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REVIEWS/COMPTES RENDUS

Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* (London, Ontario: Althouse Press 1988).

BRUCE CURTIS HAS EMERGED, during the 1980's, as one of the leading practitioners in Canada of the "new" history of education. In a series of exciting and provocative articles he has taken the discipline beyond the descriptive and narrative histories of schools and theorists and toward the complexities of the interaction of education with the social and political development of nineteenth-century Canada. More recently, Curtis has concerned himself with the role of education in the formation of the state. In this book, however, as the title indicates, he is interested in the making of the "educational state," concentrating on a "class and gendered" understanding of the construction of a system of state schooling, the emergence of the techniques and practices intrinsic to mass education, and the management of the opposition which its development provoked. Educational systems, Curtis emphasises, are forged in the fire of political struggle — between classes, between central bureaucracies and local interests, and between social groups holding different conceptions of the nature and purposes of education.

Though Curtis concentrates on the efforts of the ruling elite — personified largely by Egerton Ryerson — to construct social identities in the pupils which would be favourable to existing and developing property relations and political authority ("anchoring the conditions of political governance in the selves of the governed"), he avoids the trap of the so-

cial control thesis. He shows, in myriad detail, the local opposition to different aspects of the emerging centralised structure, an opposition that was sometimes confused and backward-looking but which modified the type of schooling proposed and the conditions under which it was given.

The book is divided into two parts; the first and shorter section covers educational reform, mainly the Education Acts of the fourteen years between 1836 and 1850. Though Curtis has some perceptive insights into the relationship between state building and educational reform, particularly his contention that "self-government as individual self-discipline, and self-government as representative democracy were seen as both sides of the same coin," and his analysis of the function of "common Christianity" as a means of building a set of behavioural traits of a moral-regulatory nature, his summaries of the numerous Education Acts of the period brings these chapters nearer to traditional administrative narrative than he probably intended.

In the second section Curtis makes good use of his main source of material, the collection of correspondence in the Educational Office for Canada West in the Ontario Provincial Archives, to chart public reaction to almost every educational activity in the region during the middle years of the nineteenth century. This section is divided into five chapters which examine "pedagogical space," attendance, teacher training, the curriculum, and punishment. Curtis is able to show that almost every innovation, whether introduced by central or local authority, was contested by administrators, parents, teachers, members of the public or, more

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rarely, the pupils themselves.

Curtis's main thrust is against bourgeois centralisation. Inherent in this is the danger (which he recognises on occasion) that almost any criticism of centralising tendencies can take on a significance not justified by its intrinsic importance. But the somewhat inchoate and piecemeal opposition revealed in the correspondence hardly amounts to an alternative policy, and the nature of a possible popular or populist programme does not appear clearly. Though a centralised system eventually emerged — no “inevitably,” as Curtis ably demonstrated, but as the outcome of the struggle between opposing forces — the reader tends to wonder whether or not this was either necessary or desirable. Was a centralised system intrinsic only to capitalist societies, or is it a necessary feature of any type of literate and organised society? Was the system as it emerged in Canada West peculiar to that region, or did it have features common to other societies? If centralisation was not an inevitable aspect of education under capitalism, what other organisation of schooling was possible? And if the ruling class of this period largely succeeded in infusing education with attitudes and practices favourable to political and social subordination, what effects did this have on post-1870 class struggles? These are some of the questions raised, but not addressed, in the text.

Curtis might argue that this would have necessitated writing a different book. If, however, he had focused attention on specific periods of crisis and conflict, particularly in the period 1850-1871 (not to mention some scene-painting of the topographical features of Canada West, the industries of the townships, class structure, and so on) answers to some, at least, of these questions might have emerged.

Be that as it may, the book as it stands is a monument to Curtis's ability to discern the political and class content inherent in the most mundane and ostensibly “given” educational theories, activities and artefacts: in the struggle for the

sovereignty of the teacher insider and outside the school; in the politics of attendance, particularly the rationality behind negative parental attitudes centred on the quality of schooling offered in addition to the exigencies of the labour process; in the exposure of the essentially political purpose behind the formation of a *corps d'état* of teachers subject to administrative authority; in the details of the class-directed transformation of a free market in educational ideas and practices into a uniform, centrally-directed state system of knowledge and power; and in the ultimate legitimisation of punishment, despite the attempt to inaugurate a “gentle” and “pleasurable” pedagogy, as an effective disempowerment of students and school supporters. Basing his ideological approach on the theories of Foucault and “a Marxism sensitive to cultural forms,” Curtis opens up a new dimension in the historical treatment of education. Despite a plain style and an over-indulgence in the use of trendy all-purpose words such as “space,” “discourse,” “moment,” “problematic,” and “contestation,” this is a work which is certain to influence future writing on Canadian educational history; though other historians may not be so fortunate in their discovery of source material, all will be able to benefit from Curtis's methods, insights, and analyses. Equally importantly, this book shows the validity and importance of history — the understanding of the class nature of educational development in the past as demonstrated here can help to demystify the ostensible neutrality of the provision of education for all in contemporary society.

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Marta Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920*, edited by Paul-André Linteau, Alison Prentice, and William Westfall, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1987)

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF social history has evolved considerably during the past twenty years. While researchers have not rejected the underlying assumptions and research orientation promoted in the 1960s, recent work reveals far greater theoretical nuance and methodological complexity. The early tendency to pursue a discrete question by thorough examination of a single source has increasingly given way to analyses of integrated relationships revealed through disparate primary sources. One welcome result is studies which address the *problématique* of more than one field of social history. A fine example of this trend is Marta Danylewycz's *Taking the Veil* which is far more than a contribution to the history of women in Quebec. Rather, the book emphasizes the importance of viewing the historical process first and foremost in terms of context. In the case of nineteenth-century Quebec nuns, this means understanding the history of the family, the Catholic Church, education, work, and the ideologies of secular women. The author's tragic death prevented her from completing the revisions which she was undertaking on this study but thanks to the initiative and affection of Paul-André Linteau, Alison Prentice, and William Westfall, we now have a book which contributes significantly to the continuing evolution of socio-historical debate.

The study begins with an efficient synthesis of recent work on the Quebec version of the Catholic Church's devotional revolution of the second half of the nineteenth century. The author agrees with those who have contested the image of a timeless priest-ridden society by emphasizing the ebb and flow of Catholic Church influence since the seventeenth century. The dramatic increase in the Church's institutional presence after the

1830s is situated within an evolving international context which found particular resonance in the post-Rebellion St. Lawrence valley. The Catholic hierarchy was able to achieve a division of labour and power with secular leaders, and to also gain popular support by channeling nationalist sentiment into a conservative and religious articulation of *survivance*. This process opened the door to 81 new religious communities by World War I, two-thirds of which were female.

The institutional growth of the Catholic Church in Quebec provides the framework for understanding the initial decision and subsequent experience of those women who took the veil. Danylewycz argues that the sharp increases in female religious vocations reflected a changing material context marked by new patterns of work, marriage, and education which denied sexual equality, and left women with limited opportunity for personal fulfillment. Thus, proportionately more women than men contributed to the numerical growth of religious orders not because of a greater female spirituality but rather because of gender-specific material constraints. Particular attention is given to the sexual division of paid labour in Quebec society which only offered women low-paying and low-status jobs in teaching, manufacturing, and service fields. The attraction of convents for women is thus defined in material terms with nuns considered as career workers. Quebec's changing social setting encouraged women to seek an alternative to subordination and exploitation in a man's world including family life. The proportion of religious women in Quebec rose from 1.4 per cent of the total female population over 20 years of age in 1851 to 9.1 per cent in 1921.

Having interwoven the contextual strands of recent Quebec historiography, Danylewycz probes to the level of individual experience by reconstructing the lives of women in two Montreal communities, the teaching order of the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame and the nursing order of the Sisters of Misericorde. The value of church ar-

chives has long been appreciated by social historians but the rich holdings of these religious communities allow research which goes far beyond familiar topics such as demography and clerical control. By gaining access to these archives, the author examines in detail the social background of the religious women with particular attention to their fathers' occupations. She shows that the orders reflected different social groups in Quebec with the Congregation of Notre Dame attracting middle-class women, and the Sisters of Misericorde drawing the daughters of farmers and workers. Within the religious communities, individual backgrounds were reflected in social and occupational hierarchies, although Danylewycz emphasizes that, at least in certain cases, social origins could be transcended. Unlike the secular world, religious orders did offer the possibility of administrative power to women from even working-class families. The chance for a female career with increasingly important occupational roles distinguished these orders from the patriarchal world of work outside the convent doors.

While significantly separate from secular society, religious women were not isolated from the general Quebec population. Rather, continued ties with family and kin reflected the extent to which joining a religious order was part of a family strategy as much as an individual decision. Moreover, it appears that religious women used family connections to recruit new members especially by emphasizing the importance of undertaking social work. The result was that religious women were exceedingly relevant to the secular society, a fact which raised complex questions about the role of women in the new social service activities of the turn of the century. Danylewycz explores the evolving relationship between nuns and lay women activists, and shows how both the Church and political hierarchy tried (but not always successfully) to discourage support by the religious women for social feminism.

This compact study reveals Marta Danylewycz's appreciation of a vast so-

cial historical literature as well as her ability to use rich archival sources to advance current historical debate. Perhaps most of all, the book reflects the reintegration of ideas and behaviour within the best recent research. By pointing to the complex relationships among demography, work, institutions, and ideology, Danylewycz's book implies a massive research agenda in which the history of women would be a central component of all social history. The tragedy is that this research agenda can now only be pursued by others. All historians owe a great debt to Linteau, Prentice, and Westfall for incorporating the author's last notes on the manuscript, and for bringing the book through the production process.

Chad Gaffield
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Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1988).

STUDIES OF EARLY MIGRATION FROM the Old World to the New have generally confined their methodologies to the analysis of statistical data or the examination of descriptive material such as official reports, private correspondence, published memoirs, and immigration tracts. Valuable as all these sources are, they fail to provide a comprehensive picture of who the typical immigrant was, what motivated his or her move, and what degree of success was ultimately met with. Bruce Elliott's path-breaking volume takes a large step in redressing these limitations, for he has employed the methods of the genealogist to compile files on some 775 families who left North Tipperary principally for Upper Canada's Ottawa and London areas between 1818 and 1855. By capturing a surprising amount of personal detail on the Protestants who emigrated from this 30-by-40 mile district, Elliott has made a valuable contribution not only to migration history but to the social history of Ireland and Canada.

North Tipperary's Protestants constituted only 8.5 per cent of its total population, and they were a privileged minority at that, but their representativeness should not be underestimated because the Irish Protestants were the largest non-French ethno-religious group in nineteenth century Canada. To have some notion of their *mentalité* is to take a significant step toward grasping the foundations of English Canada's elusive cultural identity. The Irish Catholic immigrants have already found their revisionist historian in Donald Akenson, editor of the ethnic studies series which this volume inaugurates. But Akenson himself has promoted a stereotypical image of the Irish Protestants by stressing their aggressiveness in acquiring land "beyond mere economic calculation," and their assertiveness in commercial ventures and politics. Elliott, on the other hand, demonstrates that farming was by far the preferred activity of his immigrants, and that land was acquired to provide farms for offspring rather than to engage in speculation. Cole Harris and John Mannion have remarked on the individualism of the Irish Protestants, whom they believed to have immigrated as single men or unrelated nuclear families, but Elliott's exhaustive research indicates that nothing could be further from the truth. It was the desire for family security which only land could offer that took a significant percentage of the Protestants from North Tipperary (where they numbered approximately 3000 in 1831) to Upper Canada. When that province's frontier closed, the tide shifted to Australia and New Zealand, while subsequent generations in Ontario hived off to outlying areas on the Quebec side of the Ottawa Valley and to the Prairie West. The fact that most families moved through a process of chain migration, both across the Atlantic and within Canada, testifies to the strength of kinship ties in the Irish Protestant community. It appears that the peripatetic, Belfast-born Wilson Benson, adopted by Michael Katz as the archetypal common man of pre-industrial Canada, was in reality a rather

exceptional individual.

Elliott avoids the ongoing controversy about whether or not North American farmers in the pre-industrial era were essentially motivated by competitive capitalistic values, but his family-centred thesis implies that both sides in the debate may be missing the point. It cannot be denied that a certain degree of individualism follows from the dominance of the nuclear family as a social institution even in Ireland, and that the drive to acquire land for maturing sons would ensure a ready response to whatever opportunities the agricultural market might present. But the very desire for parents and offspring to continue to live close to each other after separate households were formed takes us a step towards the wider community. Extended family ties were even solidified by the marriage of cousins who lived in different parts of the country. It would appear, then, that the broader rural network began to break down only late in the century as mechanization reduced the need for a large family, as the high cost of land increased the difficulty of establishing more than one son in farming, and as cash crops provided the wherewithal to educate non-inheriting offspring for other occupations.

The main advantage of Elliott's focus upon kin networks in place of sharply-defined geographical communities is that he is able to discover patterns hitherto hidden to historians. We learn that Richard Talbot's little-noticed assisted emigration scheme of 1818 not only attracted families whom one would not have assumed to be related because of their widespread residences within North Tipperary, but also that it began a process of chain migration whereby hundreds of Protestant and Catholic families emigrated without official organization or prompting. The reason that there were two widely-separated destinations in Upper Canada was simply that the original group split in half because no block grant was made available after its members arrived in the colony. Fifteen families were lured to the military settlement of Richmond near Ottawa, while

nineteen others proceeded to Col. Thomas Talbot's fiefdom in the London area. Because more arable land was available in the western community, it attracted the lion's share of the subsequent immigration, including many who first settled in the Ottawa Valley. Interestingly enough, the one township where North Tipperary Protestants and Catholics settled in homogeneous and neighbouring blocks was also the location of some of the worst sectarian violence in the province, culminating in the famous murder of Lucan's Donnelly family.

Elliott's emphasis on the family also results in some valuable insights into the inter-generational transmission of property, a fundamentally-important topic which has been largely ignored in this country. Contrary to the legislation, which favoured primogeniture prior to 1852, and wholly partible inheritance thereafter, the Irish Protestants (and no doubt most of rural society) attempted to provide land for each son and a simple dowry for each daughter as he or she came of age and married, with the youngest son finally taking over the home farm from his retiring parents. The so-called Canadian system of inheritance, whereby the inheriting son had to pay off his siblings, applied only to cases where no previous provision had been made by the parents. The unfolding of the ideal family strategy could be interrupted by premature deaths of parents, economic reverses, or the rising price of land, but Elliott finds that his Ottawa Valley families provided land to fully one half of those sons leaving the nest prior to 1881. Another 15 per cent of the sons purchased land in the area, with or without their families' assistance; 15 per cent took up a trade or profession; and only 10 per cent became "hopeful travellers" by leaving the area as young men.

In cases where fathers died before all the children had reached maturity, half the surviving spouses retained control of the estate until death or remarriage, others being provided with lodging and a living allowance. Elliott argues that men were not jealously trying to prevent the second

marriage of their widows from beyond the grave, but simply ensuring that in a patriarchal society their offspring would not be cut out of the inheritance by a stepfather and his natural children. Elliott also suggests a common-sense reason for the elaborate provisions included in many maintenance agreements, for the aging parents could have become victims of conflict between the mother and a daughter-in-law who had imbibed another woman's ideas about how to run a household.

As has been observed for French-Canadian society, some parents chose not to purchase land locally when their sons reached maturity, but rather to move the whole family to a more affordable frontier. If any older offspring had already been established in the area, they tended to sell their farms as well in order to join the family exodus. Thus by the 1880s the whole migration process was repeating itself on the Prairie frontier, but without the same concentration of settlement because personal inspection tours increased the freedom of choice in making locations. While the author scrupulously avoids psychological interpretations, it should also be safe to venture that the extended kin network had begun to weaken somewhat in Ontario where the Tipperary Protestants found themselves no longer to be an embattled minority group.

I found only a couple of points to quibble with in this exhaustively documented and carefully reasoned study. First, Elliott suggests that Richard Talbot's failure to acquire the expected reserve for his group in 1818 reflects the importance of personal influence in the colonial administration. It is likely, however, that good connections in London were the main key to success for gentlemen immigrants — certainly that was the case for those who received large grants in the Eastern Townships. Second, Elliott follows several other historians in stating that Peter Robinson's 1825 settlement project was the last to be sponsored by the British government, but my own ancestors were among 1,500 assisted

emigrants, mostly from northern Ireland, who were sent to the Lower Canadian townships of Leeds and Inverness in 1829-30.

If the advantage of Elliott's methodology is that it deals with the migrants as individuals rather than as abstract numbers, the disadvantage for the reader is that the proliferation of individual and family names tends to become mind-numbing, at least to those who are not genealogical enthusiasts. Some of this detail could probably have been cut without sacrificing the integrity of the book, but excellent summaries are provided. Indeed, the reader is well-served by McGill-Queen's University Press, for it has provided the space for a lengthy index, excellent maps, numerous photographs complete with useful descriptions, and a helpful outline of sources for those dedicated enough to attempt a similar project. Historians of the nineteenth-century proletariat may not find it possible to adopt such a methodology, at least on a comparable scale, but this book will add to their appreciation of the strategies people employed to avoid falling into that exploited status.

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Lynne Bowen, *Three Dollar Dreams* (Lantzville: Oolichan Books 1987).

IN THE SUMMER OF 1848 a hardy band of six Scottish miners and their families, under the leadership of John Muir, landed on Vancouver Island and began the first attempt to raise coal in British Columbia. Fifteen years later the Hudson's Bay Company, which had brought Muir and his family to the new world, sold the mines to a group of British investors that injected further capital and greatly expanded production. Throughout the balance of the nineteenth century a variety of companies, including that of the infamous Robert Dunsmuir, were formed and dissolved in further attempts to exploit the coal deposits of Vancouver

Island. Over the course of these years, thousands of men and their families came to Vancouver Island to work in the coal mines. Few prospered and many perished. By the turn of the century there were over 3,000 men employed in the mines producing well in excess of 1,000,000 tons of coal per year.

A considerable amount of research has been done on various aspects of the history of the mines and the miners for the nineteenth century. Particular attention has been paid to the geographical impact of the mines, their management, and the numerous labour disputes that are a highlight of this era. Most of this research has been in the form of B.A. honours essays, masters theses, and doctoral dissertations, and has remained relatively inaccessible to the general public. No one, until now, has attempted to write a comprehensive history of the coal miners of Vancouver Island for this period. Lynne Bowen and her publisher have attempted to fill this.

Small publishing houses have over the years contributed a great deal to our knowledge of Canadian history. Indeed, without them much of the local and regional history of Canada would never have been published. On the other hand, small publishers lack the resources with which their larger colleagues protect themselves from embarrassment, most notably, outside readers with expertise on the subject of the book to be published. If Oolichan Books did use an outside reader (they would neither confirm nor deny to me that they had) that person let them down badly.

The first page of Chapter One is alarming. It contains a misrepresentation, an error in fact, an improper identification, and a serious misuse of an important concept in labour studies. Andrew Muir and John McGregor were not sentenced to two years in irons on bread and water; they barely spent six days like that. Andrew's father, John Muir did not read an ad in a Manchester newspaper for coal miners; he was recruited in Scotland by David Landale who was a mining engineer, not a mine manager. More seriously, McGregor and Muir were not inde-

pendent colliers. The term independent collier describes a distinct relationship between a coal miner and his employer that did exist in Scotland. The evidence for its existence on Vancouver Island is weak, and in the case of the Muirs nonexistent. In fact, quite the opposite was the case.

Unfortunately this is not just a false start. The remainder of the book is inundated with similar inaccuracies, misrepresentations, and contradictions. For instance, John Robson, a prominent politician and newspaper editor, is described as the Minister of Mines in 1880 (256) when he was not even a member of the Legislature. The puzzlement of just where Bowen gets her facts is confounded by the unique way in which she cites her sources. The authors are listed alphabetically under each chapter number at the back of the book. Page numbers are not given and there is no link with the text. This was not an attempt to avoid footnotes. The book is full of them. Rather than use the footnotes to cite sources, Bowen and her editors have chosen to use them principally to explain the arcane language which peppers her text. Telling the reader the rum was imported in puncheons (a large cask) may make the book sound more "historical," but it also slows down the reader with superfluous detail.

Indeed, the superfluous detail does not inform but rather disinforms the reader. The frequent and detailed descriptions of landscapes that no longer exist are merely confusing. This book appears to have been written with the combined agenda of a pack-rat and a depression-era housewife. Everything is to be collected regardless of its relevance and everything is to be used regardless of its contribution to the nutrition of the dish that is finally served up. The text stands as a 373-page indictment of the narrative as a form of historical explanation. Buried under all this refuse are the coal miners.

Unfortunately, the coal miners are as well illuminated as a nineteenth century pit. Bowen's middle-class preoccupation with those that "made it" obscures from

view all but a few of the actual miners. Those that are deemed worthy of mention in any detail are that perennial small elite of working-class men who, through ambition, aggressiveness, or sheer good fortune, "worked their way up" the corporate hierarchy, went into business for themselves, or somehow or other escaped the predestiny of their class. The average coal miner, those thousands upon thousands of men who descended into the depths of the earth at the age of twelve or less to begin a career in the mines and who emerged thirty or more years later bruised, broken, lungs racked with dust, to eke out a living in their final years as a caretaker or a handy-man these men are not to be found in the pages of *Three Dollar Dreams*.

That this book was awarded the Lieutenant-Governor's Medal for the best book on British Columbia history in 1987 is not so much a measure of its merit as it is a testimonial to the sorry state of British Columbia historiography. The coals miners of nineteenth-century Vancouver Island deserved better than this. Their history remains to be written.

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Conseil des travailleuses et travailleurs du Montréal métropolitain, *Cent ans de solidarité. Histoire du CTM 1886-1986* (Montréal: VLB Editeur 1987).

THIS IS THE FIRST PUBLISHED study on a labour council in Quebec, and as such it is an important addition to the growing corpus of literature that explores the institutional life of the province's workers. Complementary to this, the study also provides another section of a chapter in the yet to be fashioned story of the international union movement in the province. What is also interesting is that the book fits into what appears to be a fashionable trend on the part of Quebec union organizations to sponsor "official" histories. Well beyond the souvenir-programs of a bygone day, yet not up to the scholarly canons of today's

academics, these histories nevertheless add immensely to what we know and to institutional and worker self-definition. In this regard *Cent ans de solidarité* is a most satisfying undertaking.

To celebrate the 100th anniversary of the creation of the first labour council in the province, the <Conseil des travailleuses et travailleurs du Montréal métropolitain> drew together a team of graduate students and union militants to prepare its history. This diverse grouping was asked to produce a popular work that could serve the Council in realizing its educational and promotional missions. The history as a result was to accent the Council's commitment to satisfying the professional, political, and socio-economic interests of its affiliates. The enunciation of such guidelines was simple enough. The work of putting it together in a coherent manuscript was something else. The evolution of the Council was, to say the least, a complex affair. No sooner had a dozen Knights of Labor lodges and international craft union locals come together to form the Central Trades and Labour Council of Montreal in 1886 that a schism erupted. This was just the start of a stormy existence. Splits, inter-union rivalries, reconciliations, and the vicissitudes of Quebec and North American unionism henceforth served as the backdrop to a century of fastidious and often unsung union development. Indeed the Montreal council was much more than the sum of its parts. Considering that the bulk of Quebec's organized workers were concentrated in Montreal, one cannot over-emphasize the importance of the lineal predecessors of the CTTMM. Well down to the late 1930s and then some, the Council was the day-to-day torchbearer of international unionism in the province. It set the agenda. It set the tone. To prepare a history of the Council was, hence, to undertake a challenge of keeping things in perspective, and this was ably achieved by the writers, Sylvie Murray and Elyse Tremblay.

In the language and style of a basic classroom manual, the authors divide

their subject into six chapters that embrace distinct chronological periods: end of the nineteenth century to 1902...the 1970s. Within each chapter, however, one or more specific themes are developed in full. These themes (political action, working conditions, defense of human rights, among others), blend into the narrative even though not restricted in time to the chronological confines of a particular chapter. The result is very readable, and it enlivens what could have become a shopping list of historical events. Each chapter contains marginal notations (short biographies of significant unionists or lists of significant strikes) and a wide selection of engravings and photos, many of the latter being unedited and coming directly from union files. Finally, each chapter closes with a time chart that situates the actions of the Council with union activities in Quebec, Canada, and the United States and with legislative enactments of Quebec and Canada that influenced the worker and the work place. Overall, this is a fine manual that stands on its own, providing a good descriptive drawing together of the many strains of union preoccupation that went into the making of the Montreal labour council.

This said, there are features of the study that merit critical comment. For one, a much better balance and appreciation could have been achieved had the writers devoted more time to the pre-1940 period. At the very least, the "contemporary" period monopolizes 60 per cent of the text, and this in no way is an accurate reflection of the research material available. Clearly the authors mined the surface load, and this conditioned the completeness of their endeavour. A good case in point that reflects on the uneven use of identified primary sources is the book's coverage of the Council's union label offensive. The struggle is enshrined in two bare paragraphs and it is given scant historical dimension. At the turn of the century, however, the Council's union label committee was a going concern that 1) marked important strides in the edification of worker consciousness and 2) served as an important medium to obtain

public recognition for the Council. The Minute Book of this committee is catalogued in the archives of the Quebec Federation of Labour ready to be exploited. Yet it is not called upon to the impoverishment of the study.

One also senses this once-over-lightly approach when examining the secondary sources consulted. There are surprising gaps evident. It is strange to see, for example, that F. Harvey's essay (1973) on the Knights of Labor is not included, that the authors cite J. Rouillard's 1974 essay on political action while seemingly ignoring his updated and expanded version published in 1980, and that no mention is made of the 50th anniversary brochure prepared by the Montreal Trades and Labor Council in 1947. Even the contemporary period could have profited from a more comprehensive use of the literature. M. Grant's thesis on the FUIQ comes to mind.

Another questionable facet of the book is its sanitized approach to the subject. Everything tends toward progress, toward loftier ideals. Warts and blemishes are unconsciously (?) air-brushed away. Endemic to official histories, this may not be the best pab to serve one's intended readership. The predecessors of the CTTMM knew organizational hardship. Internal and external disavowal and interludes of less than democratic direction were their lot. Like other organizations, they often served as a stage for personal gain and ambition. They too had their underside and failures, although this never surfaces. In writing the book there was also a clear attempt to avoid any indication of personality cult. So much so in fact that outside of marginal notes, flesh and bone unionists just do not appear in the narrative. This approach may legitimately serve an objective, but it spawns another instance of sanitization. Such a treatment masks the careerism which is admittedly difficult to reconcile with the democratic-egalitarian rhetoric that floats around institutionalized unionism, but it does haunt such structures.

To make such a critical commentary

should in no way detract from the accomplishment. The CTTMM-sponsored endeavour has to be placed in context: one hundred years of continued preoccupation for the worker is something in itself!

Things have changed. The CTTMM is no longer the torch-bearer. This legacy is now in the hands of the Quebec Federation of Labour, and the role of the CTTMM has consequently become much more circumscribed and manageable. In this respect its importance to the Montreal worker is perhaps greater now than before, for in the ever-expanding technocratization that characterizes present-day Quebec unionism, the Council may be the workers final repair to formulate their needs and to initiate workable strategies to achieve desired ends. Montreal workers have much to gain by pondering their Council's past.

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Claudette Lacelle, *Urban Domestic Servants in 19th-Century Canada/Les domestiques en milieu urbain canadien au XIXe siècle* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada 1987).

THIS STUDY OF DOMESTICS LIVING IN Canadian cities in two periods of the nineteenth century was produced for Parks Canada to help provide the background information necessary for the reconstruction and interpretation of historic houses, and of servants' quarters in particular. It is laudable that Parks Canada should promote such research which will allow them to integrate the most prevalent nineteenth-century female job into their interpretations of past daily life. However, the fact that this was the primary goal will at times frustrate historians seeking answers to questions about different aspects of the life of servants in the nineteenth century.

Claudette Lacelle, constrained and guided by this mandate, has made a good effort to reconstruct the "everyday history" of domestics. In so doing she has

run up against the obstacles facing most researchers who attempt to understand the past life of the least educated, least powerful members of society, and especially of women. Evidence has to be squeezed out of sources produced for other reasons and by people in different class positions. The book is based on a variety of sources: The Quebec City census taken by Curé Signay in 1818, and the Canadian census of 1871 for Quebec, Montreal, Halifax, and Toronto are used to determine in what kind and in what proportion of houses domestics lived with whom and their age, origin and birthplaces. Hiring contracts signed in Quebec City and Montreal between 1816 and 1820 provided information on the occupations of the fathers of that minority of servants who were hired by contract, on their age, and on the terms of the contract. Such quantitative sources are complemented by analysis of house plans, wills, judicial proceedings involving domestics, lithographs, and caricatures of the period. Secondary literature on domestics in Europe, England, and the United States is drawn on heavily to fill the gaps in the evidence she has.

Building on these sources, the book compares the situation of live in domestics in Quebec City and Montreal between 1816 and 1820 with that of women in service in those cities as well as Halifax and Toronto between 1871 and 1875. Domestic service, Claudette Lacelle argues, varied little between Canadian cities in either period. The proportion of houses having servants at all was limited to 10 to 20 per cent; only 2 to 4 per cent of these had four or more servants. Thus most women were the only servant in the house in which they worked. The majority, in both periods, were under 25 and from "fairly humble backgrounds." However, servants seem to have been somewhat younger on the average, in the earlier period, and the social function that service provided appears to have changed. Lacelle argues that in the early-nineteenth-century domestic service "seems to have been a form of assistance that took care of orphans and children

whose families could not fend for them. It was also a kind of education and apprenticeship for young people with little money." (139) In the later period she feels there was much more concern on the part of employers to draw barriers between them and their servants — a greater consciousness of two classes co-existing within one space. Work conditions appear harsher and longer in the later period, and domestic servants appear to have been "viewed less favourably." (140) Furthermore, the habit of affluent families to dine later than previously lengthened the workday for their domestics. At the same time there seems to have been a major change in the gender of servants. Lacelle's sources suggest that in the early nineteenth century half of the hired help was male, while by the 1870s fully 80 per cent were female.

Lacelle is extremely cautious in venturing explanations of such changes, even in interpreting what she finds. The book is studded with phrases which in the end make it difficult to know what one can learn about domestics. "It is impossible to define the typical domestic servant in 1871 further than that she was a young single woman in her early twenties who knew how to read and write;" (79) "It is difficult to discuss what domestic service in Canada and what working conditions were like in the second half of the 19th century since there are few typically Canadian sources to consult;" (89) "I cannot state with certainty;" (107) "We shall never know how much times servants could spend on their pastimes in a day or a week;" (119) and so on. While some caution is clearly warranted and while I suspect that the author was somewhat disappointed herself by the lack of detail in Canadian sources, I found the excessive caution irritating at times, and feel she could have pushed the sources at her disposal further, bled more information out of them, and used them to give more human interest, more of a feel of everyday life to the text. (Here, some of the documents reproduced in the appendix speak louder than the text of the book.) Instead, too often she resorts to explanations

drawn from elsewhere, so that European and American examples are used fairly uncritically to explain the Canadian situation, rather than as comparisons. Although there must surely have been depressing similarities between service in different countries and cultures, I suspect, that there were also some particularities to the Canadian situation.

I also found the comparison of the two periods frustrating at times. The sources are very different, and it is hard to determine how much of the change which is described is real, and how much the result of analyzing different kinds of documents. Furthermore, the major transformations in the society within which these domestics lived are discussed only in the introduction and not used to help explain why conditions might change. By the 1870s the number of options available to both men and women seeking a job had changed dramatically in all these cities. This would suggest not only that the work conditions of servants might change, but also that those seeking such work might constitute a different type of person. Young children, once placed in service because their parents could not afford to feed them, could now earn some money in factory work. Men, who might once have gone into service, could find all sorts of work in the myriad of new unskilled, skilled, or even clerical jobs that accompanied the expansion of industry. Women could quit an employer more readily, knowing that a job in yet another house was not necessarily their only option.

Those interested in the history of work will be disappointed by the scant attention given to the daily tasks of domestics and the absence of any discussion of household technology and its modification over the period. Wonderful reproductions from the *Canadian Illustrated News* show servants struggling with various new fangled gadgets which their mistresses tried to impose on them. They receive no discussions in the text.

Urban Domestic Servants is an important contribution to the history of women's work in Canada. It begins the work of unravelling the contours of some

aspects of women's past lives. More can still be done, even on domestics. We need to trace specific women between documents to reconstruct their life histories, rather than catch them as an aggregate, faceless mass at specific moments in time. The role of men and women needs to be compared more explicitly. Analysis of transformations and continuities over a long period based on a series of comparable sources would also help us to better understand long term trends.

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William Eklund, *Builders of Canada: History of the Finnish Organization in Canada, 1911-1971* (Toronto: Finnish Organization of Canada 1987).

FINNS MAINTAIN THAT WHEREVER five of their countrymen get together they will form a society, but when their number has increased to ten they will form two societies. The book under review is the story of one of these organizations. The Finnish organization of Canada (FOC), founded in 1911, was the first national organization of the Finnish immigrant community, and in the first 30 years of its long history it was the largest and most influential organization among Finnish Canadians. For example, of all those Finns who had formally joined some Finnish organization in Canada by World War I, approximately three-quarters belonged to the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada (its name was changed to the Finnish Organization of Canada in 1923). By the early 1930s, the FOC had about 100 locals, most of them with halls of their own, and some with sports facilities and summer camps, spread across Canada from British Columbia to Ontario. Throughout its history, the FOC had formal or informal links with various left-wing political parties — the Socialist party of Canada from 1906 to 1910, the Social Democratic Party of Canada from 1911 to 1918, and briefly in the early 1920s with the Com-

munist Party of Canada (CPC). When the CPC decided to "bolshelize" itself by dissolving its language federations, the activities of the Finnish Section of the Party were transferred to the FOC. Thereafter, although the FOC leadership was normally in Communist hands, there was no formal connection between the two organizations. Nonetheless, the FOC became synonymous down to the present with the Finnish Canadian radical left, and its fortunes tended to parallel those of the radical left in Canada.

