the tremendous upsurge in labour organizing during the previous year. Apparently undaunted by criticism, Willard became an actual member of the Knights of Labor.

Willard's appeal to Terence Powderly foreshadowed a series of grand political manoeuvres as well as her increasing concern with basic issues of political economy. In passing, Bordin lays to rest Earhart's earlier claim that Willard nurtured a romantic fantasy about the great labour leader. In its place we gain an understanding of Willard's political evolution during a crucial period in U.S. history, her infatuation with Bellamy Nationalism, and total allegiance to Christian socialism.

In 1890, at the height of her career, Willard tested her political acumen in yet another dramatic play. Populists were forging a major third-party movement, displacing the Prohibitionists as a contending force to the Democrats and Republicans. Willard knew that ties between farmers' alliances and temperance advocates had been strong since the mid-1870s, and as president of the WCTU she

foresaw a role for herself during this important political realignment. Her expectation were not unfounded. In 1892 she invited leading reformers to an unofficial meeting in Chicago where they would draft, in effect, the platform of the newly-founded People's party.

Like many of her contemporaries — and many historians today — Willard believed that the flurry of political activity following Haymarket and cresting in the Populist movement was bringing U.S. political history to a turning point. She sought, therefore, to unite all progressive forces under the banner of the People's party and to ensure a place for her own constituency of activist women. Like others, she was destined to be disappointed. Fusion was not on the agenda, and Willard's favoured planks of temperance and woman suffrage provoked strong opposition from southern and German-American delegates and were scrapped.

Bordin narrates this episode by focusing not on Willard's failures but on her ability to intervene at such a pivotal point in U.S. history. "No American woman before her," Bordin asserts, "had demonstrated such influence in controlling the direction of an important political movement." Willard did represent, of course, hundreds of thousands of women, but, it should be remembered, these women were disfranchised and necessarily peripheral to the concerns of a political party. Yet, Bordin explains, Willard embodied the spirit of moral superiority associated with nineteenth-century femininity. "When the political issue was a moral one," Bordin writes, "the position taken on it by women could not be ignored, especially by men of reform principles who were cloaking their own causes in moral righteousness."

With this insightful interpretation, Bordin delivers an important message to scholars of nineteenth-century political history. In an era of boundless vision, of persistent faith in "the good time coming," even the most hard-nosed activist adhered, at least publicly, to com-

monplace moral precepts. With the defeat of Populism, this sensibility passed away or lingered among only the most romantic and archaic visionaries of the twentieth-century. From our modern perspective it undoubtedly strikes us a century later as, if nothing else, odd. But to dismiss rather than to understand the significance of morality to the rhetoric of nineteenth-century reform is to narrow the scope of historical inquiry.

As historians have aptly documented, the idea of women's superiority was the cornerstone of nineteenth-century conceptions of private morality. Willard took this popular idea and reshaped it to justify and to demand women's increasing participation in the public sphere. Bordin thus argues convincingly that the temperance leader was "a synthesizer, an accommodator, an innovator at the same time. Willard was able to take cultural values almost universally accepted as being women's special province — for example, the nurturant home — and transform them into a political arsenal to be used to advance women's rights and social and economic position." Her ability to do so is key to both her success and ultimate failure, as well as her disappearance from historical memory.

To miss Willard's important contribution is to pass over a remarkable chapter in women's political history. Too often, the struggle for enfranchisement has circumscribed our understanding of nineteenth-century women's activism. Bordin demonstrates so ably that the century's most influential woman, a leading suffragist in her own right, appeared on virtually all major political fronts.

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Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman in America* (Boston: Beacon Press 1984).

ARDENTE PROPAGANDISTE de la liberté de parole, partisane de l'amour libre et oratrice hors pair, Emma Goldman a marqué l'imagination de ses contem-

porains. Mais derrière le personnage public de femme forte, implacable et austère, c'est le hémissement d'une femme passionnée, marquée de contradictions et secouée par des incertitudes, que reconstitue Alice Wexler dans sa biographie. En se basant sur une correspondance franche et abondante laissée par Goldman elle-même, l'auteure nous propose de délaisser l'image mythique entourant la vie de cette grande dame publique pour en dresser un portrait davantage "historique."

L'ouvrage est construit de façon chronologique. Dans la première partie Wexler y décrit les événements qui ont transformé le "grand idéal" de liberté et de justice d'Emma en activisme politique. Influencée par le populisme russe et ses héroïnes, révoltée contre la discrimination et l'oppression exercée à l'endroit de la communauté juive dans son pays natal, Emma arrive aux États-Unis dans un climat de tensions sociales intenses. La pendaison des anarchistes suite à l'affaire du Haymarket Square en 1887 sera l'élément déclencheur de son engagement anarchiste. Wexler décrit cet engagement initial comme un élan passionné, davantage émotionnel que rationnel. Le sens du théâtre et du martyr que l'auteure dénote alors chez Goldman, reste présent dans toute la description qu'elle fait de la vie de l'anarchiste.

La dernière partie de l'ouvrage est consacrée aux circonstances qui ont mis fin à la carrière politique d'Emma Goldman aux États-Unis. Condamnée pour son opposition à l'effort de guerre, quoique fondamentalement poursuivie pour ses idées anarchistes, Goldman est emprisonnée en 1918. En décembre 1919 elle est déportée. Fuyant l'intolérance et la répression, elle avait quitté la Russie en 1886 pour une "terre de liberté." Après trente ans d'activités politiques, c'est avec regret qu'elle quitte ce, qu'ironiquement, elle considère être devenue "l'Amérique tsariste." L'essentiel de l'ouvrage porte sur ses trente années passées aux États-Unis.

Le récit de Wexler dénote un souci constant de situer l'activisme de Goldman dans le contexte du mouvement anarchiste américain et de la gauche de l'époque. De ce

fait, cette biographie dépasse le cadre d'une vie pour couvrir un pan de l'histoire du mouvement révolutionnaire aux États-Unis. Cette mise en perspective permet en outre d'évaluer l'impact réel qu'aura Goldman sur le mouvement révolutionnaire américain. Constatant un isolement progressif de Goldman à l'intérieur même de la communauté anarchiste et analysant d'un oeil critique le culte de la personnalité qu'elle développe autour d'elle, la biographe conclut à un échec relatif de Goldman, qui "n'a pas réussi à bâtir un mouvement anarchiste puissant aux États-Unis." Mais comme le souligne elle-même l'auteure, les faiblesses du mouvement anarchiste aux États-Unis ne peuvent être attribuées uniquement à Goldman. Il est par ailleurs certain que celle-ci a été d'un apport indéniable à la tradition révolutionnaire américaine.

L'analyse critique que fait Wexler des prises de position de Goldman donne à cet ouvrage un ton juste. Cette critique percutante s'exprime entre autres, à l'endroit de l'engagement "féministe" de Goldman. Comme la liberté sexuelle est un aspect central de la pensée de l'anarchiste, et parce que selon elle ce sont les femmes qui souffrent le plus de répression sexuelle, elle sera amenée à défendre la cause des femmes. Mais, souligne Wexler, c'est en conformité à son opposition farouche à toute forme de répression que Goldman s'engage dans cette lutte. Plus tard, elle endossera également la lutte pour le contrôle des naissances, mais encore une fois c'est au nom de la liberté de choix et de la liberté de parole qu'elle le fait. D'autre part, Wexler n'hésite pas à souligner les grandes qualités d'oratrice de Goldman: son charisme, sa voix, la clarté de ses démonstrations et le ton juste qu'elle savait à tout coup trouver, ont fait d'elle un des personnages publics les plus en vus de l'époque.

Si ce souci d'évaluer d'un oeil critique la pensée politique de Goldman est efficace, le découpage chronologique que Wexler choisit pour traiter certains

thèmes ne donne pas toujours les meilleurs résultats. Ainsi, alors qu'un traitement thématique aurait permis de mieux cerner les changements qui se produisent dans la pensée de l'anarchiste, Wexler aborde la théorie politique de Goldman dans trois chapitres distincts et non consécutifs. De même, les deux chapitres qui portent principalement sur la violence auraient gagnés à être combinés. Traitant d'abord de l'attentat manqué de Berkman en 1892, l'auteure insiste sur le "sentiment de culpabilité" qu'aurait ressenti Goldman face à l'emprisonnement de son compagnon pour expliquer la fidélité avec laquelle elle le défendra. Plus loin, Wexler évoque un motif semblable pour expliquer la défense inconditionnelle que fait Goldman de l'attentat de Czolgosk en 1901. En effet, bien qu'elle n'ait jamais préconisé la violence (elle s'appliquait plutôt à défendre le terrorisme, le présentant comme un dernier recours contre l'oppression), Czolgosk avait déclaré s'être inspiré de ses propos. Ce geste avait suscité une vive réaction anti-anarchiste et avait été unanimement condamné dans le milieu. Un traitement condensé de cette question aurait évité certaines répétitions, tout en permettant de mieux mettre en évidence les changements de positions qui s'effectuent au sein de la communauté anarchiste à l'égard de la violence.

Mais là où cet ouvrage se distingue, c'est sans doute dans la façon dont l'auteure relie les positions politiques et la vie privée de Goldman. Wexler utilise le privé pour apporter un éclairage nouveau sur la vie publique de Goldman. Elle fait un usage abondant de ce procédé, qui sauf dans certains cas, est assez efficace.

A quelques reprises, l'auteure évoque l'isolement dont Goldman aurait souffert dans son enfance pour expliquer l'intensité avec laquelle elle se jette dans la vie publique. De la même façon, Wexler avance que c'est en partie parce que Goldman se serait identifiée à Czolgosk, retrouvant dans son attentat ses propres fantasmes de violence et ressentant personnellement le rejet unanime dont il a été

l'objet, qu'elle l'aurait défendu avec une telle intransigeance. Ces analyses psychologiques ne m'ont pas semblé des plus convaincantes. Mais règle générale, l'approche de Wexler qui met en lumière des facteurs personnels et souvent impulsifs derrière des gestes politiques permet de relativiser certaines positions publiques de Goldman. Son sens du tragique par exemple, a pu donner une dimension exagérée à sa position sur la violence.

En illustrant les contradictions existant entre la vie privée et les positions publiques d'Emma Goldman, l'auteure ébrèche le mythe entourant cette grande anarchiste. Consacrant un chapitre entier à la relation qu'Emma aura avec Ben Reitman ("la grande passion de sa vie"), l'auteure met en lumière la dépendance émotionnelle dans laquelle se trouve prise Goldman en contradictions avec sa théorie sur l'amour libre. Déchirée entre l'idéal victorien de sacrifice, de soumission et de dépendance, et l'image de la "nouvelle femme" véhiculée au début du siècle, Wexler propose que Goldman aurait simplement vécu de façon plus "dramatique" une contradiction à laquelle plusieurs femmes de son époque ont dû faire face.

Cette biographie d'Emma Goldman possède de grandes qualités. Alice Wexler nous propose ici une lecture critique de la carrière politique de Goldman aux États-Unis. Dans cet ouvrage, Goldman n'est ni encensée, ni condamnée. Ses positions politiques, que les aléas de sa vie privée servent à mieux comprendre, sont analysées en étroites relations avec le contexte social et politique de l'époque. Wexler évite ainsi les pièges que trop souvent caractérisent ce genre historique.

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David Nasaw, *Children of the City: At Work and At Play* (New York: Oxford University Press 1986).

ANYONE WHO HAS WATCHED LATE-NIGHT

television — and that certainly includes most academics — is familiar with the cinematic portrayal of the street-wise newsboy and the smart-mouthed bootblack. Unfortunately, these fascinating characters appear more frequently on the silver screen than they do between the covers of scholarly monographs. In *Children of the City*, David Nasaw offers a rare look at the conditions, activities, and thoughts of youngsters who spent substantial portions of their childhood on the streets of American cities during the first two decades of this century. Against a colourful backdrop of emerging urban culture, Nasaw presents his subjects as America's first large group of city-raised citizens who through their own initiative and determination carved out a space of their own initiative and determination carved out a space of their own amidst slum conditions and a ruthlessly competitive social system. What emerges is an intimate, insightful portrait of working-class children who managed to make important economic contributions to their families while partaking in the new and wondrous consumer offerings of early twentieth-century cities. Among a variety of sources, the author relies most heavily on the public and private papers of social reformers and autobiographical accounts of well-known American celebrities, such as Milton Berle, George Burns, and the Marx Brothers. The study also contains some striking photographic evidence, courtesy of Lewis Hine and other socially-conscious American photographers.

As the subtitle suggests, the book concentrates primarily on two areas of children's activities — work and play. Nasaw contends that the tradition of youngsters working on city streets flourished during the first two decades of this century, even though these same years witnessed a decline in child labour in industrial and commercial establishments. Unlike their nineteenth-century counterparts, however, twentieth-century child street traders enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy and security. The newsboys, for instance, played a key role in the newspaper business and brought order, hierarchy, and co-operation to the streets through their self-motivated organizations. One of the book's highlights is a delightful account of the New

York newsboys' strike of July 1899 which forced a settlement from publishers Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst. Nasaw states that this unique era of children's control of the streets lasted until 1918-19, at which time adults and technology displaced the young street traders. Before this occurred, however, street children developed a permanent taste for the new varieties of food, clothes, and entertainment found in candy stores, vaudeville theatres, and nickelodeons. Although this behaviour aroused the concerns of both reformers and parents, Nasaw maintains that street children were neither as naive nor corruptible as most adults believed.

In his conclusions, Nasaw argues that street children reflected the exploding consumerism of urban culture — especially the search for entertainment — and carried this trait into their adult lives. Furthermore, the author contends that these youngsters eventually exerted an influence on American culture out of proportion to their numbers, particularly in the field of entertainment, where Nasaw claims their impact was “both profound and predominant.” (199) Once again, the author refers to Milton Berle, George Burns, and the Marx Brothers, among others, as examples. More significantly, Nasaw argues that as adults his subjects fit comfortably into the American mainstream as the result of an unshakeable faith in their country's political, economic, and social system that had been forged during their years on the streets. Unfortunately, this experience led to a type of tunnel-vision that prevented the street children from recognizing the shortcomings of the American way in the latter stages of their lives. The author laments that this style of thinking now serves as a barrier to new strategies for a more productive and just American society.

Some of Nasaw's conclusions follow logically from his interesting narrative; others, however, are quite surprising and warrant closer examination. The author describes the subjects of his book as “a

privileged group of youngsters, privileged at play and at work.”(47) According to Nasaw, the “social relations of the marketplace, as the children experienced them, were not particularly onerous or exploitative” and definitely rose above the “routinized hell” to which nineteenth-century factory children had been subjected.(61,47) As well, twentieth-century children spent more of their earnings on themselves because improved social conditions lessened the importance of their economic contributions to their families. Nasaw provides no hard economic data to sustain his case and understates the conditions of child labour and the continuing desperation of some working-class families, especially immigrants, that stretched their resources to the limit to meet the demands of urban life. It is difficult to believe that many street children who suffered the capriciousness of both the weather and a competitive market-place consistently regarded their work as “almost a pleasant interlude between a day’s confinement in school and an evening in cramped quarters at home.”(p. 47) Moreover, hints of a harsher view surface in other parts of the study. Some grocery-store delivery boys, Nasaw reveals, accepted their pay in food, a practice that suggests the dire conditions of their families. In this area, it is possible that the author leaned too heavily on the overly-romantic and nostalgic reminiscences of show-business personalities.

A more contentious part of Nasaw’s conclusions is his belief that the street children easily and willingly accepted American capitalism as the best of all possible worlds. The streets not only served as an agent of the American melting pot, according to the author, but they also taught the children “to put their faith in the American dream, Horatio Alger style.”(60) This analysis raises some serious questions. Certainly some former street children must have surfaced in radical unions and political groups in the 1930s, although Nasaw ignores this possibility. It can also be argued that the

street children accepted the tenets of capitalism, not out of free choice, but because the self-seeking, competitive nature of life on the streets offered no other option but to follow the capitalist path if one was to survive in the city. In this sense, these children are not flag-waving advocates of capitalism, but its powerless victims. To his credit, Nasaw admits that this blind faith in capitalism no longer represents a sensible approach to contemporary social problems. It need be noted, however, that other observers of capitalism recognized its shortcomings long before the current recession arrived. Despite these curious musings near the end of the book, Nasaw has taken important early steps toward understanding a previous stage of the life cycle rarely seen in conventional works. Still, a critical reader cannot help but form the impression that this could have been a more valuable study had the author paid more attention to Karl Marx, and less to Groucho Marx.

John Bullen
University of Ottawa

Eileen Boris, *Art and Labor. Ruskin, Morris and the Craftman Ideal in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1986).

THE CRAFTMAN IDEAL IN AMERICA was “the impulse to reunite art and labor” according to the social philosophies of John Ruskin and William Morris. It was a noble ideal, but hardly an effective strategy for the creation of a socialist society. And, as Eileen Boris argues, in its American version the craftman ideal was quickly corrupted by the consumerist values of the dominant middle classes of capitalist society. In her view this is explained by the shift in leadership of the arts and crafts movement “from those with a vision of an alternative organization of production to those whose concern focussed on the arts themselves.” Art for politics was replaced by art for art’s sake.

While Boris’s exploration of the arts and crafts movement in the United States

contains much that is interesting for the cultural historian, it is in places tedious and ultimately leaves the impression of a potentially useful article blown up into a rather thin book. Her chapter on the transfer of the ideas of Ruskin and Morris to the United States is careful and interesting. The description of the arts and crafts organizations is unnecessarily detailed. More valuable is the account of the introduction of practical arts and manual training into the school system, and the discussion of the role of women in the arts and crafts movement. The chapter on the back-to-the-land movement and its relationship to arts and crafts is suggestive but seems too removed from the more general agrarian tradition and the conservationist ethic in the United States to be convincing.

Least satisfactory of all, I think, is the rather pretentious attempt to make more of a silk purse out of a sow's ear than is sensible. By that I mean that the author begins by overestimating the significance of the Ruskin-Morris movement as an aspect of "social struggle" and in doing so inevitably exaggerates the degree to which it "degenerates" into mere "crafts for crafts' sake" reinforcing "the dominant social order." In fact, as a form of social criticism or social comment the arts and crafts movement was always marginal and ineffectual in Great Britain and in the United States. That indeed may even be the meaning of the rather curious final sentence with which Boris concludes her laborious book: "Put into practice, the vision of Ruskin and Morris lost its utopian power; as a vision, however, the craftman ideal has retained an emancipatory potential for the individual, if not the society." So much for the socialism of wall paper design.

Ramsay Cook
York University

Victoria Byerly, *Hard Times Cotton Mill Girls: Personal Histories of Womanhood and Poverty in the South* (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press 1986).

"JUST WORK AND RAISE YOUR younguns was all we had time to do," remembered Gladys Griffin, a textile worker from Greensboro,

North Carolina, summing up the lives of women mill workers in the southern United States. In *Hard Times Cotton Mill Girls* Victoria Byerly records the voices of 20 southern women, some black, some white, all poor in material goods, all rich in spirit.

From the first paragraph of Byerly's introduction, when she tells us that four generations of women in her family have worked in the Amazon Cotton Mill, we are swept into a book whose voice carries the drama of authenticity. The book is divided into five sections covering: farm life; childhood; marriage, motherhood, and work; the black experience in what until recently was a predominantly white industry; and struggles for change in the mills. These oral histories include the stories of white girls who began working in the mills in the early part of the twentieth century, as well as the recollections of some of the first black women hired by the industry in the 1960s.

It is overwhelmingly a story of hard times. Parents sent children to the fields as soon as they were tall enough to handle a hoe and strong enough to drag a sack and pick cotton. For these children the mill promised better times — at least more cash and a subsidized mill house. But toil in the mills proved no easier than in the fields. Byerly's narrators tell of constant efforts to speed-up and stretch-out the work, of arbitrary, abusive bossmen, of hot, damp, lint-laden air that filled workers' lungs and sapped their strength. For black women it is a story of low paying domestic work.

Byerly's book is particularly valuable for revealing the race relations of the cotton mill world. Only a few black men worked in the mills prior to the civil rights movement, but the mill village system provided thousands of jobs for black women who kept house for white families whose husband, wife, and children all worked in the mill. When mill work opened up to blacks in the 1960s these women and their children poured into the mills. Bearing the lessons of the civil rights movement, they were often at the

forefront of the unionization campaigns of the 1970s.

The hard times of these women, black and white, were aggravated by men. The stories are startlingly repetitive in their accounts of deserting fathers, callous boyfriends, and abusive husbands who contributed little or nothing to the family. In narrative after narrative the independence women sought by earning wages in the mill was finally achieved late in life when they gave up on marriage and decided to live alone or with only the support of their children.

Byerly introduces each section of the narratives with a general overview that gives some historical and statistical background to the events women relate. These are at times the weakest part of the book, suffering — perhaps inevitably, because of their brevity — from overgeneralization and occasionally from unfounded claims. For instance, she refers to “the mill owners’ absolute control of the workers’ cultural and institutional life.” But other studies of textile workers and her own narrators testify to the many ways in which workers created their own cultural spaces, especially through music, food, and the church. And while she claims that “it was not uncommon for white women to be jealous of the amount of time black women spent with their children in their homes,” no woman’s narrative in the book substantiates these feelings.

But these are minor points in a work that eloquently presents an intimate view of southern working-class women’s lives.

Mary Murphy
University of North Carolina

Gary Ross Mormino, *Immigrants on the Hill: Italian-Americans in St. Louis, 1882-1982* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1986).

“ARMED WITH TAPE RECORDER,” Gary Mormino tells us in the introduction to his book, “I set out in 1973 to find remnants of a fallen civilization.” The latter term may be somewhat exaggerated, but the

sentence does convey the spirit that pervades this most welcome piece of historical scholarship. He started his research moved by the sadness that yet another Italian-American ethnic community had entered into its twilight era; but almost ten years and hundreds of interviews later he had unearthed a rich and complex history that makes our knowledge of the Italian-American experience more solid and more sophisticated.

The St. Louis neighbourhood that Mormino has studied — known as “The Hill” — has been for nearly a century a symbol of Italianness in the region. Indeed, Mormino may very well have singled out the one Italian-American neighbourhood out of the hundreds emerging in the twentieth-century American landscape that proved to be the most cohesive and the most resilient in the face of the sweeping urban and social transformations engendered by industrial life. The author finds the explanations for this peculiar kind of performance in the topographical configuration of the neighbourhood, which tended to isolate it from the greater St. Louis; but also in the type of employment market — dominated by the clay and brick industries — which attracted the early Italian settlers. For the thousands of Italian newcomers who followed, joining migration chains first from Lombardy and then from Sicily, the low-paid jobs and the repressive conditions imposed by that industry constituted their entry — and often their life-long stay — into the American dream. Indeed, judging from the information and data on the work experience in chapter 4, cohesiveness and resilience appear to have been more synonymous with entrapment than with working-class fulfillment. But of course there is the “ethnic variable” that comes into the picture, and the author invokes it in order to argue the primacy of immigrants’ traditional values such as family unity and neighbourhood stability, and their role in producing a version of “the good life” that was at variance with that espoused by labour militants and political activists.

Ethnicity — though never defined — is clearly the leitmotif of this book. It finds its historical expression in the intracommunal rivalry between the Lombard and the Sicilian contingent of Hill's Italians; in the types of voluntary associations they created; in the centrality of church life; in the kind of civic and political leadership emerging in the neighbourhood, and in several other aspects of community life. Readers will learn a lot about the working of ethnicity in Mormino's original treatment of prohibition and how Italian immigrants capitalized on that crisis in American public morals to increment their family revenue, and in the process, give rise to a sort of cottage industry. They may have even received the blessing of their parish priest, for when in January 1921 their church building burned to the ground, there was a strong suspicion in the neighbourhood that the fire had been set by the accidental explosion of a vat of moonshine in the church rectory. Mormino adds: "Even if the story is apocryphal, the fact that so many people believe it is true authenticates the legend."(129)

In another important section of the book we are given a rare view of how ethnicity found expression in the formal political arena. Mormino's account of the alliance forged between Hill's leaders and the local Democratic machine is often reminiscent of some of William Kennedy's novels set in pre-World War II Albany, N.Y. Readers, however, may be disappointed by the author's hasty treatment of the fascist issue, and the effects it may have had on the emerging political culture of Hill's Italians. It almost seems that Mormino was saving some of his best cards for the following chapter, devoted to the impact of WWII on the neighbourhood's life and sentiments. This chapter may be viewed as an important addition to Studs Terkel's oral history of the war (*The Good War*). If, in fact, divided allegiances had troubled the ethnic consciousness of many an Italian, the war effort seems to have acted as a sort of "moment of truth." The fact that Italy was an enemy country did not prevent Hill's Italians from giving wholehearted support to the war objectives and from producing their own brand of

patriotic rituals. But more than rituals, Mormino found that the Hill produced one of the highest per-neighbourhood rates of enlistment in the entire country. Italian parents, wives, and sister clearly had a stake in the outcome of the war, and perhaps this emotional involvement more than anything else helped forge a sentiment of Americanness out of which a redefined ethnicity came into being.

Mormino has done a great job probing the memories of hundreds of Hill residents, and in weaving into an evolving scenario important aspects of their mentality. By so doing, he has shown how important oral history can be if properly handled. But his work is more than "an oral history." He has done his historical homework quite well using all the accessible archival and statistical documentation to back up his arguments. Moreover, he constantly places his findings in the context of the large immigration historical literature, which allows him to cast his subject into a solid comparative perspective. And last, but not least, Mormino is an excellent writer: he knows when and where to insert the right quotation; he knows how to simplify abstract theoretical debates; and he knows how to make "a fallen civilization" come alive and become a source of scholarly inspiration.

Bruno Ramirez
Université de Montréal

Elizabeth Ewen, *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars* (New York: Monthly Review Press 1985).

AU TOURNANT DU SIECLE, des millions d'Européens immigrant vers les Etats-Unis, répondant en masse au "mythe de la richesse" véhiculé par l'Amérique. Ils quittent ainsi leur village rural pour aller s'installer dans les grandes villes américaines.

Ce phénomène des migrations internationales qui caractérise cette période nous est déjà familier par la parution de plusieurs études portant sur le phénomène global. L'intérêt du livre d'Elizabeth

Ewen tient du fait qu'il examine plus précisément un aspect moins bien connu de cette expérience migratoire, soit la réalité des femmes immigrantes. En mettant l'accent sur l'expérience des femmes juives d'Europe de l'Est et du Sud de l'Italie que l'immigration a amenés avec leur famille dans le Lower East Side de New-York, E. Ewen nous fait partager la réalité quotidienne de ces femmes.

Ewen démontre bien la situation ambiguë dans laquelle se retrouvent ces immigrantes. Elevées en Europe, initiées à la vie quotidienne dans une société patriarcale qui définit le rôle des femmes et où la famille et la communauté constituent les bases sociales, ces femmes, via l'immigration, sont propulsées dans un monde urbain et industriel qui exerce sur elles des pressions sociales, et tend à redéfinir la vie quotidienne et à modifier leur culture traditionnelle.

L'auteur retrace les efforts d'adaptation de la femme immigrante, pilier de la vie familiale, protectrice des valeurs traditionnelles, gardienne de la culture, tant dans la sphère privée d'activité que dans la sphère publique, démontrant que la vie des femmes immigrantes fut partagée entre l'acceptation de certaines nouvelles valeurs et la résistance à plusieurs autres.

En fait, Ewen identifie les problèmes et tensions dus au passage de la famille d'un lieu de production à un lieu de consommation, et des perturbations que ce changement entraîne dans la dynamique familiale.

L'auteur met particulièrement l'accent sur les tensions qui se créent dans les relations mère-filles. Dans le pays d'origine, le rôle tenu par la mère consiste à transmettre à ses filles les principes de devoir et de responsabilité au sein de la famille et de la communauté. Aux États-Unis, les jeunes filles sont influencées par leur nouvel environnement via l'école, les sorties, les libertés, et sont plus réticentes à accepter ce rôle traditionnel. En fait, ce conflit multi-dimensionnel entre mères et filles tient de la volonté de la mère de

maintenir vivantes les traditions culturelles, et du refus des filles, en rupture avec le monde ancien, accaparées par les valeurs du nouveau monde, d'y souscrire automatiquement.

En examinant la vie de deux générations de femmes (mères et filles) Ewen saisit la dynamique de l'américanisation dont les incursions dans la vie familiale des immigrants sont quotidiennes. La mère, isolée dans son travail domestique, aux prises avec des problèmes d'économie familiale, voit ses enfants (ses filles), avec lesquels elle maintient pourtant une relation privilégiée, non seulement s'éloigner de la culture traditionnelle, mais souscrire à des éléments culturels nouveaux et les intégrer à la vie familiale.

Ewen souligne enfin que malgré ces perturbations profondes dans la dynamique familiale, le militantisme des femmes est toujours vivant, surtout lorsqu'il y va de la survie de leur famille, notamment en 1917 lors d'émeutes alimentaires et de boycott à New-York contre la hausse des prix de la viande, et où les femmes immigrantes étaient au premier plan. Ce militantisme représente, en quelque sorte, la réponse des femmes immigrantes à l'américanisation.

En ce sens, le mérite du livre de Ewen tient au fait qu'il met l'accent non seulement sur un aspect significatif du phénomène migratoire dans son ensemble mais aussi qu'il révèle les difficultés d'adaptation des femmes en tant qu'immigrantes et en tant que mères.

Jean Lamarre
Université de Montréal

Martin Chemiack, *The Hawk's Nest Incident: America's Worst Industrial Disaster* (Yale University Press 1986).

OF THE MANY GAPS in our knowledge of workers' history, that of industrial health is perhaps the most surprising. We know that accidents and disease have always stalked the process of production. Historical narratives are routinely sprinkled with

grim vignettes about factory fires, limbs and digits caught in machinery, and the chemical hazards of coal mines and hat factories, cotton mills and oil refineries. But most historians relate such details in an anecdotal manner, implying, in passing, that they are proof either of the endemic inhumanity of capitalism or that they show how far we have come since the dark days when wage-earners had to risk their lives to earn a living. Each view is an unexamined reflection of the author's own ideology; neither gives the subject the research and interpretive acuity it deserves.

Thus, this slim book by a professor of occupational medicine is a rare event. What Martin Cherniack, M.D. has produced is more an epidemiological report than a work of history about an industrial debacle that took place in West Virginia in the early 1930s. Unapologetically, he admits to doing no oral interviews and attempting no sociological analysis. He does, however, provide a subtle, precise, and fascinating account of the little-known construction project that became the deadliest job in United States history.

In 1930, the Union Carbide Corporation hired the contracting firm of Rinehart and Dennis to drill a tunnel three miles long that would transport water from the New River to a hydroelectric plant at Hawk's Nest, deep in the mountains of West Virginia. The contractor immediately began to recruit workers from the South to augment the sparse supply of local labour. Following a predictable pattern, whites took most of the skilled jobs as foremen and heavy equipment operators, while blacks made up three-quarters of the 3,000 men who moved earth inside the tunnel for an average wage of thirty cents an hour. Rinehart and Dennis had an excellent prior reputation for both speed and efficiency; and the Hawk's Nest project seemed to confirm it. The tunnel was completed in less than two years, repaid its investment in nine (half what Union Carbide had predicted), and continues in operation today.

The human cost, however, was outrageous. In their rush to finish ahead of schedule, the contractor had neglected to order foremen to stop work at regular inter-

vals to hose down the thick clouds of silica dust the pneumatic drill created. "Wet drilling" was performed only when state inspectors made an infrequent visit. At other times, workers, most of whom were far from home and had no alternative way to make a living, had to breathe air filled with particles that destroyed their lungs at a rapid rate. No official death total was ever assembled, but Cherniack, after a careful reconstruction, estimates that, "Within five years after its completion, the Hawk's Nest Tunnel ... claimed a total of 764 victims to silicosis, or to other less provocatively named causes of death from dusty lungs."(104)

Why did the disaster not become a *cause célèbre*? A long series of trials was inconclusive, and a short hearing into the matter by a minor congressional subcommittee yielded a strong condemnation of the employers but a predictable lack of publicity. Cherniack, despite his reluctance to do social history, offers some good explanations for the relative silence: the tunnel was built in a remote, rural area; most surviving workers dispersed soon after they completed the project. Union Carbide and the lobby of professional engineers convinced leading newspapers that the death toll was quite low and that critics were alarmists out to damage the reputation of American industry (two writers from *New Masses*, the unofficial literary journal of the Communist Party, did investigate and report on the tragedy).

Finally, and here Cherniack sheds his scientific tone and becomes passionate, most West Virginians did not spend time worrying about the fate of anonymous black "outsiders." Most silicosis sufferers never saw one of the few hospital beds in the Hawk's Nest area. A number of labourers who were too sick to work were evicted from their company-owned tents and literally went behind a rock to die.

Within its self-imposed limits, this study is an almost complete success. Because Union Carbide refused to allow Cherniack to see its corporate records or data on individual tunnel workers, the

portrait of the company's role is sketchy. Trial records and newspaper reports fail to capture the texture of work on the Hawk's Nest project and to divulge whatever reluctance labourers may have had to continue digging while their lungs deteriorated.

But the unresolved questions are really larger ones for labour and economic historians to pursue. Under what circumstances do "incidents" such as the one at Hawk's Nest occur? How do local communities respond to death on the job, both when it is episodic and when it is routine (as in the coal industry)? Have all types of construction work been prey to above-average rates of accidents and disease? What do the conflicts between and among employers, workers, and their respective government allies over safety and compensation reveal about changing public attitudes toward health and the evolving nature of state power? Cherniack has accomplished a small job with admirable precision. But the bigger tasks remain undone.

Michael Kazin
American University

Archie Green, ed., *Work's Many Voices* 2 Discs, JEMF 110-111. (El Cerrito, CA., 1986).

SUBTITLED "SONGS OF WORK REISSUED," this set of two record albums was edited by the dean of labour folklore scholars, Archie Green. Green, best known for his *Only a Miner* (Urbana 1971), a collection of studies of coal mining songs on record, has produced here what he calls a "laborlore vocumentary." "Laborlore" is his coinage: "the expressive culture of working people." "Vocumentary" was coined in 1959 by folk speech historian Peter Tamony to describe his research into the esoteric language of blues and hobo songs. Hence the focus of these albums is on the language and related expressive codes used by workers to portray, in song, their experiences in the workplace.

Most records which document labour songs have been albums. Specially edited

in that format, often with explanatory notes, they have been created, in most cases, by and for those who study and are advocates of the working classes rather than by and for the rank and file themselves. While Green's albums also have a didactic goal, it is to present another kind of music. They anthologize a fundamentally different class of recordings, those originally issued on 45s — the little record with the big hole in the middle — which, Green and other folklorists agree, are the modern equivalent of the broadside. Broad-sides and songsters like the Wobblies' *Little Red Songbook* have played an important role in labour struggles, particularly on the picket lines. But in order to present them on record, one must re-create the song in performance. Not so with these modern broadsides: they contain texts with music as originally conceived and performed by their composers. These albums contain 32 songs produced by working-class people for their co-workers, neighbours, and community between 1950 and 1985. Green has reissued them "as oral/aural documents ... commenting upon work's complex meaning."

In their original form these recordings were not meant for library shelves or teaching modules. As Green points out, many were "destined only for radio or jukebox play with no attempt at public sale." Even those that were sold publicly saw limited circulation. While we think of the phonograph record as one of the icons of international mass culture, 45s like this were manufactured typically in small numbers, much like the songsters and broadsides. If they were heard on radio, it was the local programming, not the network show; if they were in a jukebox, it was the tavern or restaurant in the workers' neighbourhood.

Stressing the pluralism of cultures and philosophies found in these recordings, Green has included a wide variety of music. "Songs of labor," he points out, "are kaleidoscopic statements of identity — anger in neglect, shame in poverty, humor in situation, pride in skill, ap-

preciation in custom, strength in numbers." Some of the 45s Green has located — and located is the right word, for these records are often ephemeral — deal with specific instances of labour strife, like Marta Lopez's "Corrido De La Huelga," recorded in a small Phoenix, Arizona studio and issued on an unnumbered "Lopez" label. It was written as a solidarity ballad at the beginning of the 1983 Phelps Dodge copper strike at Clifton and Morenci, Arizona. Others, like the Wright Brothers' "Island Creek Mine Fire," describing the March 1960 Holden, West Virginia event, narrate industrial disaster. Several labour leaders — Jimmy Hoffa and Walter Reuther — are remembered in song. Among the Canadian and American ethnic groups represented are Cajuns, Newfoundlanders, Afro-Americans, and a host of others. In addition to songs from industrial workers, there are representations from other working groups such as teachers and cable car operators.

The recordings present as great a spectrum aurally as they do culturally and philosophically. While over half can be fitted under the rubric of country music, there is considerable variety of sound and meaning even in that category. Also heard are blues, rock and roll, and a number of regional and ethnic styles. Green's brief notes give the salient information about the songs, and translations for the non-English texts are provided. But there is plenty of room here for further analysis and research for those who would understand the meaning of expressive culture in its various relationships with labour.

Many of songs seem disarmingly simple on first hearing, but they are, one realizes on further listening, distillations of complex personal histories, musical and textually rich with meaning. An end in Green's work is to offer those who seek to understand the connections between expressive culture and labour life an entree to the subject. Labour historians should hear, use, and build on the data presented on these records. These albums, like the records they anthologize, cannot be found in most record stores. But they can be purchased from one of the largest mail order distributors of blues, jazz, country,

folk, and ethnic musics: Down Home Music, 10341 San Pablo Avenue, El Cerrito, California 94530. They belong in your library.

Neil V. Rosenberg
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Joan Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: Volume V. Part 1: Regional Farming Systems; Part 2: Agrarian Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985).

THESE TWO VERY LARGE VOLUMES represent the culmination of ten years research by a team of nineteen specialists. It is a formidable achievement. And a fitting follow-up to the justly-celebrated Volume IV, 1500-1640, which must be one of the most quoted "committee texts" ever published. Inevitably, therefore, comparisons with the earlier work intrude themselves into consideration of this volume.

Volume IV was of particular interest to scholars interested in the genesis of agricultural capitalism because of Alan Everitt's splendid, seventy-page essay on "Farm Labourers." In this successor-volume, alas, there is nothing similar; labour is not completely ignored but rather it is not considered separate from wages and prices or landlord policies. This volume, then, is of an altogether more managerial or entrepreneurial thrust. Yet even given this predilection on the part of Thirsk's research *équipe*, it is more than a little strange that there is no sustained consideration and discussion of the size of farming units. I was surprised at this omission because it is in this period (1640-1750) that one can find the demise of the peasantry and the lineaments of the really large farms that were to be the outstanding characteristic of English farming practices in the period of the Industrial Revolution. In mid-nineteenth century Bedfordshire, for instance, farms of over 100 acres accounted for 90.3 per cent of the land and the really big farms of over 300 acres occupied 42.8 per cent.

To put this farm size in perspective one needs to also keep in view the fact that these large Bedfordshire farms, worked by wage labour, were averaging gangs of 22.8 adult male labourers apiece. In comparative terms, this average was an enterprize that was about five times as large as the U.S. southern slaveholding agricultural unit. (Those 22.8 adult male labourers had *uncounted* wives and children whereas the American slaveholdings included both women and children.) From the perspective of a labour historian, then, this volume is seriously deficient in not considering this aspect of capital formation — and its correlative class formation. Unfortunately, there is more to add to this litany. There is no sustained discussion of common rights — what Daniel Defoe called “the patrimony of the poor” — while the agricultural origins of industrialization are given equally short shrift.