In addition to its activities as a broadly-based cultural organization assisting the integration of its members into mainstream Canadian life while helping them maintain their Finnish ethnic identity, the FOC continued to support radical working-class activities both within and outside the Finnish community in Canada. Because the English language was a major stumbling block to Finnish immigrants and yet Finns were almost universally literate upon their arrival in Canada, left-wing Finns were active supporters of their own press. The first such newspaper appeared in 1901 and throughout its history the FOC has poured resources, financial and otherwise, into the support of its own left-wing press. Beginning with *Työkansa* (Working People), published from 1907 to 1915 in Thunder Bay, and continuing with *Vapaus* (Freedom) first appearing in Sudbury in 1917, the FOC often provided both the editor and the managing director of these papers. In 1935 a literary weekly called *Liekki* (The Flame) first appeared. In 1974 *Vapaus* and *Liekki* were amalgamated to form *Viikkosanomat* (Weekly News), still published in Toronto, and now once again called *Vapaus*.

The author of *Builders of Canada*, William Eklund who died in 1985, was a leading figure in the FOC for most of the 57 years he lived in Canada. For 27 of those years he was the editor of *Vapaus* and in that capacity played a leading role in influencing public opinion among left-wing Finns. His book, first published in a longer Finnish version in 1983 as *Canadian Rakentajia*, offers a fascinating,

although biased, insider's view of the history not only of the FOC but more generally of left-wing Finns in Canada. At the very least, it provides a necessary corrective to the equally biased, misnamed two-volume "history of the Finns in Canada" (*Kanadan suomalaisten historia*, 1975, 1978) which is in reality a history of Canada's "church Finns" with some disparaging accounts here and there of the so-called "red" Finns.

As an amateur historian, Eklund has his limitations. There is a heavy reliance on secondary sources and long quotations from some primary sources (oral interviews) to the point where in places his own narrative does not cohere very well. The narrative flow is also hampered by the author's persistence in jumping backward and forward in time. The arrival of the first Finns in Canada is not mentioned until page 68. The founding of *Vapaus* on one page is followed shortly after by a long discussion of a 1982 meeting marking the newspaper's sixty-fifth anniversary. (166-69) Factual errors, while not plentiful, are sometimes flagrant: the Munich Conference was held in 1938 not 1936 (227), and workmen's compensation did in fact exist in Canada by the 1920s. (204) Eklund's interpretation of events often differs from the standard or "accepted" view. For example, according to him, *Vapaus* and the FOC did not engage in recruitment campaigns designed to encourage Finnish Canadians to emigrate to Soviet Karelia in the early 1930s, and the Winter War was caused not by Stalin but by a belligerent Finnish government allied with Nazi Germany and influenced by "facist minded organizations." Eklund's personal bias is rarely hidden, finally reaching the point in his concluding chapter where the CPC party line shines through unfiltered, including a lengthy quote from then party leader William Kashtan. Nonetheless, the book is worth consulting for the perspective it offers on the history of 70 years of Finnish socialism and left-wing radicalism in Canada. Having been written by an insider, someone who knew close-up the events described and many

of the historical actors such as J.W. Ahlqvist and A.T. Hill, this book becomes a valuable historical document.

Although their numbers today are meagre, the historical role of left-wing Finns both within the Finnish community and the larger Canadian society is noteworthy. Up to 1930, they clearly outnumbered their chief rivals in Canada, the "church" or "white" Finns. The increasing animosity between the two groups weakened the Finns as an ethnic group, and continues to do so till this day. Nonetheless, the significant role of the socialist Finns in Canadian unions such as the Lumber Workers Industrial Union of Canada and the Western Federation of Miners, and in left-wing political parties such as SPC, SDPC, and CPC is undeniable. Although blocked from leadership posts, Finns formed the largest ethnic component of the SDPC (around 60 per cent in 1912) and the CPC in the 1920s (60 per cent of the party membership in 1928). From the 1930s increasing numbers of Finns switched support to the CCF/NDP. Unlike many of their fellow immigrant groups, the Finns did organize a strong and visible movement for radical change in Canada. An estimated 2,000 Finnish Canadians, mostly socialists, left for Soviet Karelia in the early 1930s and a disproportionate number fought with the Mackenzie-Papineau Brigade in the Spanish Civil War (the highest per capita ethnic representation). The newspapers they founded have already been mentioned except for *Vapaa Sana* (Free Word) which was formed by "revisionists" (Eklund's word) who split from the FOC in 1931. That paper, now "politically non-aligned," is today the largest Finnish language newspaper in North America. On the cultural side, about 200 plays were written by Finnish Canadians for the FOC. Together with other plays from Finland and the United States, they were performed in the various FOC halls across the country, sometimes as often as two a month. Eklund provides a detailed account of the theatre in chapter ten, and of FOC sporting activities in chapter twelve.

Post-World War II migration brought few left-wing Finns to swell the ranks of the FOC, and combined with a falling away in membership through defection and death and the failure of following Canadian-born generations to join, the result has been a dramatic decline in the number of locals still in existence (only four remain). This phenomenon leaves Eklund quite perplexed, but typically he optimistically concludes that "tomorrow is another day" and the FOC still has a future. However pathetic such a prediction may seem, there is no denying that the FOC, as Eklund asserts in his title, as been a "builder of Canada."

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Gilbert Vanasse, *Histoire de la Fédération des travailleurs du papier et de la forêt (CSN). Tome I (1907-1958)* (Montréal: Les Editions Saint-Martin 1986).

LE LIVRE DE VANASSE CONSTITUE une très bonne addition à l'histoire du syndicalisme au Québec en général, mais plus particulièrement du syndicalisme national catholique. Comme son auteur l'indique au point de départ, il ne contient pas une histoire économique de l'industrie des pâtes et papiers, ni une histoire du syndicalisme dans ce secteur industriel puis qu'il se limite à une fédération syndicale seulement (la Fédération des travailleurs du papier et de la forêt FTPF) affiliée à la CTCC/CSN. Toutefois, il s'agit d'une des deux fédérations les plus importantes dans le secteur et d'une fédération industrielle de la CTCC/CSN qui a joué un rôle historique de premier plan dans le développement du syndicalisme national catholique au Québec.

Les origines de cet ouvrage publié en 1986 remontent à 1979 alors qu'un projet d'outil de formation syndicale était soumis par l'auteur au comité conjoint formé de représentants des deux principales centrales québécoises (la FTQ et

CSN) et de ceux de l'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). A la suite d'une longue grève menée par la FTPF en 1981, le syndicat demandait cependant à l'auteur d'écrire l'histoire de la Fédération. La rédaction du livre s'est donc échelonnée sur une période de 5 ans à partir du plan soumis par l'auteur à la Fédération et elle s'est réalisée dans le cadre des activités d'enseignement modulaire au département d'histoire de l'UQAM. Elle a donc activement impliqué les étudiants inscrits dans ces activités d'enseignement.

Au lieu d'une chronique ou d'une histoire événementielle, l'auteur, comme il l'écrit lui-même, a voulu reconstituer "les pratiques syndicales bien concrètes d'une fédération professionnelle bien précise." (16) Il s'agit d'un premier tome de l'histoire de la Fédération qui couvre la période de 1907 à 1958. Un second tome en préparation doit couvrir la période plus récente. La périodisation retenue est celle "des principaux changements de structure ayant marqué l'évolution de la Fédération" plutôt que les principales orientations idéologiques ou les grandes revendications. Le contenu est donc centré en plus sur les problèmes d'organisation syndicale, sur des dossiers détaillés englobant les principales revendications, sur une description des grèves vécues par les syndicats affiliés à la Fédération et sur certains changements de mentalité décrits à grands traits.

L'ouvrage comprend dix chapitres regroupés en quatre périodes. La première période qui porte sur les premiers syndicats catholiques de la pulpe et du papier (1907 à 1923) est composée de deux chapitres axés essentiellement sur les origines du syndicalisme catholique dans l'industrie de la pulpe à Chicoutimi en 1903 suivi de la fondation de la Fédération ouvrière de Chicoutimi en 1907 par l'abbé Lapointe. L'auteur rappelle les circonstances et les traits dominants de ce mouvement ouvrier inspiré par la doctrine sociale de l'Eglise et son esprit corporatiste: rejet de l'idéologie de classe, collaboration employeur-employés, rejet de la grève

comme outil d'action syndicale en faveur de l'arbitrage obligatoire pour solutionner les conflits ouvriers-patronaux, etc. Bientôt l'expérience montre que cette formule est insuffisante pour répondre aux besoins des travailleurs et la Fédération doit être restructurée en 1912 (on élimine par exemple la participation des patrons) et relancée sur de nouvelles bases pour en assurer la survie. A partir de 1914, sous le nom de Fédération quvrière mutuelle du Nord, elle connaît une première phase d'expansion à la suite de laquelle elle devient l'un des principaux éléments du noyau qui constituera la CTCC en 1921.

La deuxième période qui tient dans le seul chapitre 3 porte sur la lutte constante menée par la Fédération et ses syndicats affiliés pour survivre pendant les années 1920-30 et qui conduit à une seconde réorganisation majeure en 1934-36. C'est au début de cette période, en 1923, que la Fédération devient la première fédération professionnelle de la CTCC, se donne une structure de base propre et se dote des services d'un organisateur salarié. Cela n'empêche cependant pas l'aumônier de la Fédération et les aumôniers des syndicats locaux de jouer un rôle de premier plan dans l'administration, l'organisation et même la négociation. La Fédération se donne une vocation de syndicat industriel regroupant dans une même unité les "employés de papeteries et pulperies" d'un même endroit. Les syndicats locaux dont les délégués au congrès annuel choisissent le bureau de direction sont affiliés à la fois "à la Fédération, à la CTCC et aux Conseils centraux des villes ou des régions respectives," structure de fonctionnement encore en vigueur aujourd'hui à la CSN. La nouvelle constitution fixe également le montant de la cotisation mensuelle et statue sur le recours à la grève comme moyen de dernière instance auquel "un syndicat puisse avoir recours pour obtenir justice."

Il n'en demeure pas moins que, pendant toute cette période, la Fédération reste chancelante par suite des nombreuses difficultés que connaissent les syndicats affiliés dont le nombre est réduit à seulement deux entre 1928 et

1934 en conséquence de la fermeture temporaire ou permanente de plusieurs usines et entreprises de ce secteur industriel. C'est ce qui explique pourquoi la Fédération est restée sous la tutelle administrative de la CTCC jusqu'en 1937.

Les principales revendications de la Fédération durant cette période portent sur la négociation de véritables conventions collectives par la reconnaissance juridique des syndicats professionnels (Loi des syndicats professionnels de 1924), l'élimination du travail du dimanche et l'instauration de la semaine de six jours de huit heures.

La reprise des activités dans l'industrie à partir de 1934 permet à la Fédération de se réorganiser et de mettre sur pied plusieurs nouveaux syndicats locaux. Celle-ci peut ainsi se donner une plus grande autonomie au congrès de 1936 même si le président de la CTCC en demeure toujours le président.

La période qui va de 1937 à 1944 constitue un point tournant pour la Fédération et signale l'émergence d'un véritable syndicalisme moderne. Cette période est caractérisée par la conquête de son autonomie par la Fédération qui jusqu'alors était demeurée sous la tutelle de la Centrale (CTCC) et par l'affirmation de revendications nouvelles (convention collective provinciale revendication que la Fédération devra assez rapidement abandonnée, lutte contre le chômage et en faveur de la santé et sécurité des travailleurs) au côté des revendications plus traditionnelles telles que celles portant sur le travail du dimanche, le développement du coopératisme et de la mutualité, etc.

Ce qui frappe surtout pendant cette période est la combativité syndicale que s'affirme par de nombreuses grèves en dépit du fait que les relations de travail sont largement régies et les salaires contrôlés par les lois et les mesures adoptées par le gouvernement fédéral dans le cadre de la loi des mesures de guerre. Bien que plusieurs grèves portent en particulier sur les questions salariales, les plus déterminantes ont pour objectif la reconnaissance syndicale. C'est ainsi que

les grèves du Saguenay-Lac-St-Jean en 1942 (celle aux trois usines de Price Brothers à Riverbend, Jonquière et Kénogami, et celle à l'usine de la Lake St. John à Dolbeau) provoquent la création d'une commission d'enquête provinciale dirigée par le juge prévost dont le rapport amène le gouvernement à adopter la première législation sur les relations industrielles au Québec (la Loi des relations ouvrières de 1944).

La période de guerre est aussi significative parce qu'elle donne naissance au premier mouvement qui se manifeste au sein de la FTFP en faveur de la déconfessionnalisation.

Enfin, la quatrième période qui couvre les années d'après guerre (1945 à 1958) porte sur la vie d'une fédération syndicale qui a atteint la maturité. Au plan des structures et de l'organisation syndicales (ch. 8), cette période est marquée par les problèmes de juridiction entre la Fédération et d'autres fédérations de la CTCC, (dont celle de l'imprimerie), la fixation des cotisations et la constitution d'un fonds de grève, les rapports avec les unions internationales et les problèmes d'organisation des travailleurs forestiers et le conflit de juridiction avec l'UCC à ce propos. Enfin, la Fédération se soumet à une enquête interne portant sur la perte de plusieurs gros syndicats de la Mauricie et le malaise général qui règne parmi les syndicats affiliés à cette époque. Cette enquête interne conduit à une nouvelle réorganisation structurelle en 1958.

Pendant cette période de maturité, la Fédération et ses syndicats affiliés font porter leurs demandes surtout sur les revendications salariales et autres clauses monétaires, sur la réduction, et sur d'autres questions à l'agenda depuis longtemps telles que le travail du dimanche, la sécurité syndicale, la santé et la sécurité du travail et la sécurité d'emploi.

Cette période est également ponctuée d'un mouvement de grève important en 1953 et 1956 qui va conduire entre autres à la désaffiliation de plusieurs syndicats de la Mauricie qui passent du côté des syndicats internationaux.

L'auteur conclut ce premier tome de l'histoire de la FTFP en rappelant que les travailleurs avaient "réussi très tôt à faire reconnaître leurs intérêts spécifiques par les membres du clergé" et à mettre en échec le "vieux modèle des corporations mixtes élaboré par les catholiques sociaux européens." Les luttes pour le droit d'association et de négociation de la Fédération et de ses syndicats affiliés ont également conduit à l'adoption de la Loi des relations ouvrières de 1944 et par la suite aux gains importants touchant les salaires, le fêtes chômées payées, les vacances, la réduction de la semaine de travail et les clauses de sécurité syndicale. A travers toute cette période, "la Fédération a réussi à surmonter les revers les plus pénibles, en sachant faire preuve d'un authentique esprit d'autocritique, même lorsque l'échec était imputable pour une large part à des causes extérieures."

L'ouvrage écrit par Vanasse apporte une contribution importante à l'histoire syndicale au Québec. Il fournit un complément essentiel aux ouvrages généraux publiés dans le passé dont le contenu factuel et les analyses ont souffert de l'absence d'études particulières portant sur des fédérations syndicales telles que la FTFP ou des syndicats internationaux tels que les Métallos dont Jean Gérin-Lajoie a publié une histoire récente, *Les Métallos, 1936-1981*, ou portant sur des syndicats locaux et sur des chapitres particuliers ou des questions particulières de l'évolution du mouvement ouvrier au Québec.

L'objectif fixé par l'auteur et l'approche qu'il s'est donnée ont été suivis de façon étroite. L'auteur a consulté une documentation abondante et diversifiée, mais aussi limitée par les moyens dont il a disposé. Il signale lui-même d'ailleurs l'absence de recherches historiques de base qui auraient pu lui permettre d'aller plus loin dans son analyse, par exemple l'absence d'une étude approfondie sur les débuts et l'évolution du syndicalisme à Chicoutimi dans les années 1900 à 1920, et surtout l'absence d'études sur les syndicats locaux.

Le livre est présenté de façon claire, les chapitres sont relativement courts et le texte n'est pas surchargé de données et de tableaux. Les notes se consultent facilement à la fin de chaque chapitre et l'ouvrage est parsemé ici et là de photographies bien choisies qui permettent de mettre des visages et des lieux physiques sur les noms de personnes et de lieux qui apparaissent dans le texte. Une carte géographique de Québec indiquant les lieux d'implantation des usines de pâtes et papiers de même que quelques photos additionnelles de milieux de travail (comme les deux photos des machines à papier de l'usine de Port-Alfred sur lesquelles, d'ailleurs, j'ai pu reconnaître plusieurs de mes anciens concitoyens) auraient ajouté encore à la qualité de la présentation déjà bien faite du livre.

Sur le contenu, on regrette que l'auteur n'ait pas accordé plus d'importance à certains aspects qui me semblent importants pour une histoire plus complète de la FTFP. Ainsi, la FTFP a constitué une école de formation et d'action pour plusieurs leaders syndicaux de la CTCC/CSN dont le moindre n'est sans doute pas Jean Marchand. Le rôle joué par ces dirigeants au sein de la Fédération tout comme au sein de la Centrale devrait être examiné. Également, le long conflit de juridiction entre la Fédération et l'U.C.C. concernant la syndicalisation des travailleurs forestiers n'est pas suffisamment traité. L'auteur y consacre à peine quelques paragraphes. Or ce conflit qui remonte aux années 1930 a impliqué l'intervention de l'assemblée des évêques du Québec et a été au cœur des dénonciations d'infiltration communiste dont la Fédération et la CTCC ont fait l'objet au début des années 1950. Ces dénonciations visant entre autres certains dirigeants de la FTFP ont été utilisées par des organisateurs de l'U.C.C. pour organiser le premier syndicat de bûcherons officiellement reconnu et signer la première convention collective dans ce secteur.

Enfin, faute d'espace ou à cause de la perspective adoptée par l'auteur, cet ouv-

rage n'examine pas suffisamment une question qui me semble sous-jacente non seulement à l'évolution même de la Fédération et au syndicalisme qu'elle représente, mais aussi aux conflits de juridiction entre les syndicats catholiques nationaux et les syndicats internationaux, c'est-à-dire le conflit entre le syndicalisme de métier (représenté en particulier par les "faiseurs de papier" qui ont traditionnellement formé l'aristocratie ouvrière dans l'industrie des pâtes et papiers) et le syndicalisme industriel. En ce sens il serait faux de réduire l'affrontement et les conflits entre les syndicats catholiques nationaux et les syndicats internationaux à des questions d'idéologies religieuses ou de philosophies politiques. Il faut sûrement considérer cet affrontement aussi comme celui du syndicalisme industriel plus ou moins bien représenté par la FTFP/CTCC face au syndicalisme de métier représenté par les syndicats internationaux. C'est ainsi, par exemple, que les syndicats internationaux ont pendant de longues périodes plusieurs décennies dans certains cas maintenu l'adhésion des "faiseurs de papiers" dans leurs rangs dans des usines en majorité syndiquées par la Fédération (CTCC/CSN) et que, dans des conflits de juridiction et des tentatives de maraudage, ces mêmes syndicats ont eu recours à leurs têtes de pont chez les "faiseurs de papier" pour tenter de déloger les syndicats catholiques nationaux.

A la décharge de l'auteur, on peut toutefois dire que ces questions n'entraient pas dans le cadre qu'il s'était fixé et qu'elles pourraient faire l'objet d'un ouvrage ultérieur. Même si le livre de Vanasse donne un compte rendu peut-être trop favorable et sympathique de la Fédération des travailleurs du papier et de la forêt de la CSN, il n'en apporte pas moins une contribution essentielle et intéressante à l'analyse historique du mouvement ouvrier au Québec. Il nous donne aussi le goût de lire le second tome promis portant sur la période contemporaine avec tout autant d'intérêt. Ce n'est pas

là un moindre accomplissement.

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Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1987).

PACIFISM IS A CREED WITH deep historical roots and, in all eras, few adherents. As advocates of non-violence, pacifists have been generally reviled by mainstream opinion, especially during times of war, and only grudgingly tolerated (at best) or (more likely) anathematized by the custodians of state power. Virtually by definition, pacifists have been deviants, and until very recent times their nonconformity has usually been rooted in religious dissent. It is not surprising, then, that clergymen and their followers and debates among the Christian faithful are at the heart of Thomas Socknat's book.

Canadian pacifism in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a product of two streams of thought: the sectarian tradition, associated mostly with Mennonites, Hutterites, Quakers, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Doukhobors; and the non-sectarian, liberal tradition which derived part of its inspiration from enlightenment rationalism. Advocates of the former were usually absolute pacifists, some of whom were almost entirely alienated from the state; those espousing the latter were generally qualified in their beliefs and tended to stress their opposition to militarism and support for internationalism and the peaceful settlement of disputes. This liberal pacifism was closely linked to religion, largely Protestantism (Catholics play virtually no role in this history), and was one of the voices associated with the social gospel. Progress, reform, conciliation, spiritual renewal: all were seen as interconnected. The social gossellers, as Socknat remarks, held to "the general faith that world peace and social justice would be the ultimate reward for follow-

ing the word of Christ, especially the Sermon on the Mount."

Then came the hurricane of World War I. Pacifists were soon on the defensive, especially the non-sectarian liberals, and the peace movement partly disintegrated. The great majority of Protestants allied themselves with state policy; many individual pacifists abandoned the cause; and the evil of war was superseded by the evil of the Hun. Two kinds of pacifists held firm to their beliefs: the religious fundamentalists and some of the social radicals, including a handful of feminists. The intensity of this principled opposition to the War became particularly marked after the introduction of conscription in 1917, which highlighted the central question of conscientious objection. The experiences of the small body of single-minded pacifists who persisted in their anti-war activities served to radicalize them further, often bringing their views into closer alignment with those of the political left.

The years after 1918 witnessed a strengthening of the bonds between socialism and pacifism as social critics increasingly pointed to the ties between the political economy of capitalism and the scourges of imperialism and militarism. The postwar mood of political disillusionment encouraged these critiques and the onset of the Great Depression gave them enhanced vitality and persuasiveness. By the early 1930s, in Socknat's words, "Those Canadians deeply involved in the peace movement found socialism to be a natural extension of their desire for a new social order, and in effect combined the basic ingredients of pacifism and socialism in their dream of a peaceful, co-operative, and just society." Of course, those who considered themselves pacifists were not always socialists. Some were anti-imperialists who wanted to escape the British connection; others were internationalist proponents of the League of Nations; others still were especially concerned to reduce or eliminate the militarist elements in public education, such as cadet training. The peace movement of this genera-

tion was actually a broad coalition of socialists, "absolute pacifists, who were adamantly opposed to all wars and violent revolutions, and liberal internationalists and other peace activists who believed war, though sometimes necessary, was always irrational and inhumane and therefore should be prevented."

This coalition collapsed in the face of fascist aggression. The alliance between pacifism and socialism was sorely tested by the Spanish Civil War, which exposed the tension between the commitment to non-violence and the pursuit of social justice in the face of tyrannical power. Most socialists concluded that justice would have to be fought for. And almost all Canadians, observing the alarming political developments overseas, had decided by 1939 that there was no choice but to resist fascism with military force. As a result, the pacifism that survived during World War II was confined mostly to the religious absolutists. The only mainstream denomination that suffered any internal theological anguish over the legitimacy of the War was the United Church of Canada, which had always included a minority of dedicated pacifists. Some 12,000 men came to be classified as conscientious objectors and most of them were employed in some kind of alternative service (fighting forest fires, farming, industry). While this programme of alternative employment was welcomed by most pacifists as the least of various possible personal evils, the jobs they did generally contributed at least indirectly (given the acute shortage of labour) to the overall war effort.

Witness Against War is a well-told story. Socknat is thoughtful, informative, judicious, and sympathetic but not too sympathetic toward his subject. One admires the courage and resilience of many of these dissenters, especially in wartime, when they faced ostracism and contempt. One also admires their commitment to an alternative vision to that of power politics: a vision informed by an idealism of reconciliation and constructive co-operation. But did they have any impact? Socknat thinks that "as a moral minority

they were influential beyond their numbers." This may be so; certainly they helped to keep alive certain traditions of decency (including the respect for civil liberties). However, their numbers and their appeal were always small and their influence on policy was rarely more than modest and normally somewhere between minimal and nil. Perhaps had they not existed things might have been worse. At any rate, they did exist, and Socknat has given us an admirable account of their aspirations and failures, their hopeful initiatives and coping with political disappointment. Two conventional responses to the prospect of war were either to put it out of mind or to celebrate and mystify it. Pacifists were looking for a third way, a way that would render war obsolete. This central objective has, of course, acquired even greater urgency since August 1945.

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Sandra Djwa, *The Politics of the Imagination: A Life of F.R. Scott* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1987).

"POLITICS." F.R. SCOTT ONCE WROTE, "is the art of making artists. It is the art of developing in society the laws and institutions which will best bring out the creative spirit which lives in greater or less degree in every one of us. The right politics sets as its aim the maximum development of every individual. Free the artist in us, and the beauty of society will look after itself." (269) For Francis Reginald Scott, the subject of Sandra Djwa's lengthy biography, the creative dialectic between politics and art acted as the constant element in a life which encompassed poetry, the teaching of law, the forceful advocacy of civil liberties, and the committed political thinking and activism which has secured his place in the pantheon of the Canadian tradition of democratic socialism.

Scott's political credo, founded upon art and imagination, reveals a fundamen-

tal tension. Here was a democratic socialist ostensibly committed to the eradication of capitalism and the construction of the cooperative commonwealth, yet one who believed that the purpose of society must be directed toward the cultivation of the individual and the "rule of law," two of the fundamental liberal premises which had, historically, sustained the Anglo-Canadian intellectual elite. Was Scott a "liberal progressive" or a "social democrat?" Given Scott's bewildered incomprehension of the radical socialist current of the 1960s, his magisterial relationship with Pierre Trudeau, and his movement toward Liberalism in the 1950s and 1960s, a course which paralleled that of his colleague, Frank Underhill, the precise nature of Scott's commitment to democratic socialism becomes an extremely important question.

Readers seeking an explanation of Scott's political views will be disappointed by this biography. Despite its suggestive title, *The Politics of the Imagination* leaves the reader far more satisfied on the sources and context of Scott's poetry than on the nature of his socialism. It is one of the strengths of this book that the author devotes so much attention to reconstructing and explaining the cultural environment in which Scott's poetics took shape. In a number of gracefully written chapters, Djwa stresses the importance of F.R. Scott's relationship with his father, Canon F.G. Scott, a High Anglican clergyman poet. The elder Scott imbued his son with the late Victorian, romantic, chivalric ethos — an inheritance which confirmed the membership of the sensitive young scholar in the Anglo-Quebec elite. While his career as a civil liberties advocate suggests the retention of at least part of the world-view of the Christian gentleman, Scott had, by the 1920s, rejected much of this creed, including any religious belief in the traditional sense. But as the author makes clear, despite Scott's reading of the new relativity physics of Arthur Eddington and the vitalist philosophy of Henri Bergson, his poetry retained many powerful religious

elements and images derived from the High Anglican Mass.

The public dramas of Scott's legal career are accorded full treatment, especially his contributions to the Canadian civil liberties tradition. Somewhat surprisingly, *The Politics of the Imagination* provides only tantalizing hints of the sources of Scott's constitutional and political thought. Why, for example, was Scott prepared to accord such a wide sphere of powers to the federal government in order to protect the individual? The reader is treated to *obiter dicta* concerning the role of F.S. Woodsworth in converting the young lawyer-poet to socialism and to Scott's reading of R.H. Tawney's *The Acquisitive Society* at Oxford, but the author is strangely silent on the fact that Scott's years at Oxford coincided with the great British debates on the nature of liberalism and socialism, intellectual currents with which Scott would certainly have been familiar. Indeed, *The Politics of the Imagination* contains no close analysis of *Social Planning for Canada*, one of the crucial texts of the democratic socialist movement, and a document which bears the impress of Scott's mature thinking on the subject of community and individual rights.

The author is on firmer ground in dealing with strictly literary themes. In what are the strongest chapters of this study, Djwa painstakingly reconstructs the Montreal cultural and artistic scene which formed a backdrop to much of Scott's literary activity. Of crucial interest to literary and cultural historians is his relationship to fellow-poets A.J.M. Smith, E.J. Pratt, and Irving Layton, who, together with Scott, pioneered modernist poetics in Canada. As with his commitment to social democracy, Scott's identification with modernism was a curiously ambivalent one. The author makes the crucial point that despite his experimentation with modernist lyrics and forms, Scott remained "essentially romantic in sensibility" (92), his poetry dominated by images and themes drawn from a nationalist identification with the land. Even when his verse served as the vehicle

of social criticism, he was frequently chastised for sentimentalism by Irving Layton and other practitioners of "proletarian realism."

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that F.R. Scott, who began his life as the scion of privilege, ended his life as something of an outsider. By 1960, his ideal of the gentleman knight-errant and the "reign of law," the product of Christian home and boarding school, which had sustained both his poetry and political activity, was no longer a powerful force shaping the outlook of the Anglo-Canadian elite. At the same time, Scott experienced an inability to communicate with a new generation of Quebec literary and cultural leaders. There is a melancholic quality about the latter sections of the book, as the author strives to come to terms with a man who had spent much of his life seeking to understand French Canadian nationalism, and to promote political and social reform in the province of Quebec, experiencing sudden rejection and hostility from a new generation of nationalists for whom he was merely another "Rhodesian," a member of a despised social elite.

This is a sympathetic biography of a prominent Canadian whose contributions did much to shape Canadian culture and politics between 1920 and 1960. It is a book which will at once delight the historian of Canadian literature and disappoint those seeking any new interpretations of Scott's place in the intellectual tradition of democratic socialism. An additional irritant is the length and clumsiness of the text, a problem which should have been eliminated through more careful editing. Although the anecdotes of F.R. Scott's life make delightful reading, the author's propensity to work a vast number of interviews almost verbatim into the text leads to unnecessary repetition, particularly of material relating to the last years of Scott's life. Yet despite the failure to come to terms with Scott's political legacy, *The Politics of the Imagination* contains a number of provocative hints concerning the influence of the Anglican religion and the upper class

ethos on the shaping of social-democratic thought which are well worth pursuing by both the cultural and the political historian.

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Norman Penner. *Canadian Communism: The Stalin Years and Beyond* (Toronto: Methuen 1988).

"THERE SHOULD BE NO FORGOTTEN NAMES and no blank pages in history and literature," Mikhail Gorbachev declared recently in an outburst of openness, "otherwise it is not history or literature, but artificial constructions." (285) Gorbachev's rhetorical flourish adorns the closing chapter of Norman Penner's new study of Canadian Communism and it constitutes an appropriate, if unintended, comment on the book itself. While it would be unfair to label Penner's poorly organized survey an artificial construction, it is clear that he has forgotten many names and left many pages blank in this disjointed rendition of the highs and lows in the history of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC).

Penner's discussion unfolds within a rigid institutional framework. His goal is to write a "complete history" (vii) of the CPC from 1921 to 1981. However, he focusses exclusively on the Party leadership, its ideas, and its relationship with the international Communist movement. This emphasis on the leading cadre proves to be far from complete in itself. The significant roles played by Maurice Spector, Malcolm Bruce, William Moriarty, Michael Buhay, and Florence Custance, among others, in the Party's first decade receive scant, if any, attention. Tim Buck is established as the pre-eminent leadership figure from the time of the CPC's formation, a view that has been effectively demolished elsewhere. Penner's sympathetic portrayal of Buck, including an heroic account of Buck's trial and imprisonment in 1931, speaks more to the man's personal charisma per-

haps, than it does to the historical reality of his high-handed domination of the Party hierarchy after 1929. The importance of the personality factor in explaining Buck's ascendancy in the Canadian movement might stand as an implicit contribution of the book. It becomes evident that Penner, who led the "oppositionist" assault on Buck's leadership in the CPC's Central Committee after Khrushchev's 1956 revelations about Stalin's crimes and the cult of the individual, possesses a grudging admiration for Buck whatever his political differences with the infallible leader in the past.

If many prominent names in the CPC's early history are overlooked, then *Canadian Communism* equally bypasses the experience of the majority of Party members and some of their more noteworthy struggles. Penner is concerned with little more than the connection between prevailing wisdoms emanating from the Soviet Union and the political theorizing of Canadian officials. An introductory chapter describes the "relentless juggernaut of Stalinism" (16) grinding its way to hegemony in the Communist International. The twists and turns in CPC tactics in keeping with Moscow dictates are then set out in mechanical fashion: from the initial Leninist united front position to the "sterile sectarianism" of the 1928-34 ultra-left phase, Penner pushes us through the Popular Front period of the late 1930s into the "bizarre" campaign against the "imperialist war" from late 1939 to mid-1941, the switch to an all-out war against fascism, and another brief moment of "hard-line leftism" in the early Cold War years, before outlining the Party's charting of a parliamentary road to socialism in the 1950s and closing with the doctrine of peaceful co-existence with capitalism which came to the fore as the first Cold War thawed.

There is nothing new or provocative in Penner's view from the top. He subscribes to a standard historiographical formula that relegates the middle-level cadre and the Party rank-and-file to historical obscurity. Such an approach leaves the CPC's history barren and life-

less, neglecting the extent to which Canadian Communism, while affiliated with and obedient to the Comintern, was also shaped by the national experience. After detailing the myriad of Soviet-inspired shifts in CPC practice with methodical precision, Penner draws the astonishing conclusion that "this does not mean that all its politics were directed from Moscow ... or that it did not disagree on occasion with the Comintern's secretariat." (287) The statement is meaningless because Penner's analysis is confined to the Party's top-rank bureaucracy and does not delve at all into the 'other' Communist Party which responded to Canadian conditions and embraced local traditions.