Amazingly, in view of Peter Lindert's recent reevaluation of Gregory King's famous later seventeenth-century social statistics, the interconnection of a ‘portfolio’ of income flows is hardly considered. Since the Lindert revision of King has shown us that even by considering the occupations of dead men — not the occupations of living men, women, and children — England was substantially more industrial than heretofore commonly presumed, one would have thought that this aspect of the industrialization process would have been highlighted. The more so because it was on account of the interconnection between agriculture and industry — nowhere more than on and around the coalfields, often in the persons of the great landowners themselves and none more than the Lambtons of County Durham, the family of Radical Jack — that English capitalism was so much more vibrant than its neighbours and that the English capitalist class was so much more wealthy. Yet Thirsk's volume resolutely turns its back on this aspect of English history and in so doing deprecates the importance of agrarian history itself. It is only by the deepest dis-

sociation of historical sensibility that the authorial combination can resolutely stick to its tunnel vision of the rural past.

This work, then, is a very great disappointment to those who see English history as something more than the development of a small island off the north-west coast of Europe. It smacks of that ‘little England’ mentality that is rigorously pruning the past of all its interest for those living in the present and concerned about the future. Of course, that is not to say that the volumes under review are uninteresting but rather that their audience is likely to be limited to specialists rather than reaching out to those for whom English capitalism is a problem to be explained, not merely lavishly praised as “improvement”. Yet what else can one expect from a mentality which could write “The importance of customary tenures in *hampering* enclosure and in *delaying* the development of leases aimed at *improvement*, therefore, can hardly be overstated.” (V/1, 9; *my italics* !) Quite obviously this book is aimed at an audience which is well acquainted with the semiotics of the new revisionism.

Having made my disappointment with the committee's conceptualization of its subject quite clear, let me now turn to some of the positive achievements of this work. And, I should hasten to point out, there are many. The book is exceptionally good on the techniques of agricultural production, both within the various farming regions and across the length and breadth of the national rural economy. There is no doubt regarding the mastery of the hodge-podge of local systems of production, illuminated by profuse examples. Basing their descriptions on lengthy and close reading of source materials, the authors show how each of the twelve sub-regions were themselves subdivided and crosscut by something like eighteen “farming types.” In theory there could have been as many as 216 local ecologies although in practice there were only about a quarter as many. Nonetheless, the existence of some fifty different agricultural economies must be

of concern to those who would want a neat typology. Yet, the absolute bewildering variety is to be expected from the wide range of climatic, geographical, and geological conditions of England and Wales.

There is, however, the temptation of slitting one's throat with Occam's razor and simply agreeing that in this variety no generalization is possible. That seems to be the thrust of the first volume of this work in that it gives pride of place to the explication of these mini-ecologies at the expense of the larger political economy within which they flourished. This approach to historical knowledge is encyclopedic, not critical. The first volume is recursive; it reiterates in twelve essays the local historical experiences of population growth, geological characteristics, climate, technical changes in both field systems and production inputs, cropping patterns, livestock types and the ratios of different breeds, cursory consideration of agricultural production for industrial processes, as well as slight indication of the balance between subsistence and commercial imperatives among the primary producers. In all, however, the first volume is characterized by its tendency to synchronic, as opposed to diachronic, explanation. For all but the most devoted local historian, it is hard going.

The second volume is much more interesting. It covers — for both the regional and national economies — topics such as prices which were roughly stable with all products changing only 2 per cent as grain prices were soft and livestock prices rose by 17 per cent, wages which rose by about 11.6 per cent in money terms although no attempt is made to quantify the cost to labourers of lost common rights, seasonal and annual price movements which tended to become less volatile, rents which were stable in contrast to the earlier period and which reflected the co-ordination of landlord-tenant strategies of profit optimization in place of the earlier attempts to cope with the inflation of the Renaissance. Costs for different types of operations are explicated with great skill but profit estimates are less successful in that there is no serious analysis of farm sizes so that it is impossible to do more than indicate

profitability per acre which is not the most effective measure except in the narrowest technical sense. The general conclusion is that during this long deflationary cycle, 1640-1750, the flat demand for agricultural products — itself a result of zero population growth — was abetted by technical improvements to bring much more cereal and livestock products onto the market. It was thus a comparatively good time for labour although, of course, one has to stress that with these benefits brought forth by capitalist expansion there were costs. Peter Bowden is not so sensitive to this point.

If it was a comparatively good time for labourers, it was a much better time for the large landowners whose grip on the land became more secure as their numbers were thinned by low replacement rates. Estate management became more "scientific" as landowners turned to long-term strategies which would secure their families against the depredations of either inflation or an incompetent incumbent. Christopher Clay's long chapter on estate management displays a sure grasp of its subject and great familiarity with the few hundred families who dominated rural England in these years.

Joan Thirsk's chapters on agricultural policy and, especially, on agricultural innovations and their diffusion, exemplify the command over the subject which we have come to associate with her writings. Situating these innovations within the debate concerning the "agricultural revolution," Thirsk cautiously seconds many of the hypotheses put forward by Eric Kerridge concerning the precocity of changes in cropping patterns and other production routines. She is much more cautious than Kerridge, however, in pointing out the piecemeal nature of change in the flat market conditions of this period. Thirsk, then, gives us an early agricultural revolution in the acquisition of new techniques but takes it away in the ways in which these changes were adopted.

John Chartres' chapter on the marketing of agricultural produce takes up a

recent trend in the historiography of the period and lays emphasis on the increasing complexity of consumers and consumption patterns. In place of the medieval economy in which choices were limited to a narrow range of goods, the commercial economy of the early modern period was brisk and diversified. Indeed, this demand-induced growth was of great interest to contemporaries who saw in it one of the mainsprings of growth and change; in a wide variety of more recent analyses of the English economy in the 1640-1750 period this feature is becoming emphasized. Chartres is very good at explicating the growth of this sophisticated market and its extension right down to the very bottom of the social scale. Once again, however, while the author pays great attention to the benefits of economic "improvement" he is reluctant to devote equal space to its costs. So, the "moral economy" is given little space beyond an obligatory nod in E.P. Thompson's direction (472); a very great deal more is said to round out the picture of commodity speculation against which the moral economy was protesting. Its concentration was so marked that in most markets a half-dozen merchants controlled almost the whole commerce. Other chapters on rural building and market gardening confirm this picture of broadly-based affluence for those with either rental or working capital who benefitted as a result of the diversification of the rural economy and its increasingly complex division of labour.

It is a pity that labour is so thoroughly overlooked. One wonders what Bertolt Brecht's labourer would have made of this economic history of rural capitalism before the Industrial Revolution.

So many reports,
So many questions.
Indeed.

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(Oxford: Blackwell 1986).

THIS PATH-BREAKING COLLECTION of essays on diverse aspects of women's experience of home and family between 1850 and 1940 should serve as an inspiration to Canadian historians in the fields of working-class and women's history. Here, I think, we begin to see the past world of women as it was in its daily contours, in its more representative forms, in contrast to the world early feminist historians made which, sometimes hampered by male views of history and society, grasped only those aspects which touched the public sphere. In the process, we gain a greater understanding of the role of both middle and working-class women in the family and in the economy.

The introduction and the very organization of the book are characterized by an insistence on the differences between middle and working-class women's experiences. Editor Jane Lewis suggests "that nineteenth and twentieth-century working-class women experienced a much less severe separation between productive and reproductive work than did middle-class women, because they were much more likely to be engaged in paid employment before marriage and when the family economy demanded it thereafter."³ While the major focus of the articles is on the home and family, in contrast to its companion volume *Unequal Opportunities: Women's Employment in England 1800-1918*, edited by Angela V. Jones, women's work is never absent from consideration. The ten articles are divided into five sections dealing with childhood, mothering, the theory and practice of sex and marriage, compatibility and tension in marriage, and the family economy. In those on childhood, mothering, and compatibility in marriage one article deals with the working class, while the other treats middle-class women. At times the working class are treated as too undifferentiated. In the introduction, for example, the "working-class wife" seems

Jane Lewis, ed., *Labour and Love: Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940*

too homogeneous a category. The same might be said for Ellen Ross's article, where in examining the cases of very poor women the experience of the most vulnerable fractions of the working class is highlighted.

In most of the articles there is a sincere concern to avoid seeing proscriptions as reality and to reconstruct working-class women's own ideology, standards, and practice of motherhood, domestic labour, and child raising. In Ellen Ross's "Labour and Love: Rediscovering London's Working-Class Mothers, 1870-1918," she tries to decipher the meaning of love for working-class women, arguing, quite fairly, I think, that working class mothers expressed their love in work for the family.⁽⁸⁵⁾ How this work was reshaped and some of their domestic authority undermined by state intervention is ably surveyed in Jane Lewis's "The Working-Class Wife and Mother and State Intervention." All the articles except that of Gittens interpret the predominant sexual division of labour in which the wife was primarily responsible for domestic labour, the man for wage labour, as a working-class ideal, with its own characteristics and not one that was simply imposed by the middle class.

The articles successfully go beyond a simple description of women's roles as budget managers to unravel the diverse strategies and even subterfuges which women used in their struggle to balance budgets and control their domain — the household. Women's pivotal position in the family economy is examined in different ways in Pat Ayers' and Jan Lambertz's "Marriage Relations, Money, and Domestic Violence in Working-Class Liverpool, 1919-39," Elizabeth Roberts's "Women's Strategies, 1890-1940," and in Diana Gittens's "Marital Status, Work and Kinship, 1850-1930." Ayers and Lambertz provide a fascinating picture of the myriad of ways of shading from the "respectable" to the "unacceptable" in which women dealt with the precarious employment structure which Liverpool's economy offered their husbands.

The historians do not romanticise or try to impose twentieth-century ideas of liberation. They clearly recognize the limits on

working-class women's "range of choices and expectations," yet at the same time they try to unravel not only what women did but what it meant to them. Drawing on oral history, unpublished minutes and letters, innovative linking of interviews and manuscript censuses, autobiographies, hospital and school records, these historians have succeeded in the task of putting women into family history and of showing the extent to which women's worlds were oriented around the family.⁽¹⁹⁾ The essays are interesting, easy to read, and should be enjoyed by historians and the general public alike.

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Deborah M. Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female Preaching and Popular Religion in Industrial England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1985); and Logie Barrow, *Independent Spirits: Spiritualism and English Plebeians, 1850-1910* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1986).

BY DIRECTING ATTENTION to plebeians who have been either ignored or marginalized in historical writings, both Deborah Valenze and Logie Barrow have written books that enlarge our vision of popular belief in nineteenth-century England. Valenze gives a historical voice to the female preachers of early nineteenth-century Methodism, while Barrow invites readers to take seriously an odd assortment of spiritualists, crystal-ball gazers, phreno-mesmerists, medical botanists, and others. Both authors enable us to think in new ways about important questions of popular belief and culture.

The question of the relationship between evangelical religion and working-class politics is hardly unexplored terrain. Both Elie Halévy and G.M. Young emphasised the conservative influence of religion in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries. In *The Making of the English Working Class* Edward Thompson challenged orthodox interpretations of popular religion, depicting a

critical struggle between the radical inheritors of seventeenth-century dissent and proponents of normative religious practice. As Valenze comments, however, religion ultimately remained a function of politics: Thompson "breathed new life into Halévy's thesis by identifying religious revivalism with political reaction."⁽⁵⁾ While uncovering millenarian strains resistant to such hegemonic sway, Thompson maintained that popular religion, particularly Methodism, was part of a complex process through which working people were disciplined and reshaped to meet the needs of industrial-capitalist development. Valenze takes issue with this view. She maintains that rather than acquiescing to the imperatives of the new industrial order, sectarian Methodists struggled to control and at times to resist change. Valenze writes: "Their religious ethos was rooted in the old world of work, not the new ... For these labourers, religion became a means of overturning middle-class ideals of piety, reciprocity, and progress."⁽⁶⁾

Valenze's attempt to "uncover the sacred world view of labourers" is based on a reconstruction of cottage religion. As Wesleyan Methodism moved from the humble surroundings of its birth — cottages, barns, sheds, dye-houses — to the more respectable, less intimate and more controlled space of newly built chapels, the cottage remained the central location for various popular sects: Independent Methodists, Primitive Methodists, Bible Christians, Quaker Methodists, Female Revivalists. The cottage household was central to the lives of large numbers of men, women and children, giving integrated meaning to their religion, family, and work. Sectarian Methodism promoted "an old-fashioned religion" that preserved "primitive" aspects of behaviour and belief among labourers.⁽⁸⁷⁾ The rigorous faith of the Old Testament was preferred to the "moralistic evangelicalism" of the New Testament.

No aspect of sectarian Methodist practice was more stridently at odds with emerging Victorian convention than

female preaching. Whereas Wesley had condoned women speaking publicly in the case of "extraordinary call," by the early nineteenth century over-riding concern for middle-class "respectability" brought an end to Wesleyan tolerance for female evangelism. It was outside the ranks of Wesleyanism that female preaching thrived. Female preaching was often at the heart of a vigorous brand of working-class Methodism, along with cottage preaching and emotion-charged camp meetings. Religion based on cottage prayer meetings and visitation offered cultural space for female messengers of the Lord. Like Primitive Methodist camp meetings which in form openly defied "restrictions of time, space, liturgy and leadership," female preaching "subverted Wesleyan attempts to control popular evangelicalism."⁽⁹¹⁻²⁾

Valenze situates her analysis within a broad social and economic context. In both rural and industrial communities cottage religion embraced an idealized vision of the home as a place of final refuge. This idealization often occurred precisely at the moment when domestic security was being undermined. The contrasting images of domestic security and of pilgrimage found in sectarian Methodists hymns reflect, therefore, a sense of uprootedness common among working people. Sectarian Methodism often preserved aspects of an older, more rural-based culture. Valenze notes, for instance, the correspondence between the rituals of Primitive Methodism in industrializing Derbyshire and the old, rural calendar of customs familiar to labouring people. Female preachers, in particular, appealed to older styles and values. "Far from condemning folk culture and replacing it with 'modern' religion, the (female) missionaries exploited every opportunity it gave to recruit converts."⁽¹³⁸⁾ Thus, Elizabeth Smith founded a society at Peasmore, (Berkshire) in response to an invitation from a woman who wanted her fortune told. More often she answered calls from the sick in need of her powers of female healing. Using scores of

obscure memoirs and surprisingly full obituaries published in sectarian Methodist journals, Valenze has brought to light the lives of such remarkable women as Elizabeth Smith, Ann Mason, and Ann Carter. The complexities of cultural interpretation are thus confronted with intelligence and imagination throughout this ambitious study, although at certain points pretensions perhaps outrun the evidence. Readers may feel, for instance, that they have gotten something less than the "cosmic structure" of popular religion in the fishing-village of Filey, (Yorkshire).

By mid-century cottage religion and female preaching were on the wane due to gradual social changes as well as changes in sect organization. Within this altered setting the meaning of "domesticity" lost its defensive and oppositional tones. The blurring of crucial boundaries, so essential to the female preachers of the early nineteenth century, was no longer possible as the public and domestic spheres were given sharper definition within both middle-class and sectarian religious culture.

The blurring, as well as the transcending, of boundaries is a central theme of Logie Barrow's fascinating study of plebeian spiritualists. In broad terms this book is about the "culture of self-educating British people of humble birth during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries." Most fundamentally, it is "an argument about when and how widely knowledge can be accessible," (xi) and also about what counts as "knowledge." The study investigates the fluid boundaries between various cultural oppositions: elite and popular, learned and autodidact, scientific and non-scientific, professional and amateur, religious and infidel. What seems remarkable was the openness of these boundaries during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Spiritualism, the belief that centers on purported conversations with the "spirits" of physically dead people, had its nineteenth-century origins in America. More important for Barrow's argument, is how this belief was assimilated at mid-century in Britain. He argues that spiritualism appealed to working-class and lower middle-class autodidacts

hungry for new world systems and eager to construct their own structures of understanding. Mid-century converts to the spiritualist ranks had often been involved in various radical or millenarian movements, particularly Owenite socialism. Robert Owen himself became a spiritualist in the early 1850s. Barrow maintains, however, that it makes less sense to consider lines of descent than "points of blur and tension" between Owenism, herbalism, Swedenborgianism, mesmerism, infidelism, Chartism and other "-isms." Spiritualism takes its place, therefore, within the range of radical mutations that constituted the fragmented vision of the post-Chartist period.

By the late nineteenth century, the spiritualist "movement" claimed 10,000 adherents. The geographical base of plebeian spiritualism remained predominantly northern and Pennine. Barrow notes that this was also the centre of support for the emergent Independent Labour Party and the Labour Churches, commenting that the "broad ethos of both these institutions was close so that of plebeian spiritualism." (104) While evidence for such political connections (particularly of any direct sort) remains thin, Barrow is able to show closer and more direct links between spiritualists and secularists. He argues that in complex, sometimes contradictory ways spiritualism and secularism preserved in altered forms aspects of Owenite millenarianism, thus linking the socialism of the 1830s and 1840s to the "new socialism" of 1880s and 1890s. Rationalist faith in endless human progress was projected into the next world, and the time-scale for millenarian transformation was expanded. Thus one London spiritualist, who saw socialism as part of spiritualism, thought that socialism would "probably take about five-million years" to come. (113) What remains unclear, however, is how widespread or powerful an influence Barrow wants to claim for late Victorian spiritualism. It may also seem more

plausible to view plebeian spiritualism as a complex manifestation of a broader process of working-class depolitization than as a repository for latent socialist belief.

At the heart of Barrow's book is a long and arresting chapter on the problem of "democratic epistemology" — that is "a definition of knowledge as open to anybody." (146) Barrow sees many self-educated plebeians of the nineteenth century "as in thunderous revolt against hierarchical epistemologies," — although as the author argues the "democratic" knowledge of the spiritualist, herbalist, mesmerist, and phrenologist was "about to be outflanked by increasingly hierarchical sciences." (156-7) None the less, medical botanists like John Skelton (shoemaker, former Chartist leader, and republican activist) kept the orthodox medical profession under constant fire. One of the strengths of Barrow's study is his demonstration of the interconnections between a wide range of heterodox knowledge. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, spiritualist Lyceums offered an impressive selection of heterodox learning in an effort to train a new generation of self-educators.

Barrow's independent spirits are almost exclusively male, as was plebeian autodidact culture more generally. At the very end of his book, however, Barrow alludes, almost in passing, to the important role of women as mediums and suggests that in this semi-public role women might sometimes have been licensed to behave in "unladylike" ways. Readers interested in the ways in which female mediums might have subversively restructured accepted notions of female illness, passivity, silence, and functional sexuality should turn to Alex Owen's recent article "Women and nineteenth century spiritualism: Strategies in the subversion of femininity" (in Jim Obelkevich, Lyndal Roper and Raphael Samuel, eds., *Disciplines of Faith*), which offers interesting points of juncture between both works under review.

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Alun Howkins, *Poor Labouring Men: Rural Radicalism in Norfolk 1870-1923* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1974).

IN THIS ENGAGING BUT FRUSTRATING book, Alun Howkins offers an unabashedly sympathetic study of farmworkers and labour organization in one area of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century England. The engaging aspect of the book is its multifaceted attention to a long-neglected subject. Despite constant reminders about the quantitative importance of rural society, especially until the twentieth century, researchers continue to focus on cities as the predominant setting of historical change. This preoccupation has not been altered by the massive effort during recent decades to reconstruct the experience of the historically anonymous. As Howkins remarks, scholars characteristically continue to define rural history as agricultural history, limiting their attention to economic rather than social phenomena. This tendency is also evident among labour historians, including those who have explored beyond union activities in search of the cultural experience of workers.

In contrast, Howkins focuses directly on the history of the rural poor, attempting to explain the development of radicalism in terms of the character and structure of work and family life. By examining the evolution of Norfolk where the National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers grew out of local union activities begun in the 1870s, the author attempts to explain the texture and timing of rural labour organization. Howkins argues that, throughout the years under study, rural society was consistently characterized by conflict between "master and man" but that its context evolved from a local to national arena. Village associations (often related to the chapel) gave way to the larger labour movement which came to accept the establishment of wage

rates by a national government board. Howkins clearly prefers the 1860-1900 period of local consciousness when "intensely democratic" and "flexible" (178) associations, often spear-headed by labouring radical Methodists, promoted the material and political position of rural workers. The nationalization of perspective and organization after 1900 had certain advantages for workers but also made unions increasingly insensitive to and inappropriate for the complexity of their specific needs. This book thus argues against an image of chapel as anti-labour, and local as primitive. The result is a refreshing and provocative study which can be read profitably by a wide range of historians.