Almost as an afterthought, Penner tacks a brief discussion of the ethnic question and the CPC onto the end of the book. The crucial place of the Finnish, Ukrainian, and Jewish language federations in the factional contest of the late 1920s and early 1930s and their resistance to the Bolshevization of the Party structure, as well as the simple fact of their overwhelming numerical significance in the CPC ranks throughout its history, does not surface in the main body of the text. Penner also chooses to ignore these elements in the addendum. Instead, he launches a bitter attack on the sectarian habits of the Communist Ukrainian associations within their own community. This critique is in keeping with the general theme of *Canadian Communism*: that an insidious sectarian outlook prevented the CPC from sinking deep roots in the mainstream of Canadian political life.

In Penner's view, the fundamental character of Canadian Communism was established in the broader context of Stalin's drive for power from 1924 to 1929. One of Stalin's greatest crimes, according to Penner, was the process whereby he converted the Communist definition of social democracy from an opposing trend in the working class to being the leading enemy of Communism and therefore of the working class. Stalin's distorted definition of social

democracy was the main instrument he used to shift the entire world Communist movement to an ultra-left position in 1928. After the Sixth Congress of the Communist International adopted Stalin's class versus class policy, the Canadian Party dutifully jumped aboard the sectarian bandwagon and journeyed down a disastrous road that could only lead to political isolation.

The enthusiasm of the Canadian cadre for the ultra-left package of the third period (1928-34) determined the political fortunes of the Communist Party for years to come. Penner shows how the CPC managed to alienate potential allies in the socialist and labour movements in the midst of the Depression. Hysterical propaganda and agitation, served up with lashings of abuse for "social fascists" and "labour fakirs," repelled thousands of people "who might have responded to a genuine call for unity." (105) The CPC's revolutionary trade union centre, the Workers Unity League, was a "failure," despite some success in organizing the unorganized and unemployed. Most important in view of the long-term consequences, Penner concludes, was the Communist tirade against the newly formed Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) — it represented "probably the strongest attack by any Communist Party in the world on social democracy." (114)

Stalin's legacy for Canadian Communism, then, was a strong streak of sectarianism, a trait that could not be cast off even after the call for a Popular Front against fascism has been taken up in 1935. "Much of the new orientation ordered by the Comintern to end the so-called 'third-period'," Penner suggests, "was beneficial to the Canadian Party, but in its overall relations or lack of them with social democracy, the Party's practice was still firmly rooted in the old tactic." (156) Relations between the Communists and the CCF social democrats had been damaged beyond repair and the ensuing enmity would plague CPC efforts to establish itself as an effective force on the Canadian left. This hostility surfaced most strongly within the labour move-

ment. The persistence of Communist name-calling produced incessant clashes and the fierce Communist-CCF trade union rivalry reached its logical conclusion in the cold War assault by the social democrats on the bastions of CPC support among organized labour. When assessing blame for this sequence of events, Penner is quick to harangue the short-sightedness of the Communist leadership. By placing obstacles in the way of CCF-labour political action and regarding the CCF leaders as enemies, the Party reaped what it had sown.

In short, then, Penner suggests that the CPC missed its historical opportunity to find a niche in Canada's political milieu by not subordinating itself to reformist politicians and moderate labour leaders. It is not necessary to condone the sectarian idiocy of the third period, nor the Stalinist treachery which pervades most of the Party's history, to appreciate that the Communist movement garnered considerable, and perhaps its most reliable, support among working-class constituencies when it pursued vigorous left-wing policies in defence of workers' rights and on behalf of the unemployed, or as it strove to build a militant organizing cadre in the labour movement, a significant minority that would later energize the CIO's industrial union drive in Canada. But to tap this experience, the historian must step outside the Party's Central Committee and endeavour to locate Communist activists in the community setting, to see the rank-and-file militants operating in daily struggles, sometimes in ways that stood at odds with bureaucratic directives from the Party hierarchy. With this in mind, the growth of the Communist Party of Canada beginning around 1932, "in spite of everything" (117) as Penner puts it and which he explains away as a result of the fortuitous intersection of unemployment and the popularity of the campaign for the release of Tim Buck and his colleagues, can be case in a new light. The CPC's membership gains might instead speak to the drawing power of a class struggle programme among segments of the work-

ing class in the context of the capitalism's greatest crisis.

In general, the historiography of Canadian Communism has been preoccupied with a narrow focus on the Party hierarchy and political zig-zags orchestrated from above. Penner's work is firmly rooted in this tradition. In its adherence to limited institutional parameters, *Canadian Communism* perpetuates the tendency to keep the historical experience of the majority, the men and women who joined or supported the Communist movement in Canada, hidden from view. The decisive effect Russian influence had in shaping Canadian Communism is not disputed, but to leave it at this is to tell only half the story. Only by shifting the focus of inquiry to the rank-and-file milieu can the "complete history" of the Communist Party be revealed and its status as an important component of Canada's radical heritage be more fully understood.

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Centre populaire de documentation de Montréal, *Le choc du passé. Les années trente et les sans-travail. Bibliographie sélective annotée* (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture 1986).

L'INSTITUT QUÉBÉCOIS de recherche sur la culture, dans sa série Documents de recherche, a publié en 1986 une bibliographie sélective annotée sur les années 1930 et les sans-travail. Cette bibliographie a été réalisée par une équipe de chercheurs du Centre populaire de documentation de Montréal (CPD). Cet organisme sans but lucratif créé en 1976, recueille la documentation sur les conditions de vie, de travail et sur les mouvements populaires. Ses préoccupations sont d'abord contemporaines; il veut: "cerner les différentes manifestations de l'actuelle crise économique et sociale." Il trouve dans la crise des années 1930 des éléments qui lui permettent de com-

prendre la situation actuelle. Le CPD gère un fonds documentaire constitué de livres, de dossiers de presse, de périodiques des mouvements sociaux urbains et d'affiches populaires. En outre, il produit des listes d'acquisitions et publie une revue de presse sur la conjoncture socio-économique.

L'origine de cette bibliographie remonte à 1979, année où le CPD entreprend une recherche sur les sans-emplois des années trente et sur l'influence de leurs luttes sur l'évolution des politiques sociales au pays en vue de la publication d'une étude. Suite à diverses demandes, le CPD décide en 1983 de produire un ouvrage bibliographique qui comprendrait les titres qu'il possède. On s'est alors rendu compte que cette documentation était incomplète. La recherche fut élargie à tous les ouvrages bibliographiques. "L'accouchement" de cette bibliographie a été, paraît-il, difficile (incendie, précarité financière, etc.). Quoiqu'il en soit, le résultat est là. Une bibliographie de 276 titres.

Il y a une vingtaine d'années, lorsque se sont amorcées les études historiques sur les travailleurs québécois, on avait l'habitude de déplorer le peu de documentation sur les travailleurs. Force est de constater que la science historique a connu une explosion dans ce domaine puisqu'on a réussi à rassembler 276 titres sur les sans-travail des années 1930; et par surcroît, sur une période qui en dépit de son importance, a été peu fouillée par les historiens.

Cette bibliographie a pour borne chronologique, les années 1929 à 1939. Sa thématique porte sur les mouvements de sans-travail, leurs origines, leurs organisations, leurs revendications, leurs manifestations et leurs expressions culturelles. Les auteurs n'ont pas cherché à donner une définition stricte du terme "sans-travail". Pour eux, ce terme recouvre diverses réalités: chômeurs, inaptes au travail, indigents, hommes ou femmes, jeunes ou vieux, d'origines ethniques ou nationales différentes. La recherche du CPD s'est orientée vers la cueillette des documents et des études sur

le mouvement ouvrier, les organisations politiques, les agences sociales, les gouvernements, les Eglises et les institutions religieuses, les forces policières et l'armée, les idéologies et les manifestations culturelles. Cette approche transparaît dans la structure de la bibliographie qui comporte cinq thèmes: 1. Le contexte économique et social; 2. Les organisations de sans-travail; 3. L'Etat, les partis politiques et les politiques sociales; 4. Les mouvements ouvriers et sociaux; 5. La culture. Les auteurs de cette bibliographie ne semblent pas avoir visé l'exhaustivité car leur publication se veut un complément aux ouvrages bibliographiques déjà publiés.

Sur les 276 notices bibliographiques, 142 réfèrent à des titres anglais et 134 à des titres français. Ce sont des articles, des études gouvernementales, des monographies, des thèses, des recueils de documents, des témoignages d'époque et des synthèses historiques. Il est dommage que les documents audiovisuels aient été exclus.

La structure de la bibliographie ou le regroupement des titres a été fait en fonction des cinq thèmes déjà indiqués précédemment qui sont autant de chapitres. Chaque chapitre est divisé en deux sections: l'une pour le Québec, l'autre pour le Canada. Ces cinq sections ou chapitres sont précédés d'une présentation qui décrit le contenu et le type de références retenues. Le premier chapitre qui porte sur le contexte économique et social comporte 75 titres; le deuxième, sur les organisations de sans-travail, 32 titres; le troisième, sur l'Etat, les partis, et les politiques sociales, 79 titres; le quatrième, sur le mouvement ouvrier et les mouvements sociaux, 64 titres; et le cinquième, sur la culture, 26 titres.

Pour chaque référence, il y a un numéro d'ordre qui sert pour l'index, le nom de l'auteur, le titre de l'ouvrage, le lieu d'édition, l'année d'édition et le nombre de pages. Ces informations sont complétées par des notices fort bien faites qui décrivent l'ouvrage et le replacent dans son contexte. Le sigle CPD apparaît

lorsque le document est disponible au Centre populaire de documentation de Montréal.

Le volume contient en outre une présentation de 25 pages qui décrit le CDP, l'origine du projet et son objet, fait un bref bilan historiographique et explique la méthodologie retenue pour dresser cette bibliographie. Richard Boutet réalisateur du film "La turlute des années dures" a signé la préface.

Une liste des répertoires bibliographiques et des index de thèses dépouillés qui comprend 8 titres est placée après les références bibliographiques. Deux index, l'un pour les périodiques cités, l'autre par auteur, complètent le tout. Dans le premier index, les périodiques sont classés en fonction de deux périodes: les années trente et 1959 à 1984. Pour chaque périodique, on donne le titre, le numéro de référence et la date de publication. L'index des auteurs fournit le nom, le prénom et le numéro de référence.

Cette bibliographie si imparfaite soit-elle, mérite des éloges. D'abord les principaux ouvrages sur le sujet y figurent, ils y sont bien présentés et bien décrits. Le chercheur trouvera rapidement tous les renseignements sur un titre donné avec en plus une description de son contenu. Elle est particulièrement intéressante et originale dans l'accent qui est mis au niveau des organisations de sans-travail.

Il faut insister sur l'utilité et l'absolu nécessité de tels instruments de travail. Les bibliographes font partie intégrante de la communauté des chercheurs bien qu'ils ne reçoivent pas toujours le crédit qu'ils méritent. L'historien, auteur d'un ouvrage sur un sujet donné, reçoit tout le mérite pour sa recherche alors qu'on oublie parfois ceux qui lui ont facilité la tâche balisant son champ documentaire lui évitant ainsi de se noyer sous un flot de publications les plus diverses. Que les artisans de cette bibliographie reçoivent donc le crédit qui leur revient.

Autre vertu de cette publication, est qu'elle semble avoir été produite hors des milieux universitaires et gouvernementaux. On sait peu de choses sur la forma-

tion de ses auteurs. Elle a été réalisée par un groupe de chercheurs, subventionnés certes, mais qui ont travaillé hors des cadres traditionnels de la recherche historique. Quel bel exemple de l'éclatement de la science historique. Il est heureux que la pratique historique sorte des milieux traditionnels.

Cette contribution aura enfin suscité l'attention des chercheurs sur une période en particulier dont on s'explique mal comment il se fait qu'elle ait attiré si peu d'historiens ni donné lieu à aucun ouvrage important. Cette bibliographie sur les sans-travail des années trente indique plusieurs voies de recherche, balise une période et éclaire les chercheurs. Elle influencera sûrement l'évolution de l'historiographie.

Sans vouloir "étaier les péchés" que les historiens et les spécialistes auraient, paraît-il, l'habitude de déceler dans une nouvelle publication pour se plier à "la charmante coutume du milieu" (pour reprendre les mots même de la présentation) j'aimerais signaler quelques lacunes. Cette critique se veut positive; elle ne vise pas à discréditer l'ouvrage. Au contraire, elle veut orienter le chercheur. Que les auteurs se rassurent, la qualité de la langue n'est pas en cause, le français est d'un niveau fort acceptable. Les péchés que j'ai à déplorer ne sont que véniels. Ils tiennent sans doute pour une bonne part aux conditions dans lesquelles ce travail a été réalisé.

Les auteurs nous préviennent que leur bibliographie est une sélection de titres. Fort bien. Si les monographies sur le sujet sont pour la plupart signalées, les documents d'archives syndicales ou gouvernementales et la documentation officielle n'ont été qu'effleurés. On s'explique mal l'absence de certains titres tels: les mémoires d'Alfred Charpentier; les ouvrages de Robert Migner sur Camilien Houde; les bibliographies de H. Blair Neatby sur William Lyon Mackenzie King et de Ernest Watkins sur R.B. Bennett.

La documentation officielle retenue est très parcellaire. De nombreux rapports de ministères et des textes législatifs

manquent. par exemple les rapports du Directeur de l'Assistance publique.

Je me permettrai d'insister sur un document officiel en particulier, le compte rendu des débats parlementaires. Il ne s'agit pas ici de faire des reproches aux auteurs de cette bibliographie. Les historiens québécois ont souvent tendance à oublier cette source capitale dont la richesse est inouïe. Nos parlements sont le reflet d'une époque, certains diraient un miroir déformant. Néanmoins ils rendent compte des grands débats qui agitent une société. Il ne fait pas de doute que le problème des sans-travail a fait l'objet, tant à Québec qu'à Ottawa, de nombreux débats et d'une abondante législation. Le *hansard fédéral* qui publie officiellement les débats parlementaires de la Chambre des communes existe pour la période de la crise. Pour ce qui est de l'Assemblée législative de Québec, un tel compte rendu n'existe malheureusement pas. Une équipe d'historiens dissoute en 1986, était à reconstituer les débats de l'Assemblée législative. Elle s'est rendue jusqu'aux débuts des années 1920. Cependant pour la période qui nous intéresse, 1929 à 1939, il y a moyen de retrouver ces débats parlementaires: il faut aller dans les journaux; *Le Soleil*, *Le Devoir*, *La Presse*, etc. Un survol rapide de ces journaux nous a permis de retracer des discours très intéressants. Signalons les interventions de Louis-Alexandre Taschereau, celles d'Athanase David, notamment sur les pensions de vieillesse (1934), celles du docteur Philippe Hamel sur les trusts, celles de T.B. Bouchard et de Camillien Houde pour n'en citer que quelques-unes. En fait tous les débats des onze sessions de 1929 à 1939 sont à lire pour qui s'intéresse à la crise, ceux de la session du 7 janvier au 4 avril 1930 en particulier. Voilà pour le Québec. Le *hansard fédéral* est tout aussi riche pour les débats de la Chambre des communes.

Pour revenir à la bibliographie analysée, disons que le classement à l'intérieur de chaque chapitre est discutable. Les références, au lieu d'être classées par ordre alphabétique d'auteurs, auraient pu l'être selon leur catégorie

même si le nombre de titres n'est pas très grand (sources, études, ouvrages généraux, livres, périodiques, etc.) ou selon le sujet. Par contre le classement en cinq thèmes se défend très bien.

L'indexation nous a semblé insuffisante. Un seul véritable index a été compilé; l'index des auteurs. Celui-ci aurait d'ailleurs pu être élargi pour être onomastique et fournir par exemple les noms d'associations, d'organismes ou de groupements. L'index des périodiques cités est insuffisant. Un index thématique aurait grandement facilité la tâche des chercheurs ne serait-ce que pour repérer les ouvrages touchant à plus d'un thème.

Quoiqu'il en soit, le résultat des efforts du Centre de documentation populaire sera grandement utile aux chercheurs et à tous ceux qui s'intéressent à la période et aux sans-travail. Ce qu'il faut souhaiter aux auteurs de cette bibliographie pour que leurs efforts ne soient pas vains, c'est qu'elle donne naissance à des ouvrages sur le sujet. La synthèse sur cette période, chose étonnante, reste encore à écrire.

Les chercheurs du CPD qui semblent vivre un engagement en milieux populaires, expriment le souhait que leur publication rende service aux militants des groupes populaires et aux étudiants. Il faut leur souhaiter que ce voeu se réalise. Bien que l'histoire ait trop souvent et trop facilement été biaisée ou pervertie pour s'ajuster à certaines causes, si elle peut servir au présent et orienter l'avenir tant mieux. N'aura-t-elle pas montré son utilité, sa raison d'être?

Quant à l'Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, on ne sait encore ce qu'il deviendra. Il faut espérer que son statut se précise dans les mois à venir (le gouvernement annonce dans le dernier discours inaugural qu'un projet de loi sera présenté prochainement) afin qu'il poursuive dans la direction déjà tracée soit celle de fournir aux chercheurs de tels instruments de travail, d'effectuer, d'encourager et de soutenir les recherches et les études sur les divers aspects des phénomènes culturels. Sans cela, plusieurs publications comme cette bibli-

ographie n'auraient aucun canal de diffusion. L'IQRC qu'il oeuvre en milieu gouvernemental ou universitaire, doit continuer.

Jocelyn Saint-Pierre
Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée nationale

Cyril W. Strong, *My Life as a Newfoundland Union Organizer: The Memoirs of Cyril W. Strong, 1912-1987*, edited by Gregory S. Kealey (St. John's: Committee on Canadian Labour History 1987).

CYRIL STRONG WAS A CENTRAL FIGURE in the post-war labour movement in Newfoundland. A bellboy in the Newfoundland Hotel, he was a founder and president of the hotel workers' union in the 1940s. He served on the executives of the St. John's Trades and Labour Council and of the Newfoundland Federation of Labour. Beginning in 1949, he was Newfoundland organizer for the American Federation of Labor. He helped to create many union locals in post-war Newfoundland and to bring Newfoundland's trade unions into the national and international movement.

In editing and publishing Strong's memoirs, Greg Kealey and the Committee on Canadian Labour History have performed a valuable service. At one level, this book is a chronical of organizing efforts, of interest to the members of many unions in Newfoundland who may wish to know something about the origins of their organization. The book also tells us about a life-long commitment to the cause of labour. Born into a relatively prosperous family, the son of an itinerant company promoter who had made a fortune in the Yukon gold rush, Cyril learned about poverty when his father died. He left school "as there was no money for school fees," and he knew what it was like to live on crusts of bread and one cooked meal a week. And as a child he learned something about social class: "My clothes reflected my standing in society," he tells us, and "I developed an inferiority

complex which took many years to wear off."

He tells us little about the 1930s, perhaps because he was lucky enough to be employed, but moves right on to the story of organizing hotel and restaurant employees in wartime. Newfoundland presented some special problems to the young organizer. He was opposed by merchants accustomed to a thoroughly pre-industrial paternalism, some of whom still paid their employees not with a wage cheque but with credit at the company store. Other opponents included (at Argentinia) the United States Navy, and increasingly hostile provincial government. And how did one create and maintain an organization when workers themselves lack experience and skills? "Mister, we would love to have a union," Strong was told in one outpost, "but we have no boss. Nobody here has above grade two or three education; we need a boss (leader) and can't get one."

Eventually one of Strong's jobs was to audit the books of most unions in Newfoundland chartered by the Canadian Labour Congress a task rendered all the more difficult by problems of distance and the province's poor transportation system. Book-keeping and travel were foremost among "the travails of a Newfoundland organizer."

Strong reminds us that the hard work of organizing fishermen had already begun before the creation of the Newfoundland Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers' Union in 1970. He reminds us that labour had a critical role in Newfoundland's entry to Canada: for workers, he insists, the benefits of Confederation would depend upon the success of the labour movement. Strong reminds us of the stamina and the skills required of the union organizer who must understand the labour code, write contracts, audit accounts, oversee elections, and steer a course between unions and federations that were usually friends but sometimes rivals. The Newfoundland Federation of Labour invited the AFL into Newfoundland, but organizing direct AFL charters was no mean feat and it was

impossible to avoid jurisdictional disputes. Organizing urban workers was rendered all the more difficult by the decline and collapse of many local manufacturing plants after Confederation. The cold war added to the organizer's difficulties, and among other things Strong had to argue against the suggestion that the 1950 Trade Union Act bar communists from holding office in trade unions.

In telling the story of the 1959 loggers' strike, Strong reflects the shock and sense of betrayal felt by labour leaders at the "extraordinary actions" of Joey Smallwood in repressing the democratic organization of workers. The repression of the IWA "represented a complete abrogation and disregard of the law both in fact and in principle." Why Smallwood acted as he did remains for Strong "an unanswered question." But this book suggests an explanation. The labour leader remembered clearly the new labour legislation which followed soon after 1949 the Labour Relations Act, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Trade Union Act legislation which Strong himself influenced, through Smallwood's Labour Advisory Committee. When working so hard for such positive achievements, and even when remembering them so clearly decades later, perhaps it was too easy to forget Smallwood's caveat: Newfoundlanders, said the premier, must temper their desire for progressive labour laws "with our urgent desire to attract capital to Newfoundland." The loggers fell victim to this caveat.

This book chronicles the work of a dedicated servant of the working class who lived through a critical time in Newfoundland's labour history. With Kealey's help, Cyril Strong has given us the valuable testimony of a man who knew many more victories than defeats.

Eric W. Sager
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Wallace Clement, *The Struggle to Organise: Resistance in Canada's Fishery* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1986).

THIS TREATMENT OF PRODUCER organisations in Canada's ocean fisheries addresses, from a Neo-Marxist perspective, a problem that has been both persistent and troubling: the struggles (some might say resistance) of fishers in developing broad-based, effective organisational forms representative of their subordinate class situation and their objective class interests. Wallace Clement states that his purpose in examining this question is to contribute to "a broader understanding of class dynamics" by analysing the manner in which social relations of production in fishing "have led to organisation and social action." (8) To accomplish this, Clement, on the heels of a descriptive sketch of production patterns, state politics, and market characteristics, begins by presenting a basically orthodox re-stating of neo-Marxist understandings of class and property relations, particularly as these define independent fishers as petite bourgeois producers. Following Poulantzas, Clement outlines briefly types of ownership (legal, real, and economic) and their distinction from possession of productive property, concluding that among primary producers "both formal ownership and possession can be distinguished from economic ownership." (63) The so-called independent producers relations of production are conceptualised by Clement as petite bourgeois in form but proletarian in content in so far as capital has captured possession of all key economic values (price, markets, and accumulation processes), while leaving producers with only immediate control of their labour processes (pace, duration, organisation, and location of work).

Building on this, Clement outlines five production patterns which he proposes as key to analysing class dynamics and the "struggle to organise." These are subsistence production and capitalist, independent, dependent, and co-operative forms of commodity production. Recognising that these categories

are inadequate to the task of sorting out the complexities of class structure, dynamics, and action within the fisheries. Clement argues that it is necessary to analyse each form of production in terms of its scale features.

Scale is the best criterion for distinguishing fleets, and the most appropriate indicators of scale are the number of hands, division of labour, size of the boat, and cost. By using scale it is possible to focus on class relations within the fishery in meaningful ways and begin to understand the nature of alliances and conflicts among fishers. (81-2)

While one can take issue with the designation of scale as the "best criterion," it does provide Clement with a convenient point of reference for his presentation and analyses of the formation and fate of fishers' representative organisations. Scale is presumed to capture the objective material, social structural conditions with which fishers labour. These conditions are believed to constitute the crucible in which class consciousness is formed, its particular characteristics reveals through the sorts of representative organisations adopted, ideologies expressed, and action agendas/strategies pursued. Consequently, Clement proposes three categories of enterprise scale as meaningful to understanding fishers' struggle to organise — small (one to three hands), intermediate (four to ten hands), and large (over ten hands). Here he notes that unionisation "has tended to be strongest among trawler crews [large-scale] and small scale fishers who face industrial processors as their markets." (82) Small-scale fishers with diverse markets and fishers of intermediate-scale enterprises have, with a few exceptions, a less "forceful" relation with unionisation. For Clement, proximity to and support of unionisation is assumed to mirror the development of class-referenced struggles and consciousness.

As evidence for this thesis, Clement traces out, in chapters six through nine, the structural-material conditions and particular events associated, in his view,

with the formation and fate of the various types of organisations adopted by different groups of fishers. Here he provides some description and discussion of fishers' unions (United Fishermen and Allied Workers, Maritime Fishermen's Union, and the Newfoundland Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers), association (The Pacific Trollers Association, The Eastern Fishermen's Federation and L'-Association, Professionnelle des Pecheurs du Nord-Est), and co-operatives (United Maritime Fishermen and The Prince Rupert Fishermen's Co-operative) in a sequence intended to capture the context out of which particular types of organisations have arisen. For instance, unionisation is documented as the organisational form of choice by fishers either working aboard industrial trawlers or confronting corporate market monopolies, while associations are argued to arise as lobby groups, especially for intermediate-scale fishing captains with a mandate to protect the vested interests of a particular group of fishers in an era of increasing state of regulation of the fisheries. Clement correctly points out that the state, through labour legislation and the outright provision of funding, has played an active role in discouraging unionisation while assisting in the formation of associations. His discussion of the co-operative alternative, both in the treatment of actual fisher co-ops and the analysis of the co-operative model, emphasises what are held to be the negative qualities of this organisational approach. These range from cultivating a business/petite bourgeois consciousness among members through continued exploitation of fish plant workers and crew to alienation of co-op membership from management control as co-operatives grow in scale. In short, Clement comes down squarely on the side of unionisation, throughout his descriptions and discussions, as the beacon of progressive development among Canadian ocean fishers.

Clement has provided a useful outline of the history and shape of representative organisations in Canada's ocean fisheries. However, he has not ap-

proached his study with the care and balance necessary to appreciate, let alone communicate, the dilemmas of the "struggle to organise." This is evident in a great number of areas. To begin with, adoption of the industrial union model as a form of organisation cannot be assumed to reflect the development of proletarian class consciousness among fishers, especially among those retaining control over labour processes in the non-industrial settings of small- and intermediate-scale enterprises. As is seen in most business, as contrasted with revolutionary unions, it is more than likely that these fishers accept such a form of representative organisation as the only sensible way of maximising their interests in relation to those of the big companies. Indeed, many small- and intermediate-scale fishers have shown tremendous ambivalence in their attachment to union representation, often joining in times of crisis while just as quickly back-sliding on dues (where voluntary) and participation when circumstances are thought to have improved. Clement provides little evidence to prove that proletarian class consciousness is much more than a vision in the souls of the remarkable, often charismatic, leadership associated with the various union movements.

In addition, Clement does not examine unionisation with a critical viewpoint which remotely approaches that applied to associations and co-operatives. For instance, there is little discussion of the role of charismatic leadership in union formation/vitality and the vulnerabilities facing many unions once the founding leadership retires. There is no discussion/analysis of the efforts expended to educate and politicise membership. Clement provides no information on the qualities of membership attachment to and involvement in the unions. Are these questions not as equally important to the fate of unions as they are to co-operatives and associations? At no point in the book does the reader get the sense that Clement spent time talking over the central questions with people other than major players, all of whom have a vested interest in images and outcomes. A little time

with ordinary fishers would have put a human face on this work while, hopefully, compelling more analytical sophistication.

Indeed, a little time with ordinary fishers might have produced a more adequate sociological inquiry and accurate description. Clement devotes little attention to the fundamental role of mothers, wives and daughters in fishers' "struggle to organise." While acknowledging that cultural, ethnic, and kinship factors exert a modifying effect on the formation of class relations, he never explores the extent to which these influence fishers' social relations of production, choices of representative organisations, consciousness, and so on. For example, Clement's discussion of the Maritime Fishermen's Union's success in Northeastern New Brunswick and slow growth elsewhere would have benefited from some consideration of their role of Acadian cultural identity. The same can be said for his attempt to understand captain-crew relations in small- and intermediate-scale, community-based, enterprises in class terms. In circumstances where fishing crews are composed of family and/or familiars proletarian consciousness cannot be expected. This very fact represents one of the real dilemmas facing any progressive organisation in the fisheries: who's interests can and should it represent. Can a union be expected to represent fairly the interests of both owner-captains and crew? Should a co-operative extend membership to crew and plant workers? These are vital and compelling questions concerning the fate of fisheries organisations, the sorts of questions Clement would have been well advised to pursue if his objective was to produce a study offering some insight into fisheries development in the interests of fishers.

Finally, while Clement repeatedly emphasises the importance of material context to sorting out the complexities of the issues, his treatment of state fisheries policies and the structure of market relations is wholly superficial and inadequate. For instance, he provides little analysis of the impact of access management policies and other state initiatives

upon the priorities and choices of fishers in terms of representative organisations. Indeed, he is entirely unanalytic when the topic concerns the rationality and particulars of state policies. His discussion of price as concealed wage is unsubstantiated, more a statement of faith necessary to the labour exploitation understanding of class structure than an information referenced finding. We find little by way of substantive description and analysis of market structure and the mechanisms of price determination. Some attention here might have revealed the fallacy of independence and the dynamics of unequal exchange to Clement.

As in most studies of this sort, there is much critical attention given to forms of organisation viewed as competitive with the model anointed as progressive and virtuous. However, little more than platitudes are discovered when the reader seeks some alternative vision concerning what is to be done. Blind faith in the North American industrial union model is not warranted on the basis of past experience, particularly as a vehicle for the development of proletarian class consciousness and progressive political action. It would have been appropriate for Clement to speculate on the means by which the rationalities and vested interests of industrial organisations could be reconciled with the family, community, ethnicity and cultural qualities of life for many struggling to make a living at fishing. In the Preface Clements asserts:

this book differs from the others in its "distance" from the fishery as a subject I have attempted to "stand back" somewhat and observe broad patterns and relationships, commenting on local conditions only to the extent that they illustrate the political, ideological, and/or cultural life of the people studies. (9-10)

There is no question that this book reflects "distance." But, "distance" and a "stand back" posture only produce insight if the researcher approaches the subject prepared to gather and digest information challenging to pre-conceptions and sensitive to the complexities of lived condi-

tions. Unfortunately, "distance" in this case too often translates into an insufficient understanding, an unbalanced treatment, and an exercise in ideological confirmation as evident in a selective use of available information.

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Constance P. deRoche and John E. deRoche, eds., *Rock in a Stream: Living with the Political Economy of Underdevelopment in Cape Breton* (St. John's" Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland 1987).

THIS COLLECTION OF ESSAYS is the first Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) publication dealing with a topic outside Newfoundland. It complements and geographically extends earlier ISER volumes which have provided community level analysis of life twentieth-century Newfoundland. Anthropological studies of coal miners, an inland Highland community, and a coastal Acadian settlement serve as the point of departure for an examination of what the authors perceive to be "localized cultural strategies for coping with economic marginality." (1) Like Kenzie MacNeil's song, "The Island," from which its title is derived, this book is a celebration of the resilience of Cape Bretoners. Its perspective is essentially populist, exploring the shared experiences (and responses) of Island "folk" confronted with destructive external forces.

In a useful introductory essay the deRoches provide an overview of the changing perspective which have guided studies of the "lifeways of economically deprived peoples" (4) in the Atlantic region, and elsewhere, and lay out the theoretical considerations guiding the volume's essays. While embracing many of the interpretive developments associated with the rise of dependency theory they deplore the fact that it has tended to sustain simplistic "one-dimen-

sional" interpretations of life on the margins, that residents of hinterlands have too often been portrayed simply as passive victims of macro-social forces. They argue that it is important to acknowledge and explore the creative responses of peripheralized peoples to these externally-imposed structures, and as well that it is possible to do so within the framework established by dependency theory: it "need not mislead us this way." (6) The three case studies are designed, then, to bridge the gap between the macro-insights of dependency theory and micro-analysis of social settings. The essays, as the deRoches phrase it, explore "the logic of folk lifestyles played out under macro-cosmically sculpted constraints." (17)

In the first and longest of the case studies, Pieter deVries and Georgina MacNab-deVries examine gender relations in the rural community of Earloch (a fictionalized name). While the sociological literature of gender relations originating from and pertaining to the centre of Canadian society has emphasized "patriarchy, androgyny, subordination, dependency, and oppression" (31) the deVries discern "female strength" combined with a "complementarity and mutuality of female and male roles" in their analysis of the Cape Breton community. (63) They explain this pattern by arguing that the "traditional strengths of relations of domestic and communal reproduction" have been "preserved and reinforced" in Earloch as part of a broader coping strategy designed to deal with the uncertainties of economic life on the margin. According to the deVries, the "strength of women was a integral and indispensable aspect" (32) of the adaptive response of Earlochers to regional underdevelopment.

The following essays examine ideological responses and adaptations to the realities of life on the margin. The male wage workers in Benton (the pseudonym for the Acadian coastal community that Constance deRoche has studied), like their counterparts in Earloch, find it necessary to make their living by integrating diverse and sporadic wage

work. In her intriguing study, "Workworlds and Worldviews," Constance deRoche shows how these rural dwellers have revised mainstream values associated with the work ethic to meet their specific needs. In Benton, occupational pluralism emerges as a desirable trait and seasonal unemployment as an accepted fact of life. "Public esteem remains closely tied to work, but the linkage would be unfamiliar to an Orthodox Calvinist." (84) While acknowledging their powerlessness in the face of the "actions of powerful outside agencies," Bentonites, she argues have successfully developed their own "ideas about who they are and how they function as workers." (97) John deRoche's study of South Side Cape Breton coal miners explores the relationship between ideology and working experiences as well. Focusing on the labour process, he charts "the adaptive responses of people on the receiving end of powerful forces from the external political economy." (105) Drawing from evidence gathered from interviews with 85 retired miners, he traces the attitudinal changes accompanying the shift from room and pillar to long wall mining in the period from the 1920s to mid-century. He argues that although mechanization undercut older attitudes and forms of resistance rooted in "quasi-craft" production, "new, more group-based forms of self-activity quickly emerged within the changed physical and social context," (114) in the pits. The miners' "workaday ideology remained at least as feisty" as it had been during the craft era.

The message ringing through all these studies is one of cultural resilience. If we accept the authors' assumptions concerning the external, and essentially unalterable, nature of the forces governing the lives of these Cape Bretoners, each of these studies can be read as a success story. They demonstrate the ways that seemingly powerless people have managed to persist in shaping and defining the constricted environment they occupy. The authors effectively make the argument that resistance can be

manifested "not only in full-scale protest movements but in more subtle and enduring ways as well." (9) The message is similar to that in James C. Scott's *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985), except that here there is no argument linking such activities back to larger structures, no suggestion that micro-resistance might shape macro-change.

From a methodological perspective, some of the arguments made in this collection could have been more convincing. There are a number of places where oral testimony appears to be supporting more weight than it can be expected to bear. In the case of John deRoche's essay, for instance, one wonders whether the "workaday ideology" of miners can be reconstructed accurately from interviews conducted a quarter to half a century after the events being described, or in the case of the deVries' essay, whether household structure, inheritance patterns, and land-ownership (47-8) can be specified through oral evidence alone.

But there is a more fundamental problem with the analysis in these essays. Conceptualizing life in Cape Breton in terms of "folk" responding to "powerful external forces," of "microsocial responses" to "macroeconomic causes," leaves out too much. The intermediate levels between the micro scale of a small community, or a job site, and external macro forces have been swept away. So too, all those other Cape Bretoners who may or may not fit into "folk" categories — merchants, employers, professionals, commercial farmers, etc. — become invisible in this formulation. The Islanders who have been studied here are a remarkably homogeneous bunch: they enjoy similar material circumstances and they formulate common responses to deal with externally-determined "structural conditions." The vision which emerges in these essays shares more than a little of the romanticism of Kenzie MacNeil's song. There is another Cape Breton where wealth and poverty live side by side and where all one's struggles are not with faceless off-Island forces. Studies in "coping

strategies" which do not treat with this are, at best, incomplete.

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James Iain Gow, *Histoire de l'administration publique québécois 1867-1970* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal 1986).

L'ÉTUDE DESCRIPTIVE DU PROFESSEUR Gow vient combler un vide et un besoin, que de nombreux intervenants du secteur de l'administration publique québécoise attendaient. Elle a le mérite de faire une analyse administrativiste de l'Etat provincial québécois, caractéristique des chercheurs de cette discipline, tout en faisant la synthèse des grandes tendances évolutives de l'Etat provincial québécois, par le biais des "missions spécifiques" que chaque gouvernement s'est plus ou moins données.

L'entreprise était considérable. Plus de cent ans d'histoire, 1867 à 1970, où les domaines d'intervention étatique n'ont cessé de croître, où les règles de fonctionnement désinvoltes et arbitraires sont remplacées par les conventions collectives et une réglementation bureaucratique.

Les sources qu'il a utilisées pour réaliser cette étude sont très variées: comptes publics, lois, rapports financiers annuels, journaux de l'Assemblée législative, rapports de commission d'enquête, ainsi qu'une multitude de sources diverses comme en témoignent les appendices. Subventionné par trois organismes, il a pu confier le dépouillement d'une partie de cette masse considérable de documents à certains étudiants-chercheurs.

Afin de permettre au lecteur d'utiliser à profit ce volumineux outil de référence, contenant près d'une centaine de tableaux et figures répartis dans neuf chapitres, James Iain Gow a identifié certains chapitres plus pertinents selon les différents champs d'intérêts des lecteurs.

Dans son introduction, Gow nous présente les différentes théories ad-

ministrativistes et écologistes qui permettent d'aborder les réalités politico-administratives propres aux Etats modernes. L'approche qu'il privilégie, entre ces problématiques contradictoires, est un "systémisme élémentaire," où le matérialisme historique et le modèle bureaucratique weberien sont réunis.

Le chapitre deux offre une vue d'ensemble de la période étudiée en présentant les dépenses publiques comme indicateur des "activités étatiques." Gow démontre, contrairement à ce qu'il pensait, que les dépenses publiques de la période 1867-1896 croissent plus rapidement que pendant la période suivante, et au même rythme que durant la période 1936-1960. Bien entendu, la période de la Révolution tranquille détient tous les records de croissance des dépenses. Cet écart entre le prévu et les résultats de l'analyse proviennent en partie du fait que les comptes publics subissent des changements importants d'une administration à une autre; les comparaisons deviennent donc difficiles et des ajustements importants sont nécessaires pour pouvoir comparer des comparables.

Dans sa préface, Jean-Rock Boivin note avec justesse que les dépenses publiques sont peut-être davantage des indicateurs des activités administratives qu'étatiques; l'activité étatique se retrouvant plus du côté de la normalisation et de la législation. Concrètement, les dépenses publiques croissent peut-être plus vite dans la deuxième moitié du dix-neuvième siècle que pendant la première moitié du vingtième, mais cela ne signifie pas que l'Etat intervient davantage, mais seulement qu'il s'endette davantage à cause des chemins de fer.

L'organisation et le fonctionnement de l'administration québécoise entre 1867 et 1896 sont caractérisés, selon J.I. Gow, par un développement embryonnaire; en fait, on assiste à la naissance d'une bureaucratie bien peu développée, et qui prendra plusieurs décennies à se construire. Ici, l'auteur confirme une thèse déjà largement répandue et acceptée concernant la faiblesse de l'Etat provincial. Ce qui est intéressant, par ailleurs, c'est

la démonstration que le progrès dans l'administration publique n'est pas linéaire, que des fluctuations importantes se produisent d'une administration à une autre.

Les interventions de l'Etat du Québec entre 1897 et 1936 se multiplient et se font dans de nouveaux domaines, tels les mines et les pâtes et papier; pourtant, les dépenses publiques croissent à un rythme moins rapide. En outre, les premières velléités interventionnistes étatiques font leur apparition, principalement dans le domaine des richesses naturelles, à titre d'exemple, le bois non manufacturé. Graduellement, pendant cette période, l'administration québécoise se complexifie et prend de l'importance à cause de ses nouvelles obligations. Gow utilise l'expression d'Etat paternaliste pour cette nouvelle réalité, qui recoupe une bureaucratisation plus poussée, bien qu'encore très incomplète.

Les interventions de l'Etat du Québec de 1936 à 1970 ont été regroupées, et coiffées du titre: "L'Etat-providence." Nous devons signaler notre désaccord concernant cette périodisation et ce titre, qui regroupe sous la même chapelle interventionniste la période Duplessis et la Révolution tranquille. Ceci est étonnant de la part de l'auteur, qui juge Maurice Duplessis très sévèrement au niveau de la gestion et qui considère Duplessis comme un improvisateur qui entoure toutes ses décisions du plus grand secret. Gow justifie cette périodisation par une augmentation importante des dépenses pendant cette période. Concrètement, à partir de 1936, on peut, si l'on y tient, parler d'Etat-providence, mais seulement pour l'Etat fédéral.

La périodisation 1936-1960 est reprise pour décrire l'évolution de l'administration publique sous Duplessis et Godbout. Globalement, Gow affirme que la bureaucratisation se fait attendre, même si Godbout pose certains gestes dans ce sens avec la Commission du Service civil. Selon la grille d'analyse de Weber, il faut classer les gouvernements Duplessis dans les administrations "dilet-

tantes", car les règles de fonctionnement et d'embauche sont rares et l'improvisation domine.

L'Etat techno-bureaucratique naît avec les années soixante et se développe en même temps que l'intervention accrue de l'Etat. La systématisation et la technocratisation de l'administration publique engendrent des changements importants dans l'environnement socio-politique; les règles touchant les conflits d'intérêts témoignent, d'autre part, de la séparation de la vie privée et de l'emploi, condition d'une bureaucratisation efficace. De plus, le principe d'une fonction publique compétente et valorisée entraîne la progression et le développement des postes de professionnels et la permanence. Le modèle bureaucratique tel que décrit par Weber était en place.

Dans cette monographie sur l'histoire de l'administration publique québécoise, nous aurions apprécié parfois que le contexte socio-politique entourant certaines réformes soit suffisamment élaboré pour donner une idée plus globale des enjeux de société entourant ces changements. Quoiqu'il en soit, Gow réfère malgré tout abondamment à l'historiographie et aux spécialistes des diverses disciplines ayant analysé l'administration publique. En fait, un lecteur non familier avec l'histoire du Québec trouvera suffisamment de référents historiques dans cette étude pour la resituer dans l'évolution générale de la société québécoise.

Pour ceux qui sont familiers avec l'histoire du Québec, ils trouveront dans cette étude une synthèse honnête et une mine de statistiques sur l'histoire de l'administration publique québécoise.

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Donald M. Wells, *Empty Promises: Quality of Working Life Programmes and the Labour Movement* (New York: Monthly Review press 1987).

A DISTINCTION SOMETIMES made between tyranny and domination is that while one

tends by the blatant visibility of its coercive means to unify and empower its victims, the other, by inducing an invisible internalization of submissive values, renders its victims powerless. Domination masks both its presence and its purpose; issuing no commands, it offers, as Kontos argues, "only rational, self-evident, seductive participation."

In each of two contrasting Quality of Working Life schemes Donald Wells analyzes in *Empty Promises* (on the basis of longitudinal interviews with workers, managers, and union leaders; data from agreements, memos, training manuals, grievance records, and supervisors' log-books; personal observation of QWL meetings; and a questionnaire survey which workers themselves helped to construct), the project was introduced and controlled from the top down. What was presented to workers and their union as an opportunity for participation in "joint control and shared responsibility," (7) was actually the first phase of an "ambitious hidden agenda" for incremental changes leading to "wholesale alterations both on the job and in the entire collective bargaining process." (107) Among management's aims: to reduce supervision costs through "improved access to workers' skills and knowledge" (111) while increasing control by isolating individual workers from the collective and subjecting them to constant work group pressure to "think like managers." In return for individual "cooperation," workers were promised "job satisfaction" and the possibility of "job security." They got neither. Lines were sped up and "layoffs occurred even while the training was going on." (59) Once operational, QWL itself produced unemployment. (67) At the same time, its essential feature — identification of the individual worker's interests with an isolated work group which enforces management norms through peer pressure — deprived workers of the only means they have of improving or even maintaining the quality of their working life, the "ability to band together to protect themselves." (13)

Central to Wells's analysis is a distinction between power, as arising from the collective and disappearing only when the collective divides or loses its cohesion, and authority, which is delegated and controlled from outside. In the examples Wells reports, QWL offered to "selected workers," in return for the power which it destroyed, "controlled delegation of authority," applied to a "restricted range of decision." (110)

In addition to the examination and diagnosis of two prototypical cases — one in a major auto factory, one in a multinational electrical products plant — (chs. 2-4), *Empty Promises* provides a historical overview of QWL itself (ch. 1), an exploration of the "Frontiers of Management Control" (ch. 5) and of the possibilities for "Workers' Control" (ch. 6), and a concluding, detailed proposal of "Union Counter Strategies" which follow from Wells's analysis. There is also an amplificatory Foreword by Staughton Lynd and a ten-page end-section giving critical précis of other important QWL literature.

The acquisition and dissemination of knowledge about such management initiatives, Wells insists, is one of trade unionism's most urgent and immediate tasks. Both workers and the public need to understand the oppressive reality behind the empty promise.

Not the least of the reasons for urgency is the incompetence of management to bring about needed change. In the cases described, so alienated were managers from the work process (and from the consciousness of their own alienation) they compulsively sabotaged the very conditions upon which the success of their initiatives depended. Example: at the electrical plant, special CDM (for "Cooperative Decision-making") teams, formed to elicit the workers' active participation in spontaneous problem solving, were trained to make decisions according to abstract, rule-based procedures designed by management technicians apparently on the premise of the workers' natural inability to solve problems. Management representatives in various

areas of expertise were provided, not as available resource people, to be summoned as needed, but as integral members of the team. And when these arrangements proved unworkable and CDM teams began to be allowed to solve problems in a more natural and efficient way, managers often either failed to implement the solutions or delayed their implementation (a cardinal blunder of vulgar behaviourism) to the point where the response was no longer experienced as reinforcement. And throughout, management retained strict control over the kinds of problems workers were allowed to consider (complaints citing "bad fumes in the area," as the cause of "numerous headaches and sore throats," were simply ignored). (63) Ultimately, CDM became a screening process for the selection of supervisors. In each case, the confinement of QWL programs within carefully selected small areas of the operation provoked ostracism of the participants for collaborating to obtain special treatment.

And this, says Wells, is "QWL at its best." (10) What he means by this is QWL as an unmediated management initiative in which the union either participates passively according to received rules or declines to participate at all. What Wells urges, in the face of a mounting proliferation of such schemes (he names scores of large corporations already involved) is the creation of a workers' QWL through carefully planned, highly sophisticated preemptive action by the union, in a kind of martial arts strategy of pulling when pushed, in order to redirect management's energy to the workers' own advantage.

Partisans of the Shell Sarnia QWL program praise it for operating outside of the collective bargaining process, thus making employee participation more "direct." Wells argues that workers will be able to participate directly only when they become actively involved in the affairs of a local union which has been given increased latitude for bargaining collectively over QWL.

The secret of democracy is maintaining a dialectical tension between openness and the norms which are the condi-

tion of openness. In industry as in the public realm, as Wells's account shows, this dialectic has to be ongoing process, and depends for its existence upon the constant collective action of the workers. Far from presuming a condition of "cooperation," such action requires the assumption by labour of an aggressive moral and practical responsibility for leadership in shaping and guiding management practice. It follows that any benefits for the enterprise as a whole can only be realized as a function, at least partly, of the agenda of labour.

Wells's advice to the unions: get there first; know what management is going to do before they do; and hit the ground running with a program of your own. Rather than merely rejecting the blandishments of management-sponsored QWL, provide a positive alternative: incorporate the genuine, democratizing promise of QWL (which is, after all, the historical project of organized labour) into the union structure and the collective bargaining process. Clear collective goals should be defined "for all the locals in the union" (15) in the course of a participative education campaign which involves workers personally in an "activist strategy" for achieving them. Ties between workers and their union could be strengthened ("the most crucial task of all") by opening up ongoing investigative QWL committees to new members and broadening the participative base of leadership. The decentralization of some collective bargaining issues to the local level would permit the union to take the initiative in promoting direct participation of workers in providing for their own needs, thus increasing the "legitimate range of workers' control in the workplace." At the same time, the union must mount a continuous public education campaign which articulates a "union quality of working life agenda" (150) and relates the necessity for adversarial bargaining to the contingencies for enhancing social good.

Wells spells out these strategies in concrete terms which make *Empty Promises* an indispensable link between

the classic theoretical models of workers' control of the 1970s and 1980s (Herbst; Gustavsen and Hunnius) and the practical imperatives of the North American workplace in the 1990s.

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James W. Rinehart, *The Tyranny of Work. Alienation and the Labour Process*. Second Edition (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich 1987).

STATE PRIVATIZATION has cast a long and dark shadow over workers' lives. One shadowy silhouette is government cut-backs in funding for post-secondary education, forcing colleges and universities to seek financing from private-sector corporations. Corporate criteria of profitability, efficiency, and subtle managerial control of workers increasingly become the burden of proof for the survival of curriculum and the funding of research projects. While this burden has been nakedly exposed in the stereotypically male 'hard' sciences, such as engineering, physics, and chemistry, it has begun to shift its weight toward incorrectly-typed women's 'soft' sciences, such as social work, social geography, psychology, sociology, political science, and economics. Even the recent expansion of industrial relations, institutes for labour studies, and specialized courses in work and industry has been speedily consumed by the voracious appetite of the advancing ravenous corporate criteria. Commerce, business, and marketing students enroll in such 'labour-oriented' courses and learn how to extract maximum surplus labour from workers through a more 'humane' form of managerial control. Students from working-class backgrounds become alienated from such corporate ideological structures; lacking control over the conditions of their mental subjugation, they are handed a ticket to the workworld with one proviso — they learn how to hate unions and humanize their non-union workplaces in the interests of corporate

growth, expanded GNP, and "mutual beneficiality for all."

These developments put an inestimable value on the republication of Rinehart's excellent *Tyranny of Work*. This book is unique in the Canadian college market. Rather than offering college students prescriptions on how better to control workers in the interests of corporate profitability (as do so many texts), it tells student show corporate employers and managers attempt to control workers on behalf of such profitability, and how workers will continue to resist such attempts as long as the fundamental structures of capitalism are not radically altered in the direction of massive workers' cooperative control of the economy and state. *The Tyranny of Work* is worth its weight in gold in tyrannizing the work of those college professors who would tyrannize their students with anti-union managerial ideologies of humanizing the workplace 'on behalf of the mutual interest if employees and employers.'

This second edition is vastly revised from its original version published a decade earlier. It has benefited from an outpouring of new research on labour and unions through such excellent outlets as *Labour/Le Travail* and by the creative work of such imaginative scholars as Bryan Palmer and Gregory Kealey, as well as scores of others. Even though much of the data is new, Rinehart wisely decided not to alter the basic thesis of *Tyranny of Work*. He accepts Marx's statement that work is ideally satisfying in both its intrinsic and extrinsic features. The book is designed to address to question of how work became so alienating, and how workers respond to such alienation. De-emphasizing the numerous psychological and social psychological conceptions of alienation, Rinehart stresses Marx's four aspects of alienation — the estrangement of workers from the product and purpose of their labour, from their own labour activity, from themselves, and from other workers. For Rinehart, alienation is "...a condition in which individuals have little or no control of (a) the purposes and products of the

labour process, (b) the overall organization of the workplace, and (c) the immediate work process itself." (17-8) Alienation is a fundamentally objective and structural problem that has three sources: "concentration of the means of production in the hands of a small but dominant class, markets in land, labour, and commodities, and an elaborate division of labour." (19) The book is organized around the attempt to trace and illustrate these three sources of alienation, and the responses of workers in attempting to cope with them, with special, though not exclusive, application to Canada. Rinehart takes many workers' struggles and actions, rather than their attitudes, as external signs of a profound alienation from the capitalist structures in which they work.

In the third chapter, Rinehart traces the three sources of alienation from pre-industrial Canada through the emergence of the factory system in the late nineteenth century to the rise of large corporations in contemporary Canada. His thesis is that alienation from the organization and purposes of work is much more extensive now than in pre-industrial Canada. The means of production are now considerably concentrated in large national and multinational corporations; labour power and other commodities become things to be traded in local, national and international markets; and, labour has become increasingly fragmented, routinized, divided, repetitive, deskilled, and subject to scientific management. Workers have not remained passive in the face of this growing alienation. They have responded in the form of "trade unions, strikes, picketing, demonstrations" as well as through "spontaneous walkouts, work stoppages in the plant, restriction of output, industrial sabotage, insubordination, and simple refusals to show up at work on holidays and the day after payday." (41-2)

The fourth chapter on white-collar work is a critique of the post-industrial thesis of Daniel Bell and others who argue that we have entered an era of post-capitalism in which class conflict has sub-

sided, work is no longer alienating, skills have increased, technology reigns supreme, and the knowledge professions have become the dominant class. Rinehart easily disposes of these myths with illustrations from Canadian data: there has not been a substantial decrease in manual blue-collar work; there is a surplus of overeducated workers compared to the complexity of the tasks they are called on to perform; the explosion in white-collar work has mainly been among low skilled clerical, sales, and service workers whose jobs have become increasingly impersonalized, mechanized, fragmented, feminized, and low-paid; the greatest explosion in militant unionization has been among white-collar workers, especially in the public sector (for example, health-care professionals and non-professionals, teachers, and postal workers); and, the locus of control still remains with the dominant owners of capitalist property. "The real issue, then, is not to determine *if* the propertied class dominates corporations and the economy, but to find out *how* this class exercises control." (102). Even the professions are experiencing a deskilling and a loss of control over their workplaces. In this regard, Rinehart asks a pointed question which the post-industrialists are unable to answer: "If the vast majority of professionals and technicians are remote from positions of power in their own institutions, or if in assuming managerial positions they cease to employ their expertise, how can they be regarded as exercising control over broader political and economic affairs?" (100)

Rinehart devotes his fifth chapter to blue-collar work. Drawing on the recent research of such scholars as Reiter, Clement, and Gannagé, he rejects the portrait of blue-collar workers as affluent and conservative. Many fall below the poverty line and many more subsist just above that line. The vast majority engage in routinized, mindless, repetitive, mechanized, standardized, fragmented, rationalized, regulated, and deskilled work; only a minority are still engaged in personally satisfying skilled craft work.

Blue-collar workers do not passively accept their alienating work, but protest massively through sabotage, restricting output, sit-downs, officially-sanctioned strikes, wildcat strikes, slowdowns, and even attempts to make the workplace more humane through banana time, coffee breaks, coke-time, doubling-up, waterfights, horseplay, and racing against the clock.

In perhaps the most important section of the book, Rinehart in the final chapter provides the reader with a tough and critical evaluation of five proposed solutions — leisure, automation, human relations, unions, and workers' control — to alienation at the workplace. He rejects the argument that alienating work is the price we have to pay to win a separate sphere of satisfying leisure activity; alienating work has negatively invaded the sphere of leisure, making it impossible to construct high-quality and satisfying leisure separate from alienated work (how can a worker injured on the job be expected to enjoy the benefits of satisfying leisure?). Automation is also not creating the promised liberation from alienation. Rather, it creates vast pools of part-time, underemployed, and unemployed workers. Even in high-tech industries, the majority of workers are semi-skilled, low-paid, and women. The third solution to alienation, various human relations schemes, have been widely implemented in the workplace ironically to break the resistance of workers to alienated labour and to rationalize production in the face of volatile and diversified markets. In participative management schemes, workers are granted minor decision-making powers without touching the locus of control in the upper reaches of management. In job redesign, workers' jobs are made more interesting and varied in order to rationalize the division of labour still further and to eliminate jobs. Human relations projects cannot reduce alienation because they are introduced and controlled, not by workers, but by management in order to attain corporate goals. Rinehart acknowledges that unions, the fourth proposed solution to alienation,

cannot eliminate alienation because they are tied in a contradictory bind: although they are presently the most effective defensive organizations for advancing workers' interests, they have also become incorporated into the capitalist structures of domination over workers. Caught in the web of labour legislation, they are forced to accept management rights' clauses in labour contracts, and to discipline their own members during the life of a contract. In short, they have become C. Wright Mills's "managers of discontent" while also acting as fomenters of dissent at the workplace. Finally, Rinehart holds out his most guarded optimism for workers' control as the solution to alienation. After surveying minor workers' struggles for control of the labour process, plant seizures, workplace councils in revolutionary situations (Spain in 1936 and Hungary in 1956), and worker-owned and controlled enterprises, Rinehart strives to strike a delicate balance: while workers' control holds out the greatest hope for eliminating alienating work, its various manifestations are limited and restricted by a capitalist marketplace dominated by huge multinational corporations and large blocks of financial capital hostile to worker-run enterprises. Yet, for Rinehart, workers' control seems the best possible solution to alienation: "The only genuine solution to alienation involves a total restructuring of the workplace, the economy, and the state; that is, the establishing of a truly collective mode of production — a democratically planned economy and worker-managed enterprises." (209-10) Rinehart acknowledges that the route to that end is littered with a minefield sown by capitalist opposition and state intervention.

University professors in the social and human sciences shirk their responsibilities by not using this book at least once in the classroom. Its use should not be confined to specialized courses on labour and work. Since it is about the practical world in which we all work, it should be prescribed reading for all students and faculty, no matter what their

specialization. As many of us have already realized, this book is an ideal supplement for use in first-year introductory courses filled with students from the hard sciences and business who will never again be exposed to its vitally-important message. No university student (whether as a future manager or worker) should be allowed to escape the mental prison of the campus into the material prison of the workworld without having been enlightened by the insights of this tome.

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John Richards and Don Kerr, eds., *Canada, what's left?* (Edmonton: New West Press 1986).

THIS COLLECTION COMPRISES the edited papers and discussions of a group of NDP politicians, trade unionists, and academics, who met in Edmonton in May 1984. As the editors explain, the debates which gave rise to this meeting include the NDP's provincial-federal split over the terms of patriation of the constitution, the conflicts between NDP governments and trade unions, and the emergence of two competing "manifestos" at the NDP convention of 1983. The "counter manifesto," drafted mainly by NDP members from the Western provinces (notably, Grant Notley and John Richards), and endorsed by various other "prominent NDP supporters across the country," was presented as an alternative to the "official manifesto" of the federal NDP Council. In essence, the June 22 Statement of Principles of the western group called on the NDP to adopt a less centralizing approach to government, and an incomes policy which, while perhaps unpopular with the unions, would address popular concern about inflation. The May 1984 seminar was organized by the authors of the June 22 Statement as a continuation of the discussion about NDP goals and strategy.

While the book is subtitled "A new social contract: pro and con," and certainly John Richards's intention was to focus

the seminar around this proposal, the proceedings encompass a much broader discussion of strategic decisions for the NDP. Among the topics discussed were: whether to support reforms to decentralize government, and whether this amounts to greater "provincial rights" or a more profound democratization strategy; how the parliamentary leadership's conception of "the possible" differs from that of more radical elements inside and outside the party; what kind of "industrial strategy" the NDP might advocate; and in general, the outlines of an economic agenda for the party.

From the outset, participants tended to divide into two camps — the social democrats and the socialists — particularly around economic policy, although on the question of decentralization, these lines were less clear. Taking a social democratic line on economic strategy were Allan Blakeney, Gerald Caplan, Elwood Cowley, Jim Russell, Grant Notley, Tom Gunton, and John Richards — NDP politicians and their advisors. From these people, we hear a lot about the "art of the possible," the need for workers to become "entrepreneurs," the inherent conservatism of people, the problems with unions, and the limits on programs made necessary by the recession. They tend to define the economic-strategic choices available to Canadians as either monetarist capitalism or neo-Keynesian capitalism.

In response to Panitch's critique of a socialist contract policy, Blakeney implicitly accuses him of Marxist purism, or idealism. Sounding like the reincarnation of Mackenzie King, Blakeney defines the alternatives open to the left in this way: "We cannot choose between a policy and an ideal. We can only choose between a policy and another policy." (35) The socialist reply to this is to pose the choices differently: Which politics move us further towards the ideal? And, are we fighting for it? It is relevant that social contracts don't lead to socialism, unless one believes that socialism is impossible. Sam Gindin puts the point forcefully: "You can't ... expect to get anything fun-

damental without having behind you the strength that comes from being prepared to fight." (87)

Analysis of the 1982 defeat of the NDP in Saskatchewan is deflected by, on one hand, the claim to victim status (that is, of the recession, of the trade unions, of the inherent conservatism of people), and, on the other, a *mea culpa* for not grasping earlier the popularity of neo-conservative themes. Thus, John Richards expresses regret that: "Now, the right comfortably assumes the mantle of defender of the ordinary family while the left champions abortion on demand." (134) Interestingly, no one pointed out that Richards was using the language of the new right itself, which implicitly legitimizes there ideological discourse. Perhaps this is due to the fact that, in this select group of strategic thinkers, there were no activists from the women's movement. Indeed, there was only one woman participant listed. She was not among the presenters, and her comments amount to three paragraphs in the entire book, dealing with economic decentralization.

Among the most instructive aspects of this debate are its limits and its structure: who was invited, who was not; the use of "expert" and academic consultants to do the presentations on industrial strategy and federal-provincial rights (in particular a paper by Richard Schwindt on a mixed economy strategy, which he viewed as the second best option, given that policies to promote "unfettered market allocation" seem to be politically unacceptable in Canada!); and the absence of a discussion about how the NDP should relate to the extra-parliamentary social movements, such as women's, ecology, peace, racial equality, and gay rights organizations. Despite the repeatedly stated concern to be seen as more "democratic" than in the past, these party members seemed to have done very little thinking about a democratic process for developing an economic program in alliance with the unions and other social movements.

Amongst the participants rejecting an incomes policy were Leo Panitch, Sam

Gindin, Peter Warrian, Don Aitken, and Norman MacLellan — union researchers and representatives (with the exception of Panitch) in many ways to the left of their constituencies. Warrian and Arthur Kube each made presentations on the unions and economic strategy which went well beyond their narrowly defined areas, to provide the outlines of a socialist agenda for the NDP and the labour movement.

While on one hand the seminar themes may seem — from the vantage point of 1989 — like old news, it is not often that the debates about Canadian left praxis are engaged, for the record, by leading figures in the NDP. For anyone trying to understand the alignment and balance of forces (social democratic and socialist) within the NDP, this book provides useful insights. (An even more useful exercise, of course, would have involved activists in the many grass-roots social movements that are trying to define the nature of their relationships to the NDP and the unions.) This task is all the more pressing in the wake of the defeat of the Manitoba NDP. A more honest and probing analysis by NDP supporters of the causes of both the Saskatchewan and Manitoba defeats is a necessary condition for renewal. As *Canada, what's left* reveals, "renewal" is only one possible outcome of the "crisis of social democracy;" there is also a strong push toward retrenchment, following in the step of European social democratic parties.

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Larry Pratt, ed., *Socialism and Democracy in Alberta: Essays in Honour of Grant Notley* (Edmonton: NeWest Press 1986)

MOST CONTEMPORARY OBSERVERS would agree that Alberta politics are unique if not bizarre due to its one-party government, deep provincial identity, and hostility to easterners. In comparison, political scientists and historians have ar-

gued that Alberta's political culture, party system, and constitutional stance are distinctive examples of broader tendencies in Canadian or western Canadian political life. The ten essays Larry Pratt has assembled to honour Grant Notley, Alberta New Democratic Party leader from 1968 until his death in an airplane crash in 1984, were written by sympathetic but not uncritical writers trying to show that Notley's work and the place of the NDP in Alberta can tell us a great deal about both Alberta and social democracy in Canada. Certainly, the length and passion of Notley's political career was a challenge to the durability of Alberta's single-party democracy and to state capitalism under Premier Lougheed. These essays are successful to the extent they examine the context of Notley's political life.

The essays fall into three broad categories: studies of the CCF/NDP up to Notley's leadership victory, reviews of Notley's politics and strategies during the Lougheed era, and essays on current NDP prospects. Three papers, one on each of the main subjects of the book, are splendid mixtures of the descriptive and the normative aspects of the political scientists' trade and successfully relate the study of a minority politician and party in Alberta to contemporary Canadian history. The other papers do this less successfully but they buttress the arguments of these three: Larry Pratt's biographical study of Grant Notley, Allan Tupper's review of Notley's view of the state, and Garth Stevenson's essay on class and politics.

In the first section, Pratt examines the history of the Alberta CCF/NDP and Notley's formative ideas. To Pratt, Notley was a professional politician "called" to the task and a western agrarian progressive. His working life was entirely within the CCF/NDP as organizer, provincial secretary, and leader. During the sixties, he witnessed the unsuccessful gamble of then-leader Neil Reimer to expose Social Credit corruption and to appeal to labour. Although Reimer's protégé, Notley became convinced that only a tight party structure, constructive legislative agenda,

and broadly-oriented politics would succeed. His perseverance suggests that he was even more "movement" oriented than Pratt admits. Robin Hunter examines at great length the feud between New Party advocates and the old CCF leaders. He suggests Notley remained as much a CCFer as a New Party technician. Olenka Melnyk surveys the CCF's Alberta history, accepts the inevitability of its slide into oblivion, and ignores the party's strengths in the mid-1940s. Hunter and Melnyk presume Albertans. CCF and otherwise, were uniquely fundamentalist in their politics yet they do not demonstrate that this was so.

Four essays look at Notley's years as MLA and leader. Ron Chalmers amusingly examines "Insults to Democracy during the Lougheed era," complaining that Alberta legislative politics are somehow more crippled than elsewhere. A year in British Columbia might change his mind, although sustaining his pessimistic conclusion. Ed Shaffer reviews oil-era economic development and punctures Lougheed government claims about diversification. While that argument is convincing, it posits an alternative of "planning" and "intervention" that seems remote from NDP policy let alone Alberta's culture. For his part, F.C. Englemann argues that Notley's electoral strategy ignored the growing lower middle-class of business and government bureaucrats to concentrate on its agrarian populist roots (which supported Notley himself) and a chimerical small-business electorate. Englemann regrets that close analysis of NDP voting has not been done. Readers will regret he did not begin that task rather than speculating about NDP voters.

In his excellent "Grant Notley and the Modern State," Allan Tupper argues that the NDP failed to explain or itself understand how Lougheed's state capitalism differed from Notley's public ownership. Adapting Ralph Miliband's argument about Labour in Britain, Tupper suggests the NDP continually expected the Tories to revert to doctrinaire liberalism. Surprised at the systematic and interven-

tionist economic and social politics and fearful of appearing radical or impractical, Notley concentrated on procedural criticism rather than policy options. Tupper suggests the NDP has little to lose and the province much to gain from a "risky" approach of showing that "socialism promotes economic growth not merely a redistribution of existing assets" and educating Albertans to "the virtues of a more egalitarian society." He makes a strong case that neither of these goals was primary to Notley. This raises the broader question of whether they have been priorities for any NDP leaders during the 1970s and 1980s.