But the book is, indeed, frustrating. Howkins is truly cavalier in his treatment of evidence. No attempt is made to identify the strengths and weaknesses of sources nor to specify and analyse contradictory data. The author presents a coherent story in which the omnipresent inconsistencies and vagaries of the historical process fall by the wayside. Most important, Howkins emphasizes the need to view workers in the context of family and community but then retreats from a serious investigation of the changing structures within which ideas and ambitions evolved during the decades under investigation. The author devotes only one chapter to Norfolk's historical context despite his perception of dramatic change in rural radicalism. Moreover, this chapter treats the entire period as one piece and, astonishingly, bases much of the discussion on recollections of former Norfolk workers. Oral history's sudden popularity in the 1960s, near death in the 1970s, and renaissance in the 1980s have involved substantial methodological discussion but even the most fervent supporters have not suggested that individuals perceive clearly and remember accurately structural change. Even if they did, Howkins' interviewees were mostly born after 1900 and thus began their working lives only at the very end of the book's chronological focus. From cover to cover, however, Howkins uses their testimony to fuel his argument about the entire 1870-1923 period. The author certainly does use other

evidence, most notably the local press, which permits narration of union activity and, less effectively, the evolution of associational life. But the result will not be convincing except to those already convinced. Recollections of twenty-four workers about the post-1910 period, and the perception of various village journalists do not make for a "detailed study of one group within rural society over a period of change."(xiii) Despite Alun Howkins' admirable intentions, the poor labouring men of Norfolk (and women and children it could be added) have not yet been rescued from historical anonymity.

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Nicholas Jones, *Strikes and the Media: Communication and Conflict* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1986).

MEDIA SCHOLARS ARE PAYING increasing attention to the impact of print, broadcasting, and telecommunications systems on industrial relations. Sara Douglas in the United States, Graham Knight in Canada, the Glasgow Group in Britain and Hans Friedrich Foltin in West Germany, among others, have identified the roots of corporate bias in the media. Their analyses draw on political economic forces such as corporate concentration and micropolitical processes of defining and gathering "news" to show why labour is covered so badly, when it is covered at all.

This book is unique in that it offers the views of a journalist, the labour correspondent for BBC Radio News, on how the media covered one of the more celebrated industrial disputes, the 1984 strike of the National Union of Mineworkers against the National Coal Board.

In his conclusion, Jones tells us that "of all the reasons for writing this book, one of the strongest has been the urge to try to answer some of the criticisms made of journalists." It is fortunate that this statement appears at the end of the book

because it might put off some readers anticipating pages of self-serving apologetic. It is even more fortunate that the book is not mainly a response to the criticisms of reporters. Rather, it is primarily about the ways management is using traditional media and new technology to carry out a conservative industrial strategy not unfamiliar to Canadians, Americans, and many Europeans: eliminate jobs, cut wages, diminish union power, and overwhelm the opposition in industrial disputes.

Jones begins by showing how several companies, particularly in nationalized industries, used media as one among a number of anti-union weapons. British Leyland made media an integral part of the "BL Recovery Plan" to close all or part of 13 factories and eliminate 25,000 jobs in two years. BL was careful to work on broadcasting media, showing off their photogenic President in a style that Ronald Reagan had made famous, the press conference on the run. BL also wrote and telephoned workers in their homes where family pressures more easily outweigh the need for worker solidarity. BL boasted that it could reach 150,000 workers in 24 hours. By 1982 the company had far fewer workers to reach; its workforce was down 47 per cent from 1977 to 91,400.

British Rail used similar tactics, adding one that has proven particularly effective. It advertised a Freefone number that workers could call to receive, without charge and in anonymity, information on the company's position. At its peak during a strike against BR, the company received 10,000 calls a week.

Employing a tactic pioneered by IBM in its anti-union campaigns, British Steel made extensive use of video, distributing mainly on cassette, short, personal statements intended to ease worker and middle management concerns about layoffs. There was indeed good reason for uneasiness. Between 1977 and 1982 BS cut its workforce by 52 per cent.

The cuts were directed by British Steel's head Ian Macgregor, a Scottish-

born American executive who moved from Steel to head the National Coal Board. Macgregor had a tougher time with coal because the miners' union took an explicit stand against pit closures. Jones spends the remainder of the book on the clash between the Union and the Board and eventually between the Union and the government, which decided about halfway through the strike to make this a test of Thatcher's ability to defeat "the enemy within."

Jones' analysis of media use in the miners' strike is especially valuable because it comes from an experienced journalist who has little sympathy for Scargill's brand of tough, personal union leadership. What stands out, however, is not the criticism of Scargill, but the overwhelming power of the government to use most of the press as the transmission belt to carry on its attack against the union. Jones is careful to point out that government manipulation took some care and skill. The Secretary of State for Energy took over the attack when the Coal Board faltered (Macgregor spent too much time playing to the cameras), and used effectively a wide range of media tactics. These included timing news releases for the better Sunday edition coverage, avoiding industrial correspondents who were more sympathetic to the union position, and spending massive amounts of money (over three and one-half million pounds on newspaper ads alone during the strike) to fight the union.

These actions were important, but given the clear support for Thatcherism on Fleet Street, editors were more than willing to cooperate with the government public relations campaign. Things were so bad at the *Sunday Times* that the newspaper's labour editor asked to have his name removed from several stories which were rewritten to support the government's position. The Union simply did not have the resources to match Whitehall and Fleet Street.

This makes all the more remarkable the solidarity that the Union was able to achieve over the year-long strike. Fully

seven months into the strike there were over one hundred pits where not a single miner had worked since the strike began. The Union made its share of mistakes, which Jones recounts. Given the lack of resources, however, it is hard to find as much fault as Jones does with the Union's inability to make good use of the media. Scargill's ability to turn every media experience into an expression of class struggle must have contributed to the Union's solidarity. Nevertheless, Scargill may have made the mistake that Gitlin pointed to in his analysis of the media and the student movement of the 1960s: the temptation to play to the cameras can take the place of other essential, though more prosaic, organizing activities.

Though he is concerned about how media use and coverage is influencing industrial relations, Jones recognizes that the media did not defeat the mine workers. Rather, media were used as part of a multifaceted government effort to break the union. This included huge outlays to transfer from coal- to oil-fired power stations and thereby undermine the Union's expectation that "General Winter" would bring power cuts and a Union victory. The Coal Board also enticed strikers back to the pits with pay bonuses.

Jones concludes with examples of how unions have learned from the miners' defeat and are beginning to make better use of the media. Notwithstanding this evidence, his own somewhat restrained presentation of what happens when capital and the state are closely aligned and committed to using the press to defeat a determined "enemy" makes one less than hopeful that countervailing pressures can achieve much success.

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Bernard Charlot and Madeleine Figeat, *Histoire de la Formation des Ouvriers, 1789-1984* (Paris: Minerve 1985).

THE VOCATIONAL SCHOOL and the apprenticeship system which train students for the manual labour market are areas to which researchers have paid little attention, and the

history of education in our century is written as if these systems do not exist. Pedagogical debate and the sociology of education generally exclude this aspects of the educational system entirely. This is a trend we find in the whole western industrialised world.

An important piece of work has appeared in France by the philosopher, Bernard Charlot, and the sociologist, Madeleine Figeat, which traces the history of workers' education from the French Revolution to our times. This is a multidisciplinary book, which integrates pedagogy, economics, sociology, history, and political science.

The work opens by delineating several important perspectives concerning research and debate on education and schooling. The research work, which covers two centuries, is mainly a documentary analysis of original texts, mainly found in the national library in Paris. The authors had access to the French national archives, official documents, bulletins on education, government circulars and articles in periodicals, although material from the later twentieth-century period has been difficult to compile. What the writers have chosen to do is to present the laws, institutions, and the official documents which are the basis for vocational education in France. They are not, however, writing the history of vocational education from a traditional point of view. They do not simply want to describe, but rather to understand two hundred years of this vast set of multidisciplinary factors. They thus had to go beyond the traditional dichotomies to which psychopedagogical analysis generally tries to reduce the problems of education; human being/machine, general education/special education, work/education. In order to seek a deeper understanding the writers found it necessary to see the educational problems as conditioned by the social relations of labour market development, the need for labour power, salary scales, the classification and the mobility of labour, and the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the

proletariat. They look into the contradictions in the bourgeoisie, for example, and also explore the internal competition and different political outlooks within the working class as they took place in real political events.

Charlot's and Figeat's first argument consists of tracing the historical stages of development of technical and vocational education; looking at the degradation of vocational training over the course of the nineteenth century, and then at the origins of a surge of philanthropic courses for apprentices. They point out that the ideological was just as important as the technical and pedagogical sides of this project, both for the bourgeoisie and the labour movement.

A well-known contradiction in this history is whether the workers should get their education in the workshop of the factory or at school. Should vocational training keep its autonomy or be integrated in the ordinary school system? The prolongation of compulsory schooling and the establishing of comprehensive schools in 1959 and 1963 ended the autonomy of vocational education. These measures were meant to secure a vocational education in the school system for all young people, but resulted in a reinforcement of existing prejudices which continue to assail manual labour and vocational training. This policy innovation, in a word, creates a multitude of social problems. After 1975 the idea of education in the factories rises again with the concept of variation. The authorities wanted to try to solve the problems in the school system by letting the students spend part of the time at school and part of the time on the factory floor.

The second component of this study is that workers' education is systematically viewed in relation to national, economic, and social development. Charlot and Figeat show how the degradation of the apprenticeship system is not an autonomous process, but a reflection of the degradation of manual labour, of the transition from crafts production to industrial production, with its division of

labour, specialization and child labour. They also show how this degradation stands in relation to the development of capitalism in the small industries, which have to reorganise in order to survive.

But the relations between economy and education are not automatic. The contradictions are solved in different ways in different places. Neither the bourgeoisie nor the working class are monolithic. Charlot and Figeat argue clearly that contradictions exist within the classes. For example, the factory owner in Alsace, who relied heavily upon child labour, demanded at the same time legal action to forbid child labour. The authors fail to explain that this contradiction is quite logical. In Marx's terms: "Child labour is inefficient but as long as my competitors use it — I must use it." If child labour is outlawed, the capitalists, not as individual competitors, but in total, would all face the same, regulated, competitive situation; that is, so long as such all-encompassing legislation did not exist, each employer was forced, by the competition of the market place, to exploit child labour. If such legislation was passed they could all be protected against the effects of the profit differential that, hitherto, had been associated with the use or non-use of child labour.

The authors also point out that owners of capital opposed those rules and regulations of the feudal system which hindered the efficiency of their enterprise. Laws about apprenticeship come to an end in the last part of the 1900. In 1937, the craft sectors managed to reestablish an apprenticeship law in France.

The final issue stressed by Charlot and Figeat is the need to view the development of workers' education in the light of the ongoing ideological debate in French society. From the last part of the eighteenth century the bourgeoisie was split over the question of how to educate "le peuple," how to mould and form the worker. Training the "good" worker, whose moral and ideological stance has been, if anything, more important than his or her skills and technical qualities, is

central: the bourgeoisie wants mild and modest workers while the labour movement desires its members to be disciplined and responsible. On the basis of these requirements a consensus is established between the progressive bourgeoisie and the labour movement, an agreement that the primary school shall consist largely of moral education for the worker. Yet differences are there: demand for a vocational education in the school system comes from the bosom of the bourgeoisie, while the labour movement, with its priority on syndicalism, looks upon the factory floor as the place to train the youth.

The writers explore the internal contradictions in the bourgeoisie and the internal contradictions in the labour movement concerning these questions. They point out the complexity in these phenomena, while at the same time stressing that the complexity is not chaotic. They show in their conclusion three dominant features which have ruled the development of workers' education in France.

The first feature is the competition in the labour market, which influences directly the form and condition of education. It is the general competition between adult and youngster, men and women, the French-born and the immigrant, city and countryside; and then the specific competition between different types of skilled labour. The young ones who present themselves on the labour market are potential competitors to adult labour power. In times of high unemployment the competition is vigorous. But even in period with full employment, as in the last part of the nineteenth century, youth became a real threat to adult workers. The factory owners used the young against the qualified workers, who were a solid part of their enterprises and part of labour unions with traditions of struggle. Factory owners looked upon the young as a reservoir of labour power which they could adjust to new working methods and new ways of organising and exploiting labour power.

The second dominant feature in the development of workers' education in France is what Charlot and Figeat call "malthusianisme patronal," by which the owners

of capital seek to limit the workers' education to what is strictly necessary, while at the same time, throughout the whole historical period of capitalism in France, they complain about the lack of skills in the work force.

The strategy of the bourgeoisie, in relation to this second dominant feature, has developed along several axes. The first moves around the general education of the future worker. The writers expected that the concern of the owners of capital would have been primarily around the questions of vocational training, but they found a strong bourgeois engagement in general education for the people. They were concerned that the school should form qualities and fundamental capabilities in the youth, which would give them the possibilities to adjust to the conditions of production in the modern industrial epoch and consolidate a stable working class ideologically integrated in the modern industrial epoch.

A second important goal for the owners of capital has been to bring about and maintain streaming in the school system in order to supply industry with unskilled labour power. The fragmentation of tasks and the transfer of knowledge from human beings to the machines created a lot of unattractive jobs. This kind of labour is often provided by immigrants and women, who submit to racist and sexist exploitation. Further it has also been necessary to recruit young people for such tasks. In order to fulfil this demand it was important to stream the children as they moved through the school system. By means of this streaming the prospective labour force was differentiated and classified. One stream has been kept in readiness for unskilled work, while another becomes qualified to fulfil labour speciality requirements.

The third dominant feature of the development of workers' education is the increasing role of the state in education after the Second World War. Today the direct struggle around educational questions is taking place through conflict between contradictory interest groups pres-

suring and lobbying the state apparatus.

Charlot and Figeat point out that in these ideological debates it is always the male workers that are talked about, not the women workers. The women workers are, just like the youth, objects and instruments in the class struggle between capital and labour and in this struggle there is a sexist ideology which manifests itself in not recognizing women workers' qualifications.

I have tried to emphasize the essential features of this unique piece of work. My major critical comment is that we get to know much more of the thinking of the bourgeoisie than of the labour organizations. One reason might be that the labour organizations have been less preoccupied with these matters than have members of the bourgeoisie in France. Another side of it is that the bourgeoisie leaves more documentary records.

An understanding of these phenomena within the education of the working class is a necessary component in the overall pedagogical and sociological understanding of education in general. In the economic era in which we now live, and with the impact of the technological revolution in production, it is absolutely necessary to deepen our understanding of the appearance and development of vocational training, and to regard this phenomena against the background of economic, technological, social, and political developments of the era.

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Jacques Danos and Marcel Gibelin, *June '36: Class Struggle and the Popular Front in France* (London: Bookmarks 1986).

IN 1936 POPULAR FRONT GOVERNMENTS — coalitions between the Socialist and Communist parties and bourgeois political formations — were elected in both Spain and France. What was seen at the time by many as a big step to the left was to end in bitter defeat in both countries. Yet while the story of Franco's triumph over

the Spanish workers' movement is well known, the parallel, but less dramatic, demise of the French popular front (which paved the way for Vichy), has been largely ignored. *June '36: Class Struggle and the Popular Front in France* is a study of the cataclysmic strike wave which accompanied the electoral victory of the popular front, its eventual demobilization, and ultimate defeat. Originally published in 1952 in France, and then re-issued in 1972, this important book has finally been translated into English.

The effects of the great depression of the 1930s were the same in France as in the rest of the industrialized world. Wages fell, the ranks of the unemployed swelled, and the loss of confidence in the old order led to significant growth for organizations on both extremes of the political spectrum.

In February 1934 a violent provocation by a few thousand fascists and royalists in front of the Chamber of Deputies in Paris precipitated a governmental crisis which toppled the discredited Radical administration and replaced it with a "strong" bonapartist regime. The French working class responded to this lurch to the right with a massive one-day general strike, supported by both Communist and Socialist unions. This unity in action provided a springboard for the creation of the Popular Front, an electoral alliance negotiated between the leaders of the two workers' parties and the Radicals (the "democratic" party of French imperialism).

The French capitalists responded to the victory of the Popular Front in the election of 3 May 1936 by immediately beginning to send their assets out of the country. The workers, imagining that they now had friends in high places, went on the offensive. In mid-May workers began to seize key industrial premises, particularly engineering factories, initially to press demands for better wages and working conditions. In a matter of a month French industry was gripped by a massive strike wave involving two million

workers. Citroen, Fiat, Renault, and virtually every other big factory around Paris were occupied and the strike quickly spread to the smaller plants and to the provinces.

As the strike movement gained momentum it drew support from broader layers of the population. Some small shopkeepers began to offer the strikers a 15 per cent discount as a demonstration of solidarity. Uniformed soldiers joined demonstrations in support of the strikers. The movement began to acquire a political dimension which went beyond simple bread and butter trade unionism. The inchoate impulse of the masses of French proletarians for some kind of fundamental social transformation was symbolized by the red flags which fluttered above the occupied factories. In some regions delegates from the various striking factories began to meet together in local committees to coordinate their actions — thus taking the first step toward the establishment of dual power.

The big bourgeoisie was terrified by the depth of the labour revolt and agreed willingly to major economic concessions as the price for reestablishing their rule on the shop floor. Yet even with this cooperation Leon Blum, the socialist premier who presided over the popular front, and his allies had considerable difficulty putting a lid on the explosion of militancy at the base. Blum and the union leadership first attempted to impose a set of uniform demands on the rank-and-file revolt. On 7 June the employers association, the government and the union tops signed the "Matignon agreement," which included collective contracts and union rights (previously unheard of in most French industry); a forty-hour week with no loss in pay; paid holidays and wage hikes officially set between 7 and 15 per cent. This was the standard package, but in many cases the employers had to offer substantially more. Piece work was eliminated in many factories and pay differentials between skilled and unskilled were significantly reduced. This particularly benefitted women workers.

With the signing of the Matignon agreement the workers' "leaders" set themselves the task of reigning in the movement. In his autobiography Communist Party chieftain

Maurice Thorez explained that, "There was a risk that the Popular Front might break up. Was the working class about to cut itself off from the mass of the people in struggle?" Rather than betray the alliance with the "progressive" wing of the capitalists upon which the Popular Front was premised, Thorez pronounced that "we must know how to end a strike." Communist Party members in the plants, many of whom had played leading roles in the struggle to that point, were ordered to bring the movement to an end. This was accompanied by violent denunciations of militants who sought to carry the struggle further, as provocateurs, fascists, and/or anarchists and Trotskyists. By mid-July the strike wave receded and the country began to return to normal.

The gains of June 1936 proved historically transitory, as the capitalists embarked almost immediately on a campaign of take-backs. Within two years the wage gains were offset by price hikes. The shorter work week was similarly eroded by successive "modifications." Thousands of militants were sacked. Union membership, which had mushroomed from under a million to five million, declined to less than two million by 1939. The only significant lasting gain of the strike was the establishment of a paid holiday for the working class.

Danos and Gibelin carefully document the entire course of the struggle and sketch the debates in the French left which accompanied it. In drawing the lessons of the experience, the authors quote from a 1938 pamphlet produced by members of a white-collar union in the engineering industry:

The experience of the Popular Front in power confirmed that no government could carry out policies within the existing system which did not fit in with the vital interests of the industrial and financial oligarchies, which did not indeed safeguard those interests.(219)

Whether or not June 1936 could have culminated in a successful seizure of power by the French working class is, in the opinion of the authors, an open ques-

tion. They make a convincing case that the reason that the struggle remained entirely within the bounds of "the existing system" was the commitment of the existing leadership of the mass organizations of the class to the strategy of the popular front and the preservation of capitalist hegemony.

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David Hanley, *Keeping Left? Ceres and the French Socialist Party* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1986).