The contexts of NDP strategy and provincial political analysis are brilliantly dissected by Garth Stevenson. He argues that neither class homogeneity nor cultural distinctiveness adequately describe contemporary society or political behaviour. Large urban and rural sectors have not shared in the wealth or power controlled by a minority of truly "middle class" voters. Stevenson thinks the Alberta NDP has been trapped by its own populist heritage (and egged on by political science wisdom) to disavow a "class" appeal and the redistribution of wealth or power. The result is a party supported by too many Volvo owners and controlled by brokerage politicians. It is suggested in several essays that Notley's NDP was remarkably hierarchical. This point is taken up by T.C. Pocklington in an extremely abstract discussion of Robert Michels's theory about the oligarchical tendency of socialist parties. However cogent, the paper would have better suited this collection if it had used examples of NDP practices in Alberta. Gurston Dacks's summary of Alberta's political culture sustains Stevenson's argument by suggesting recession would challenge the unifying myth of social mobility and economic opportunity.

Dacks, Englemann, Tupper, and Stevenson claim that not only should the NDP emphasize its transformative politics but also that it would find much broader support if it did. The election of 16 NDP MLA's in 1986, which occurred

after the essays were written, might even underscore their point. Stevenson weaves his interpretation into a general critique of writing about party politics, drawing on the Quebec case elucidated by Maurice Pinard, to suggest that political choice more than political culture explains mass support for single parties. Whether or not Stevenson is fully convincing, he has contributed and indispensable interpretation of provincial politics.

A peculiarity of Canadian political science is that political protest, however weak, has drawn much more attention than the centre, however successful. Both that emphasis and the main prescriptions of the Notley volume raise the question of whether the study of political winners might be just as helpful, even to normative political scientists, as the study of the losers. The central contentions that traditional agrarian populism is as futile as brokerage politics for social democrats and that an avowed class and redistributionist NDP would gain large blocks of support have not been compared to the hard experience of the NDP in other prairie provinces or to the actual voting references of Albertans.

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J. Paul Grayson, *Corporate Strategy and Plant Closures: The S.K.F. Experience* (Toronto: Our Times Publishing Ltd. 1985).

PLANT CLOSURES are an intrinsic part of capitalism, made worse since the early 1970s by the "oil crisis," and since the early 1980s by the severe recession, and soon to be made worse still by the drive to liberalized trade — especially the Mulroney-Reagan trade deal — and the accelerated rate of restructuring of capital. There has, unfortunately, been very little Canadian research on plant closures, but Grayson's book is excellent.

It is a detailed case study of the December 1981 closure of SKF Canada Limited, showing the consequences of a

closure for workers and their families, and arguing effectively that improved plant closure legislation is both necessary and feasible. Grayson's findings and conclusions are based upon interviews with union officials, managers, and over 100 former SKF employees and their spouses, plus five detailed survey questionnaires administered over 30 months.

The context is the changing international division of labour, and the process of corporate rationalization by which even profitable plants are being closed. Such was the case for SKF Canada Limited. Faced with increased international competition, especially from the Japanese, the corporate strategy of the giant Swedish multinational ball bearing manufacturer was specialization in a limited number of lines of bearings, which led in the late 1970s and early 1980s to a series of mergers, expansions, and shutdowns. As Grayson notes: "It is evident that such shutdowns may have nothing to do with the profitability of an individual plant. Rather, they were related to the way a plant fitted into a larger corporate game plan." SKF Canada Limited appears to have been profitable, despite an apparently deliberate curtailment of investment by its Swedish parent, and Grayson observes that especially in this kind of case, better legislation could prevent closures. And employees of SKF want such legislation: "... 91.3 per cent of employees believed that the government should introduce legislation to control the circumstances under which plants are allowed to close," and "... 82.6 per cent of employees believed that a plant should be able to close only if it could demonstrate that it was economically unviable."

Grayson provides detailed insight into the effects of the closure on workers and their families, while citing the results of other studies on the effects of job loss. From sleeplessness and irritability, to the loss of self-esteem, increased family tensions, ulcers, and even heart attacks — a good percentage of former SKF workers and their families experienced considerable agony as a result of the closure. And

immediate financial costs were high. By February 1984, those of the 310 laid off who were still unemployed estimated they had lost a total of \$3.5 million in foregone wages, pensions, and benefits, and even those re-employed estimated their collective financial loss at \$2.1 million. The societal costs of closures are even greater. To take but one of many examples, Grayson quotes a Chairman of the Canadian Mental Health Association: "The single best indicator of child abuse is having an unemployed father in the house."

Many former SKF employees remained unemployed for a long time. Eighteen months after SKF began laying people off, only 41.2 per cent of former employees reported that they had found full-time jobs. Many of those were at lower wages, and they were less likely to be unionized. Even at 30 months the proportion reporting full-time jobs was still only 64.5 per cent — i.e., more than one-third were still without full-time work two-and-one-half years after the closure. Grayson cites 1982 Ontario Ministry of Labour data which shows that such high proportions of plant closure victims experiencing lengthy spells of unemployment were the norm following closures in the early 1980s.

The agencies which are supposed to assist in finding jobs performed poorly. Manpower Consultative Service (now the Industrial Adjustment Service), had a very poor placement record, and was viewed cynically by former SKF employees. This is consistent with its record in other Canadian closures. The Canada Employment Centres were even worse — one year after the closure less than 4 per cent of those who had found jobs did so through a CEC. There was much dissatisfaction expressed by former SKF employees about their treatment at the CEC: "The most frequent complaints related to the degradation of the application process, the Kafkaesque experiences at the employment office, the apparent lack of concern of employment office personnel, and the differential treatment accorded the older employee." Such com-

plaints are consistent with the findings of numerous recent studies.

Grayson concludes with a critical evaluation of plant closure legislation in Canada, and a survey of the much stronger legislation in effect in Europe, particularly Sweden, Germany, and France. By comparison with these latter countries, it is far too easy for a company to close a plant in Canada. We need legislation, Grayson argues, which can prevent closures, which can require a search for alternatives to closures, which requires corporate books to be opened to make a real search for alternatives possible, and which promises much greater support to workers seeking new employment in those cases when closure proves inevitable. Big business fights such legislation, arguing that it would lead to a capital outflow which would result in even higher unemployment, but as Grayson observes, plant closure legislation has not had such effects in Europe. He concludes by saying:

Were such measures in place, it is possible that SKF Canada Limited would not have closed its manufacturing operation to begin with. The cost of the company would have been too great. Even if it had closed, the cost to the employees would not have been as devastating as indicated in previous chapters.

Two matters which were touched on in this book are in need of a more thorough treatment. One is the politics of the labour movement's plant closure strategy. The Ontario Federation of Labour presents briefs detailing desirable legislative changes, but it is not clear that its membership is sufficiently politicized about this issue to put muscle behind such recommendations. The membership at SKF was not sufficiently politicized, nor were their links with the union local's leadership close enough, to mount an effective campaign around the closure. More analysis of the SKF closure from this perspective would have been useful. Second, more attention could usefully be paid to the measures needed to assist workers when a closure proves inevitable. Grayson's primary focus, and correctly

so, is on legislation designed to prevent closures. But many closures cannot be prevented, and more thought needs to be given to the problem from this perspective. These are more in the nature of areas for future research, than criticisms of Grayson's book, which is an excellent study of a largely neglected issue of critical importance to the Canadian labour movement.

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Arthur Francis, *New Technology at Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1986).

LE VOLUME PRÉSENTE UN ensemble de considérations théoriques sur les nouvelles technologies et sur les modes d'organisation du travail. Plusieurs aspects de la vie organisationnelle furent relevés par l'auteur: syndicalisme, qualité de vie au travail, participation, qualification et déqualification, etc. Toujours reviennent les références à ce qu'ont pu dire les Taylor, Galbraith, Mumford, Braverman, Chandler, etc., tous les auteurs qui apparaissent dans la littérature classique de la sociologie du travail et pour ce seul aspect, il s'agit d'une excellente rétrospective. La pensée de l'auteur reste empreinte cependant de la seule volonté de répondre à la thèse de Braverman ("... a balanced view"), sans les nuances que l'on retrouve habituellement chez les empiristes. Il n'apporte pas de résultat de recherche, pas d'hypothèse spécifique mise à l'épreuve, etc., les seuls éléments d'observation étant tirés de cinq études de divers auteurs réalisées au sein de secteurs précis d'application en Allemagne, en Grande-Bretagne, en France, en Suède, etc. (79-103) Une seule référence à une étude, à laquelle l'auteur a collaboré, vient compléter le tout.

Le chapitre en question, de nature plus descriptive et devant illustrer l'objet même du volume, prétend faire état de l'"évidence", relativement à la thèse de la déqualification, pour tenter de l'ébranler (avec quatre des cinq études). Il s'agit

d'une analyse secondaire de données d'observation qui n'ont que peu à voir avec la thèse ou sa négation. En outre, le lien n'est jamais fait explicitement avec la thèse de déqualification, même si l'occasion a plus d'une fois été donnée à l'auteur. Par ailleurs, puisqu'il s'agit du seul chapitre de nature empirique, son plus grand mais aussi son seul intérêt est de nous avoir résumé cinq études disparates qui nous informent de la situation dans les secteurs d'application étudiés par d'autres chercheurs; robots dans la fabrication automobile en Allemagne de l'Ouest (Wobbe-Ohlenburg, 1982), fabrication automatisée de pâte à biscuits en Écosse (Buchanan et Boddy, 1983), machines à contrôle numérique dans l'industrie manufacturière dans les Midlands (Wilkinson, 1983), des études comparatives anglo-franco-allemandes sur l'organisation du travail, ayant conduit à une comparaison plus spécifique de firmes anglaises et allemandes utilisant les machines à contrôle numérique (Sorge, 1983) et enfin, la fabrication des Volvo et des Saab en Suède. Quelques pages sont aussi consacrées à une étude anglaise sur la fabrication automobile, co-signée par l'auteur (Francis et Snell, 1984). Il s'agit par conséquent du seul chapitre qui nous en apprenne un tant soit peu, mais dont la nature ne nous apparaît cependant pas généralisable à l'ensemble des applications des nouvelles technologies.

La distinction entre la nature même des procédés d'automatisation et celle des procédés qui découlent de l'utilisation des nouvelles technologies de fabrication semble être présumée tout au long du volume; jamais n'est-elle clairement affirmée cependant, et encore moins démontrée. Aussi, il n'est pas surprenant de constater que les observations sur les procédés étudiés vont dans le sens de tout ce qui s'est écrit sur la modernisation industrielle, ni plus ni moins. Que les technologies dites "nouvelles" intègrent l'informatique dans leur mode de fonctionnement, que ce soit en vue d'un meilleur contrôle de la production ou pour sa gestion d'ensemble, c'est juste, mais encore faut-il aller voir du côté de la

programmation, où réside l'essentiel des modes et modalités de fonctionnement. Autrement, on étudie indistinctement de la machinerie pour de la machinerie. Si seulement encore la distinction avait été faite entre les nouvelles technologies de production et celles de gestion. Il aurait aussi fallu s'attarder davantage à la gestion des processus et à leur programmation sous-jacente, ce qui n'a pas été fait. Si l'intelligence de la production passe désormais par l'intelligence de la programmation, c'est de ce côté qu'il importe d'aller s'enquérir.

Dire que l'utilisation des "nouvelles" technologies de production requiert davantage de formation pour les travailleurs qui ont à s'en servir est plutôt incontestable et d'ailleurs, Braverman lui-même ne l'eût point contesté. Si l'auteur n'avait pas pris la thèse de la déqualification pour ce qu'elle n'est pas, une thèse qui laisserait croire en une baisse de la formation requise, peut-être aurait-il interprété autrement ses observations. Le problème réside précisément dans l'usage ambigu de la thèse de la déqualification qui pour bien des auteurs, équivaut à une baisse de la formation et des compétences requises, ce qui est loin d'être le cas. Braverman avait plutôt parlé d'ailleurs de dégradation du travail, en interprétant le mouvement général d'automatisation comme découlant d'une division extrême du travail industriel, qui a pu conduire à une séparation de plus en plus nette entre le travail de conception et le travail d'exécution. Le savoir ouvrier étant de plus en plus approprié par la sphère de la conception (les directions, les services d'ingénierie, etc.), le contrôle de la production échappe désormais de plus en plus aux travailleurs de la base. L'interprétation d'une tendance est une chose et l'observation de la "déqualification" en est une autre. C'est une toute autre chose en effet de s'enquérir des qualifications pré et post-implantation des nouvelles technologies de production, pour se rendre compte de la bi-polarisation de ces qualifications, les utilisateurs immédiats des technologies en question devant bien sûr avoir

la formation requise pour leur bon fonctionnement, laissant en contrepartie une proportion plus grande de travailleurs dans des emplois dits "déqualifiés," ou plus simplement pour lesquels une formation préalable n'est plus exigée. Et cela est sans parler du sentiment de qualification plus grand que vivent les utilisateurs immédiats, ce dont Braverman n'avait pas tenu compte et qui a pu lui être reproché, pour lequel il n'est pas difficile de relever des "évidences."

Pour ce qui est de l'interprétation générale, on assiste ici à une mise en place d'éléments qui prétendent à une certaine originalité, dans deux chapitres (104-53) dont l'un est sous-titré par " ... a new conceptual approach," à propos des liens entre l'organisation, le contrôle et la technologie, et l'autre qui porte sur le fonctionnement organisationnel et la nouvelle technologie. Ce premier chapitre en effet est particulièrement intéressant et constitue d'ailleurs la force de l'ouvrage. Un effort d'intégration de divers éléments théoriques s'y retrouve, campé sur la mise en rapport de quatre types d'enjeux pour le contrôle organisationnel (de la simple coordination à la négociation des intérêts conflictuels, en passant par l'autonomie relative et le marchandage de l'effort) et de trois types d'organisation (marché, groupes de pairs et hiérarchie) (121), afin d'examiner les problèmes qui se posent au croisement de chacun des types recensés. Le cadre conceptuel ainsi fourni permet de bien situer les endroits possibles d'intervention des personnes comme des groupes au sein de l'organisation, et les modes sous-jacents de prise en charge des nouvelles technologies. Le chapitre suivant tente de voir de quelle façon la nouvelle technologie s'imbrique dans ce labyrinthe, en discutant de ses effets présumés sur la nature du travail qui s'exerce à différents paliers.

Ce chapitre eût été d'un grand intérêt s'il avait pu s'appuyer sur des observations empiriques précises et non pas sur des commentaires aléatoires, qui nous ramènent constamment à des situations purement hypothétiques, sur la foi bien entendu que les changements possibles

dépendent d'un ensemble indéfini de facteurs. Le dérapage se constate en particulier avec des commentaires sur l'informatique de gestion (incluant le travail clérical et allant jusqu'au télé-traitement), pour lesquels l'auteur s'inspire davantage de ce qui est véhiculé dans les médias sur la question. Les derniers chapitres enfin s'attardent aux défis posés aux syndicats et aux façons d'améliorer l'implantation des technologies, selon des scénarios classiques essentiellement fondés sur le degré plus ou moins grand de participation.

Les éléments théoriques d'ordre plus général sur la sociologie du travail étant relativement bien présentés, on ne peut que constater le manque de rigueur dans la délimitation de l'objet pour apprécier le bien-fondé de la thèse que l'auteur a voulu présenter. Cette faiblesse mise à part, l'ouvrage apporte un éclairage théorique intéressant, qui tient beaucoup à la facilité de l'auteur à présenter et à commenter des schémas théoriques qui dans certains cas, s'avèrent fructueux.

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Angus McLaren and Arlene Tigar McLaren, *The Bedroom and the State: The Changing Practices and Politics of Contraception and Abortion in Canada, 1880-1980* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1986)

FOR THOSE WHO ARE INTERESTED in the current political and social struggles to regulate reproduction in Canada, *The Bedroom and the State* provides a powerful sense of the history which engendered the issues. As the authors remark, "After having surveyed the history of the discussion of contraception and abortion in Canada from the 1880s to the 1980s it is difficult not to have a sense of *deja vu* when observing the current conflict." (138) In particular, Angus McLaren and Arlene Tigar McLaren call attention to historical continuities in the ideological themes which have guided the Canadian

discussion of fertility control and regulation for the last century.

Who should be permitted to control reproduction, and will that control benefit women? In the 1980s, many policy makers, and even some feminists, have seen new reproductive technologies as a boon to women who are now permitted to determine when, how, how often, and whether to reproduce. Other feminists, however, such as Mary O'Brien and Abby Lippman, have voiced concerns about the ways in which new reproductive technologies like *in vitro* fertilization and sex preselection can wrest reproductive processes away from women. Access to these technologies is heavily regulated by the state and by the medical establishment, both of which see fit to judge which women are suited to motherhood and deserving of medical assistance to cope with problems of fertility and infertility.

Similarly, a century ago, the development of contraceptive technology appeared to promise women — working-class women in particular — a release from the burden of large families and the poverty and drudgery in which they lived. Yet many feminists were cautious about the ways in which the use of contraceptives such as the pessary and condom could deny women sexual freedom within their marriages, and denigrate women's roles as mothers. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, contraception and abortion services were regulated by "the medical profession, the legal profession, and the clergy;" their availability was subject to the classist and sexist biases of the men in those groups.

Access to contraception was touted by some as a blessing, yet its benefits were not clearly for the working-class women most oppressed by continuous childbearing. Instead, middle-class men such as R. Kaufman and A.H. Tyrer often promoted the greater use of contraceptives because they feared unrestrained procreation by the "feeble-minded," (84) the unfit, and the "generally irresponsible classes." (97) Indeed, a powerful eugenic motive, allied to classism and racism,

drove and continues to drive many of those who seek to regulate reproduction. From the emphasis on sterilization earlier in this century, (30-1) to the emphasis on prenatal diagnosis now, the aim has been to prevent those who are perceived to be deficient from ever being born.

Both in this century and the last, the child has been seen as a commodity, a product with an exchange value which varies depending upon the economic climate into which it is born. The greatly increased demand for access to contraceptives and abortions first arose at a time when child employment was being restricted and the costs of education were increasing. Within the economy of the family and the state, the child was becoming a liability rather than an asset. Today, those who purchase children through the hiring of commercial surrogates or the black market adoption market often perceive their babies as luxuries to which they must devote a substantial amount of money in order to obtain a high quality product.

From a feminist perspective, the paradoxical result of the development of scientific control over reproduction is that it so often serves to keep women in their place, and the concept of reproductive freedom is co-opted to serve patriarchal interests. In the late twentieth century, the new focus on high-tech treatment of infertility and on the choice of the characteristics of one's offspring reinforces the pronatalist pressures that make motherhood look like a necessary and inevitable component of womanly self-fulfillment. During the last century, promoters of contraception were "selfish" individuals (82) who sought to avoid their natural and divinely-ordained responsibilities. Significantly, however, in order to defend fertility regulation, the birth controllers argued that deliberate limitation of family size would reinforce marital bonds, make husband and wife happier and more committed. (80) and permit women to perform more competently in their role as mothers. In other words, for its most vociferous advocates, the value of birth control lay not in the

liberation of women, but rather in the procurement of women's greater devotion and conformity to the roles allotted to them by church and state.

As the authors of *The Bedroom and the State* observe: "Since the major institutions in Canada, as in most societies, tend to be run by men and to reflect their interests, it is possible that the protection of women from childbearing does, in fact, strip them of some of the power they have had as mothers and reduces them to being merely sexual playthings for the pleasure of men." (143) This is not to suggest that women's interests would be better served by a simplistic resistance to and rejection of reproductive technologies and services. Instead, it suggests that past and present needs for fertility regulation have been generated and must be understood and evaluated within the context of the institution of compulsory heterosexuality and the ideology of pronatalism.

The Bedroom and the State is disappointing only for its brevity. The history of the politics of contraception and abortion in Canada is sufficiently interesting and significant to deserve more attention by historians and social scientists. After reading this book's 186 pages (which includes extensive notes and an index) one is left wanting to know even more about the struggles around fertility control. For example, the book offers some insights into the situation of married women, but says little about those who were single. Presumably unmarried women were not supposed to need contraception and abortion; what happened to those who did? How did they cope? There is also a need for more information about the women who were active in the birth control movement, both in promoting and making available the services. Finally, it would be fascinating to know more about the experiences and beliefs of the women who came to the first birth control clinics, and who used the prescribed methods, sometimes successfully, and sometimes not, as well as about the women who sought and obtained legal and illegal abortions during the last hundred years.

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Gary Kinsman, *The Regulation of Desire: Sexuality in Canada* (Montreal: Black Rose Books 1987).

I IMAGINE MYSELF IN TORONTO during the 1880s. I work as a bell boy in one of the big hotels downtown. Because my wages are not enough to support me I sometimes earn some extra cash by engaging in what most Torontonians call acts of indecency with wealthy men.

What these imaginings bring into focus is the historical reality and intersection of working-class life and same-gender sexuality. While the detailed studies of the past decade have explored many aspects of Canadian working-class experience, sex and sexuality have been conspicuous only by their almost complete absence. With the publication of Gary Kinsman's *The Regulation of Desire*, however, the subject of sexuality has been taken out of the historical closet.

Although not a labour historian, Kinsman is a sociologist with a keen sense of the importance of history, particularly as a powerful force to inspire current political struggles. Indeed, history is integral to Kinsman's central theoretical argument that sexuality is not a natural or biological given, but rather a set of social relations that change over time linked to broader shifts in class, gender, and state formation. Kinsman sets out this approach in Part I of his book, adding to it the concepts of sexual rule and sexual resistance. With all this under his arm, Kinsman is ready to detail the historical emergence in Canada of same-gender sexuality and the flip side of that coin, the establishment of a particular form of heterosexuality as the social norm.

And get ready for it is a fast ride. The story begins with the sexual colonization of Native peoples during the 1700s and ends with the rise of moral conservatism in the 1980s and the contemporary lesbian/gay liberation movement. European colonization, Kinsman argues, wiped out "a panorama of erotic and gender relations among North American Natives" (71) including various forms of cross-

dressing, cross-working, and same-gender erotic pleasure and replaced them with European practices. This process of "extreme cultural, social, and physical violence lies at the roots of the Canadian State." (73)

In the nineteenth century, all across New France, Upper Canada, and the West, buggery and sodomy were central to the developing networks of male same-gender sex, particularly in the predominantly male environments of the military and mining/logging communities. For much of this period Kinsman maintains that sexual rule developed unevenly and was based in community forms of regulation such as the charivari. But to make this interesting argument Kinsman relies on secondary sources and we are given no evidence or analysis of charivaris as a mode of sexual regulation.

Indeed, the bulk of material presented on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is culled from secondary sources rather than based on original research, the entire period being skipped over in little more than 30 pages. This means that historical events are passed over very quickly and tend to function primarily as marginal decorations. There is no attempt to place these episodes in their own discrete historical contexts. This is perhaps the most disappointing aspect of *The Regulation of Desire*. In order to make an argument for the social construction of sexuality — to get at the nature of "sexual change" over a long period of time — Kinsman needs history on his side. While Kinsman is certainly aware of this at the level of theory, he is much less successful in actually grounding his theory in primary historical investigation.

The bulk of the book is given to the twentieth century when the institutions and apparatus of sexual rule became more advanced and it is here that Kinsman is at his best. The mobilization of thousands of Canadians during World War II, for example, segregated women and men in the military, in war production, and in industry, but as Kinsman explains, it also served to weaken the hold of the

heterosexual family and thus created a new setting for same-gender erotic liaisons. Kinsman expands our understanding of the post-war period by demonstrating that the Canadian government and its security services cracked down not only on leftists in the 1950s, but it also conducted a witch hunt of gays and lesbians, often making direct links between communism and subversive homosexuality.

In addition to World War II and the problem of "national security," other main focusses of the book include the creation of legal and medical categories and the struggle for law reform. Kinsman effectively argues that the 1969 Criminal Code Reform may have permitted homosexual acts in private between two consenting adults, but it did not legalize homosexuality cast as it was in the liberal notions of privacy and the individual. Rather, the reform made an artificial distinction between private and public sex which only allowed "homosexuality to be tolerated in a limited and highly patrolled social space, while preserving heterosexual hegemony." (165) Kinsman's concentration on legal reforms and categories, however, means that the historical detail of the experience of those who themselves engaged in same-gender pleasures too often takes a backseat to his primary interest in the forms of sexual regulation. The subject of cruising in Toronto during the 1920s and 30s, for example, is relegated to a mere footnote and gay life in Montreal in the 1950s is all too quickly passed over.

Throughout this exploration in the history of sexuality, Kinsman uses what he calls a "historical materialist" approach. Certainly, he has a firm grasp on dialectics or the double-edged nature of sexual rule. For instance, the sexual categories developed by sexologists, Kinsman argues, played a significant role in the medicalizing and criminalizing of same-gender sex, but they were also used by homosexuals themselves to name, define, and validate their own experiences. Kinsman also tries to relate sexuality to its broader material base. Late twen-

tieth-century corporate capitalism and its decreasing dependence on a particular heterosexual family form, for example, are seen to have opened the necessary space for the expansion of gay/lesbian communities. Too often, however, in his attempts to pin down sexuality in its material context, there is too much of a separation between the always sweeping descriptions of social and class formation which begin the chapters and the history of sexuality. And overly broad processes such as "urbanization, industrialization," and general concepts like "state apparatus" are too often offered as explanations in themselves for complex social transformations.

Stemming from his historical materialist approach is Kinsman's understanding that "class has an important effect on our erotic life and on homosexual culture." (119) Think, for example, of the bell boy in our introduction. His sexual encounters with upper-class men were layered with class meaning; part economic necessity and perhaps part pleasure, the working-class youth could turn these sexual encounters into a form of class antagonism by threatening to blackmail the men thus potentially compromising their class position and power.

But Kinsman's class analysis occasionally brings him to some rather curious conclusions. At one point he argues that unlike homosexual-identified middle-class men of the nineteenth century, working-class men who engaged in same-gender sex "did not feel as compelled to adopt a particular overall identity or lifestyle." (52) The reason for this difference, Kinsman believes, was culture. Working-class culture remained "more resistant to linking the occasional same-gender sexual act with an exclusive homosexual identity," this in turn due to "the later development of a 'respectable' heterosexual culture in the working class." (52) Not only are we not given any evidence of such developments (the idea is uncritically borrowed from British historian Jeffrey Weeks), but it seems to escape Kinsman that this probably has more to do with who has left us records of

their sexual lives rather than with the dubious notion of cultural lag and, at any rate, we do know of nineteenth-century working-class men who adopted a homosexual identity. More importantly, Kinsman's class analysis here buys into the notion (which he otherwise rejects) that the middle-class was somehow more advanced sexually (at least in terms of understanding and defining their sexuality) and that the working class simply engaged in indiscriminate sex that lacked any larger meaning for their lives. And too often in Kinsman's descriptions the working class appears as an abstract category rather than as actual people with sexual experiences to uncover.

But it is easy to find fault with a book on such a new, uncharted subject. The many detailed historical studies of sexuality, class, and working-class life needed to fill out and contest this synthesis have yet to be produced. As Kinsman admits, "this is a limited, partial, and flawed history It is intended only as a starting point for discussion, debate, and further research." (18) Most importantly, a reading of *The Regulation of Desire* highlights for future research into the social construction of sexuality the need for far more rigorous and refined historical investigation. Nevertheless, once in awhile, a book comes along that asks entirely new questions, poses important theoretical issues, indeed, opens a whole new field for historical investigation. For Canadian history, *The Regulation of Desire* has done just that.

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Pat Armstrong, *Labour Pains-Women's Work in Crisis* (Toronto: The Women's Press 1984).

LE TRAVAIL DES FEMMES INTÉRESSE Pat Armstrong depuis plus d'une quinzaine d'années déjà; depuis 1975, elle a publié régulièrement sur cette question, seule ou avec Hugh Armstrong. Dans la présente étude, elle se propose d'examiner

l'impact de la crise économique sur l'emploi des femmes et sur la ségrégation sexuelle du travail dans le contexte d'une économie politique organisée autour de l'état, du ménage et de l'économie formelle (16). Sa problématique se fonde donc à la fois sur des paramètres de l'économie politique et de la théorie féministe. Cette dernière lui permet de formuler son postulat de départ posant la centralité de la division sexuelle du travail et le chevauchement de cette division au sein du travail domestique et du travail salarié; par ailleurs, la première lui permet de situer les conditions de ce chevauchement dans un contexte d'économie capitaliste en crise. Le livre a une ambition à la fois théorique et empirique: faire travailler ensemble ces deux séries de paramètres, dans l'analyse des interrelations entre le développement économique inégal dans l'économie formelle et dans le ménage (économie domestique), tout en y intégrant l'analyse du rôle de l'état et de la technologie dans la mise en forme des conditions de travail des femmes dans les deux sphères. Cette approche se situe dans un courant important de la pensée féministe; en effet, depuis quelques années, plusieurs recherches tentent de construire le pont qui relie ces deux univers afin de mieux rendre compte des caractéristiques spécifiques des conditions de vie des femmes dans nos sociétés industrielles développées.

Au chapitre 2, Armstrong formule la nécessité d'intégrer la division sexuelle du travail à tous les niveaux de l'analyse et comme partie intégrante de chaque période historique du système capitaliste. Tout en reprenant certains fondements de l'analyse marxiste voulant que les conditions matérielles servent d'assise aux paramètres de toute société (39), elle se rallie cependant à plusieurs analystes féministes, critiques de cette même théorie. Celle-ci a négligé, en effet, la division sexuelle du travail et n'a pas pris en compte les modes différenciés de reproduction des hommes et des femmes. D'où la nécessité d'examiner à la fois et les rapports entre les sexes et les rapports de classes, mais aussi de donner une ex-

tension au concept d'économie politique qui prend ainsi tout son sens. Conséquemment, la tâche consiste donc à analyser, à l'aide d'une approche dialectique, les conflits entre le capital et le travail, entre les hommes et les femmes, entre l'économie domestique et l'économie formelle, mais aussi dans leurs interrelations réciproques et contradictoires. Pour réaliser ces objectifs, la chercheuse se concentrera sur l'étude des structures et des conditions objectives de situations, plutôt que sur l'étude des attitudes et des perceptions, même si ces dernières sont parties d'un même processus, comme elle le mentionne elle-même. (46) Ce chapitre 2 fait un excellent tour d'horizon des grandes lignes du débat à partir duquel l'auteure dégage son propre cadre théorique. Celui-ci se met peu à peu en place à partir de démarcations ou d'appuis donnés à l'une et/ou l'autre des théories ou études sur ces questions. Mais voilà qu'il se termine, là où l'on croyait qu'il allait commencer, c'est-à-dire par une mise en forme d'hypothèses et non seulement d'assertions, mais aussi par un travail d'opérationnalisation des catégories d'analyse qui permettront à la chercheuse d'encadrer les données et de les analyser. Vouloir lier plusieurs approches théoriques est une chose; il en va tout autrement cependant, lorsqu'il s'agit d'y recourir pour démontrer des situations à travers une étude concrète: il m'apparaît nécessaire de construire et de faire part des outils d'analyse, si l'on veut faire avancer la recherche et la compréhension des phénomènes étudiés, d'autant plus lorsqu'il s'agit de briser avec d'autres modèles d'analyses et de construire de nouvelles problématiques. Les chapitres qui suivent ne répondent pas davantage à cette exigence et malheureusement certaines assertions demeurent plutôt des questions en suspens et non élaborées. Ainsi les lecteurs et lectrices seront appelés à faire eux-même un travail de déduction, à partir des données présentées, mais le risque est grand de tomber dans le piège du déterminisme et des relations causales unilinéaires.

Le chapitre 3 présente une bonne synthèse de l'évolution de la participation des femmes sur le marché du travail canadien. Il en rappelle aussi les transformations dans le contexte de la crise économique des années 70 et fait ressortir la place prise par le secteur tertiaire dans l'économie et les transformations du rôle de l'état. Le chapitre 4 porte spécifiquement sur la distribution de la force de travail à travers les divers secteurs de l'économie et les occupations. Il s'agit d'un énorme travail de manipulation statistique des données du Recensement par lequel l'auteure cherche aussi à montrer comment celui-ci ne permet pas de rendre compte des différences de sexes et ne dit rien qui vaille à ce sujet. Elle doit donc entreprendre un travail de décodage et de recouplement afin d'en arriver à faire ressortir les aspects qui concernent la division sexuelle du travail. L'auteure réussit très bien cet objectif. Il faut lire l'Appendice sur la méthodologie qui constitue une très bonne analyse critique de l'appareil statistique tel que construit par Statistique-Canada pour les fins du Recensement.

Le chapitre 5 traite des caractéristiques du travail ménager, du contenu des tâches et de leur partage dans un contexte de crise économique. Elle note qu'à ce dernier chapitre les choses ont peu changé et qu'au contraire le travail des ménagères a tendance à augmenter en même temps qu'augmente les prix à la consommation. Ne pouvant plus se procurer certains biens, elles doivent les fabriquer elles-mêmes. Les services se faisant de plus en plus rares et coûteux, elles doivent prendre en charge des parents âgés ou malades et garder leurs enfants à la maison. Ce chapitre repose sur l'utilisation de données et de conclusions provenant de recherches faites au Canada et à l'étranger. L'on aurait souhaité que l'auteure démontre davantage les liens entre les places occupées sur le marché du travail et dans le travail ménager, objet annoncé dans l'intention de ce livre. Tout au long de l'étude, il y a des assertions qui auraient mérité appuis et démonstrations et qui

sont loin de parler d'elles-mêmes: par exemple, selon l'auteure, la technologie domestique va isoler les femmes à la maison avec leurs enfants (117); cet isolement conduirait à une augmentation du stress, des dépressions et de la tension. Sur quoi s'appuie-t-elle pour avancer ces constatations? S'agit-il d'hypothèses ou de conclusions de recherches? Il est difficile de le savoir et les données concrètes qui pourraient servir d'appui ne sont pas présentées. C'est là un exemple parmi d'autres, mais cette manière de procéder se présente souvent dans l'exposé de l'argumentation qui sous-tend ce livre. Le chapitre 6 expose les politiques de l'état orientées vers la réduction des dépenses sociales (éducation, santé, services sociaux) et le renvoi de ces services au travail précaire, mal payé et souvent bénévole.

Le dernier chapitre présente un portrait de la technologie microélectronique en milieu de travail. Elle fait le point sur la situation du début de la décennie des années 80 et les données présentées sont pertinentes et bien compilées. Cependant, elles datent déjà, certaines sont dépassées et les références bibliographiques ne sont pas à jour. La situation changeant très vite tant au niveau des outils que des lieux d'implantation, il est préférable, dans ce cas, de rédiger un article plutôt qu'un chapitre de livre. Les données sont aussi, dans ce cas, tirées de d'autres recherches américaines et canadiennes.

Et l'auteure de conclure (172) "la classe ouvrière a encore deux sexes et cela limite sa force" (ma traduction). Elle souhaite que les transformations actuelles rassemblent les femmes plus qu'elles ne les divisent dans une lutte contre l'élimination des emplois et leur transformation et qu'elles soient encouragées à "travailler avec les hommes." Et elle ajoute que dans les circonstances actuelles, les femmes risquent de perdre davantage que les hommes. Ce sont là des propositions susceptibles de soulever tout un débat et il aurait été intéressant qu'elle les développe davantage d'autant plus qu'il est peu questions dous ce livre, du

travail des hommes, et des places qu'ils occupent dans les rapports de sexes et les rapports sociaux en milieu de travail. Toutes les données de la recherche convergent cependant pour démontrer la place dominée et subordonnée qu'occupent les femmes sur le marché du travail et dans le ménage et ces données suggèrent non seulement des rapports de classes mais aussi des rapports de sexes dans lesquels les hommes occupent en bonne partie des positions de domination.

Pour terminer, j'ajouterai que cette étude est très bien documentée et qu'elle peut servir de référence de base dans les cours portant sur ces questions. La recherche ayant conduit à la construction des données statistiques pour traiter de la place des femmes sur le marché du travail est fort bien faite et la méthodologie qui l'a permise est originale et fort utile pour d'autres recherches. Elle est aussi très bien documentée et la bibliographie est imposante. A ce sujet, je ne peux taire cependant une immense lacune qui traduit encore, et l'on s'en surprend, une méconnaissance totale des travaux menés sur ces questions par les francophones du Canada et notamment les québécois francophones. Dans la liste bibliographique qui couvre 23 pages, l'on retrouve deux références à des textes québécois, la première provenant du groupe Action-Travail des femmes et la seconde, d'une chercheure du Québec. Par ailleurs, aucune attention n'est prêtée dans cette étude à la dimension des rapports ethniques dans l'allocation des places occupées par les femmes, mais surtout les hommes, sur le marché du travail. Et pourtant, s'il est des questions qui ont été travaillées, discutées, et qui ont fait l'objet de publications au Québec, tant au niveau théorique qu'empirique, ce sont bien celles qui renvoient aux rapports de classes, aux rapports de sexes et aux rapports ethniques. Silence excusable? Je ne le crois pas. Explicable? Encore moins, surtout si l'on se replace dans la problématique même de ce livre.

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Heather Jon Maroney and Meg Luxton, eds., *Feminism and Political Economy: Women's Work, Women's Struggles* (Toronto: Methuen 1987).

THE MARONEY-LUXTON collection of articles is an important contribution to the project of developing a socialist-feminist analysis of and for women in Canada. The challenge the project represents is a difficult one. It is almost a cliché to say that "adding women on" to mainstream sociology will not do. Feminist scholars have maintained that both theoretically and substantively, the past and present features of Canadian life take on a different configuration when previously invisible women are brought into view.

The book covers a wide range of topics — (I) The Politics of the Women's movements, (II) Political Economy and Gender: The Division of Labour, (III) The Political Economy of Women's Work, and (IV) The State. Since discussing all fifteen articles in the book is not possible in a short review, let me briefly note a few of the articles to give the reader a taste of what is in the book. Diane Lamoreux's article on the relationship between nationalism and feminism in Quebec discusses how the concerns of feminists were expressed within the language of national liberation, indeed were viewed as part of the wider struggle for national liberation. But, she asks, why were feminists in Quebec so attracted to nationalist concepts, when Quebec nationalism has historically been so misogynist? To what extent did the modern version of the nationalist tradition as practiced by the Parti Quebecois support women's liberation? How will women's concerns get articulated in the post-referendum period? All of the answers are not found in these fourteen pages, but this is the first time such questions have been raised for an Anglophone audience.

Lorna Weir's article discusses the need for sexual politics to be part of a socialist-feminist theory and practice. She argues for an understanding of why lesbian interests are crucial to the

women's movement. Sexuality and sexual regulation cannot be interpreted solely through an analysis of class and capital. Socialist-feminists need a conceptual framework which will enable them to address all forms of gender subordination. Lesbianism, and the politics of sexuality, need to be theorized in a way that does not subordinate them to class issues. In Weir's words, "a class-conscious feminism includes more than class issues."

Heather Jon Maroney's article on the relationship between the women's movement and the trade union movement is complementary to Weir's article. Again, the theme of the tension between class issues and sexual and cultural issues is played out. The 1970s has seen what Maroney calls the rise of "working class feminism," the development of a base of feminists within the union movement. The efforts of the past decade have produced results that have been quite remarkable in promoting solidarity between the women's movement and trade-union struggles. Maroney skillfully fuses a discussion of the theoretical issues, the dangers of reducing women's issues to economism, with the practical challenges of operating within bureaucratic and male dominated unions.

"Time for Myself: Women's Work and the Fight for Shorter Hours," authored by Meg Luxton, presents an analysis of why the trade union movement's call for a shorter work week raises the question of what constitutes socially necessary labour. A shorter paid work week does not necessarily mean more free time for women when both paid and unpaid work are considered. In a clear, well argued article, that goes back and forth between theory and concrete example, Luxton explains the differences between the precisely drawn boundaries of wage labour, and the diffuse, seemingly never-ending nature of domestic labour. She concludes with a call for a policy of a work week with more flexible as well as shorter hours — one that recognizes childcare as a social responsibility. This is the basis for advances that will

also challenge the sex/gender division of labour.

In arranging an anthology, one is limited by space, as well as availability of articles, and thus commenting on what is not in a book is problematic. However, one area that needs more attention is the issue of race: here the book reflects the situation in the women's movement a few years ago, when plans for the anthology were first made. Although Carolyn Egan's article briefly refers to the efforts of the International Women's Day Coalition in Toronto to develop an anti-racist focus, much more extensive analysis is required if we are to create a politics that includes all women.

The last few articles in the book involve the very ambiguous relationship between feminists and the state. Alena Heitlinger uses the example of social policy in Eastern Europe to analyze what happens when legislation which is designed to improve the situation for women is introduced that is based on an ideology of sex differences. She describes how protective legislation geared to women's reproductive functions has contributed to maintaining a less than equal situation for women as workers. In the light of recent plans to increase maternity provisions for women as part of *perestroika*, the article is particularly timely.

Gavigan's article on women and abortion in Canada uses this fundamental demand of the contemporary women's movement to make a number of comments on the need to be historically and contextually specific in understanding how patriarchy operates. In the case of abortion, it is the state, mediated by the medical profession, that controls women — not their husbands. While formal equality has not led to real equality for women, nevertheless the struggle for the vote was a progressive one. The abortion issue illustrates how important the state and the law are in the struggle for self-determination and reproductive rights for women. In Gavigan's words, "For women to even begin to explore the concept of equality, the right to self-determination and reproductive freedom must be won.

The state and the law are thus an important site of struggle, one which feminists avoid at our peril."

The introduction to the book is pretty tough going. It includes a critique of Canadian political economy, a condensed history of what classical Marxist theory has to offer feminism, plus a brief history of recent feminist theory, as applied to biology, sexuality, and socialization, with some special consideration of the contributions of Canadian feminists. The result for me was like trying to eat too much rich food — the digestive system seized up well before I finished.

While the articles selected for *Feminism and Political Economy* demonstrate a commitment to theory grounded in and emanating from struggle for change, the language used is in some ways at odds with the politics expressed. One of the sentences from the introductions reads as follows: "Nevertheless, it is important to keep them (identity, cultural codes for gender and sexual desire) analytically distinct; otherwise, their conflation produces an undifferentiated, premature totalization which reinforces the problem if theoretical dualism." This is not a book written in language that will be accessible to most women. I think that is unfortunate because this book deserves a broad audience.

For the most part, this book addresses issues that traditional political economy never noticed. I would like to see a challenge to political economy in Canada that critiques mainstream writing on its own terrain, and a beginning can be found in the Maroney-Luxton material. One of the best lines in this book is the authors' observations that, "Innis may have paid scant attention to men as labourers, but he noticed women not at all. For Innis, the demographic patterns, reproductive practices and (reputed) monogamous marital habits of the beaver warranted more attention than any discussion of the same among humans." Karen Anderson's article, "A Gendered World: Women, Men and the Political Economy of the Seventeenth Century Huron" gives us a sense of what there is to learn when gender is con-

sidered. Anderson describes how the sexual division of labour and kinship structures supported rather than undermined the autonomy of women in Huron society — answering a question that could not be asked within traditional political economy.

The claim that traditional political economy has been a male preserve needs to be documented both by extensive critiques of what has been done, and more research incorporating theories of gender. The publication last year of this book, along with the Hamilton Barrett edited collection, *The Politics of Diversity*, is reason for optimism. Let a hundred Canadian socialist feminist books be printed each year!

Ester Reiter
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Nancy Adamson, Linda Briskin and Margaret McPhail. *Feminist Organizing for Change: The Contemporary Women's Movement in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press 1988).

INTRODUCTORY TEXTS are difficult to write in an interesting or engaging manner. Similarly, polemical texts, which contain an explicit political argument, are often fascinating but lost on those unacquainted with the issues under debate. It is rare to find either of these kinds of books which escape such pitfalls, and rarer still to find one book which does both. *Feminist Organizing for Change* is such a book. It is an excellent introduction to the Canadian women's movement — its history, organization, and current political texture. But it is also a well argued and refreshingly clear socialist-feminist commentary on the contemporary feminist state of the union.

The reason, I think, that the editors, have managed to pull off this useful blend of introduction and debate is because of their combined experience as feminist activists and teachers. This is not an "armchair feminist" intervention. These are veteran activists who care about and

have experienced many of the campaigns and debates under discussion. These are also veteran teachers (primarily in Women's Studies courses) who have learned how to explain difficult concepts to a new audience.

The book is divided in three sections, each attempting a distinct task. Part I "Setting the Stage" provides a comprehensive introduction to the book and familiarizes readers with some of the basic issues and concepts central to contemporary feminism. The first chapter is appropriately named: "Entering the World of the Women's Movement" is an excellent brief guide for the uninitiated. The second and major chapter in this section contains a 70 page summary of the history of the first and second waves of Canadian feminism — an ambitious project! The bulk of this chapter is devoted to an overview of the second wave and in particular its "grassroots" origins. This is one of the first such attempts to be published. The story of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women is well documented, but this is the first Canadian attempt to chart such issues as the split between feminists and new left organizations, the first stirrings of organization around abortion, childcare, and sexuality, and the creation of feminist "institutions" such as women's bookstores and cultural spaces.

Historians may have trouble with the attempt to link politically and theoretically the various tendencies in the first and second wave. Would Flora McDonald Dennison really fit the label "equal rights" or "liberal" feminist? At the level of polemics and rhetoric the parallels between cultural/radical feminism and early "maternal feminism" are sometimes (chillingly) obvious, but how far can this be pushed? How helpful are contemporary feminist categories in understanding Dennison or other early feminists?

This chapter is on the whole a valuable beginning and will be extremely helpful for those trying to teach women's studies courses to students who were infants during the beginning of the second

wave. (How many women's studies teachers have heard young students say they chose to take such courses because their mothers suggested it!). The history is brought to life by the inclusion of an eclectic collection of documents, many of them arising from the early second wave, appended to the book. The history chapter and the documents do a wonderful job of conveying the energy and spirit of the times. My favorite line comes from a 1970 edition of the newsletter of the Toronto *New Feminist*: "Trudeau and Trotsky are just another pair of men." The Canadian women's Movement Archives in Toronto was an important source for much of the research for this overview, which stresses yet again the immense value of community-based archives in preserving the quirky, resolutely anti-bureaucratic operations of grassroots political organizations.

The remaining sections of the book set up a socialist-feminist theoretical framework and apply that framework to an analysis of contemporary feminist practice. The explanation of socialist-feminism is excellent. The editors explain socialist feminism as a "unique synthesis" of Marxism and feminism, one which analyses social life through the interconnecting lenses of class, gender, race, and sexuality. Now it is true, as other reviewers have commented, that socialist feminists alone did not create this synthesis. Radical feminists pushed issues of sexuality, violence, and culture to the fore of the feminist agenda, and it has been women of colour and immigrant women who have forced issues of racism to the place they are beginning to occupy in the women's movement. But the editors suggest that socialist-feminism alone can provide a "home" for these issues, and can be (if not is) the framework which explains and addresses the dominant structures of women's oppression.

And in keeping with their training as teachers and activists, the authors explain their vision of socialist-feminism simply and clearly. I sometimes wonder if socialist-feminism loses grassroots ideological terrain to radical feminism so

often simply because it seems so complicated. Marxism alone has a century-old history to try to grasp, and lord knows that can look intimidating enough even before one mixes gender up into it. This explanation is unique because it blends theoretical and substantive differences among feminists with a sharply focused analysis of the differences in feminist practice. So, differences in feminist analysis of, for example, the state, and domestic labour are documented, and there is an excellent analysis of the different theories of social change which are often implicit but important components of divergent feminist thought. But careful attention is also paid to the day-to-day differences of various feminist "tendencies."

What are the day-to-day differences? Do socialist-feminists dress differently, speak differently, perhaps make love differently? Nothing is simple. The authors develop an interesting model through which to evaluate differences in feminist practice. First they distinguish between "institutional" and "grassroots" feminist currents, which correspond roughly with liberal versus socialist and radical feminism. They then evaluate these currents, based on where they fit between the "pull" of what they call "mainstreaming" (a useful but horribly jargony concept) and the "push" of "disengagement." Those who favour the full-scale entry of women into the electoral system, who operate with "traditional" rules of order and seem unconcerned with the differences between women and men are thus, for example, being "pulled" into the mainstream. Alternatively, those who believe fervently in "women's culture," who celebrate and create alternative women's institutions and highlight supposed female differences are clearly "disengaging." (American feminist Sonia Johnson comes to mind as perhaps the most "disengaged" of all. Why do I notice that its only Americans who favour "going out of our minds" as a political strategy?)

What I like about this model is that it is more fluid and allows for a less dogmatic analysis of the different "isms" of

feminism than some other socialist-feminist interventions. The authors of course favour the socialist-feminist strategy of attempting to negotiate a balanced path between disengagement and mainstreaming; recent organizing around abortion rights and childcare are seen as successful attempts to do just that. But it is not an either/or proposition, and the authors are careful to stress that the "pushes" and "pulls" of different ways of "doing politics" are constantly shifting.

By focusing not only on the different theoretical currents of feminism but the activist dimensions as well, the editors have produced a book which, like Lynne Segal's *Is the Future Female?* is a socialist-feminist critique of the contemporary women's movement. Yet unlike Segal, who focuses primarily on key theoretical texts, they are more concerned with the way feminists have organized around key issues and how theoretical differences are manifested in divergent practice and ideas about how to make change. The two books actually complement each other quite nicely, and are important resources for those wishing to explore the spectrum of feminist thought from a socialist-feminist standpoint.

Karen Dubinsky
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Patrick Joyce, ed., *The Historical Meanings of Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1987).

WHAT BECOMES OF THE HISTORICAL identity of workers when the primary narrative of their modern emergence loses its plausibility? The essays in *The Historical Meanings of Work* address this important question. As self-conscious participants in a progressive redescription of the formation of capitalist societies, the authors are united by interests in the universe of making and doing which transcend the boundaries within which workers were initially located as pertinent historical actors. Their essays have a twofold purpose: to establish the activity of work as a privileged point of entry into the history of culture; and to reorient the study of

workers away from ossified frames of reference derived from classical Marxism.

Patrick Joyce's lucid introduction makes the important point that otherwise diverse accounts of working lives have standardly been informed by virtually identical models of economic rationality and industrial development, and that shared assumptions about the course of economic growth in Western industrial societies have tended to homogenize the experiences of heterogeneous communities. Marxism functions in this scholarly constellation as a compliment unconsciously paid by radicals to the Whig interpretation of history. When workers are conceived primarily as economic agents within productive processes beyond their direct control, the cultural character of their labour becomes obscured. Joyce argues that a set of commonly-held presumptions contributes to this narrowing of vision. The conception of capitalist social relations as inherently antagonistic, the notion of deskilling as a necessary feature of industrial growth, and the antinomies market/moral economy and task/time orientation, are features of a theoretical framework which truncates multiple meanings of work into a unidimensional register of responses to the putative demands of capital.

Most of these essays concentrate on elements of British industrial history, with Maxine Berg's paper on women's work and mechanization and Richard Whipp's study of time and work having the greatest imaginative ambition. By examining women's role in metal and textile employment, Berg calls into question the view that the separation of workplace and home associated with the development of capitalism can account for their particular subservience. Women in fact worked in a broad range of processes both before and after the introduction of mechanized processes, and Berg's analysis of these environments exposes a myth the conventional notion of the household economy, supposedly shattered by the machine. Economic and competitive relationships, rather than extrinsic features of an emergent capitalism, were at the heart of the

pebeian ethos of mutuality. Berg argues. The consumer culture associated with industry was but one part of household management directed by women, who were pivotal actors in the consumer and market communities penetrated by capitalism. Whipp engages with a similarly capacious subject by confronting Edward Thompson's model of a linear movement from task-based to clock time. He shows how employer demands for greater time thrift were never complete, how task-based work persisted even in mature industries, and that there was no single model of time rationalization. Having surveyed the persistent variety of time orientations within the context of uneven industrial development, Whipp studies ceramics and auto manufacture to delineate an alternative model for the understanding of industrial time reckoning. Like Berg, Whipp always remains sensitive to the continuities of personal experience within altered communal structures, and he refuses to map the history of time consciousness on an inherited narrative of industrial development. His paper should serve as a point of departure for further inquiry, just as future claims about a sharp, unilinear transition in women's working lives will have to confront Berg's powerful study of the dynamic contacts between market and custom, individual and community, with the advent of industry.

Four essays consider the collective consciousness of groups united by shared work and the ways in which communal perceptions are embodied in languages of self-identification. John Rule's paper on the property of skill addresses these issues by inspecting critically Marx's claims about a defensive and reactionary artisanate. Rule shows how skill, understood as a communal property in which individuals shared, was a dominant feature in the imaginative lives of working men, one increasingly put into an articulate discourse by the late eighteenth century, and one, moreover, that become even more intense in the early nineteenth century when it was carried over into new mechanized contexts. The processes of

concept formation emerge as focal points in Rule's attempt to comprehend meanings of work. In related ways, Robert Gray delineates the languages of British factory reform, and Michael Sonenscher brilliantly decodes the rituals of the *compagnonnages* in eighteenth-century France. All disclose how the languages of labour are not simply neutral and transmissive instruments for the expression of interests. Instead, as Keith McClelland's study of the distinctions between forms of labour amongst trade-unionists also makes clear, these self-descriptive vocabularies are constitutive of working communities themselves; as such, they are features of the identity, and thus the life projects, of their users.

Joan Scott's paper on French political economy tackles a related issue. She dissects the sexually-laden metaphors through which economists marginalized the experience of women workers, arguing that the lexicon of political economy has served as a conceptual barrier to the comprehension of women's roles. Her highly moralized reformulation of the ideology of domesticity still makes a useful point, one also brought out in H.F. Moorhouse's essay: that an adequate account of workers is hardly possible without due regard to the rhetoric through which persons conceive, and thus define, what they take work to be. As Scott studies artifacts of high culture, Moorhouse concentrates upon the vernacular idiom surrounding the American hot rod to indicate how lineaments of a hardly unitary "work ethic" may invade and then be altered in psychologically-rewarding, group-specific activities of unpaid labour.

Joyce's rewarding and provocative collection will be of considerable interest to readers of this journal; they may, however, wonder if the supplanting of "bourgeois" by "patriarchal" as the favoured negative designator in many of these essays entails any conceptual gain. Aside from a gross printing error on page 83, this book's only technical flaw is that the notes are placed at the end of the entire text. In an area marked by intense debate

about the value of theory, these essays on work suggest that intellectual labour of a high order may be an unintended consequence of at least one theory in the course of its decomposition.

E.J. Hundert
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Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press 1987).

SAILORS OF THE PRE-INDUSTRIAL AGE are picaresque, little known figures. They left few first-hand accounts of their lives, and are best known to us through the eyes of contemporary naval officers, publicists, and novelists rather than historians. Marcus Rediker challenges conventional, romantic depictions of the sailor which focus on his struggle against nature. Instead, he explores seamen's struggles against men, shipowners, merchants, captains, and petty officers. To Rediker the seaman was primarily a worker. He occupied a pivotal position in the creation of international markets and a waged working class. (77) He was a symbol of "advancing structural transformation in relations between capital and labour" (294) and entered new relations with his peers as collective workers, precursors to factory workers. (290) Chiefly concerned with culture, but rooting his work in the theoretical framework of working-class history, he has produced the most significant social history of the pre-industrial maritime world to date. In brief, Rediker focuses on the experiences of common seamen to shed light on three much larger issues, the rise of capitalism, the genesis of free wage labour, and the growth of an international working class. Whether his book stands or falls on these features is less important than his success at reconstructing the seaman's social world from within.

Rediker uses a wide variety of sour-

ces to demonstrate that, despite a paucity of statistical measures, Jack Tar's world can be recovered. The High Court of Admiralty Papers are his chief source for data concerning age distribution, wages, literacy, and incidence of mutiny among common seamen. But it is his employment of contemporary literary sources — diaries, travel, accounts, pamphlets, broadsheets, newsletters — that is most impressive. These are the chief sources for his pulsating reconstruction of Jack Tar's world.

Following a brief introduction, Rediker plunges the reader into a lengthy, evocative first chapter depicting the working world of the North Atlantic sailor circa 1740. The chapter, like the book, is replete with characters, scenes, and adventures, but its theme is the forging of the earliest free wage labourers who possessed no relation to the means of production. The remainder of the book deals with attempts a common seamen to resist their growing role as a commodity in an expanding international labour market. It is organized into two sections; the first, dealing with work, treats the topics of collective labour and wages. They are the foundations that let Rediker build towards the second section. Chapters four, five, and six deal with three essential aspects of maritime culture: the struggle against the sea, the creation of a culture of resistance to authority, violence and labour discipline, and the social world of maritime crime. These are the best chapters in the book.

Literary and legal sources are almost bound to enhance an author's tendency to overgeneralize on the basis of single impressions or cases. One can only wish for harder evidence to support such major claims that the seaman was one of the first collective workers and that ships ought to be seen as floating factories. The exclusion of fishermen, more easily identified as industrial producers, from the discussion appears puzzling and so is the omission of seamen serving in the Royal Navy where they were employed in the largest aggregations to be found afloat. Confinement of discussion to the mer-

chant marine establishes a false dichotomy between naval and mercantile worlds. No officially established permanent body of naval seamen existed nor did any scheme for their recruitment or training. All common mariners served naval, mercantile, and privateering needs, and war predominated over peace during the first half of the eighteenth century.

The author is sometimes vague. In the matter of numbers of seamen, for example, he refers (78) to "masses of workers," numbering 25,000 to 40,000 at any one time between 1700 and 1750. But he fails to clarify who is included in these figures, blue-water seamen, coastal sailors, and rivermen. Are these "huge numbers," as claimed, in a English population that grew from 5.2 to 6.5 million during the period? During the 1740s he tells us (156 n.7) as many as three out of every four seamen could be foreign. It is a pity that Rediker did not attempt to tell us something of the social origins of seamen. Indeed, he exploits a want of evidence to stress theory: he offers no support for his claim that seamen came from the very poorest group of dispossessed rural producers. Such a claim is at variance with T.J.A. LeGoff's findings concerning French seamen. The author's stress on the growing international character of the maritime labour market and those subject to it invites such comment. In view of the centrality of his insistence (114) on the wholly contractual and waged nature of maritime labour and claim that seamen were among the first free wage labourers, the discussion of seamen wages is disappointing. First, the data assembled from 2,000 cases in Appendix C does not appear to go beyond the conclusions of Ralph Davis while their presentation in decimal fractions of pound sterling hinders comparisons. Second, the discussion of legislation to regulate seamen's wages is incomplete and curiously ambiguous. In 1729 Parliament passed an Act for the Better Regulation and Government of Seamen in the Merchants Service (2 Geo. II. c. 36), not, incidentally, an act to regulate the Merchants Service. It should not be con-

sidered in isolation. Two other statutes passed the year before concerning seamen's wages in the navy (1 Geo. II, c. 9 and 14) and another, 14 Geo. II, c. 38, designed to limit wages, were all part and parcel of a concerted early attempt to deal with the changes with which Rediker is concerned.

These observations arise from reading the book; they do not detract from it, especially from the final three chapters devoted to the cultural aspects of the making of a maritime working class. In chapter four on language and culture, Rediker argues persuasively that Jack Tar's own testimony places the sea and class at the centre of his social existence. While on land the seasons and material life dictated the nature of work, at sea the reverse held true. Work itself dictated much of the rhythm and nature of culture. Rediker clearly sides with those who hold that plebeian disbelief was neither impossible nor unlikely. In the final two chapters which focus upon resistance and rebellion his stress upon labour militancy among seamen is convincing. The author goes so far as to claim (249-50) that Jack Tar's most formidable struggle with authority was against merchantmen officers rather than those in the Royal Navy. But his emphasis on collectivism, anti-authoritarianism, and egalitarianism virtually ignores the existence of relations of dependence and the roles of rituals, competition, beliefs, and forms of social behaviour that maintained the status quo and disguised the rawness of the economic relations between capital and labour or promoted any natural hierarchy of ability that may have appeared among seamen.

Rediker's wooden world of the eighteenth-century common seaman appeared too soon after N.A.M. Rodger's very different *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (London 1986) for him to have used it. Some conclusions may well be modified in the light of this and other work and of future research. That is the fate of pioneering works. It will remain to his great credit, however, that working-class history no longer stops at the low water line. His

reinterpretation of the maritime world of the common seaman has expanded the scope of working-class history and will increase the sensitivity of many maritime historians to features of plebian culture afloat that have been previously ignored. His book is a splendid achievement. It ought to appeal to a wide audience.

James Pritchard
Queen's University

John Sainsbury, *Disaffected Patriots: London Supporters of Revolutionary America 1769-1782* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1987).

JOHN SAINSBURY gave us a foretaste of his book in a fine article in the *William and Mary Quarterly* in 1978. Now we are in a position to appreciate the full fruits of his research into London's pro-Americans during the struggle for American independence. Beginning with the petitioning movement of 1769-70, Sainsbury expertly traces the ebb and flow of support for America until the fall of Lord North's ministry in 1782. Following John Brewer, he argues that the American issue was not an incidental rider to radical politics, but very central to it. It served to illustrate the abuse of political and legal rights which were occurring on the domestic front, dramatising the ministry's profound incursions upon liberty at home and abroad and strengthening the justification for structural reform.

Sainsbury shows that the original inclusion of American grievances in radical instructions and remonstrances was primarily preoccupied with the commercial repercussions of the breakdown of imperial relations, following the precedent of the Stamp Act agitation. Indeed, despite Wilkes's identification with the American resistance to government policy, one that was reciprocated by the colonists themselves, the pro-American movement nearly ran aground over the Boston Tea Party. After the Quebec and coercive acts, however, the Wilkites made the American conflict a central

theme, condemning the government's reckless policies, deploring the war and calling for a suspension of hostilities. More than that. Two of the Americans in City politics, William Lee and Stephen Sayre, were strongly implicated in subversive activities in 1775 while the pro-Wilkite London Association openly advocated violent resistance to what it saw as Lord North's arbitrary actions.

The spectre of insurrection gave rise to a loyalist backlash. It came predictably from the financial-mercantile elite, many of whom had material links with the ministry as well as pro-government voting records. But it also engulfed the City, with the loyalists making some headway at Common Hall while the pro-Americans retained control of Common Council. From this assembly the radicals were able to frustrate the Admiralty's press gang activities and to oppose schemes to finance the war effort. Although the pro-American radicals were unhappy with the declaration of American independence and witnessed some defections over the plans to form volunteer regiments to counter the entry of France into the war, they did make a significant contribution to the Association movement in which the issues of reform, economy, and America were inextricably linked. It was the Gordon riots, Sainsbury claims, that ultimately eroded pro-Americanism in the City.

Sainsbury makes two significant contributions to our understanding of popular politics in the era of the American revolution. First, he adds much to our knowledge of London politics in the aftermath of the Wilkite agitations, both refining and complementing Rudé's older study, which detailed the dimensions of radicalism up to 1774. Second, Sainsbury bolsters the view that Britain was seriously divided over the American issue, and that those divisions were primarily ideological notwithstanding the anxieties of American merchants about their assets abroad. Although he underestimates the extent of disaffection outside the metropolis, his study, together with the research of James Bradley, underscores the fact that a substantial section of

popular opinion believed the American Revolution to have been an impolitic, unnatural, and disastrous civil war. Consequently the view that British opinion rallied to the crown as American resistance became more demonstrative and radical becomes harder to sustain. Public opposition to the war may have been impotent, but it was far from insubstantial.

In some respects, in fact, Sainsbury underplays the strength of opposition to the war. He is too circumspect about the salience of the American issue during the Association movement: as late as April 1780 the City of London Association passed a resolution commending those MPs who had "uniformly opposed coercion of America" and still held out the hope for some "reunion with that country on beneficial, just and honourable terms." He also exaggerates the dampening effect of the Gordon riots upon London radicalism and pro-Americanism. Although he is correct in noting that "there was no simple relationship between the issues of popery and America" (157) he fails to appreciate the extent to which the radicals regrouped over the question of military intervention during the riots, viewing the riots themselves as a ministerial pretext for further authoritarian policies at home. Anger over the government's handling of the war still smouldered in the City and coloured interpretations of why the "No Popery" disturbances had been allowed to get out of hand.

Sainsbury's treatment of the year 1778-82 is perhaps a little too cursory. So, too, is his handling of the antecedents of pro-Americanism. While he is right to emphasize the importance of the Commonwealth tradition in defining attitudes toward America, he might also have mentioned the earlier links between imperialism and reform which formed an important backcloth to the Country campaigns of the mid-century. Complaints about ministerial myopia toward the development of the trans-Atlantic economy certainly informed the campaign for a reform of parliament under Walpole. Pitt's popularity in the City ran

along similar tracks, stimulating debate about the adequacies of political representation upon his exclusion from power. These were important precedents for Londoners. In fact, the conjunction of patriotism and empire and the way they could be articulated formed a salient theme from the 1740s onwards. It was no accident that the issue of parliamentary reform surfaced in the context of imperial crisis, in 1739-42, 1756, and again during George III's reign.

Despite these shortcomings, Sainsbury has produced a solidly researched, informative book. He has made good use of petitions, directories, and poll books to elaborate the dimensions and inflexions of pro-Americanism in London during this troubled era. He has also thrown new light on the activities of the Lee brothers, Stephen Sayre, and the London Association. His work will add grist to the mill of those who wish to reassert the vitality of extra-parliamentary politics in the eighteenth-century and the crucial importance of a middling, libertarian presence in the larger cities and towns.

Nicholas Rogers
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Herbert G. Gutman and Donald H. Bell, eds., *The New England Working Class and the New Labour History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1987).

THE ELEVEN ARTICLES in this collection were originally presented to a conference held at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts in March, 1979. The authors are among the outstanding labour-social historians who were completing their Ph.D. theses in the 1970s. Half of the contributions were later published as parts of books that confirmed the promise shown in the pieces they presented to the conference.

The editors of the volume, Donald Bell and the late Herbert Gutman, hoped that the contributions would enlarge our knowledge and lead to a "regionwide history of the New England working class."

That goal now seems more remote in 1988 than at the time of the conference. Two decades of the new labour history have moved us no closer to either a history of the New England or the American working class. Why historians have not produced a synthesis from the scores of excellent case studies that have been done since 1970 was a question that arose several times during the conference. The same question inspired another conference at Northern Illinois University in 1984, organized by Alfred Young, one of the contributors to the volume reviewed here, and attended by many of his fellow contributors. The absence of a synthesis may, paradoxically, be the result of the features that distinguished the new labour history.

The new labour history began in the 1960s, a scholarly expression of the political upheaval of the decade. One feature of the new labour history was a shift in attention away from the trade union or organized portion of the working class toward the larger group, often called "working people." The new approach was broader and more inclusive, studying people who had been omitted from earlier studies of trade unions. A second feature was an interest in workers' lives apart from the workplace and in the non-economic aspects of working-class life, sometimes imprecisely called working-class culture. A third common characteristic of the new labour history was a focus on local history, the industrial communities in which workers lived and worked. Many of the new labour historians were leftists of one sort or another who either saw class struggle as the central theme in history or as the defining agent of social identity. Lastly, most of the new labour historians were people in their twenties and thirties.