THIS BOOK IS, according to its sub-title, a contribution to the study of fractionalism in political parties. One would need to be a specialist in such matters to judge how far it meets that description, and this reviewer is not qualified to comment. Except, that is, to suggest that if this is the level of analytical sophistication at which such matters are habitually discussed, then it is not a very demanding occupation. As a contribution to the recent history of French Socialism, however, the book is informative within its self-imposed limits, but not much more.

Hanley's subject is CERES (the Centre d'études, de recherches, et d'éducation socialiste), a left-wing study-cum-pressure group formed within the old SFIO in the 1960s but best known for its role within the Parti Socialiste during its resurgence in the 1970s. It is one of a number of such groups (*tendances* is the official term) within the party, separated by ideological and tactical disagreements. Since the birth of the PS in 1971 these *tendances* have formed themselves around a variety of alliances in support of programmes and personalities, although always with a majority in support of the line pursued by the leadership, first of Mitterrand, latterly of Lionel Jospin. In some cases (for example, the group associated with the former prime minister Pierre Mauroy), they represent a holdover from a strand of the old SFIO, in others they support new persons and policies (as

in the case of the supporters of Michel Rocard). CERES was led and dominated by Jean-Pierre Chevènement, a clever technocrat from Belfort, and shared his desire for a renewal of French socialism along marxist but non-Communist lines, freed from the stain of compromise and opportunism associated with the reign of Guy Mollet in the fifties and sixties.

Beyond this, the rest is a matter of political intrigue, shifting alliances, doctrinal debates, and the political genius of Mitterrand, who kept the support of CERES during his rise to power without ever fully endorsing the left-wing platform they proposed. Hanley, however, makes it all both more complicated and less interesting than it might have been. He projects the fractional divisions of the PS back into the earlier history of French socialism, in order presumably to suggest something fundamental, or structurally endemic, about fractional division in French radical politics. This is silly. The French Socialist movement was always deeply divided (though not much more so than the Italian, or the British). But to build these divisions into the pre-history of modern "fractions" is unnecessary. The PS has the sort of divisions it does because it began life as an alliance, and could only be sustained through a constitution which allowed and even encouraged the existence of different opinions. The old SFIO deliberately discouraged such expression of differences, the better to present itself as a united party against the Radicals (before 1914) and the Communists (after 1920). To construct some sort of general thesis which incorporates all such divergences within the official umbrella movements of the socialist Left is to propose a theory of political parties to the effect that they are combinations of persons of different opinions. This is doubtless true, but hardly news.

What is peculiar about the internal divisions within the various movements of French Socialism is the role that has been played by ideology. Hanley grudgingly acknowledges this, admitting that

he has had to discuss ideology "more than we should have liked." This is another instance of silliness. CERES was all about ideology — indeed, it was about little else. Chevènement and his peers were of that generation (he was born in 1939) for whom the doctrinal language of socialism was of consuming importance; hence the willingness to support Mitterrand in return for his lip-service to their doctrinal preferences. In this respect CERES was in direct line of descent from Marceau Pivert, Marcel Déat, Jules Guesde and Jean Allemane, all of them at one time leaders of a 'fraction' and all supremely concerned with the primacy of socialist doctrine. If you are not willing to recognize and discuss the importance of ideology in intra-Socialist divisions in France (even if that ideology is frequently serving cynical political ends as well) then it might be advisable to study fractionalism in some less doctrinally-sensitive political culture.

I have written of CERES in the past tense. It still exists, of course, but its leader Chevènement is now busily cultivating the middle ground as a prelude to running for the leadership of his party and country alike. Not all of his *tendance* welcomes this development, but on the whole they reflect the sea-change in the French left, in their loss of programmatic confidence. Hanley, in a post-script, notes this change, but fails (understandably) to recognize that it constitutes further evidence against his approach, showing how the fractionalist configurations of the PS in the 1970s were the product of passing circumstances. They were also, it might be noted, the special achievement not only of Mitterrand but also of Chevènement himself, a decidedly opportunistic character who was once a student enthusiast for the hard Right and only switched to the SFIO when he came to see it as a bird ripe for fractionalist plucking. Between the significance of ideological configurations and the role of personality, Hanley's watered-down functionalist account seems unconvincing. It is also poorly constructed — no one who did not already know everything I have written in this review would make much sense of the material, which appears to as-

sume full familiarity on the part of the reader with all the players in the French political game. The student or general reader seeking to learn about the French Socialist movement in the 1970s should seek out the introductory book by David Bell and Byron Criddle (*The French Socialist Party*). It is hard to know to whom to recommend Mr. Hanley's study. Perhaps it will be of interest to students of Fractionalism, for whom its inadequacy as a study of Socialism in France will be a matter of unconcern.

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Barbara Franzoi, *At the Very Least She Pays the Rent: Women and German Industrialization, 1871-1914* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press 1986).

FAMILY AND INDIVIDUAL NEEDS. Barbara Franzoi tells us, were the chief reasons that women worked in turn-of-the-century imperial Germany. There were many poorly-paid jobs for women because employers in some industries were cutting costs by keeping wages low and avoiding any long-term commitment to their workers. Under these unpromising conditions, Franzoi nevertheless insists that "women interact[ing] with paid labor asserted a certain measure of control in manipulating work choices to fit the circumstances of their lives." (12) Further, she adds, "Tracing their participation in the labor force indicates that women had more success in modifying their work options than in altering their family responsibilities." (13)

Franzoi's study is a serious contribution to women's history that illuminates a little-known case. Its argument, however, is sometimes forced, sometimes unclear or even contradictory. Her evidence (based entirely upon published sources), gathered as it is on a national basis, and dependent on the interests and questions of investigators of the period, frequently is inadequate for the ends to which Franzoi puts it. Nevertheless, a depressing pic-

ture of poor women's work in Germany emerges, embodied strikingly in the evocative photographs which illustrate the study.

The methodological discussion in Chapter I makes a strong case that although married women's work in industry increased, there was no proportionate increase in *factory* labour, as contemporaries believed. Rather, it was women's employment in home-based industry that increased. Franzoi's regional and industrial comparisons are helpful, but this discussion cries out for maps and more geographic context. Franzoi here expands her argument about the fit between certain industries' strategy of hiring women because of new technologies and efforts to cut costs in a highly competitive economy, and (married) women's needs for jobs they could handle along with household responsibilities. It is difficult, if not impossible, to untangle the effects of supply and demand here. However, Franzoi's evidence shows not (as she believes) whether women went to work because of need or opportunity, but why the occupational distribution of married women changed over the period. An industrial restructuring that increased the proportionate importance of heavy industry as compared to textiles, and the growth of several consumer industries (clothing and tobacco) lay behind this change. The textile industry concentrated in factories and home production virtually disappeared. Growth in the tobacco and clothing industries was the outcome of investment decisions by entrepreneurs who took account of newly available women's labour and organized their production accordingly. Franzoi is correct that from women's point of view, these jobs represented continuity in their work experience, but the jobs did not appear simply because women wanted them. Jobs were created by employers who saw women as desirable cheap workers in the newly reorganized and rapidly growing clothing and tobacco industries.

Franzoi's data on wages, skills, and mobility show some remarkably large

wage differentials. Under these circumstances, wages did not even cover women workers' reproduction; such wages were not incentives to work but stopgaps to starvation. Because of the highly skewed distribution of men and women workers across industries, however, it is difficult to interpret wage differentials between industries.

Despite her generally perceptive interpretation, Franzoi sometimes misses the point, as in this sentence: "Why were women workers reluctant to pursue a better wage through better job preparation?" This reduction of the problem to one of individual choice or rational decision makes no sense, given her own evidence. Surely she exaggerates when she concludes, "The significant point is that women workers did have the opportunity to choose, and the pattern of their work experience proved that they exercised that option. Job changes were frequent; industry changes were not unusual." (52-53) Her evidence: several biographies showing mobility indeed — for example, from wallpaper factory to domestic service to newspaper delivery to a print shop and back at last to a wallpaper factory. She gives no evidence about the reasons for job changing; it could as well be lay offs as choice. Further, a choice that means walking out when conditions are intolerable is not much of a choice.

As elsewhere in Europe, Franzoi shows that protective legislation often meant that women worked in unregulated industries, those that sought cheap labour. Her examination of the relationships between work and family elaborates on the argument that as daughters and as wives, German women most often worked in response to family need. Their family responsibilities both determined when women worked over their life cycle, but also in what kind of jobs. In this way, women made a vital contribution to their family economies even though they earned little claim on the distribution of family resources by so doing. A look at home work leads Franzoi to conclude that despite its real drawbacks — such as poor

pay and the encumbering of family living space with work materials and tools — “it was an acceptable way for women to integrate work and family.”(140)

Franzoi concludes with an examination of Socialist and Christian labour organizations and women. She finds that Socialist unions were committed to male dominance; despite their “egalitarian principles, [they] could not move very far beyond a traditional definition of women as properly wives, mothers and economic helpmates.”(158) Even feminist activists “insisted on equal opportunity not because women were equal, but because they were complementary to men.”(150) Women Socialists and unionists were not successful in reaching women workers partly, according to Franzoi, because they were too abstract in their arguments, but also, she believes, because they were contemptuous of ordinary women. The Christian labour leaders were more successful, but at some cost. They preached not simple submission but the mutual interests of workers and employers. Such a message surely had little impact on the cost-conscious companies that sought women workers because they did not have to pay them a living wage. Franzoi shows that the Christian unions offered social support services and spiritual comfort to working women. Hence, despite the anti-women’s-work ideology of the religious unions, women joined them, she concludes, “to somehow combine the contradictions of ideology and reality.”(174)

This book’s shortcomings are partly a consequence of its sources, both highly aggregated and relatively nonspecified. Franzoi could have gained insights, I believe, by comparing the extremes — any group of women workers that may have had more leverage in the labour market, that perhaps organized collectively more often, or even earned a stronger position in their families. In England, Lancashire textile workers, and in France, tobacco workers, were such cases. Examining such special cases could suggest the conditions under which women, even though restricted to segregated jobs, might have either more autonomy or better wages. Certainly Franzoi’s insistence on choice, when it results in neither better wages or

conditions, is not very persuasive.

In its demonstration of the relationship of changes in women’s work patterns and industrial restructuring, this study joins an important new interpretation laid out by Charles Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin in “Historical Alternatives to Mass Production: Politics, Markets and Technology in Nineteenth-Century Industrialization” (*Past and Present*, 108, 1985). It contributes thus both to women’s history and to an emerging revision of the history of industrial capitalism.

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Rudy Koshar, *Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism: Marburg, 1880-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1986).

THE GREAT CRIMES OF HISTORY, no less than those of detective fiction, require motive, opportunity, and a *modus operandi*. Scholars are now in little doubt about the demented hatreds that inspired Hitler to unleash terror, devastation, and genocide on Germany and the world. By contrast, the long-term evolution of German society and politics that produced the potentiality of a fascist dictatorship continues to attract contentious debate. In this breathtakingly ambitious book, Rudy Koshar indicates that one might begin to solve this mystery by emphasizing “opportunity and capacity to mobilize” as crucial determinants of the Nazis’ success: “We need to know more about the mechanics of local protest in Germany — about what mobilization required — before we can develop a more deeply textured explanation for why mobilization occurred in the first place.”(274) It is on the trail of this explanation that Koshar leads his enchanted readers — figuratively and literally — through the historic back alleys of what at first appears to be a typically sleepy town in Hesse.

Why Marburg? It does not take the author long to convince his readers that “Marburg was peculiar, but it was not an

island.”(19) With a population that numbered only 28,439 in the early 1930s, Marburg provided Koshar with a locality which was neither so small that its politics lacked the complexity of larger urban centres, nor so immense that its organizational life defied reconstruction. Koshar deftly avoids the mistake of claiming that Marburg was entirely typical of the middle-sized German cities of the day. In fact the city’s lack of heavy industry forces the author to concede on a number of occasions that the conflicts between Communism, Social Democracy, and Nazism can best be explored elsewhere. Marburg’s dependence on retail trade and governmental business was unusually heavy, further skewing the material concerns, social contacts, and political sympathies of its citizens. And its reliance on the university made Marburg much more politically volatile than most other university towns (68 per cent of Marburg’s Nazi members in 1930 were students). Yet as a vehicle to explore Protestant bourgeois organizational life, one can hardly conceive of a more suitable locality than Marburg. For here a “medieval and village-like impression” belied the existence of a wide array of voluntary associations (*Vereine*), including professional and occupational groups; veterans’ clubs; women’s clubs, gymnastics, sharpshooting, and other sports clubs; song clubs; and fraternities and other student organizations. In 1913 one voluntary organization existed for every 99 citizens of Marburg.

Koshar uses the tools most appropriate to the detective tale he is telling; he even supplies an appendix on sources to reveal all in a final summing-up. But this is much more than another lesson in investigative detail, for one avowed purpose of this book is to move beyond the question, “Who Voted for Hitler?” Koshar’s broadly Gramscian perspective allows him to integrate his themes of political mobilization, hegemony, and the relationship between the “seemingly unpolitical institutions” of civil society and the changing political systems in which

they existed. His long chronological scope permits him “to reconsider relationships between prior traditions and the rise of nazism” yielding the important conclusion that the socio-political functions performed by the old Imperial elites and those of the Weimar and Nazi eras were fundamentally different.(10) Most important of all, his snapshots of Marburg’s teeming social world at crucial points in its history capture the features of the German *Vereinsmensch* (organizational man) in hitherto unknown detail. From address books and club registers, police reports and personal interviews, *Verein* newsletters and Nazi *Festschriften*, Koshar has built his case with great care. His “conservative approach” regarding the compilation of data makes his study eminently reliable, even though (or because) he analysed his findings without transferring the information to computer records. As Koshar comments with self-effacing understatement rarely found among master sleuths, “my more artisanal approach to the data gave me a good sense of the texture of social networks.”(288)

Koshar’s exhaustive investigation of the social and political affiliations of Marburg’s citizenry and his style of argumentation demand an unusually close reading. (There is little chance that this book will supplant William Sheridan Allen’s more lively treatment of Northeim on undergraduate booklists). At times such a reading is made more difficult by the over-abundance of vague terms like “social resiliency,” “shared social life,” “disengagement,” and even the verb “to hegemonize.”(101) One term in particular — “apoliticism” — must be located precisely within the context of Koshar’s analysis. Apoliticism does not connote an “unpolitical” stance but, quite the contrary, went hand in hand with *increasing* politicization of the populace. “Apoliticism — expressed in personalistic traditions of local politics, in an unspoken and commonsensical distaste for mass parties, or in attempts to devise local alternatives to national parties — rationalized and gave meaning” to the Marburg

Bürgertum.(90) According to Koshar, apolitical attitudes had been brewing since the nineteenth century but became a poison only in the 1920s, when increased opportunities for social organization arose. (This was also the time when the organizing talents of the Socialists in Marburg most obviously showed themselves inferior to those of their bourgeois counterparts). However, one thing that must be understood from the outset — and here Koshar unfortunately leaves room for confusion — is that apoliticism benefitted anti-democratic, anti-Socialist, and anti-liberal tendencies throughout the period covered in this book. In particular, plans for the “unification of all patriotic forces without regard for their party political stance” pre-date the admittedly novel German Fatherland Party in 1917; if such language was indeed “an ideological toggle switch fostering popular enthusiasms for national solidarity,” (146) surely Bismarck and a host of nationalist demagogues had left their fingerprints on that switch long before 1900. Because Koshar tends to forget the potency of pre-1914 calls for anti-Socialist solidarity and the national *Volk* community, he comes rather suddenly to the same conclusion reached by a Marburg history student in 1920, that an apolitical interest in “peace and order” might entail shooting Spartacists.(152)

Koshar is more original and his analysis more assured when he turns to the immediate origins of Nazism in small-town Germany. Most academic visitors to this unfamiliar world have supposed that NSDAP members in the 1920s were simply the alienated youth of the post-war era, socially adrift and unencumbered by earlier political traditions. Koshar does not deny the revolutionary tactics that made Nazi mobilization so successful. But he also shows that, at least in Marburg, “the early NSDAP was a mix of paramilitary league and *Stammtisch* rather than a political party,” (181) that is, that it more easily exploited existing social matrices and drew upon older strains of anti-party sentiment than has commonly been believed. The author’s conclusion is that early Nazis “were hardly unable to adjust to the conventions of bourgeois society, as

some contemporaries and later historians theorized.” Moreover, far from painting the usual scenario of fanatic Nazi party members burrowing their way into local associations as part of a carefully thought-out conspiracy against the Weimar Republic, the author asserts that, individually, party members were well integrated into bourgeois organizational life before the NSDAP’s electoral breakthrough in 1930. These were the “Nazi joiners,” men and women who were affiliated with non-Nazi groups before the NSDAP became a mass movement. It is not necessary to follow up all the tantalizing leads provided in Koshar’s tables depicting the cross-affiliations of these “unauthorized facilitators of German fascism” — these “opinion makers, string pullers, and culture brokers” — to see that they helped create “a coalition between activists and joiners” which provided for successful political mobilization of the masses.(283-4)

Ironically, the Nazis never succeeded in creating a genuine sense of community after Hitler’s seizure of power in 1933. Once in control, the NSDAP was essentially “selling an entertainment package to its members, just as social *Vereine* had done since the late nineteenth century. This fell far short of educating adherents in a deep or lasting manner.”(208) It was left to post-war Germans to re-examine the mysteries of organizational life in a democratic setting. It was they, far more than any visitor to Marburg, who were strangers in a strange land.

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Allan Merson, *Communist Resistance in Nazi Germany* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985).

WHEREAS IN THE WEST, with a few notable exceptions, works on the German resistance to Nazism have concentrated on the efforts of conservatives, the military and churchmen, in the GDR a mass of material has appeared on virtually every aspect of

the Communist resistance. Allan Merson has made an admirable summary of this work, and presents the current party line in a moderately digestible form. The tale he has to tell is a profoundly depressing saga of political blindness, needless sacrifice, and betrayed idealism made all the more disheartening by the author's dogged efforts to excuse the inexcusable and salvage whatever possible from the German communists' follies.

During the war the German resistance was something of a nuisance to the allies. The existence of "good Germans," whether of the left or the right, was likely to make the task of imposing terms on a defeated country more complicated. For this reason the British government were rather relieved to see Hitler slaughter those who were directly or indirectly involved in the plot on his life on 20 July 1944. The Soviets similarly shed no tears for their German comrades who died by the thousands at the hands of their ruthless prosecutors. Nor did they lift a hand to save the KPD's leader, Ernst Thälmann, a man so awful that even our devout author has to confess that his place in history is still a matter of some dispute. Once the Cold War got going all this had to change. In the GDR the Communist resistance was put on display as the firm anti-fascist foundation of the new state. In the Federal Republic the non-communist resistance was seen as part of a democratic and anti-totalitarian tradition to which Bonn was the proud heir. This book is intended to provide further evidence for the purity of the pedigree of the East German regime, and fails as any such enterprise is bound to do. But as a short account of the Communist resistance it is interesting and valuable.

The basis of all the mistakes made by the KPD was the total inability of communists to understand the nature of fascism and how it should be combated. In the Comintern's crude world view there were only two possible options: either proletarian revolution or fascism. Since social democrats opposed the idea of a communist controlled revolution they

were "social fascists." The dogma of social fascism was mind-bogglingly crude and politically disastrous, although Allan Merson stoutly maintains that "there was more than a grain of truth to it," suggesting that some Social Democratic leaders tried to deal with Hitler in 1933 while remaining curiously reluctant to name names. Even after Hitler came to power the communists clung to this absurd notion with criminal perversity, even claiming that the SPD was the "chief social support of bourgeois rule." Whilst the SPD was destroyed, and many members were forced into exile or rotted in concentration camps, the KPD and the Comintern still insisted that they were the principal support of German fascism.

Along with the social fascism theory the Communists managed to convince themselves that fascism was the death agony of the capitalist beast and that social revolution was nigh. Nazism could thus be welcomed as exposing the true nature of social democracy and as heralding the Red Dawn. The SPD turned sharply left in 1933 and approached the KPD to discuss the possibilities of common action against National Socialism, but the KPD demanded that the SPD should make a humiliating confession of their many errors before any hands were shaken. The SPD understandably refused, and the Communists continued to harbour the illusion that they would be able to build up a mass movement capable of overthrowing the Nazi regime.

In the first months of the Third Reich the KPD produced vast amounts of literature at great personal risk and in increasingly difficult circumstances. But none of this material had the slightest effect since it called for a communist revolution in Germany, the last thing that anyone wanted. Great was the sigh of relief when Hitler announced in 1934 that there would be no more revolutions in Germany for one thousand years. Our author desperately tries to defend this policy, but has to fall back on the rather lame argument that other parties did not do much better.

Gradually the Comintern dropped its

ultra left line and began to suggest a popular front against fascism. It was all too little and much too late. By the time that the popular front line was finally adopted at the Seventh Congress in 1935 the leadership of the KPD was in Moscow, out of touch with the rank and file in Germany who continued in their bad old ways, earning stern reprimands from the ECCI for their sectarianism. That the party was out of touch with the leadership was, at least in the short run, a good thing. That there was any opposition at all to the Nazis from the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in 1939 to the launching of Operation Barbarossa in June 1941 was due to the fact that the German Communists were blissfully ignorant of the extent of the pro-Nazi efforts to the Soviets. This shameful episode is excused by trotting out the shop worn argument that "the western powers tried to steer Hitler eastwards" — a convenient myth, but one for which there is not a shred of evidence. But there is a hint that all was not quite well when this sordid period is coyly summed up by talking of the "ambiguities of the early war years."

The ambiguities continued after June 1941. In Germany the communists refused to go along with the rightist line adopted by the Comintern and later by the National Committee for a Free Germany (NKFD). They wanted to replace the Nazi dictatorship with the dictatorship of the proletariat, and did not wish to put up with an intermediate period of popular front government. Thousands of these party activists were rounded up by the Gestapo after the attempt on Hitler's life in July 1944 and in August that year Thälmann was murdered. This made the task of imposing the Moscow line on the East German Communists all the easier. Those who did not toe the line were denounced as sectarians and petty bourgeois egalitarians and were rewarded for their years of anti-fascist activity with the dubious hospitality of Soviet and East German jails. The brutal imposition of a Moscow-style communist dictatorship in the Soviet occupation zone is described as an act of self defence when the "Western Powers divided Germany and drove the Communists out of state governments in the Western zones." This forced the Soviets to

"an accelerated movement towards socialism."

"Resistance" is a strong and active word and it is very dubious whether much of what is described in this book is worthy of the title. Handing out leaflets, painting graffiti, and attending clandestine meetings is dissent, possibly opposition, but hardly resistance. Curiously enough those who were most effective are hardly mentioned. Harro Schulze-Boysen, Arvid Harnack, and the Red Orchestra are treated as peripheral figures. The totally preposterous suggestion is made that "many Western writers" (none are of course mentioned) suggest that the Red Orchestra was "uniquely treasonable or unpatriotic." Such extraordinary statements are presumably designed to avoid the embarrassing question of what happened to the members of the Red Orchestra who were fortunate enough to survive. They too ended up in the Gulag along with the anti-fascist Soviet prisoners of war who bravely did what pitifully little they could do to topple the Third Reich.

The German Communists organized and against enormous odds remained politically active throughout the Third Reich. Their political vision was warped and myopic but they clung to it courageously. In the concentration camps their organizational strengths and their firm beliefs enabled them to help many unfortunates survive. For this they deserve to be remembered in gratitude. Far from becoming the founding fathers of the German Democratic Republic as this book would have us believe, many of them were profoundly alienated from the version of socialism that was served up to them at the point of Soviet bayonets and joined in the "attempted fascist rebellion" against the Ulbricht regime in June 1953. Party history is of course not concerned with such "subjective" truths nor with the immensity of these human tragedies, but Allan Merson is a good enough historian to allow the facts he presents to contradict his thesis and to sound distinctly embarrassed when repeating some of the more

inane assertions the party line demands. For this reason the story he has to tell is often inspiring, but more often profoundly depressing.

Martin Kitchen
Simon Fraser University

Andrei S. Markovits, *The Politics of the West German Trade Unions: Strategies of Class and Interest Representation in Growth and Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1986).

SINCE ITS INCEPTION in the early 1950s, the West German economic "miracle" has continued virtually unabated. It is generally acknowledged that among the various factors contributing to this development, the peculiar nature of German labour relations has played an essential role. In contrast to the political and strictly economic spheres, however, for which comprehensive and good treatments abound, the field of industrial relations has as yet witnessed relatively few attempts at achieving an adequate synthesis. The book of Andrei S. Markovits, who teaches political science at Boston University, constitutes an effort in this direction. As stated in the introduction, the goal is even somewhat more ambitious, namely to demonstrate that "without a strong, organized labor movement the Federal Republic would not only be a much less prosperous country ... but — more significantly — it would not boast one of the most stable democratic policies in the world." It does not really detract from the author's merits if one finds that this link between labour strength and prosperity/stability does not appear to be fully established in the text, and be it only because there were simply not enough pages available for the purpose. What the book does give, however, is a detailed picture of the West German labour relations scene and its major political ramifications from the end of World War II to the early 1980s.

Even within these more limited confines the task is a formidable one. While

to the outside observer the (nearly) all-embracing German Trade Union Federation (DGB) may appear to be the obvious subject of investigation, the fact that many of the political and most of the economic trade union activities in West Germany occur on the level of the particular 17 unions makes an overall treatment well-nigh impossible. Markovits has solved the dilemma by dealing with the DGB and general developments on about 150 pages and dedicating the remaining two thirds of the text to four specific unions. His selections are fortunate. The metalworkers' union was the most obvious choice. Not only do its more than two-and-a-half million members render it the largest labour union in the non-communist world, but its powerful wage policies, its leading role in the formulation of new concepts regarding collective bargaining issues, and the intensity of its political involvement warrant its universal recognition as the first among equals within the DGB. Not its match numberwise, but similarly pushy and, furthermore, fully aware of its "aristocratic" status as the oldest (since 1865) German trade federation, the printers' union rightly also deserves attention as one of the "activist" aggressively reform-minded unions. To illustrate the "accommodationist" or right-wing orientation, Markovits presents the chemical workers and the construction workers. While the former's union is remarkable because of the shift in political outlook and direction from left to right which it underwent over the decades, it is the latter's leadership in the search for "social partnership," partially conceived as a means to overcome the handicap of a weak organization making a more confrontational stance impossible, which qualifies it for exemplary treatment.

The non-specialist's main interest, however, will be attracted by the more general first part of the work, which offers a fairly detailed overview of the history of industrial relations from the imperial period onwards, with primary emphasis on the time since 1945. The author aptly

explores the wide range of organizational and political problems that collective labour action confronted. Among the questions which arose over the decades, some of them with existential urgency, were those of whether to organize along political lines or to represent employees in a non-partisan, "unitary" way; whether to centralize bargaining action or to decentralize it according to more syndicalist models; and how to find a useful demarcation between industry level and company/plant level negotiations. Markovits examines the different factors that led to the settlement of these questions, basing his analysis on a wealth of primary documents found in German archives and labour publications, as well as on a wide range of secondary material. What emerges is a variegated and palpable picture of the interaction between the unions and the institutional structures and environmental conditions that constitute the West German political economy.

The book does a good job in outlining the justification for and consequences of the various guidelines that informed German unionism after World War II. Of the main principles the most significant was certainly that of unitarianism, that is the creation of one single organization encompassing the entire labour scene. (In 1980 the DGB comprised over 83 per cent of all unionized workers.) But of almost equal importance for the relatively scarce occurrence of work stoppages due to labour strife was the adoption of industrial unionism, meaning that all organized workers in a given plant, regardless of their various occupations, have to belong to the same union. A federal structure leaving considerable autonomy to individual unions granted the necessary leeway for the pursuit of specific goals. Common to all unions, however, was and still is a generally strong reliance on legal guarantees to protect the interests of their members through reform legislation, labour courts, and other agencies of state power. Moreover, labour shares with the employer the conviction that settlements concerning wages and working conditions are exclusively the domain of the "social partners," keeping government out of direct involvement.

Markovits, of course, cannot claim to be the first to formulate these insights. He has to be commended, though, not only for presenting them in a lucid manner free of narrow doctrinarism, but also for showing that these principles never did and do not now constitute a solid institutional structure. They rather provide the framework within which the quasi-corporatist arrangements have developed which are characteristic of the West German labour context. While not a historical work in the exact sense of the word, this book is certainly the most informative treatment of its subject presently available in English to the historically interested reader.

Udo Sautter
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Richard Stourac and Kathleen McCreery, *Theatre as a Weapon: Workers' Theatre in the Soviet Union, Germany and Britain 1917-1934* (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1986).

THIS VOLUME IS A WELCOME ADDITION to the spate of recently-published books on Workers' Theatre in Canada, Britain, and the United States. Carefully researched and keenly argued, it sets out "to mend the broken tradition" in workers' theatre by offering meticulously detailed information and a wealth of photographs about the large and immensely popular theatrical movements that existed in the 1920s and 1930s. Meant to inform contemporary groups currently performing plays for working-class audiences, the book asks the big questions about aesthetics and with special skill focuses the discussion on the social-political context of the work under discussion. Not only do the authors provide an invaluable history of the three movements, from the living newspapers of the Blue Blouse to the complex montages of the Red Megaphone, they concentrate on those theatrical methods that contributed to the formation of class and revolutionary consciousness. For they encourage readers of

their book interested in politics to examine the role of art and culture in shaping consciousness.

Making use of a variety of largely unpublished sources, the book traces the political and theatrical evolution of the workers' theatres in the three countries, pointing out that in each case the groups developed as a consequence of a political event, in Russia the Revolution, in Germany the defeated November Revolution, and in Britain the defeat of the General Strike. In their view, the critical issue quickly became the relationship of the workers' theatres to the revolutionary party itself. For it was the party's assessment of the political situation which the theatre group had to dramatize. The party also determined which audiences were targeted and in what context the performances took place, the preparation and follow up, not to mention the party's attitude about the efficacy of cultural activity and cultural heritage in any form. In all of the countries the relationship was a problematic one, and the authors place much of the blame on the Communist Party for the actual demise of the workers' theatre. While they are quick to say that theirs is not an argument for keeping political theatre separate from revolutionary organizations, they are concerned that a Marxist aesthetic, cultural, and ideological theory be developed to assess the importance and implications of the agitprop from itself, thus giving the political theatre a more satisfactory theoretical base. Such a theory would enable the political organizations to provide more effective support of their groups, and it would also help the grounds hold on to their artistic *and* political objectives. For without the artistic achievement, the authors insist, political theatre is negligible or even negative, and here is where Stourac and McCreery feel the workers' theatre of their era failed. Inability to move away from strictly agitational forms and to develop viable "political forms for political content" doomed workers' theatre to mindless theatrical repetition. Only in Germany were dramatic struc-

tures developed to make possible a more complex portrayal of a subject, a necessary step if the audience were to be "educated" not just haranged.

In the Soviet Union the Blue Blouse had garnered broad-based support throughout the country without ever becoming the agitprop arm of the Party. In fact, the government's financial support for the State Theatres used up most of the resources allocated for the theatre, leaving the Blue Blouse and the theatrical left to struggle in a hostile environment not unlike the capitalist societies. While the government encouraged the transition from agitational form to a more sophisticated form of propaganda, the workers' theatres were slow to comply even though they agreed a transition was needed. The authors contend that the Party's hostility to experimentation virtually put an end to the search for unconventional forms, a proclivity which ultimately expressed itself in the codification of Social Realism.

In Germany and Britain the prolonged use of agitational forms was the result, at least initially, of the firmly-held belief in the early collapse of capitalism. In both countries the groups were content to perform for Party audiences and sympathizers which hardly encouraged the groups to hone their theatrical tools. During the Popular Front years when the Party finally changed its cultural course, their approach is deemed, by the authors, as superficial. As a consequence, in both the USSR and in Britain most agitprop groups seldom got beyond agitational reviews based on simple juxtaposition, although no one seems to deny the spectacular qualities of the Blue Blouse, which owed a considerable debt to Meyerhold. But for the groups in Russia and Britain to go beyond a reflection of the class struggle and produce a play dramatizing a complex political argument, they required a new dramatic form, one that would educate the audience enjoyably, help them to think dialectically, and give them the intellectual tools which they could apply to other subjects, a tall order which required a playwright. But

these are the objective goals the authors set for these companies.

In Germany it was Piscator who did provide the new theatrical models and techniques. From his work with the Dadaist movement he was able to explore and develop his conception of a theatrical montage. While he went on to attain even greater flexibility with the form using slides and film, these complex montages required theatrical machinery and were not suitable for the mobile troupes like the Red Megaphone and Performance Troupe South-West, which worked cooperatively with a playwright who was accountable to them. This kind of working arrangement meant that specific policies could be addressed, as well as the economic, political, and ideological sources of Fascism.

While clearly not all groups, even in Germany, were able to reach a sophisticated level of achievement in the propagandistic montage, one respects the authors for holding up this standard as a necessary stage in the political and theatrical development of the workers' movement. But one must also be allowed to revel in the unmatched luxury of having information about these groups sketched out and illustrated in such detail in this volume. The descriptions of the workers' troupes in the body of the work and the supplementary information in the appendices make this volume an incomparable reference tool, a valuable treatise on dramatic form, and an all-too-brief glimpse at a remarkably rich vein of theatrical heritage which transcends national boundaries.

Lorraine A. Brown
George Mason University

Catherine LeGrand, *Frontier Expansion and Peasant Protest in Columbia* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1986).

Leon Zamosc, *The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Columbia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press and United Nations Research Institute for Social Development 1986).

ACCUMULATE! REFORM! REPRESS!

Life is cheap in Columbia. Twenty dollars (U.S., of course) buys a hit. According to recent reports, over 11,000 Columbians were assassinated last year "making murder the number one cause of death for males between the ages of 15 and 44." Most of these killings were carried out by members of Columbia's 137 paramilitary groups, 376 private security companies, and the un-numbered factions of professional killers, kidnappers, and drug runners. Many were carried out with some form of government complicity.

Neither the scale nor the viciousness of today's violence in Columbia are new. At least twice before — first in the Columbian "War of a Thousand Days" at the end of the last century and more recently during the "Violencia" of the late 1940s and 50s — Columbian society has entered into a vortex of anarchic violence. The complexity of these social explosions into which were blended class warfare, murderous political factionalism, opportunistic aggrandizement, and the settling of personal feuds had daunted the attempts of historians and social scientists to provide an explanation of either their brutality or meaning.

In fairness to the authors of the two books under review, it must be stated that neither takes the explanation of these episodic horrors of Columbia society as its main concern. Indeed, both authors concentrate on issues and periods which are for the most part located between these periodic explosions. Yet, it is clear that for both LeGrand and Zamosc the problems posed by the cataclysmic outbreaks of Columbia violence are never far removed.

LeGrand's study is first and foremost a work of historical revision based on a major new source for the study of Columbia history, the Public Land Correspondence of the Columbia National Archive. In place of an earlier uncritical history which portrayed settlement of the Columbian frontier as Horatio Alger gone Latin, LeGrand shows how a nascent Columbian capitalist class manipulated both land law and land hunger to assist in the process of

primary accumulation in the context of an export-oriented agricultural boom.

A two-fold problem confronted Columbia's would-be agrarian capitalists in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Although open land was in abundance on the Colombian frontier, such land was quite literally valueless in the absence of labour to both tame and work it. Labour, primarily in the form of freed slaves and other remnants of the break-up of Hispanic colonialism, had to be brought to the land. The strategy adopted was one which seemingly offered, under a series of laws passed in the 1870s and 80s, clear title to anyone who colonized the land frontier. I say "seemingly" because as LeGrand forcefully argues, few who settled the new land were ever able to gain such a title. Nor, in the eyes of land speculators and would-be planters, were they ever intended to do so.

The promise of land in the context of a state which vacillated between the short-term demands of intendant agrarian accumulators and a longer-term strategy of peasant-based export growth set the stage for a long confrontation between peasant "colonos" and agrarian capitalists which would shape Colombian history throughout the twentieth century. Rather than the simple tale of peasants making good, LeGrand demonstrates how the conflict over land was linked to changes occurring elsewhere in the Colombian economy. In particular, she shows how in the context of the mid-1930s rise of policies directed toward industrial import substitution, the state finally attempted to move decisively to confirm the rights of big agrarian capital and how, far from quelling agrarian unrest, this action precipitated a continuation and renewal of such conflict.

Once brought to the frontier for the purposes of valorization, rural small-holders resisted all attempts at appropriation by Columbia's capitalist class. However, as LeGrand shows, they did so in ways which were congruent not with any simply theorized schema of self-conscious class action, but with a myriad set

of personal strategies of accumulation which involved them as individuals in complicated cross-class political alliances and antagonisms. These in turn both meshed and clashed with an increasingly elaborate number of paths to capitalist accumulation in Columbia as the import substitution economy came to overlay the earlier export-oriented agrarian regime.

Although LeGrand eschews any direct confrontation with the cataclysm of the "Violencia," she does provide the beginnings of a basis for its comprehension. To put matters schematically, the "Violencia" constitutes a period in which intra-ruling class divisions under pressure from below exploded into a period of simultaneous civil and class warfare, the great duration of which reflected, in turn, the inability of any combination of ruling or subordinate class elements to gain a decisive advantage.

Although its focus is more precisely the period from 1967 to 1981, Leon Zamosc's study commences with the end of the "Violencia," an end which was only achieved via an agreement among Columbia's rulers which attempted to abolish politics *per se* through a rotation of office-holding between Columbia's two principal ruling-class parties. A crucial element in this attempt to re-establish ruling-class hegemony was the need to re-assert dominance over Columbia's rural small-holders through a policy of programmatic rural development. Development, as Zamosc tell us, was not merely an attempt to "buy off" rural discontent but reflected a further shift in Colombian capitalism's evolution. For by the 1960s, import substitution had begun to reach its limits and was beginning to give way to the growing dominance of an export-oriented manufacturing strategy. In this context the new policy of rural development, itself a part of the larger "Alliance for Progress" strategy, was designed to meet the twin goals of providing cheap wage goods — in particular food — and splitting rural small holders from any potentially broad based "worker/peasant" alliance.

As Zamosc details, by providing incentives to small holder assertion and accumulation it directly challenged elements of the rural latifundocracy and thus reawakened intra-ruling class political antagonisms which had been papered over by the post-Violencia settlement. More importantly, this development from above generated a renewed reassertion of small-holder land rights from below through the mechanism of the state-created National Peasants' Association (ANUC). Rather than being the simple tool of government strategy, ANUC itself became contested terrain in the 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, as the industrial export strategy matured the goal of breaking urban union power through migration into the cities began to conflict with the small-holder based development. This latter conflict, along with the general threat to property inherent in ANUC-led land invasions of rural capitalist holdings prompted a closer alliance between rural and urban ruling-class elements.

The threat of the government sponsored "green revolution" turning "red" prompted a new policy of agrarian counter reform reminiscent of that of the 1930s. Central to this policy of reform was the attempt to reassert state control over ANUC. This reassertion of state power strengthened the tendency of the "peasants'" movement to fracture along both political lines as well as along other faults created by the various strategies of small-holder accumulation. This fracturing was in turn accelerated by the growing presence of various, originally urban, leftist parties and tendencies. Zamosc deals harshly with these groups and at times comes close to arguing that they were the central element in the demise, by 1981, of ANUC as a force for peasant resistance. However, it is clear that a number of these groups were clearly attempting to build the broad based worker/peasant alliance which the Columbian ruling classes feared.

The failure of the Columbian left to build a movement that unites the rural and urban working classes is itself a reflection of an intellectual failure to create an analysis of Columbian society which is capable of uniting city and country. It is, in turn the failure of the authors whose two works are under

review to address this question which is the greatest charge which can be leveled against their otherwise admirable studies. Capital's demand for an ever more mobile work-force alone has made a specifically "rural" history increasingly problematic. The recognition by writers such as Gavin Smith and Mike Cowen on class formation in Peru and Kenya that the life histories and personal strategies of accumulation of those at the bottom transcend urbanity and rurality has made it untenable. As Columbia hurtles into a new round of social barbarism the need for scholarship which makes sense of Columbia society as a whole becomes increasingly more desperate. It is to the task of creating such a scholarship that LeGrand and Zamosc must now turn.