Nearly all the articles embody these features. Class conflict in a local setting is the main theme of the excellent selections from Roy Rosenzweig, Leon Fink, and Jonathan Prude. Rosenzweig shows the tensions in Worcester, Massachusetts, New England's largest industrial city, between workers and the middle-upper class

during the 1880s. But his focus is not the workshop but the parks and playgrounds where working-class advocates of space for play and sports clashed with middle-class advocates of space for horticultural displays and the passive enjoyment of nature. Fink shows how class hostility, stirred by the rise of the Knights of Labor among tradesmen and quarry workers, splintered the town of Rutland, Vermont. The town fractured into three separate towns, each representing a particular class configuration. Jonathan Prude also chose a local setting, namely Dudley and Oxford, two small villages in southern Massachusetts in which Samuel Slater constructed some of the earliest textile mills in the region's history. The first-generation mill workers are the focus of Prude's careful examination. He probes beneath the placid surface of industrial peace to uncover the pulling and tugging, the friction and manoeuvring, that characterized relations between mill hands and overseers. The new labour history often filled a void in local histories that omitted workers. Rosenzweig, Fink, and Prude make valuable contributions to both.

The inclusiveness and breadth of the new labour history find expression in Carol Lasser and Judith Smith's work. Lasser gives a revealing glimpse into the lives of the unmarried domestic servants and, by implication, other single working-class women, who fended for themselves in a society composed mostly of families. Judith Smith uncovers the intimate connection between family and work among Italians and Jews in Rhode Island. She shows the importance of family bonds in determining where immigrant workers settled, lived, and worked. Family shaped both the economic and social spheres of immigrant workers. The overlap between the new labour history and the history of women and the family is clearly evident in their contributions.

The dignity and pride of the common people and their defense of popular rights is a theme that often appeared in the new labour history. Alfred Young sees in George Robert Twelves Hewes the em-

bodiment of the popular support for equality and republicanism. An elderly veteran of the American Revolution who was "discovered" in the 1830s, Hewes provided an ample account of his life as a shoemaker and revolutionary participant in the testimony he gave to an enraptured audience. His oral history forms the basis of Young's careful and imaginative piece of scholarship. Gary Kulik examines how farmers in eighteenth-century Rhode Island defended their traditional rights to use rivers and streams for fishing and other purposes against mill owners eager to terminate those rights by constructing dams for harnessing water power.

Some of the contributors to the volume do not so fully share the features of the new labour history I have outlined. Paul Buhle has long been interested in radical activists and their relationship to workers. The Italian anarchists of Rhode Island, some members of the IWW, and their role in the sharpening industrial conflicts of the early twentieth century are the subjects of his sympathetic account. Cecelia Bucki, a student of David Montgomery, shares with her mentor a strong interest in the workplace as the central arena for class conflict. She presents a revealing account of the booming Bridgeport, Connecticut armaments industry during World War I. With clarity she shows the interaction of the machinists' defense of craft rights, management's efforts to divide production and introduce Taylorism, the influx of new workers, many of them women — all within a context of pro-war fervor. Alexander Keyssar presents the broadest study of any among the contributions with his account of how organized workers in Massachusetts responded to the chronic and widespread problem of unemployment in the last decades of the nineteenth century. He argues that joblessness had a profound influence in shaping the outlook and policies of trade unions.

The new labour history, represented by these fine studies, enriched our knowledge but fell short of one promise — an overview of the American working class. It is unlikely that a synthesis will

emerge. The political atmosphere has changed dramatically. Interest in the working class has diminished. Class seems less relevant at a time when more than half the workers in America voted for Ronald Reagan. The inclusiveness that originally meant an attempt to broaden the working class tended to create such a diversity of special, distinctive groups that a general concept like "class" seemed untenable. The case study of a single community began as a way of gaining a clearer sense of the full dimension of the class experience. But local uniqueness inhibited the formulation of generalizations that did not apply to other communities. An exploration into the non-economic aspects of workers' lives made historians aware of the cultural diversity among workers and further discouraged use of the term "class." A radical perspective enabled historians to present the radical tradition and class struggle but impaired their ability or inclination to understand the group I once referred to as "the loyalist" worker. Lastly, the new labour history has been the work of young historians who, after completing first rate studies like those presented here, move on to other subjects, leaving undone the synthesis we once expected.

Paul G. Faler

University of Massachusetts-Boston

Laurence Shore, *Southern Capitalists: The Ideological Leadership of an Elite, 1832-1885* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1986).

SOUTHERNERS, especially the slaveowners and the slaves, believed that the Civil War and emancipation brought revolutionary changes to the South. And some historians, most notably C. Vann Woodward, agree, finding the "New South" to be new indeed in its leadership, its goals, and its ideology. But Woodward's view, proposed in his enormously influential *Origins of the New South* (1951), has failed to win

widespread acceptance. Most historians investigating the South during the half century following the Civil War argue instead for what Woodward has called "continuitarianism," the view that denies that the Civil War and emancipation brought a sharp discontinuity in southern history. But the continuitarians, even as they disagree with Woodward, disagree sharply among themselves about what continued and why. Some emphasize the persistence of racism and coercion and argue that after emancipation the planter elite remained in power and fastened a new form of slavery on the blacks. Others insist that the slave system created a distinct, non-modern, pre-bourgeois, agrarian society in the South which persisted into the post-war years because the North failed to use its victory on the battlefield to destroy the planter elite. And still others argue that the antebellum slave economy was merely a peculiar form of agrarian capitalism which, because it depended on the profitable commercial production of staple crops rather than on slavery, persisted into the post-war years.

Laurence Shore's book is another contribution to this last group in the continuity school. He finds, as have others, a "continuity of personnel," of ideology, and of social system between the old and the new South: "the elected leaders and shapers of public opinion in the postbellum South's free-labour world had played similar roles in the antebellum South's slave-labor world." (164-5) Shore's contribution is not his discovery of a persisting planter elite or even his insistence that this elite of "slaveholding capitalists" easily transformed themselves into free labour capitalists, but rather in his careful discussion of the ideology of the persisting elite.

In a kind of quasi-marxist analysis of the slave society, Shore finds a ruling class of capitalist slaveowners who justified both their power and the society over which they ruled with an ideology that differed little from that of the rulers of the North. Northerners spoke of the self-made man who began as an employee, but, through hard work and

careful saving, achieved independence as an artisan and then soon began to hire workers himself. Northerners proclaimed that this social mobility was the central characteristic of the free labor system. But southerners had their own version of the self-made man, the "myth" of the "self-made slaveholder" which proclaimed "that the industrious, quick-witted nonslaveholder" through hard work and careful savings could become a slaveholder. This was the southern version of the work ethic that buttressed the myth of the self-made man even as it defended slavery. Black slavery in the South simply limited the opportunities available to whites. Furthermore, Shore continues, "The Southern variant of the American self-made man was at least as real as the Northern variant." (47)

Emancipation ended the particular way in which southern whites could achieve mobility — by acquiring slaves — but the planter elite quickly adapted the ideology of the self-made man to the new circumstances. The "pragmatic conservatives" who rules the old South easily reoriented their outlook by abandoning the particulars of the antebellum ideology while retaining the substance: "Reorientation ... involved not the adoption of a new, alien outlook, but a shift in emphasis and tone of antebellum ideology." (110) The antebellum southern leaders, therefore, could easily survive what some thought to be the revolution brought by emancipation "precisely because it was not really a revolution at all." (13) In short, Shore insists, the free labour ideology differed only in detail from the slave labour ideology.

But it is precisely in the area of detail — in the significance to attach to the detail — that critics of all kinds will question Shore's analysis. That North and South, both before and after the Civil War, had much in common is undeniable, as is the existence of considerable continuity over the nineteenth century in both sections. The debate, as Shore is well aware, arises from differing assessments of the significance of the differences and the discontinuities that also existed. If

Shore's contribution will not end the debate, it should enrich it, because he adds to our understanding of the ideology of the ruling elite. Indeed, many critics, both continuarians and discontinuarians, will find in his evidence support for their very different interpretations.

Harold D. Woodman
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Gwendolyn Mink, *Old Labor and New Immigrants in American Political Development Union, Party, and State, 1875-1920* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1986).

WHY, AS AN ASSERTIVE SOCIAL democracy spread across industrial Europe in the two decades before World War I, did the political voice of labour in the United States remain so docile and conservative? Gwendolyn Mink's answer to this important question focuses on the American-born and old immigrant trade unionists who felt deeply threatened by the swelling numbers of new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, learned to think racially about them from the anti-Chinese campaign and the atmospheric ethnic chauvinism of the late nineteenth century, and settled on an agenda of barring additional new immigration, keeping those already here unorganized, and securing for the craft unions exclusive labour rights both in industry and in politics. The presidential election of 1896, Mink argues, translated this agenda into an enduring pattern of party politics. While the Republicans, preaching cultural pluralism and open gates, won the mass of new immigrant votes, the Democrats, promoting a racial restriction of immigration, cemented their alliance with old stock unionists.

In national affairs — Mink's central concern — these craft unionists in the American Federation of Labor sought to preserve their special privileges after 1900 by collaborating with industrialists in the National Civic Federation and

wooing the bourgeoisie generally with a reference toward contracts and a condemnation of strikes, all to the detriment of the less skilled. "The AFL, separated from the working class," (43) became the pseudo-voice of labour, the interloper who usurped the right to speak for the very people it was repressing. That social distortion found political expression as the AFL reaffirmed its ties to the Democrats, came to national power with Woodrow Wilson in 1913, and "won some twenty-six measures" (246) during his administration. A decline in working-class votes and the rise of a new group-based brokerage politics certainly helped Samuel Gompers and his likeminded colleagues pose as the sole representative of labour. Even more important, according to Mink, the AFL's persistent opposition to state interference fit comfortably within the political mainstream. Fearing welfare policies that might draw the working class into national affairs and judging a neutral state the best protection for its own power, the AFL never applied enough pressure to disturb bourgeois politics-as-usual. Hence, she concludes, the golden moment of social democratic possibilities was lost in the United States, with lasting consequences.

Mink does a fine job of holding our attention on crucial matters: divisions within the ranks of wage earners, the role of race and nationality in these divisions, and their consequences, in combination with the American party system, for class politics. Her use of these themes, however, raises problems of evidence. Take, for example, the issue of restricting the new European immigration. The first half of the book reaches its climax in a long-term identification of the Republicans with a free flow of immigration and the Democrats with a racially-charge commitment to its restriction, specifically in response to the craft unions. Yet from the 1890s to the 1920s, it was Republicans who formulated the major proposals for restriction, published the influential nativist rationales for it, produced the primary legislative report on it, and sponsored most of the bills for it. Democratic

presidents vetoed those bills; Republican presidents signed them. The bulk of Democratic support for restriction came from rural southern legislators with no sympathy for unions, and the most stubborn opposition came from urban northern Democrats, the AFL's ostensible allies. Or take the matter of the AFL's influence in Democratic politics. In the last quarter of her book, Mink's case depends upon the emergence of the AFL after 1906 as a major power at the polls and in the national government. But where are the data to sustain that claim in a single election between 1906 and 1916? Where are the sources to demonstrate that Gompers or Secretary of Labor William S. Wilson affected President Wilson's thinking on any policy issue? As Mink more or less admits in the end, what Gompers really wanted — relief from injunctions and exemption from the Sherman Act — he did not get; and what he got — the Adamson Act and a child labor law — he did not really want. Acknowledging the AFL's peripheral place in national Democratic affairs would have made it much easier to accept the party's peremptory dumping of the unions after World War I, a turn of events that Mink rather awkwardly dismisses as another story entirely.

Her book also raises problems of context. At no point does the business cycle affect her argument — and passing references to the "depression of 1893" do not help the situation. Although socialism and the Socialist party make occasional appearances, no one could guess how influential socialists were in important AFL unions, how many contemporaries before the war saw this party as the standing alternative to the AFL's political strategies, and over the long haul how much more energy Gompers devoted to socialists than he did to the National Civic Federation. Throughout the book the failure to provide an appropriate setting weakens the development of her case. Among many examples, readers would not know from Mink's account of the election of 1884 that a lone voice cried "rum, romanism, and rebellion" to no ap-

parent effect on the outcome; or from her account of the pivotal "decision of 1896" (161) that the depression-eneebled AFL had scarcely 200,000 members; or from her close attention to the anthracite strike of 1902 that the United Mine Workers, already a multi-ethnic industrial union, now established itself in another multi-ethnic coal region.

Nevertheless, both the problems of evidence and the problems of context may well trouble a historian more than other readers of Mink's book. She operates most comfortably at a higher level of abstraction where terms like *working class*, *capitalists*, *old stock*, *the state*, and *mass democracy* have assumed unambiguous meanings and the argument unfolds through their interaction. Out of such components she builds a bridge from point A — the take off of industrialization — to point B — the arrival of a modern pluralist state — and relies on the reasonableness of their arrangement to establish the argument's validity. Historians should find some of her suggestions stimulating: the triggering effect of anti-Chinese racism for late nineteenth-century nativism, for example, or the way an absence of certain pressures as much as the presence of others shaped American politics. But they will also find Mink's primary sources thin, her secondary sources curiously antique and too often cavalierly used, and the net results inadequate to support her claims of knowing what so many people thought, felt, wanted, and did. Substantiation is not her strength. On another plane of generalization these deficiencies slip from view. Therefore let readers approach her provocative study with their own preferences and standards clearly in mind.

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Louise Carroll Wade, *Chicago's Pride: The Stockyards, Packingtown, and Environs in the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1987).

LOUISE C. WADE revisits familiar turf. The Stockyards, Packingtown, and the surrounding Back of the Yards neighbourhood have long been the object of attention. The area welcomed 10,000 visitors a day during the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, and has attracted the notice of a famous cast since then. Upton Sinclair, Saul Alinsky, and the whole company of the Chicago School of Sociology have endowed the area with a lasting fame and reputation. As illustrations of unbridled industrial greed, of successful citizens' campaigns, and of a classic community the institutions and people of this part of Chicago have achieved mythic status in the American imagination. What is Wade's contribution to this story?

Wade writes of the growth of an industry and, secondarily, of a residential area in the particular setting of a burgeoning metropolis that was becoming the centre of a vast trading region to which an expanding railway system of unprecedented scale offered unequalled access. Locational advantage, created by both man and nature, and entrepreneurial acumen are at the heart of her story. Beginning in the 1840s and continuing through the 1890s she traces the rise of an industry of impressive size and complexity that competed successfully against Cincinnati and the previously established packing centres. By the century's end the power and influence of the leading packers in Chicago were impressive on a national scale. Armour, the largest packer in the city, employed twice as many people in 1890 as did Carnegie at his Homestead Steel Works. Packingtown, where 25,000 laboured, had become a significant phenomenon on a national scale.

First to be organized was the stock yards. Wade examines the circumstances of its invention and subsequent growth, noting the complex relations between

livestock marshalling, handling, and selling and the attendant services of middlemen who facilitated credit and transportation. As packers built on nearby land that stockyard's function as a sales floor for livestock in transit diminished; drovers lost their dominance to processors. The organization of production on a large scale became a matter of capital investment, technologies of processing, inputs of labour, and imposition of authority on the plant floor. The search for markets involved capacities of transport networks, methods for handling and transporting finished products, and manipulation of shipping rates.

Labour is not neglected; its treatment is subordinated to the organization of an industry that proved itself able to control the conditions under which employees worked in the plants. Nowhere is this better demonstrated by Wade than in her treatment of the strikes of 1886 over the eight-hour day. The Knights of Labor were incapable of maintaining their organization in the face of the concerted will of the packers. In two of the best chapters in her book she dissects the failure of labour leadership effectively to direct its members and she demonstrates how the packers manipulated the situation to yield the results they wanted. As she cryptically concludes: "the Knights of Labor locals disappeared and nothing arose in their place." (258)

The surrounding residential neighbourhoods receive secondary attention in a concluding section where attention turns to such issues as the growth of population, the creation of community institutions, and changing political realities. This is the story of building churches, founding schools, organizing ethnic associations, and controlling government. Annexation to Chicago in 1889 marked the end of municipal autonomy, but the influence of Chicago had never been absent. In matters of sanitation, drainage, delivery of drinking water, and elimination of the serious nuisance of railway crossings the services and authority of Chicago had become useful and necessary. The area lost little of

its distinct identity as its political name changed.

Wade embroiders none of the myths enveloping the Back of the Yards; she has written a study remarkably independent of the strong traditions of received knowledge about this area. Her strategy in focussing on the capacity of a few important industrialists to organize and control production and to avoid interference from almost all governmental bodies offers the reader a clear view of the power of private interests during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The unequal contest with labour illustrates the nakedness of the exercise of control. There are more than a few reminders here of Robert Wiebe's description of late nineteenth-century America as a "distended society" engaged in a "search for order" without the tools of coordination and organization which would make it possible. Failing this capacity, big business was free to exert itself and fashion its own environment with almost no restraints upon its behaviour. Wade offers a clear and often vivid portrait of one important industry in its own peculiar setting — one of the significant contexts from which urban industrial society was being created.

Peter G. Goheen
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Shelton Stromquist, *A Generation of Boomers: The Pattern of Railroad Labour Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1987).

FROM THE GREAT STRIKES OF 1877 to the Pullman Boycott of 1894. American railroads sustained an unprecedented, and unrepeated, wave of labour upheaval. Out of this tumult emerged a stable and highly institutionalized industrial relations system characterized by formal collective bargaining, codified pay, seniority, work rules, and state regulation; a system without significant parallel in a major American industry for more than a

generation. Shelton Stromquist's ambitious study of this transformation appears as the latest volume in the valuable Illinois series, *The Working Class in American History*.

Stromquist describes his project as an attempt to explain "the patterns of railroad labor conflict as a by-product of the political economy of the industry." Canadian historians will feel quite at home in the political economy of *Boomers*: while Innis, Lower, Mackintosh, Macpherson, Clark, and Pentland are unacknowledged, the theorization turns on settlement frontiers, the effects of interindustry linkages on opportunity structures, problems of unused capacity, local and regional labour market development, and ideological and institutional formation on the periphery. As the frontier of railway construction pushed westward after the Civil War, a moving front of rail workers' communities was created. Labour scarcity at the leading edge of this front enhanced wages and workplace control. As the frontier moved on, tensions developed between workers' high expectations and the dampening forces of a developing local labour market. In a particularly incisive discussion, Stromquist distinguishes between "normal" labour market development, characterized by an older and increasingly stable labour force, with its mix of class solidarity and company loyalty, and the "abnormal" development that followed from mass dismissals, blacklisting, and the recruitment of strikebreakers, and undermined local institutions and solidarity.

Despite the subtitle, Stromquist has nothing to say about pre-Civil War railroading. He concentrates on the period from 1877 to 1894, and on the newer roads west of Chicago. While this emphasis is partly justified by the dramatic expansion of the industry and the regional distribution of labour conflict, there is a curious sort of ahistorical quality to a discussion that treats the industry circa 1880 as though the preceding half-century had contributed no enduring trends or themes. From my vantage point, which is that of a student of Canadian railroad-

ing before 1880, many of the features Stromquist identifies as products of the labour crisis of the 1880s are familiar aspects of railway labour relations of the 1870s or earlier — in any event, of the period before the 1877 strikes. These include compulsory insurance and other welfare schemes, pay premiums and other productivity incentives, and disciplinary appeals from local officers to a central management authority. For example, Stromquist implies that employee reading rooms only began to receive company support in the wake of the Pullman Boycott. They were commonplace on the Canadian roads in the 1850s. While these observations may reveal a startling and fundamental difference in labour-management relations between the two countries, it seems more likely that many of the “innovations” Stromquist identifies were rediscoveries, reinvigorations, or generalizations of lapsed usages. Perhaps a more detailed contrast between established eastern roads and rapidly developing western ones would have mapped more continuities. One important difference between the Canadian and American railway industries was the much greater relative importance of a few very large firms in this country — and an earlier tendency to oligopoly or “natural monopoly” as well. Stromquist pays little attention to the significance of scale as a determinant of railway labour relations practices.

While these deficiencies limit the conclusiveness of certain arguments about the general historical development of the industry, at a more specific level of analysis *Boomers* is both insightful and convincing. Stromquist’s emphases on the regional and local character of industrial development and on community life-cycles help to establish important distinctions in what has sometimes been viewed as a seamless process. In particular, Stromquist supplies impressive explanations for the failure of alternative forms of railroad worker organization to unseat the brotherhoods, for the relationship between community structure and workplace conflict in the railway towns,

and for the nature and incidence of strike activity in the 1880s and early 1890s.

American labour historians have recently rediscovered the railways. *A Generation of Boomers* joins Licht’s *Working on the Railroad* and Duckers’ *Men of the Steel Rails* as a significant contribution to this literature. With its conspicuous explanatory emphasis on the political economy of the industry, Stromquist’s work constructs bridges to economy and business history as well. In keeping with the industry’s (American) tradition, these are temporary wooden trestles. As the traffic increases, we may expect them to be rebuilt in steel.

Paul Craven
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Michael Kazin, *Barons of Labor: The San Francisco Building Trades and Union Power in the Progressive Period* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1987).

IN HIS NEW BOOK, MICHAEL KAZIN seeks to analyse two subjects long neglected by most historians of American workers. Almost none of the now numerous scholarly studies examining workers in various local communities have treated the twentieth century and fewer have described the role played by skilled building trades workers in local labour movements. More than twenty years ago Barbara Warne Newell studied and wrote about the activities of unions in the Chicago area during the 1930s [*Chicago and the Labor Movement: Metropolitan Unionism in the 1930s*, (University of Illinois Press 1961)] describing how those based in local product markets sparked the upsurge of unionism during the New Deal years. Also some twenty years ago I published a book about workers in New York City during the progressive era (1900-1916) [*When Workers Organize*, (University of Massachusetts Press 1968)] in which I studiously neglected the building trades workers. By contrast, Kazin focuses on the activities of the Building Trades Council (BTC) in San Francisco

during the years between 1900 and 1921. In doing so, he concludes that more skilled workers, the so-called labour aristocrats (a category of analysis Kazin prefers not to use), acted as "sparkplug unionists" for the labour movement; that their unions served as "primary vehicles for the expression of the aspirations, cultural practices, and racial prejudices of white working people" (6); and that the labour movement functioned as a significant political force in American cities during the progressive era.

Kazin believes that his history of the origins, rise to power, and decline of the Building Trades Council in San Francisco fully establishes his major hypotheses. Frequently, however, it is difficult to follow Kazin's analysis as he flits about from economic to political action, from the Building Trades Council to the San Francisco Labor Council (the central body for non-construction workers), from workers to employers, and from the local to the national scene. Kazin is strongest at explaining how and why the building trades workers in San Francisco built union power and implemented the closed shop. In his words, "The 'laws' of the BTC framed social relations at the building site. They were a full-fledged, unilateral substitute for collective bargaining Within this closed-shop empire, sympathetic strikes seldom had to be called; the *threat* of united action was sufficient." (93-4) Such workplace power derived from the conjunction of several factors. First, the unionized building trades workers had skills not readily replaceable in the labour market. Second, San Francisco's rapid growth between the 1850s and the turn of the century provided an ideal setting for union action and growth (the same thing would also be true during the city's rebuilding after the earthquake of 1906). Third, workers in San Francisco, especially those in the building trades, resided in neighbourhoods in which class proved more salient than ethnicity or religion. Overwhelmingly, the workers were American-born or of second-generation immigrant stock from Ireland, Germany, and Scandinavia.

Fourth, as a result of the salience of class and strong local unions, labour in San Francisco wielded great political power as demonstrated by the triumphs of the Union Labor Party (1901-7) and the mayoral administration of the leader of the BTC, P.H. McCarthy (1908-11). Consequently, employers in the building trades more often than not accommodated the demands of their workers who seldom had to strike.

Kazin does not romanticize the accomplishments of his protagonists. Their class consciousness and loyalties stretched only so far. Building tradesmen shared the racism endemic among white workers in California, an attitude which sought to exclude all Asians. They were among the most chauvinistic of male workers. They evinced little solidarity with less skilled workers in the building trades and even less with workers in other trades, part of the reason the BTC remained aloof from the Central Labor Council of the city. The Union Labor Party of Mayor Eugene Schmitz (a musician) and Boss Abraham Ruef, which drew many of its votes from BTC members, proved partly inept and partly corrupt. The administration of Mayor P.J. McCarthy had equally few accomplishments. And, finally, such union leaders as McCarthy acted as autocrats who may have bettered the condition of their subjects but also enriched themselves.

Kazin is less successful in explaining the decline of union empire in San Francisco and the humbling of the city's labour barons by its big businessmen. Part of his explanation rings true. Certainly labour power produced a reaction among employers who organized themselves to thwart unionism. In San Francisco as in the nation, between 1903 and 1907 and 1919 and 1921, business united to eliminate the closed shop and replace it with the open shop. But when Kazin ascribes part of labour's decline to the success of progressive reformers he enters more treacherous terrain. No doubt many progressives were as hostile to union monopoly (the closed shop) as to business monopoly, to labour barons as

well as "robber barons." Yet many other progressives in California sponsored legislation demanded by the trade unions and also promoted versions of industrial democracy. It is too much to claim, as Kazin does, that progressive reforms created a more rationalized, efficient, and centralized activist state that diluted class consciousness and also "sharply reduced the autonomous power of organized labour." (285) In reality, an activist state could promote union power, as happened between 1917 and early 1919, and, as Kazin himself proves, class consciousness seldom flourished in the absence of trade unionism. Kazin's analysis of the decline of the BTC during and immediately after World War I seems equally obtuse. The war paralyzed domestic building yet skilled building tradesmen found employment in war-related production where they took their union standards and even the closed shop. After the war, to be sure, building trades unions suffered from an employer counter-attack that battered the closed shop and lowered wage rates substantially. San Francisco was no exception to that development. During the remainder of the 1920s, however, the building trades unions were one of the few sectors of the AFL to experience actual growth in membership and improvements in real wages and standards. Indeed, in the AFL and the labour movement as a whole, the building trades unions during the 1920s grew more influential and powerful than ever before, a reality that partly precipitated the labour civil war of the 1930s. Why the history of the San Francisco BTC diverged from the national pattern in the prosperity decade is a process Kazin delineates neither effectively nor fully.

Overall, then, what has Kazin achieved? He has rescued one sector of the skilled working class from neglect and also from dry-as-dust treatment by institutional labour economists. He has proved that in San Francisco building tradesmen could be militant and class conscious as well as moderate and class collaborationist. He has demonstrated that mainstream trade unionists were as

apt to resort to politics as to direct action at the point of production. In fact, he proves, occasionally without even being aware of it, that trade unionists who espoused "voluntarism" and conservative syndicalism (the latter a description of the AFL first suggested by Will Herberg) seldom allowed abstract principles to keep them from partisan political action. In part, Kazin's book reads like a brief for the Morris Hillquit-Victor Berger faction of the Socialist Party of America, which asserted that the future of socialism in the US depended on permeation of the craft unions and the conversion of their members to socialism. Finally, Kazin is absolutely correct in concluding that "when unions do not change to face a transformed capitalism, they court disaster." (290)

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Lois Palken Rudnick, *Mabel Dodge Luhan: New Woman, New Worlds* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1987).

AS THE "NEW WOMAN," and the "Woman as World Builder," Mabel Dodge Luhan (1879-1962) seemed to her bedazzled contemporaries to be the "common denominator" whose life connect[ed] important social and intellectual issues in late-nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European and American life." (ix) Although a mythological figure in her own day, Luhan has not, until Lois Rudnick's fine biography, been given serious scholarly treatment. Rudnick's book provides us with an additional opportunity to rediscover and reassess Luhan who was at the centre of many key intellectual and artistic events in the first third of the twentieth century.

Chafing against the soullessness of her wealthy, Buffalo family, Luhan spent her life in quest of a vision of herself and of America that would overcome her sense of being an unsubstantial person

adrift in a culture destructive both of individual expression and communal support. Her restless search for personal and cultural grounding was akin to the efforts of many of her compatriots who also fled the smug confines of small towns for the larger landscapes of Europe, of New York City, of artistic *avant-gardism*, of left-wing activism, of psychoanalysis and other forms of mind cure.

Luhan's quest, supported by the family money which she both scored and depended upon, led her to the recreation of a Renaissance life in a Florentine villa, to the establishment, in Greenwich Village, of the most famous salon in American history, and to the creation of a desert home in Taos, New Mexico based upon the saving principles of the Pueblo Indian way of life. Along the way she acquired four husbands: two old stock Americans, one Jewish immigrant artist, and one full-blooded Pueblo Indian. (The naming dilemmas caused by these numerous spouses may have been behind Rudnick's decision to refer to her subject as Mabel). She also had some famous lovers, most notably John Reed in his pre-Louise Bryant days. Her compelling personality and skill in making things happen led many artists to view her and write about her ambivalently. For them she was the embodiment of the new America that was best represented by the Woman as World Builder. Among the people she drew into her orbit were Gertrude and Leo Stein, Bernard Berenson, Max Eastman, D.H. Lawrence, Georgia O'Keefe, and Robinson Jeffers.

The most famous and turbulent period of her life was also the shortest. After eight years in Europe, during which she had tried to make herself whole and well by becoming a Renaissance lady, Luhan returned in 1912 to an industrial America whose careless, even callous, use of human life was under attack. Settling in New York City, she was immediately drawn to Greenwich Village, home of the "Lyrical Life," whose cultural politics sought to undermine the property-oriented, regimented, guilt-ridden bourgeois civilization that had spawned

most of them." (62-3) Critical of the dehumanization inflicted upon the industrial worker, this radical group, of which Luhan became the luminary, focused upon the fulfillment of human potential. "Unlike the more serious and orthodox marxist intellectuals of the day, and most working-class leaders, theirs was a revolution as much devoted to 'play' and self-expression as it was to unionization and the redistribution of wealth." Their vision was in keeping with Luhan's belief in "the power of the individual to shape the self and the environment in terms of an inner vision." (63-4)

Certain that the printed page would soon become less important than the spoken word, Luhan hosted a salon in which some of the most creative and stimulating people of the time exchanged ideas. Individuals as diverse as Bill Haywood, Hutchins Hapgood, Emma Goldman, Margaret Sanger, Carl Van Vechten, Walter Lippmann, A.A. Brill, and Lincoln Steffens rubbed shoulders and produced mental sparks. The combination of notorious people and vital issues garnered national fame for the evenings.

These gatherings also stimulated Luhan's ability to organize and catalyze groups for action, and showed her willingness to dip into her purse where necessary for radical causes. For instance, when Bill Haywood was searching for a way to convey to New York workers the sufferings of striking, Paterson New Jersey silk workers, Luhan suggested that they hire Madison Square Garden and reenact the scenario. Thus was born the 1913 Paterson Strike Pageant, "one of the most unusual cultural events in American history," united "the labor of anarchists, socialist, philanthropists, painters, and poets." (86)

Luhan's magnetism in these years induced several rhapsodic male discourses on the power of woman as muse. As a Greenwich Village New Woman, she was ostensibly a sexually liberated, equal companion to men. In fact, however, she, like many of her female friends, still tended to live her life through men. By

serving as hetaira, and identifying herself with woman as earth mother. Luhan "would shine the energy and exuberance of her life-force" (107) on men to free their creative energies and to regenerate society. The radical men with whom Luhan associated, while believing in equal educational and job opportunities for women, enthusiastically embraced this vision of women which served them so well.

Luhan was never able to abandon her role as hetaira, despite the pain she suffered with every vicarious foray. She remained desolate at not claiming her own voice, at not being able to confront life directly rather than through men. Her unfulfilled hunger drove her to look elsewhere for wholeness and creative power. In 1917 she moved to Taos where she embraced (although never successfully internalized) the Pueblo Indian concepts of self and community. Serving as a proponent of the primitivist doctrines advocated by many intellectuals of the time, Luhan spent years trying to save the Indians, their art and culture, so that they in turn could save a bankrupt white America.

Rudnick's fascinating biography of Luhan is exemplary. She does not get lost in the detritus of a long and turbulent life, but focuses firmly on a number of themes and preoccupations that emerge recurrently throughout Luhan's life. The study is psychologically sophisticated: sympathetic to its subject, yet far from blind to the aspects of her behaviour that were destructive both to herself and others. Rudnick's sensitivity to the cultural settings is also noteworthy. The Buffalo, Florence, Greenwich Village, and Taos of Luhan's circle come alive. Luhan's friends, who are known to us as famous and accomplished artists, take on new and enriched dimensions as Rudnick explores their roles in her subject's life. She accomplishes this through insightful analyses of the pictorial and literary representations of Luhan that many of them were moved to create. Here too, she is able to be both sympathetic and cognizant of the more unattractive aspects of these artists' behaviour or beliefs. Her portrayal

of D.H. Lawrence, for instance, is truly enlightening.

The portrait of Mabel Dodge Luhan that emerges from this book is compelling. At the same time, there is a part of me which stands apart aghast, at the resources Luhan was able to put into her search for wholeness, at the identification of her own needs with those of the country. No one and nothing were exempt from appropriation if she thought they could fill her bottomless hunger. It is in this limitless, "innocent" acquisitiveness that Luhan perhaps best exemplifies American cultural trends in the twentieth century.

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Alan Wald, *The New York Intellectuals: the Rise and Decline of the Anti-Stalinist Left from the 1930s to the 1960s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1987).

ONCE AGAIN, THE NEW YORK intellectuals. Certainly, no milieu with so little actual political activity on the Left and so little influence on non-intellectuals has occupied so much intellectual energy of North American graduate students in the last twenty years. The most fascinating thing about the New York Intellectuals, perhaps, is the collective self-creation of their fame and the exaggeration of their sometimes radical chic through their considerable power of influence upon the organs of liberal and neo-conservative intellectual life. So what do they have to do with labour history, anyway?

That's the point, or one of the main points, of Alan Wald's exhaustive and important book. The memoirists among them have been running away from their shared Trotskyist past for many years. Even Irving Howe, the one figure who has remained radical (albeit in a Social Democratic sense), reduces the *most* radical part of his past to a virtual footnote of his autobiography. Wald is determined to set the record straight. He does so with a

microscopic thoroughness which defies refutation — the wounded public responses of a few undaunted self-apologists such as Sidney Hook notwithstanding — and thereby offers us hope that the subject has finally found its definitive author.