Bob Shenton
Toronto

Alan Gilbert and Peter M. Ward, *Housing, the State and the Poor: Policy and Practice in Three Latin American Cities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985).

IN THE THREE MAJOR LATIN AMERICAN cities of Bogotá, Mexico City, and Valencia, access to land, the quality of housing services and the degree of local community control can only be understood as issues of economic and political power. This, in a nutshell, is the argument developed in this study.

In a detailed, carefully constructed narrative, the authors demonstrate the powerful, co-optive function of the capitalist state in each of these case studies. Three major cities in the largest of Latin America's non-military states (at the time of research) were selected for the purpose of a survey-based comparative analysis. Relying primarily on the method of face-to-face household interviews the survey, conducted between 1978 and 1980, "was designed to provide information about the origins, socio-economic characteristics, political attitudes and housing responses of low-income populations in each city." (23)

Breaking down the findings into three sections — land, servicing and community organization — for each city and under each category, the conclusions the researchers drew were essentially the same. No amount of state intervention, state planning, or state support for working-class and peasant residents was provided unless a) it was so compelled as a result of struggle from below, and b) in the long run it served a co-opting function designed to prevent further struggle.

Take the example of access to land. In the majority of cases in Bogotá, Mexico City, and Valencia, the poor can only acquire land through illegal means. In Bogotá, land invasions *per se* are unusual, though this is not so in all Colombian cities. Instead, lands fringing on the city are illegally subdivided into small plots by maverick petty capitalists and sold cheaply to local residents. It is estimated that 59 per cent of the population of Bogotá have acquired lands in this manner. In Mexico City, squatting is the most common means for the poor to obtain land, both through gradual occupations and rapid, organized invasion. Some 30 per cent of low income housing has been secured through squatting. And in Valencia, it is estimated that about 45 per cent of the city's land has been invaded by organized movements of the homeless. These in themselves are interesting facts, but the more notable one is the widespread inability of the local authorities to enforce the law against these illegal forms of land holding.

The specific reasons for the inability of each local section of the state and ruling class to move against land piracy, squatting, and invasion is analysed in detail by Gilbert and Ward. Corporate profit, local corruption, patronage, and, most importantly, the relative strength and organization of the local occupying forces, combine in various ways to mitigate against state control. But the state ultimately gains by turning a blind eye. Promises of residential votes, campaigns of local leaders to secure political favour, and chronically poor housing ser-

vices are included in the price to be paid for state tolerance.

Where then does all this lead? Gilbert and Ward claim to be concerned to place their findings in a much wider context of social, economic, and political relations, not only on a community and national scale, but an international one. To do this requires some theoretical dexterity, and it is here that this study falls tragically flat. The authors follow in the marxist tradition which sees the state as "an outcome of the class structure of society and of the role that the society performs in the international division of labour."⁽³⁾ However, they shy away from an explicitly marxist theoretical paradigm, preferring instead to attempt to combine aspects of what they describe as literal, instrumentalist, and structuralist approaches to incorporate specific variations in state action. The effort may be a noble one, but the theoretical eclecticism fails to reveal the new and subtle insights the authors are so concerned to highlight.

Throughout the work, hypothetical questions are posed which in fact can only appear banal in the context. For example, in considering the relative weight of local community control in state decision making, the authors attempt to answer the following questions: "Is the state basically sympathetic, attempting to help the poor as much as it can with limited resources, or is it concerned with maximizing social control by containing demand making to acceptable (and probably low) levels?"⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ The conclusion they draw should come as no surprise to anyone familiar with, and sympathetic to, the basic premises of a class analysis of the state: maximization of social control is the order of the day. The data presented, however, is nonetheless fascinating in its detail and persuasiveness.

Where the study ends, is in fact where it could have more valuably begun. While theoretical creativity is crucial in assessing new and changing circumstances, the essential contours of capitalism as a system have remained remarkably intact since Marx and Engels uncovered its

basic laws of motion. Indeed, as far back as 1887, Engels described a process of transformation taking place in Germany which Gilbert and Ward might have found strikingly relevant to their own research on contemporary Latin America:

The period in which a country with an old culture makes such a transition from manufacture and small-scale production to large-scale industry ... is at the same time predominantly a period of 'housing shortage'. On the one hand, masses of rural workers are suddenly drawn into the big towns, which develop into industrial centres; on the other hand, the building arrangement of these old towns does not any longer conform to the conditions of the new large-scale industry and the corresponding traffic; streets are widened and new ones cut through, and railways are run right across them. At the very time when workers are streaming into the towns in masses, workers' dwellings are pulled down on a large scale.

Rather than setting up a show case academic study, the research summarized in Gilbert's and Ward's book could have been presented as a damning presentation of the co-optive powers of the capitalist state in the Latin American region, even in countries with non-military, so-called "democratic" traditions. If read in this light, despite the stated aims of the authors, it is a welcome contribution to our understanding of one important aspect of the class struggle in a very volatile region of the world today.

Abigail B. Bakan
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Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press 1986).

PETER WINN'S MULTIGENERATIONAL STORY of the Yarur textile workers in Santiago, Chile is an exceptionally well-written, absorbing, provocative, and innovative study of the relationship between national politics, family-based entrepreneurship, and working-class experience. It is a story that provides fascinating insight into almost 50 years of Chilean history and that reflects the complexity, contradictions, expectancy, joy, and tragedy of Chilean national life from the

1930s until the late 1980s. Capturing this reflection for the reader is a central purpose of Winn's book, which was conceived as an effort to integrate worker experiences with a more general interpretation of Chilean history. Winn tells the reader at the outset that, "[T]hrough the local history of the Yarur mill, I realized, much of the modern history of Chile could be illuminated."(viii)

Based upon a large number of interviews with members of the Yarur family, with workers, union leaders, politicians, and government officials, upon access to government documents and company records, and upon Winn's thorough familiarity with an extensive literature on Chilean labour relations and politics, *Weavers of Revolution* immerses the reader in the intricacies of the creation, evolution, and eventual political symbolism of the Yarur textile industry. Palestinian immigrant Juan Yarur came to Chile by way of Bolivia and founded a family firm that eventually became the cornerstone of a business empire. By the time of his death in 1954, Yarur "had become a Chilean legend, a Palestinian Horatio Alger, who had 'made his America' in Santiago."(21)

The brilliant successes of Juan Yarur, made possible by his business genius, an authoritarian, personalistic, and paternalistic style of personnel management, and, most importantly, his cultivation of political contacts at all levels and within most political parties and government agencies, were left vulnerable with the patriarch's death in 1954. Changes in Chilean politics and economic circumstances challenged Juan Yarur's heirs in the 1960s and 1970s — although they even contributed to electoral campaigns of leftist candidates like Salvador Allende who gained the presidency in 1970.

In April, 1971, after prior consultation with key government officials, the workers in the Yarur textile factory ousted owners and managers, and announced their desire to incorporate the firm into the "social area" of the Chilean economy. This event occurred in the con-

text of the recent installation of a coalition government headed by a Socialist president who had proclaimed his intention to take Chile down a "peaceful road to socialism." The workers' seizure of the factory represented a challenge to President Salvador Allende's efforts to orchestrate government-directed social and political change. It also challenged the rights of private property and angered the political opposition to the Popular Unity coalition that Allende headed.

Much of Winn's book is dedicated to a detailed narrative of the events leading up to the workers' seizure of the Yarur factory in 1971 and the development of relations between the new workers' enterprise and the Popular Unity government from 1971 until the military coup of 1973. As the first group of workers in Chile to inaugurate a system of worker participation, the workers of Ex-Yarur, according to Winn, had taken over a declining industry and in less than seventeen months "turned it around." (212) The Yarur workers "had not only 'liberated' their own mill but had also inaugurated a new phase of the revolutionary process." (228)

Winn sees in the workers' movement and the "revolution from below" the hope for Chile's future, while "Allende's decision after October 1972 to rely on the pacifying power of the army, instead of on the revolutionary potential of the mobilized working class, would prove fatal to the revolution." (240) This interpretation coincides with the views of many on the left in Chile, but remains as speculative as the interpretation of more conservative and also Communist critics who blamed the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR), militant socialists, and others for preventing early accommodation with Christian Democrats and other centrists in an effort to carry out more gradually the Popular Unity program and to prevent the military coup in 1973 which inaugurated a brutal regime of institutionalized terror and repression.

If Winn's history of the Yarur factory and of the working class experience is

fascinating, the central thesis of a "revolution from above" in conflict with a "revolution from below" implies a sometimes too categorical interpretation of the role and character of the Chilean state, of the complexity of divisions within the working-class organizations, and also of the Allende presidency. Whereas Winn juxtaposes the workers' "revolution from below" with Allende's "revolution from above," his own description of a movement "begun clandestinely by a few frightened workers," (199) at least suggests a slightly different story — one more consistent with Winn's earlier characterization of a "Popular Unity political strategy that counted heavily on economic success to build an electoral majority for socialism." (73)

This different story would depict worker efforts to organize a union in the Yarur factory and challenge management in the context of the installation of an avowedly nationalist and reformist government coalition headed by a Socialist president. Confused communication among different groups of workers, union leaders, party leaders, government officials, and factory owners resulted in the seizure of the Yarur factory when some workers believed prior, if tacit, government approval had been secured, and, more generally, when workers believed that the president was "someone who would protect us." (101) Thus, divisions within the Popular Unity government and unauthorized initiatives by key government personnel encouraged worker activism. The activism, itself, contributed to a workers' movement with an increasing momentum. Ultimately, President Allende reluctantly sides with the more militant members of his coalition in *this* episode and supported the worker takeover of the factory.

Chilean workers and rural labourers, including tenant farmers and sharecroppers, had experienced somewhat similar circumstances in the late 1930s, from 1946-1947, and from 1964-1967. In the past, mobilization of labour had also

resulted from populist rhetoric and initiatives from reformist national governments. The *interaction* of local worker actions and *encouragement* of popular activism by government officials and nongovernment movements and parties had challenged the stability of Chilean politics — leading usually to the repression and/or curtailment of popular and labour activism. Indeed, what Winn called the “hallmark of the revolution from below, the *tomas*” (seizures of farms, vacant land, or workplaces to achieve a variety of different objectives) was not a novelty in the early 1970s. *Tomas* had occurred in urban and rural settings over many years, with increasing frequency during the 1960s.

The bombastic rhetoric of some members of the Allende coalition after 1970 and the supportive ambience created by the tolerant and redistributionist policies of the Popular Unity administration encouraged renewal of popular movements, including labour. As in the past, a tip in the balance of control of the State apparatus, which had been contested by the political right, center and left since the 1930s, proved conducive to a variety of popular movements and labour conflicts. There was neither a revolution from below nor a revolution from above, but rather an intensification of the struggle for control of the institutions of the Chilean State and for redefinition of the role of capital and labour within Chilean society which had *cyclically* threatened the Chilean political system.

The Allende administration’s explicit determination *not* to decide the issue through coercive demobilization — both as a result of the intensity of popular mobilization and as a result of *internal divisions within* the coalition — left the military, and the social base of opposition, still a political majority in 1973 (as indicated in the congressional elections in March, 1973), as the final arbiter. Winn concludes correctly that by mid-1972 the democratic road to socialism seemed blocked. A little more than a year later, in the aftermath of the military coup that ended the Popular Unity experiment, many of the union and worker leaders at Ex-Yarur were arrested, tortured, or killed.

“Behind the bayonets of the Chilean army, an industrial discipline even more authoritarian and oppressive than the old order was imposed on the Yarur mill.”(250) When Amador Yarur again took charge of the mill in early 1974 “most of the workers who had led the movement to seize and socialize the industry were missing from his restored mill. Some of them were dead or had ‘disappeared’; others were imprisoned or had gone underground.... Even those who retained their jobs found their real wages cut in half and their families reduced to a ‘diet of bread, onions and tea.’”(252)

This outcome was the result of both external and internal opposition to the Popular Unity coalition. Reformist nationalist policies, accompanied by revolutionary rhetoric, left radicalized labour and community organizations exposed to counterrevolutionary violence. The Yarur workers, like other worker and community organizations, had been “protected” by the government’s decision not to enforce existing laws and not to repress popular movements rather than by their own armed militia or autonomous power. Perhaps such autonomous power might have developed over time, but when the coup quickly ousted the Popular Unity government the “revolution from below” proved both politically and militarily fragile.

Even for those, like myself, who do not entirely share Winn’s interpretation of the events he reports, this book is an important beginning for Chilean history “from the bottom up,” for a labour history integrated into national and regional history. It is also an example of explicitly partisan, committed history — a history of real people experiencing real exhilaration and suffering real tragedy — often for reasons beyond their control. I read Winn’s book at one sitting. I have since read it twice more. There is much to be learned from it.

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Chris De Bresson with Jim Petersen, *Understanding Technological Change* (Montreal: Black rose Books 1987).

CHRIS DE BRESSON, AN ECONOMIST best known for his studies of the Bombardier company, and his collaborator Jim Petersen, an historian of technology who has worked in industry as a machinist, have given us a short book packed with good material and insight. The volume's 270 pages are organized into 15 chapters, including figures and illustrations, a long appendix, glossary, and indexes. Most chapters include "Checklists For Review" highlighting issues and suitable as well for classroom discussion questions. Each chapter also includes references and suggestions for further reading, an occasionally idiosyncratic combination of the best available current material and outdated standard works. While the main text is relatively brief, it brims over, so filled with case studies, anecdotes, and analysis that the reader comes away with the impression of having enjoyed a much longer book.

The title is too inclusive. In fact this book is chiefly concerned with the technology of the workplace, in particular the technology of industrial production in a context of an advanced capitalist economy. Explicitly, the book is intended both as a handbook for workers confronting technical change in the workplace and as a text for a college-level course.

Above all, this book argues the antithesis of technological determinism. Human decisions determine both the range of technological options presented and the final choice made from among those options. Technological change is the product of choices by and struggles among social groups. Technology does not do anything, rather, in every case, "people are always acting through a technical means." (163) De Bresson argues, with great effect, that shedding the notions of determinism and technological autonomy is a prerequisite to thinking about how to control technology for more socially desirable outcomes.

Technology, De Bresson insists, is not hardward; it is a body of knowledge. People, not machines, possess this knowledge. Thus technological change is possible, indeed common, without any change in hardware. That knowledge is implemented by production workers who can attempt to resist it, modify it, reject it. It is workers most familiar with technology in production who best understand how it can be improved, though who will derive the benefits of such improvements is more problematic. Through their workers learning-by-doing firms reap enormous gains in productivity. Indeed, the greatest productivity gains from a new technology come not with its initial introduction but its subsequent improvement. The importance, therefore, of cumulative, incremental, technological change deserves to be stressed, as does the degree of creativity involved in applying technology in a specific setting.

De Bresson adds his voice to the swelling chorus of critics of simplistic notions of 'deskilling'. Technological change has not taken away workers' skills but altered the types, levels, and mix of skills in various work settings. In particular, it has altered the proximate control of the sub-processes of production as the loci of technical knowledge about production have shifted.

Understanding Technological Change also deals effectively, if less extensively, with a host of other important issues. These include the role of public bodies, the diffusion of knowledge, regulation, and the coexistence of older with new technologies, usually much more rationally-motivated than an "obstinate" resistance to change.

Probably the strongest section of the book is chapter seven on Innovation. De Bresson's argument is tight and perceptive. His model, at one level, is simple. Innovation is demand driven and closely linked to savings possible from factor substitution. But this is an economist's abstraction, and the real world is more complex. Technological change is focussed by specific problems requiring

specific technical solutions, as well as by larger economic imperatives. Returning again to the theme of technology as knowledge and the importance of the flows of such knowledge, De Bresson discusses the advantages of well-developed channels of communication regarding technical matters between sellers and buyers. He pays attention to marketing and not just production in the innovative process. Recent studies of such diverse products as sewing machines (Thomson), artificial rubber (Smith), and whole log hydraulic barkers (Griffin) confirm that the after-sales flow of technical information is an often critical aspect of successful innovations.

Certainly this book is not without its problems. As a general text for a wide audience, the writing is occasionally banal. The off-putting first sentence of the preface announces, "Because our world is so complex, it is difficult to fully understand the phenomenon of technical change."(ix) De Bresson is in fact a more careful writer than the split infinitive suggests. Black Rose also seems to take a somewhat anarchic approach to book production and design. A reference on page 42 to "the following graphs" is not followed by graphs. They appear two pages later and lacking an explanatory key. On page 74 "the following illustrations" of hay cutting implements is followed instead by illustrations of ploughs, the hay cutting tools appearing on page 77.

Specialists will find a number of De Bresson's statements questionable at least, if not erroneous. He refers to the Pulp and Paper Research Institute of Canada when he means the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association. Lumping together the Ford Model T and Singer sewing machines in a discussion of standardization and mass production ignores crucial distinctions, as recent work by Hounshell has demonstrated convincingly. De Bresson halts his discussion of productivity gains at Ford during Model T production before the fiasco of the changeover to the Model A. This both undermines his argument and is simply not playing fair with the reader. The statement of "Darwin's theories" (156) is not simplification. It is wrong. To assert that Adam Beck's Ontario Hydro arbitrated

"between technical options suggested by private developers" and "favoured decentralized access to electric power at fair prices" is bizarre.(130) Some might argue that Chaptal, not Leblanc, was the first to expand "laboratory experiments into full-fledged industrial production processes."(99) The author's assertion that technical knowledge is never lost is not true. Techniques known to earlier generations of workers and transmitted orally has in many instances been lost.

But to concentrate on these shortcomings is to fail to see the forest for the budworms. This is a very good book indeed. While addressed to workers, it will doubtless find greater use as a text for technology and society courses. Though not without flaws, it is one of the best available treatments of such a topic in a Canadian context. If I were asked to recommend a text for a "Technology in Canadian Society" course I would mention this book first and unhesitatingly.

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Duncan Foley, *Understanding Capital* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1986).

IN THE PREFACE TO THIS STUDY Duncan Foley tells us that the book "is intended to be a guide to fundamental passages in Marx's writings on economics and to the overall structure of Marx's economic ideas." References to relevant sections of *Capital* are provided throughout the text, and suggestions for further reading both from *Capital* and modern secondary literature are given in an Appendix. Foley states that the book does not "argue for a particular interpretation. But the reader should know that I take a controversial and unconventional stand on the treatment of prices and labor values, the value of labor-power, and what I call the value of money and unequal exchange."(vii) I do not see this as causing problems in the understanding of Karl Marx's economics save in one area, the notion of labour

values as determining relative prices. Foley's treatment leaves much less of a role for the labour theory of value as a determination of relative prices than I believe Marx himself wanted. I find Foley's treatment more congenial because I believe it helps us see what is really significant about Marx's work as distinguished from slavish adherence to ways of thinking which Marx largely took over from classical political economy too uncritically.

The appreciation of what I see to be the real thrust of the Marxian method of doing economics is the major strength of the book. If I were teaching a course on Marx's economics, I would seriously consider assigning this book. I do not see it as replacing what I still consider to be the best textbook on Marx, Paul Sweezy's *Theory of Capitalist Development*, but I do think that it supplements Sweezy's book well, being stronger on material where Sweezy is more sketchy and vice versa. Foley's presentation is clear and well-written. Those of us who have had the privilege of sitting in one of his classrooms will readily attest to his ability, exemplified again here, to explain complex material understandably.

The book covers all of the important topics in Marx's economics. It does not discuss extensions of Marxian economics after Marx, such as the theory of imperialism or monopoly capitalism. Some modern treatments of Marx's ideas are mentioned where appropriate to the explanation of those ideas.

Foley develops well the argument that labour produces value in a capitalist economy and that the appropriation of that value by labour and by various groupings of capital is due to ownership conditions which are systematically reproduced by the system. His presentation of Marx's notion of the fetishism of commodities and his insightful remarks not only contrasting the Marxian theory with the neoclassical theory of profits but also pointing out why mystifications about the origin of profits (and interest) are easily produced by the system are

quite good. I like as well his discussion of the division of surplus value among profit of enterprise, commercial profit, interest, and rent, though I believe his treatment of interest and rent leave out some arguments in Marx about how the distribution of wealth and property affect the determination of the magnitudes of interest and rent. I also like his treatment of Marx's use of the dialectical method, though I would like some of the points made to be developed more. Perhaps only a book-length confrontation of dialectics with positivism would satisfy me, though.

Not surprisingly, given Foley's background as a monetary economist, the most insightful and novel part of the book is that dealing with monetary theory. The analysis of Marx's theory of money vs. the quantity theory and the role of hoards and credit in Marx's theory summarize the fruit of years of important work by Foley in this area.

Most of the problems I have with the book come in the sections on the tendency of the rate of profit to fall and crisis theory. This is because I find these areas to be the weakest in Marx himself. I agree with Josef Steindl's critique of Marx's approach to both of these issues, and I wish Steindl's analysis was brought to bear by Foley. Steindl's and Michal Kalecki's work on pricing and accumulation also are modern treatments consistent with Marxian ideas of exploitation, falling profits, and capitalist crises that deserve mention in the body of Foley's text.

Foley himself argues that the labour theory of value is really the idea that total value added represents total social labour time expended and that it should not be confused with the notion of equal exchange of labour values. He also holds that the value of labour-power equals the money wage times the value of money rather than the labour value of the workers' consumption bundle. Thus Foley's analysis of Marx, as mentioned above, frees itself from adherence to labour values as having much to do with the determination of relative prices and

treats the wage bargain as in terms of money rather than real wages. Foley goes on to say, "In fact, from this point of view the equalization of the rate of profit is irrelevant. Whatever market prices happen to be, even if competition among capitals fails in important ways, the labor theory of value is an accurate and powerful account of the aggregate relations of capitalist production." (103-4) This is perhaps a deviation from the letter of Marx but a logical extension of the spirit of Marx. I applaud it and note that it leads right into Kalecki.

Where Foley does mention Kalecki, it is to discuss the idea of the political business cycle, and here I find Foley's interpretation and criticism to miss Kalecki's point quite seriously. My only other complaint along these lines is that I feel that Marx's distinction between productive vs. unproductive labor could be made more clear by introducing Sweezy's and Paul Baran's idea of the "absorption" of surplus by unproductive spending. This would also be a way to mention Baran and Sweezy's *Monopoly Capital*, also inappropriately neglected in the book, even in the discussion of centralization and concentration.

I could pick a few more nits, as could any scholar of Marx, but my judgment of the book on the whole is very favorable. A beginning student of Marx would find it helpful, and even an older hand like me gained some new insights from reading it. Duncan Foley has dedicated this book to his students, and as a long-term member of that group, I feel he has done us quite an honor.

Tracy Mott
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Paul D. Staudohar, *The Sports Industry and Collective Bargaining* (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press 1986).

THIS IS ONE OF THE FEW BOOKS which have been written on the topic of professional sports and the unionization of athletes. As such, I was interested in learning how the author would deal with the labour process as it relates to sport, how he would deal with the often emotive and volatile issue of unionization of athletes, while still writing a book for

the average sports fan.

My initial optimism soon gave way to disappointment. Staudohar ignores the subtleties of the labour process of professional athletes and implicitly supports the position that unionization has had a negative consequence on professional team sports. This is evident immediately from the outset, with Staudohar's adoption of the "separate from life" thesis about sport.

The *raison d'être* of sports participation, the argument goes, is freedom from restraint, the pursuit of physical and mental innovation and creativity. Sports provide escape from the workaday world. Staudohar invites his readers to think back to a period of American history (for he is ultimately writing for the American sports fan) when players were players, they did not earn more than the President of the United States, when drug usage was unknown among athletes, and there was no need for collective bargaining. Having set the scene, Staudohar then introduces his theoretical position, the industrial relations model of John Dunlop. This is the second disappointing aspect of this book.

The model is clearly simplistic and suggests that those fundamental questions concerning the labour process (how is work to be organized, who will perform it, what standards of discipline apply?) are shared equally by the "actors" — management, workers, and government. Nowhere is the notion of unequal distribution of power within an industrial-capitalist economy introduced. Staudohar argues instead that decisions are "determined by the larger society" and that strategies for action "are based in large part on changes in the environment." (5)

By ignoring the unequal distribution of economic power within the professional sports organization, Staudohar regresses to "gossipy" descriptive case studies of collective bargaining in baseball, football, basketball, and hockey. He attempts to appear objective, chastizing the owners here for their chattel attitudes concerning the players, the players there for their unrealistic

demands. But underlying all of this, I sense a lack of sympathy for unionized athletes. Staudohar lauds hockey's Alan Eagleson for his "reasonable" approach in bargaining where other union negotiators have been much more confrontational (for example, baseball's Marvin Miller). Moreover, he is prone to describe collective bargaining in a less than objective fashion. Thus, "workers are *permitted* to unionize" (my emphasis) and strikes and picketing are deemed "pressure tactics." (10)

Over and above the simplistic theoretical analysis and absence of any discussion on the inequity of power, Staudohar is disappointing because he fails to deal adequately with the phenomenon of corporate interlocking. The majority of sports franchises are part of a much larger corporate empire, with obvious connections between sport, the media, and entertainment industries. By not discussing these important interlocks, the reader may assume that the owner of a sports franchise cannot afford to pay large salaries or improve working conditions for the employees. In reality, the sports team may be little more than a public relations loss-leader for the conglomerate. A franchise might also be purchased for its tax benefit potential. After all, professional sports teams are one of the few industrial which can depreciate the human assets (the players). To suggest that management cannot afford to negotiate seriously the salary and working conditions of the athlete is to ignore this interlocking structure. Such are the general disappointments which I have with this book. Given the cultural importance which is granted to ice hockey in Canadian society, perhaps it is appropriate to look specifically at the case study of this sport.

Staudohar quite correctly points out that hockey is not as attractive a commodity as other sports he considers because it enjoys only regional interest in the United States. Consequently, NHL hockey has been unsuccessful in gaining access to the major American television

market. But he appears ignorant of the nuances of the Canadian state, its involvement in sport, and the cultural differences which exist between Canada and the United States. For example, Staudohar asserts: "Perhaps because of the distinctive, international setting for hockey, neither government seems inclined to intrude on developments in the sport." (125) This quite simply is incorrect. The federal government, through its arms-length organization, Hockey Canada, has attempted to marry public and private business interests in an attempt to maximize the performance of Canadian hockey teams in international competition. In fact, Canada withdrew from international hockey in the 1970s when reinstated amateurs (former professionals) were prohibited from playing in international amateur competitions. Further, the federal and provincial governments have put pressure on the professional teams to decrease the violence within the game. Historically the Canadian state has taken a more aggressive interventionist stance into areas of sport than Staudohar appreciates.

This ignorance of Canada is further demonstrated by Staudohar's comment which ends the chapter on hockey: "Although hockey players are relative uneducated as professional athletes go, they appear to recognize the dangers of using hard drugs. But, despite what seems to be a lower incidence of hard drug usage by hockey players, labor management in the sport might do well to establish a drug control program along the lines of basketball and baseball." (144) Such statements illustrate Staudohar's lack of knowledge of the culture from which hockey players come. First, the junior A hockey apprenticeship program encourages athletes to remain in school. Some do drop out but most are as well-educated as those American scholarship athletes who spend more time on the playing field or gymnasium than they do in the classroom. If they are less-educated it should also be noted that they are drafted into the professional teams at a much younger age (18

years). But more important, Staudohar does not address the systemic nature of professional sporting work which encourages experimentation in drugs — steroids for strength and increased muscle mass, painkillers and amphetamines to play while hurt and to give the spectator the “good performance” game after game, as well as the recreational use of drugs. One wonders whether the management-promoted drug control programmes have been developed to protect an investment or to help individual athletes with a personal problem.

I am not particularly impressed with this book. Some of the tables provide valuable data for those interested in labour relations and sport. But the shortcomings are paramount. I came away with little knowledge about the organization of professional athletes' unions, how they differ from those of other labour groups, or whether collective bargaining has been attempted in the individual sports like tennis or golf, and among the small but active group of female professional athletes. I would have expected some discussion of these, and other issues, in a book “written for the sports fan who wants to know more about labor relations.”(vii)

Hart Cantelon
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Richard H. Hall, *Dimensions of Work* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications 1986).

THIS BOOK IS AN AMBITIOUS ATTEMPT to bring together the recent literature on work. Hall sets himself two tasks. The first is to review the major literature, integrating and interpreting it. The second is to extend our understanding of the many dimensions of work. In order to accomplish this, Professor Hall dissects the concept of work into nine dimensions. These include: (1) *The individual* where he concentrates on the meanings people attach to work, their commitment to work, and the problems of alienation and job satisfaction; (2) *The horizontal* where we are introduced to the division of labour based on the dictionary of occupational titles and labour markets; (3) *The vertical* where status and income attainment are examined utiliz-

ing human capital and other individual characteristics; (4) *The gender dimension* which is examined with a focus on status and income attainment; (5) *The age dimension* concerns itself with the life cycle examining youth and work through to careers in the later part of the cycle; (6) *The race and ethnic dimension* parallels the gender chapter looking at patterns of discrimination which affect status and income attainment; (7) *The organizational dimension* attempts to describe status and income attainment in terms of labour markets. In the work setting Hall looks at attempts to restructure work through initiatives such as job redesign; (8) *The power dimension* looks at democracy in the workplace, workers' control, unions, and labour relations; (9) *The institutional* brings in public policy. The book also has two introductory chapters that define work and describe the many forms that work takes.

In each of the chapters Hall marshals an extensive amount of recent literature in many categories, each described relatively clearly. For the undergraduate and graduate student alike the book is a readable introduction to the non-marxist corpus of American literature on work.

It is reasonable to assess the book using Hall's own stated aims. The literature review is assembled and integrated in a very understandable manner. However, there are serious problems. The *choice of literature is dramatically 'Ameri-centric'*. There are virtually no articles drawn from either the Canadian or British sociology of work literature. Hall claims that the United States “... is where the bulk of the literature is situated.” This is a serious shortcoming.

The second task Professor Hall set for himself was to enhance our knowledge by interpreting, applying, and extending the studies reviewed. This task is not successfully accomplished in any satisfying way. The coverage is often superficial, touching on a myriad of secondary issues but never venturing into controversial issues or “cutting edge” debates. Several chapters, notably “Forms of Work” and

"Gender," become shopping lists of concepts coming one after another with little attention to unifying them or integrating them around problems facing the discipline.

A second problem, in terms of broadening knowledge, is that a whole school of thought is avoided. The materialist, conflict approach (particularly Marxist) is ignored. This leaves a blind spot in terms of many serious and interesting debates. The coverage given to marxist or socialist-feminist studies on gender is illustrative of this problem. In the Gender chapter Hall's only comment is:

An abundant number of explanations regarding discrimination and segregation are available. These range from Marxist analysis of women as part of the oppressed and exploited class controlled by capitalists to blaming the victim Solkoff (1980) argues that both patriarchy and capitalism explain women's positions The evidence is less than compelling that both industries and men are united in opposition to lessening the levels of discrimination and segregation.

Ignoring whole schools of thought reduces the richness of the explanation. By downplaying the Marxist and socialist-feminist sociology Hall loses recent developments around the interpenetration of production and reproduction.

In this chapter, as with others, one feels a timelessness. The sweep of history that is part of the process of creating the present condition is left virtually untouched. We are left with several examples of how things are but little discussion of why. Hall makes a statement, based on the studies he did cover, that discrimination against women "has decreased dramatically in recent years." (217) The reality is that where segregation still exists, where equal pay is not common, where the double day exists and sexual harassment is rampant, it is hardly advisable to say discrimination is dramatically decreased. Such a statement does not even reflect the recent

gender income gap figures which show an increase in discrimination at this level.

In general I can recommend the book as a good source-book for the student who wishes an introduction to a broad sweep of American literature. It is a guide to the literature, for practitioners, so long as people note the absence of certain paradigms and the many debates within and between those paradigms.

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Charlotte Gold, *Labor-Management Committees: Confrontation, Cooptation, or Cooperation?* (Ithaca, New York: ILR Press 1986); Mike Parker, *Inside the Circle: A Union Guide to QWL* (Boston: South End Press 1985).

AMONG THE STRATEGIES ADOPTED by North American corporations to enhance their competitiveness and profitability, none has attracted more attention and yet remains so poorly understood as Quality of Worklife (QWL) programmes. These two books, one written from a shop floor perspective and the other a standard academic undertaking, are devoted to illuminating QWL, especially forms of workers' participation instituted by management. Gold's monograph is a survey of the field. She examines trends in implementation, summarizes labour and management attitudes toward QWL, gives brief descriptions of existing programs, and evaluates their effectiveness. This information is packed into 51 pages, so most of the topics receive only a once-over-lightly treatment. As a result, the book's usefulness will be restricted mainly to neophytes to the field who are seeking a general idea of what it's all about. In contrast, *Inside the Circle* provides a profound and disturbing portrayal of QWL. Parker is a skilled worker, union activist, and frequent contributor to *Labor Notes*, a Detroit publication dedicated to developing a more democratic, socially conscious, and militant labour movement. Based in part on first-hand experience (his own and

other workers) with QWL, Parker penetrates relentlessly the "everybody wins" rhetoric of QWL. He demonstrates with powerful logic and evidence that the interests of workers and unions are seriously jeopardized by QWL and offers sound advice on how to deal with it.

Both authors cite figures showing a growing propensity of U.S. companies to adopt participatory mechanisms. They agree that the ultimate source of this escalating trend was the economic crisis of the mid-1970s, which prompted corporate executives to experiment with techniques for promoting labour-management cooperation. The purposes of participation, Gold tells us, are "to take advantage of employees' capabilities, involve workers in decisions affecting their jobs, and provide employees with greater identification with organizational goals in an effort to improve the overall efficiency of the firm." Parker is more blunt, maintaining that QWL is a method of neutralizing, undermining, or destroying unions. QWL also is used to appropriate workers' knowledge, extract contract concessions, eliminate resistance to new technology and work methods, and obliterate job and craft classifications to give management a freer hand in allocating work. While Gold simply cites some unionists' beliefs that QWL threatens unions, Parker provides a sustained analysis (with many examples) of how QWL can undermine existing unions or insulate non-union firms from being organized. Both writers point out that participatory programs like Quality Control circles probably violate a section of the National Labor Relations Act that prohibits employers from circumventing unions, although their legality has not yet been tested.

Parker spares no effort in revealing why workers are attracted to QWL. The most persuasive selling point is the alleged capacity of QWL to preserve jobs. Another powerful appeal is the participation process itself, which entails rewards such as group identification and personal recognition. Managers deal with workers on a first-name basis, workers' ideas are never criticized in joint meetings, and employees, at all levels of the enterprise are defined in the terminology of QWL as family members, all pulling

together to achieve the same goals. These social-psychological processes of persuasion are supplemented by the QWL argument that employment stabilization depends on workers in a particular plant cooperating with management to outdo the competition. As a "highly sophisticated form of attitude and behavior modification," QWL encourages workers to identify with and assume management perspectives and, correlatively, weakens workers' identification with the union. Processes of indoctrination operate within an atmosphere of good will, mutual trust, and shared interests that not only is contrived but belied by corporate practice: QWL is billed as making work more satisfying, but QWL companies are rationalizing and deskilling work. The Reagan administration, which crushed PATCO and is notoriously anti-union, promotes labour-management cooperation through QWL. General Motors installs participatory programs as it plans to chop 80,000 workers from its payrolls in U.S. plants. Ford's Milpitas, California plant and its Michigan Casting Center, both of which had model QWL programs, were closed down — victims of marketing and outsourcing decisions. Apart from this failure to stabilize employment, a QWL-generated enterprise consciousness sets in motion a cycle of deepening concession on wages and working conditions and weakens the labour movement.

The thorny question of separating issues handled by collective bargaining and issues dealt with by QWL organs is treated superficially by Gold, who suggests that such segregation is possible. Parker insists that it is impossible and even undesirable to keep these spheres apart. He argues that separation renders unions less and less relevant to workers' needs, because as joint committees deal with issues like technological change, work rules, and environmental problems the union comes to be viewed by the rank and file as an organization which is only active when contracts have expired. Consider the union's dilemma: "If the union insists on separation but allows QWL to

handle 'environmental issues,' union leaders and established union procedures can be undercut. If it steps in and forbids a QWL circle to work on a bargaining issue, then the union adopts the role of the bureaucratic outsider jealous that the membership might accomplish something and make the union officers look bad. If the union leaves the groups to work only on management problems, it is inviting the groups to turn into junior management, and possibly take actions which seriously harm central union objectives such as job security." The union also is compromised when talented workers are appointed as QWL facilitators who receive management training and often are cut off from union advice and support. In some General Motors plants, for example, there are as many QWL appointees as union representatives, a situation conducive to creating divisions within the membership.

Parker's opposition to QWL is based on his analysis of actual programs and on his belief that the job of the union is to defend and advance workers' interests, not to increase company profits, market share, or reputation. Workers' interests can be best realized by building a united and militant labour movement. Still, Parker recognizes that it is not always possible for a union to reject QWL, and he suggests steps a union can take to neutralize QWL or even to make it work for the union. To do this, however, requires enormous effort, organization, and resources, implying that the best strategy for the union is to stay away from QWL in the first place. Of course, if a union does succeed in shaping the character of QWL, management will terminate the program, since it is not achieving the *company's* goals.

Are participatory programs really responsible for improvements in job satisfaction, productivity, and labour-management relations? Gold's evaluation is inconclusive. This is attributed in part to measurement difficulties faced by evaluators and in part to the anecdotal character of much of the evidence. Never-

theless, the distinct impression is left that durable QWL programs are rare; most programs last no longer than the crisis that engendered them. Parker agrees, but he adds that evaluative efforts often are distorted and unreliable because they are conducted by individuals (e.g., consultants) with a vested interest in successful outcomes. Favorable results attributed to QWL, Parker maintains, often are due to circumstances external to the programs, especially threats of job loss. It is this concern that frequently lies behind a union's decision to enter into a cooperative relationship with the employer. Parker presents intriguing data showing that one auto plant's celebrated decline in grievances (a barometer of the state of labour-management relations) actually occurred *before* the implementation of a massive QWL project. It is somewhat puzzling to read most of Parker's book and then find out that most QWL programs are ineffective and fragile. But Parker backs off from this initial assessment by arguing that "the real results of QWL are usually weakened unions, concessions, and a smooth introduction of new technology"; these outcomes are rarely examined in evaluative research conducted by QWL proponents. Parker also insists that QWL has the *potential* to do great harm to workers and unions, and this potential grows as the programs become more sophisticated. Still, if read by itself this chapter raises nagging doubts, suggested by Parker himself, about the real source of labour-management collaboration. Is it QWL, fear of job loss, or some combination of both?

It is worth mentioning that neither author considers, except incidentally, a second major type of QWL — job redesign. Unlike participatory techniques, job redesign is not used by management to shape workers' consciousness and promote cooperation and diligence. Rather, through such measures as job consolidation, redesign programs can speed up work and eliminate labour — without altering workers' attitudes.

The hard, practical questions that

workers and union officials should ask about QWL — for example, who benefits and how — remain unanswered in Gold's monograph. Criticism of or praise for QWL takes the form of opinions expressed by managers or unionists, and Gold offers an inadequate evaluation of the validity of these opinions. There is little in the empirical materials or Gold's analyses of them to allow one to conclude that labour-management cooperative schemes are either good or bad. In Parker's case the old saying, "experience is the best teacher," is right on, for *Inside the Circle* is

the most systematic and informative treatment of QWL participatory programs available. It is hard for workers and their representatives to oppose "reforms" promising to save jobs, improve relationships with management, and make work more gratifying, but Parker's book will arm the "targets" of QWL with the information and rationale they need to do precisely this.

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