A slightly earlier study, Alexander Bloom's *Prodigal Sons: The New York Intellectuals and Their World* (1986) frames the political devolution by straightforwardly suggesting that these overwhelmingly Jewish intellectuals drifted rightward as they moved upward from immigrant poverty to secure status and fame. Wald begins with the equally sensible proposition that we need to focus more upon personalities, networks, and historical context. He finds, among other key developments, a deeply Jewish identity (excepting gentiles Dwight Macdonald, James T. Farrell, Mary McCarthy, and a few others), a sometimes but not always contradictory fascination with cosmopolitan ideas, and above all an impassioned response to the personal and social crises posed by the Great Depression.

It is the last point which seemed, in their early evolution, the most salient, and which provided the source of their most militant radicalism. Awakened to politics amid their evolution as intellectuals, they mostly looked for a spiritual home around the communist Party. Quickly disillusioned, they moved toward Trotskyism. Wald intends here to investigate the revolutionary socialist alternatives available. But one can quarrel a bit with his focus. Most radicalized intellectuals and workers sooner or later abandoned the Communist Party; but quite a few stayed a long time, and only a tiny fraction, overwhelmingly intellectuals, took up Trotskyism. Why did the New York Intellectuals do so?

The answer seems at once too simple and too difficult, even in Wald's careful personality studies. They despised the reduction of cultural, especially literary questions, to the class struggle line of Proletarian Literature. They resented even more, if possible, the vogue of non-class struggle, Popular Front literature and films. Obviously, although Wald

does not make the point, they had no particular interest in either the ethnic cultures (such as Yiddish literature) exalted by Popular Front segments, or folk music of the Woody Guthrie/Leadbelly variety embraced by Communists, or even the politics of popular culture (such as the racial integration of baseball, or the boxing triumph of Joe Louis) where anti-racist and Marxist ideas coincided. Their antidote to American philistinism — as they defined it — and to Stalinist culture was the European artistic tradition and its American applications. They would become the exemplars of high-culture Modernism.

Here, I think Wald misses an opportunity to drive home a familiar point of the 1930s, but one often forgotten afterward. Leon Trotsky had a virtually unique appeal, among the Russian Revolutionary leaders, as an intellectual type. Not only was he deeply cultured, closer to aristocratic in his tastes than bourgeois or plebeian. But he constructed, under the polemical fire of the 1920s, a theory of culture and socialism in which the intellectual's role remained more predominant, even, than in Lenin's theoretical projection of the Vanguard Party. Lenin, near the end of his life, had his views tempered by the appearance of the Soviets, and by the reality of a vast and isolated Revolutionary Russia which urgently needed to emancipate its citizens for their own self-rule. Trotsky's own *Problems of Everyday Life* notwithstanding, the prophet of the Fourth International tended to describe a future, post-revolutionary culture which could not be anticipated by the proletariat under capitalism but would, rather, be realized from the highest accomplishments of culture within class society. Perhaps he did not intend it so, but Trotsky was broadly interpreted as meaning the creations of the intellectuals above all.

At any rate, the vision of a revolutionary alternative to Stalinism understandably had a great charisma for the young Jewish radical thinkers. How much that vision impelled them to take action beyond, say, signing petitions and penning

occasional essays has long been a subject of contention. Wald settles the question by examining the lives of the few who joined the staff of Trotskyist publications, threw themselves into the Socialist Workers or Workers Party affairs, and for a time sought to be "professional revolutionaries." Most, of course, did not. They evolved through their political stages at one remove from action as, for instance, in the pages of the *Partisan Review*.

One of Wald's great virtues is to trace their steady rethinking stage-by-stage. Generally, but not in all cases, World War II provided the turning point. The most *avant garde* (Irving Howe, for instance) took the position that neither of the two sides deserved support, and that socialists should attempt to build up a "Third Camp" for a much-anticipated revolutionary surge immediately after the fighting stopped. Others, the *Partisan Review* crowd in particular, went over with both feet to support of the Allies in defense of world democracy. Both sides, with the exception of a handful of Trotskyist and anarcho-pacifist holdouts, came out of the war experience convinced that Stalinism and the Soviet Union had to be resisted by all means — including the US military apparatus.

Further down the line, more than a few would become fervent supporters (apologists would not be too strong a word) of Israel, in part as a psychological *mea culpa* for having inadequately opposed Naziism up to the Death Camp revelations. Nearly all would discover that the virtues of American liberalism demanded defense against the purported threats posed by Vietnamese villagers and Latin American peasants, among others, and that the American defenders of those benighted peoples should be treated as the internal enemies of democracy. And further: that Women's Liberation, World (as opposed to Western) Civilization courses in the Liberal Arts curriculum, peace movements, affirmative action, and seemingly liberal or tolerance-minded phenomena collectively accelerated the famous "decline of values" impending all

around.

Now, why should these once-im-poverished, once-Trotskyist intellectuals become the foremost ideologists of an imperial WASP world-view which not even WASPs themselves, aside from Sun Belt fanatics like Ronald Reagan and televangelists, still believe in? Wald attributes this to a "quondam Marxist analysis of the dynamic of capitalist society as a struggle between the haves against the have-nots," with the New York Intellectuals having decisively changed sides. Perhaps. I do not wish to oversimplify Wald's points in any way, but I feel here we are back to an intellectualized version of Bloom's thesis in which upward mobility turns immigrant boys and girls nasty.

Alternatively, as with the recent intellectual probing of sexual politics in Roy Cohn, Joe McCarthy's secretly homosexual counsel, we need to ask what youthful hurt these men and women absorbed and later turned into a weapon of hatred against all those who reminded them of a half-repressed self. What hidden self-revulsion impels those intellectuals (who, projecting their sentiments outward, unembarrassedly accuse *radical* Jews of self-hatred) to deny the implications of historic misery and exploitation in a Western Civilization which so often denied their own Jewish predecessors basic human dignity? We ask in sorrow, for we already know the answer.

The New York Intellectuals urgently wanted, as young men and women, to be accepted, respected, and honoured as cultured thinkers. Communism had no place for them, and vice-versa. Later, not even the Holocaust could convince them of a fundamental sickness in the West which foreshadowed alike the Hitler's Death Camps, Stalin's Slave Labor Camps, and Truman's introduction of atomic warfare. Themselves now a respected part of the West, they increasingly took up the last great crusade, continued domination of the planet in the name of high culture — or high culture in the name of planetary domination. They succeeded not in accomplishing this ultimately impossible

aim, but in killing off what early Yiddish writers called "the Little Jew," that is, the Jewish representative of all suffering humankind. With that stroke they abandoned their claim to relevance for the history of workers' movements, and the history of much else as well.

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Maurice Isserman. *If I Had a Hammer: The Death of the Old Left and the Birth of the New Left* (New York: Basic Books 1987).

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY of the American left has had a curious trajectory. Once the terrain of Cold War warriors beating their anti-Soviet drums, it has recently come to be dominated by a voluntaristic community of radical exiles from the 1960s, captivated by the Popular Front era and formed in the heady days of Students for a Democratic Society. There is no denying the advances in knowledge and perspective that have been gained over the last fifteen years, but it is also evident that historical interpretation of the American left has descended into a kind of pluralist pit, where virtually anything goes, especially if it can be rooted in something akin to radicalism Americanized. The shortcoming of most recent scholarship is that it has, with reference to the Communist Party, refused resolutely to address the connection between developments in the international communist movement (depicted by Theodore Draper and Company as the entire history of the American CP) and the domestic activity of communists in the United States (too often reified and romanticized by a new generation of historians of communism).

Maurice Isserman has contributed more than a little to this impasse. His earlier study of the CPUSA during World War II presents Browder's appetite for Americanizing the Party, subduing the practice of class struggle, and orchestrating communist activity within the most

collaborationist rendition of the popular front imaginable as the healthy craving of a domestic radicalism pregnant with the possibility of actually influencing the course of American politics. Whatever the parental fantasies, however, the ultimate offspring of the popular front project — in America as elsewhere — proved at best to be stillborn, at worst the butchered fetus of a backroom political abortionist.

In this new study Isserman focuses on the left in the 1950s. His purpose is to establish a connection between the decline of the old left and the birth of the new left in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Isserman fails to demonstrate persuasively the link he is at pains to establish, and his book, while containing much within its various parts that is useful, is a rather idiosyncratically-marshalled collection of snapshots of sections of the left. While some of these sections no doubt overlapped, and while all certainly played some role in setting the stage for the rise of the New Left, Isserman's reading of their significance is specious and his argument about their connectedness often spurious.

The journey begins with an account of the collapse of the Communist Party in the 1950s, familiar enough in its outlines and not researched deeply. In this quick and easy once over what emerges most strikingly is the author's antagonism to William Z. Foster, the principles of Leninist organizational practice (however distorted by Stalinism), and so-called sectarianism. Browder's post-war fall from grace apparently sealed the fate of the CPUSA.

With the CP spent as a force capable of creating a new left by the 1950s, the vacuum is filled, for Isserman, by Max Shachtman, whose history encompassed a rare and vital engagement with revolutionary politics in the 1920s and 1930s, capitulation to the pressure of anti-Sovietism in a 1940 embrace of "Third Campism," and a slow, agonizing death march to the right that ended in ugly social patriotism (defence of the Bay of Pigs invasion and support for the Vietnam

War), and abandonment of a program of class struggle through unquestioning reliance on the most reactionary pillars of the labour bureaucracy.

Shachtman is a figure of great importance in the history of the American left, but it is not for the reasons Isserman suggests. Indeed, his revolutionary past is skirted in this study and crucial accessible published texts central to an understanding of Trotskyism and Shachtman in the 1930s are unexplored by Isserman who, once again, touches only the most obvious bases. Shachtman exercises a fascination for Isserman precisely because he was supposedly a youth rather than working-class leader. Unlike James P. Cannon and the Socialist Workers party of the 1940s and 1950s, Shachtman oriented himself to what there was of campus radicalism. Isserman is drawn to this field-of-force because he is convinced, like so many other New Leftists, that the working class is no longer the pre-eminent force for social change in America.

But just how influential Shachtman was in the birth of the New Left is never demonstrated and evidence of his shaping of the politics of campus rebellion in the 1960s, or the early stirrings of a rather nebulous American new left in the late 1950s, is notable in its absence. Instead we have Isserman asserting the connection he should be proving, claiming a link by virtue of some rather dubious logic: "Any new Left was bound to be in large measure a young Left, and by the 1950s Shachtman had had three decades experience as a 'youth leader'. So Shachtman's candidacy as a potential shaper of a New Left was not as farfetched a proposition as it might initially appear." (39) The entire chapter on Shachtman, revealingly entitled "A Sectarian's Progress," is thus something of an ideologically-mounted exercise in wish-fulfillment.

To be sure, it contains material and evidence of importance, as when Isserman explores the merger of the Shachtmanite Independent Socialist League and the Socialist Party in 1958.

Just before the proposed amalgamation was to be ratified, Shachtman met with SP member and founder of Canadian Trotskyism, Maurice Spector, who knew Shachtman from the first years of the anti-Stalinist movement in North America. Spector reportedly said, "When Max gets in he's going to go so far to the right that you won't believe it I'm an old Trotskyist. I know the signs." (73) A history of Shachtman that took Spector's assessment and explored its meaning in the context of Shachtman's development would have been a contribution. Forcing Shachtman into some pigeon-hole as a father of the New Left is a project that is both less interesting and more questionable.

One of Shachtman's early recruits was Irving Howe. He and the journal he helped to found, *Dissent*, also merit a chapter in this study. The early available sources — *Dissent* itself is cited in approximately half of the footnotes to the chapter, while Howe's own writings punctuate many of the remainder — make this, too, a story with obvious research foundations. For those with an interest in Howe there may well be matters of interest raised. Yet it remains a question as to how significant Howe was to both the old left and the new, however neatly he fits into the intellectual history of modern America, where he has managed, with considerable effort, to carve himself a place of some prominence.

After spending half of his study on the CP, Shachtman, and Howe, Isserman moves toward slightly more original ground, devoting a penultimate chapter to the emergence of radical pacifism and the civil rights movement in the 1950s. This is a chapter that does break some new ground and there are connections — largely through personalities such as A.J. Muste, Dave Dellinger, and Baynard Rustin — between the old left and the radical movements of mid-century. The direct action campaigns of a committed few in Montgomery or New York City civil defence protests registered directly with elements of the non-communist old left, but Isserman too easily merges this his-

tory with that of a more liberal-inspired patrician opposition to nuclear war that consolidated in the Committee for Non-Violent Direct Action and that took its ideological cues from Gandhi.

He then makes an inferential leap, striding toward his final chapter on the new left with the determination of a pole vaulter. Armed with his thesis of the connectedness of old and new lefts he lifts himself off the ground of solid evidence to sail through the air toward a rather startling conclusion. He cites a radical pacifist writing in 1958: "I strongly believe the United States Pacifist movement is entering a stage where God's power will be breaking forth again and again Watch these bursts of power! ... The stakes are high! Use God's power to win them!" (167-8) Well off the ground, Isserman concludes from such rhetoric that there was a link between the late 1950s radical pacifists and the Weather Underground of the later 1960s, claiming that these two moments shared "a moral urgency that precluded consideration of political effectiveness, an identification with a force larger than the individual, a desire, above all else, to display one's personal commitment to the cause, even (or especially) if it involved the risk of injury of death." (169) This is bit like saying the Weathermen were connected to John Brown, a point Bill Ayers and his comrades would no doubt have accepted, but one which is, historically, a little silly nevertheless.

The book ends with a brief 36-page chapter "Toward the New Left." It structures the early history of the New Left, understandably, around the old pacifist A.J. Muste, the Shachtmanite Young People's Socialist League, peace and civil rights bodies, and the birth of Students for a Democratic Society. There are insightful connections drawn and at times Isserman comes close to tying up the many loose ends that clutter up previous pages. When it all ends, abruptly, in 1965, Isserman has established that the old left was certainly influential in the birth of the new left, but not that the strands of the old left he has isolated were as pre-eminent as he

suggests. One wonders about the other left paths not explored, especially the Socialist Workers Party and its role in organizing protest against the Vietnam War.

Isserman concludes his book with these words: "As its inheritance from the Old Left, the New Left took to heart those lessons that in the short run allowed it to grow spectacularly, but not the lessons that in the long run might have allowed it to survive fruitfully." (219) It is also possible to read this book differently, to suggest that the American New Left's explosive and largely spontaneous arrival had little to do with any lessons learned and far more to do with the objective economic, social, and political context of the early-to-mid 1960s. And its collapse was an outcome of that very process of spontaneous combustion. Never having taken to heart any serious, substantive lessons of politics, it went with the flow, avoided programmatic clarity and a sense of strategic direction, and, in its last days, fractured inevitably into competing factions and isolated individuals, many of whom tried desperately to begin to learn the lessons of political life that their movement had so assiduously shielded them from.

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Ellen Israel Rosen, *Bitter Choices: Blue-Collar Women in and out of Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1987).

IN RETROSPECT, it is little short of amazing, not merely how briefly the American Century lasted, but that so many intelligent and thoughtful people believed that it would last forever. A major part of the myth was that working people in the United States and elsewhere had been economically and culturally assimilated into the "middle class." The "affluence" of many workers (never really including the vast majority of blue collar workers, be they women, people of colour, and

others in secondary labour markets) in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s supposedly included having a house, a car, a television set, and some measure of job security. In the 1970s and 1980s, the permanence of this dream has come to a screeching halt and with it the illusions of industrial relations pluralists who believed that a stable, cooperative collective bargaining system was the inevitable result of a developed capitalist society.

Much prominence has been given in the media during the past decade to job competition from Japan, Western Europe, and various underdeveloped countries. One of the results has supposedly been the turning of much of the United States's (and some of Canada's) industrial heartland into a "rust belt." Some of this attention has focused on largescale layoffs in the automobile industry and the plight of Detroit, the devastation of steel and its effects on Pittsburgh, Youngstown, and South Chicago/Indiana, the decline of rubber in Akron and Toledo, and the widespread unemployment of construction workers. These industries, of course, have historically employed an overwhelming majority of male workers. Yet, as Ellen Israel Rosen underscores, in *Bitter Choices* a similar trend of job loss has taken place in the fiber (textile and garment) and electrical industries, employing fully as many workers and losing as many jobs as the basic, male-dominated industries. These industries, overwhelmingly employing female labour, have been just as hard hit by automation, industrial restructuring, but primarily by the movement of production away from North America to extremely low-paid female workers in underdeveloped countries. The effects of this process on women blue-collar workers have drawn relatively little attention among academics or in the press. It is the working and living conditions of these women workers, both employed and unemployed, that Rosen seeks to describe in her volume.

The research presented is based on over 400 interviews with blue-collar women workers in New England, many of

whom are employed in the fiber industries. The women, mostly native-born, but a substantial percentage Portuguese, ranged in age from their early twenties to near retirement. *Bitter Choices* not only reports on and synthesizes the results of these interviews, but uses a variety of statistical techniques, including partial correlation, multiple regression, and in one place discriminant function analysis, to draw generalizations about its subjects.

Among the most interesting and important results are those showing the positive psychic as well as material benefits — despite hard work, nerve-racking pressure from piece work, and low wages — gained by most women workers. Even with the double shift of factory work and housework, the large majority of women interviewed would not prefer to remain home as housewives, supported by their husbands. Thus, their jobs not only add to their strength of identity and sense of self-worth, both as a contribution to the family economic vitality and as participants in socially important tasks. In addition, and partly as a result of these latter effects, their jobs lead to more stable, egalitarian marriages, including greater sharing of household and childcare responsibilities with their husbands, according to Rosen. Despite the fact that these women work hard largely because of economic necessity at wages that would spell poverty for a single household head, despite the double shift, these women should not be viewed as "alienated," pathetic, or downtrodden.

Because of this finding, it is not surprising to see Rosen's occasional snipes at traditionalists who are "members of the Moral Majority" (93) who would remove women from the workforce and send more of them back to the home, or at Martin Feldstein (130), a Harvard economist and former head of President Reagan's Council of Economic Advisors. In fact, many of her insights about the strength gained by women working and their rewards, both psychic and material, are quite consonant with traditional Marxist views, starting with Frederick Engels who argued that real equality for women,

both in marriage and society at large, required the ending of economic dependency through equality in the labour force. So too are her remarks about the irreconcilability of conflict between production workers and capitalists:

Women who hold factory jobs learn very quickly that the relations of the work process are a direct embodiment of management's efforts to get them to work as hard and as fast as they possibly can and for the least amount of money In that sense they are class-conscious. (67)

Thus, quite surprising are her broadside attacks upon various Marxists and radicals, including "male Marxists" who "have defended the virtues of higher wages for men and the benefits of stay-at-home wives for the working-class family." (93) Few of the references given in her footnotes appear to substantiate any of her attacks. Ironically, the main target of her attack above seems to be directed against some secondary remarks in two articles by Jane Humphries. The other target argues similarly to Rosen that the effects of women's labour force participation at substandard wages is "often contradictory," not too dissimilar to the "bitter choice" Rosen argues that laid-off women workers must face. These remarks and asides are not one of the strongpoints of the book.

The work, with its obvious strengths, has certain other weaknesses, which are heightened by the author's lack of sensitivity to the limits of the individual interview method. Though over 90 per cent of the women workers interviewed were union members, little is said about unions and labour struggles. In describing the working-class communities where the women live, Rosen notes that "The community retains its tradition of class consciousness and labor militancy the union hall is still located in the center of town." (28) But when discussing the results of the interviews, she goes to great lengths to argue that none of the women are "militant," or showing "courage and resistance in the face of exploitation." Presumably none of the interviews were

taken during strikes. Individual interviews are, of course, notorious for slighting social movements and collective action. At a time when there have been many heroic struggles by women workers in the United States, from the recently settled strike of the largely non-white female workers at Watsonville Cannery in California to the decades-long struggle of women textile workers in the South depicted in the film *Norma Rae*, it is certainly not objective to dismiss such activities from the world of female blue-collar workers, just because they are not highlighted in one's interviews.

Also problematic is the book's acceptance of familiar arguments that deunionization of factory workers is the inevitable result of "massive regional shifts of employment from the Frost Belt to the Sun Belt." (24) Rosen also sees the need for legislation to protect the jobs of women workers in the US, even extolling the 1979 Chrysler "bailout" which forced union workers to accept wage cuts that were not called for in their contracts. (178) Rather, I would argue, a far better solution — one which accepted the validity of the needs of women workers in underdeveloped countries as well as in North America — which should be supported by all unions, would be the encouragement of the unionization of workers in Sri Lanka, Taiwan, and Mexico, and the support of the already unionizing workers in South Korea.

Despite these broad criticisms, the book has much to offer in its careful documentation of the world of New England women workers. One hopes that its focus on the effects of industrial restructuring and deindustrialization on the lives of a significant group of women workers will help encourage public debate in this sphere.

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K.D.M. Snell, *Annals of the Labour Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985).

THIS IS THE MOST RECENT CONTRIBUTION to the debate on the standard of living of the rural poor during industrialization. In a series of discursive but complementary essays organized to follow criteria of the quality of life that the poor themselves might have chosen, Keith Snell describes the transformation of the eighteenth-century "labouring poor" in southern and eastern England into nineteenth-century agricultural labourers. Taking settlement examinations made under the old poor law, and an impressively wide range of printed primary materials, Snell traces the growth of seasonal unemployment, the eclipse of women as agricultural workers, and the decline of farm service and apprenticeship. Most notably he argues a connection between parliamentary enclosure and the deteriorating state (for labour) of the labour market. He rejects utterly J.D. Chambers's optimistic argument that enclosure multiplied employment opportunities. In doing so he puts the Cambridge seal of approval on an interpretation more usually associated with John and Barbara Hammond.

The collection is a landmark of revisionist history, if a personal, occasionally idiosyncratic, even arrogant one. As is often the case with revisions it is less path-breaking than it claims. We should note those historians (W.G. Hoskins, Joan Thirsk, Edward Thompson) who were never convinced by the Clapham-Chambers-Mingay orthodoxy of benevolent enclosure. We should not too that Ann Kussmaul's *Farm Servants in Early Modern England* (1981), which makes the same connection between decline in service and the incidence of enclosure as Snell, preceded *Annals*, though Snell gives it only the slightest acknowledgement. (69) Equally, J.M. Martin's study of enclosure's disruptive effects in Warwickshire, and his and Michael Turner's work on the relationship between enclosure and landholding

change, also preceded Snell's but, again, neither receive their due.

Following in these footsteps, *Annals of the Labouring Poor* convinces. Indeed, the connection between unemployment, underemployment and enclosure was one made at the time. In Midland counties prone to conversion to pasture in the 1750s, 1760s, and 1770s the opponents of enclosure expected and feared it: "We see whole townships" Brigstock petitioners wrote "managed by a shepherd or two and their dogs." More generally, the decline of small owner-occupiers after enclosure, the indebtedness of survivors, and the expropriation of common rights (or their appropriation with inadequate compensation), all increased the supply of labour. And for some proponents of enclosure like Arbuthnot, and many Reporters to the Board of Agriculture like Billingsley and Middleton, this was one of enclosure's prime attractions. A more abundant workforce was cheaper and more tractable. Exceptions to the rule, places where the demand for labour may have grown, were parishes where a counter-conversion from pasture to arable took place (the light lands of East Anglia, and, temporarily, on heavier lands during the French wars); or where a more perfect practice, or a more intensely-cultivated agriculture, followed enclosure. But even here, Snell argues, the necessary growth of employment was limited by other calls on capital, namely "the cost of enclosure itself, so frequently in excess of prediction; the increases of rent immediately after or even before enclosure; the over-cropping between act and award; the tendency of increased output to fall far behind such rises in rent; the rising poor relief costs" all "compounded by shallow profit margins and the early nineteenth-century agricultural depression, which particularly affected the more recently enclosed corn-growing parishes" where enclosure costs were particularly steep. (194) A more enduring result of enclosure than the initial flowering of jobs for newly wage-dependent labourers was the growth of unemployment after 1814. *Annals of the Labouring Poor* puts an historian's seal

on the contemporary perception. That it does so with a broad intelligence, an admirable persistence, and some passion is all to the benefit of contemporary debate: Snell enters the argument with a contribution to current scholarship that must not be underestimated or ignored.

What he does not do (despite his subtitle) is describe the rural society in the eighteenth century from which the nineteenth-century proletariat came. The blame for this lies with his reliance on one manuscript source: poor law settlements. These illustrate the employment histories of those likely to need relief (after 1795 they cover only those actually claiming it). But in the eighteenth century, as Snell knows, employment was not the sole source of family income, perhaps often not the main one. Common rights and landholding were equally important, sometimes more important than labour. Snell does not neglect commons, but he does define landholding as outside his ambit, despite his own evidence that in their letters home the emigrant poor themselves talked about access to land only less often than their love for their families. As a result Snell's eighteenth-century "labouring poor" are labourers with a labour market working in their favour, while his nineteenth-century labourers are labourers with one working against them. Only the labour market defines their difference. This itself is important and the examination given here is a substantial and authoritative contribution to any study of the standard of living in this period. But because Snell shies away from looking at landholding he is unaware of the survival of peasant society in open-field England in the eighteenth century (one some historians argue lasted in many places into the mid-nineteenth century) and consequently the place of these "labourers" within it. Pre-enclosure labour may have been less a privileged workforce living in a golden age than part of this landed society, living in hope or expectation of land. The Hammonds, whose view of enclosure Snell so often vindicates, did not overlook this. On the contrary, they saw the loss of land by

labourers as the worse of all the damages enclosure inflicted. "The most important social fact about [the open-field system]" they wrote, "is that is provided opportunities for the humblest and poorest labourer to rise in the village The common ... formed the lowest rung in a social ladder leading to the occupation of a holding. This is the distinguishing mark of the old village." Its absence was the distinguishing mark of the new.

The implications of this concern power. Before enclosure it is likely that widespread petty landholding and the enjoyment of common pasture and other common rights, coupled with unimproved rents, labour shortage, and the support commons gave the poor rate, encouraged the survival of a substantial small peasantry. Like most peasantries they were alive to their own best interests, able enough with petitions, quick to remind would-be-enclosers of earlier debts and older alliances, not slow to threaten or damage: in a word, convinced of the value of dialogue. *Dependent on labour* as well as land and rights these peasants and their sons or daughters inevitably found their way into the parlours of J.P.s where their employment histories were examined. But what would not be recorded in these interviews was their expectation of land (through saving, marriage, inheritance, good fortune, low rent) or their remarkably equal relationship with small farmers and tenants and, through them, with parsons, landlords, and neighbouring gentry. Had Snell used the Land tax records to look at landholding (instead he rejects them as worthless), and estate papers, court records, and newspapers to look at resistance to enclosure (which shows the solidarity of the petty landed and the apparently landless), he might have found a different social structure on the land in the years before enclosure, not simply a different labour market. *He might have given us an account of how an opinionated and intractable eighteenth-century peasantry became a nineteenth-century proletariat noted for its appearance of deference, its air of knowing all and saying nothing: in two words, its belief in the complementary values of silence and arson. Instead Snell gives us a humane and compassionate account of the*

labour market, and account alive to the vital implications of such a subject, but also one which ignores the fuller identities, and with them the agency, of its own actors.

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Richard Price, *Labour in British Society* (London: Croom Helm 1986).

THIS IS AN AMBITIOUS and important book. It attempts both a reinterpretation and reintegration of the course of British working-class history over the last 200 years. It also tries to understand this history using Marxist categories of explanation, but without that sense of teleology, of preordained or inevitable patterning, that has marred earlier attempts. Its explanations are entirely historical and therefore entirely contingent.

The heart of the book lies in Chapter 5 and 6 which cover the period 1880 to 1926. It is in this period, Price argues, that the real revolution in industry took place, not as has commonly been assumed, in the 50 years following 1750. This complex change, in the late nineteenth century, revolved around the growing centrality of class and the replacement of voluntary associations by formal and professional associations of classes and interests. Most important was the revolution in the labour process brought about by increased international competition and attempts to introduce Taylorism and modernize production through a complete division of function and bureaucratization of supervision. In Britain both workers and capitalists were forced, either explicitly or tacitly, to make choices between improved profits and continuing labour and social stability. The reasons for Taylorism's initial attenuation in Britain, its gradual transformation and acceptance is concisely presented in these chapters.

The rest of the book is by no means negligible. Price uses his study of the longer period to "frame" the late-nineteenth-century changes, to see how and why they developed and what hap-

pened to them in the twentieth. Everywhere Price stresses historical context; we are shown the Industrial Revolution not a great breakthrough of technological improvement, but as a process of accretion accomplished through extensions and intensifications of older forms of production. And the working class that was "made" by this revolution is presented as not entirely new; by 1750 it already had a strong artisanal heritage to draw on. What made the period before 1850 so productive and so turbulent was neither the wholesale introduction of new means of production nor the birth, Athena-like, of a new class; Price argues that the forces that set the pace in this period were changes in world markets, changes in the labour market, and the increased specialization and division of labour.

Price also contends that the victory of the manufacturing classes over labour and the labour process was less complete and different than currently believed. On the one hand, while adopting Thompson's distinction between a "moral" and a "political" economy, Price maintains that the victory of the latter over the former was not complete until the 1840s. Furthermore managers neither had nor desired the sort of control over the shop floor that characterizes modern industrial management. After a vigorous and partially successful attack on apprenticeship, that pivotal structure for shop floor power, many crafts were able to reassert their rights to its regulation and strengthen their control of industrial education and the labour market. The nature of the relationship between master and employee remained quasi-paternal. As Price points out, the central problem for management was not how to increase productivity but how to improve workers' habits, not to get them to work harder but to come more regularly, despite St. Mondays, local fairs, and holidays.

Price, like Stedman Jones, sees this period as essentially backward-looking, informed by artisanal concerns and an artisanal radicalism. Rejecting the notion that Chartism was the political furnace

from which the working class emerged, he argues that the very strength of Chartism proved the absence of working-class consciousness or structure. Attractive to both artisans and factory workers, Chartism could not provide class cohesiveness since its appeal was not based on shared work experience.

The mid-century golden equivoque was the result. Price holds, of a "negotiated reconstruction of the society hierarchy." Not only was there a convergence of middle and working-class notions of improvement and respectability, but the social relations that structured the workplace had greater links with the past than the future. The most striking change was the increased paternalism of employers beyond the workplace. Price argues that this increase is proof of the workers' shopfloor strength. He illustrates the way such control might be maintained, even in theoretically less skilled occupations, like spinning: in this industry spinners "adjusted" and individualized their machines to such a degree that only a particular operative could run it. It was the constant negotiation between employer and employee, rather than any predetermined or national policy. Price stresses, which created this mid-Victorian industrial and political period of consensus.

In contrast, the changes in social relations brought about by the introduction of new techniques of production in the late nineteenth century necessitated a massive "reorientation of authority relations" both within and outside the workplace. Even here Price notes that disruption "was more a result of the internal decay of prior social relations" (104-5) than the result of novel technology. However as the process of "deskilling" accelerated and as new systems of payment were introduced, it was inevitable that management would become more bureaucratized and work supervision tighter. And here Price marshals his most convincing arguments. His account of the birth and struggles of the Labour Party, its conflicts with those who wished it to place greater emphasis on control of the work process, and the ef-

fects of World War I and government policy on this struggle is both synthetically satisfying and illuminating.

Despite the deserved high praise, this is not a faultless book. I think it is fair to take exception to the clumsy chunkiness of some of its language; if the history of working people and their movements is ever to speak to the very people it describes, it must strive to be clear, direct and easy. The ease of good prose has nothing condescending about it; on the contrary it shows the care its author has taken in finding not only the most precise, but also the most accessible language in which to tell his story. And finally as an historian of the eighteenth as well as nineteenth centuries, I would have liked to read a bit more about the relations of labour and authority in the earliest period. Now especially, with historians denying the very existence of even an embryonic or potential working class in the eighteenth century, it is essential for historians of the left to describe its artisanal life, and its relations with and views of political power.

In short, Price's *Labour in British Society* is a thick, textured, and complex account or rather argument about the nature of working-class aspirations, and how they got to be what they are. Though Price ends on an appropriately indeterminate note, the reader is left with the hope that British working men and women, having come through so much in so many different ways, will manage to weather Mrs. Thatcher's attempts to provide the final solution to the problem of British labour.

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Angela John, ed., *Unequal Opportunities: Women's Employment in England 1800-1918* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1986).

AS EDITOR ANGELA JOHN points out in her introduction, the time for general works on women's employment (such as Ivy

Pinchbeck's influential *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*) has passed: now the only possible format for a text suitable for courses is that of an anthology of monographic studies. What John does not say is that, while the proliferation of detailed studies is increasing our collective knowledge of this new historical field, the specialization evident in this anthology is not an un-mixed blessing: no individual can keep up with the flood of new works, and there is a consequent tendency to unnecessarily narrow the scope of one's argument. The 'big issues' raised by Pinchbeck, Tilly and Scott, and other pioneers are thus left unaddressed. Few people make any attempt at comparative analyses, and many authors have immersed themselves in the primary sources but do not engage in either historiographical debate or even dialogue with the other contributors.

Nevertheless, some of the studies in this anthology are excellent examples of what is possible within the confines of a detailed monograph, and demonstrate an ability to use a variety of sources and methodologies without falling into eclecticism. Nancy Grey Osterud opens the collection with a brilliant piece showing the complex interaction between household gender relations of production and factory work in the Leicester hosiery industry. The industry relied on the putting out system in the first half of the nineteenth century: as knitting was transferred to factories, the seaming of the hose was still done by women in the home, thus institutionalizing a gender division of labour which before factory production had been much more flexible and informal. When seaming was transferred in turn to factories, women were employed but were paid as women, not as factory workers. The marginalization of women hosiery workers was thus due neither to patriarchy in the home nor to the blind action of mechanization, but to the shifting and complex interaction of household gender relations and factory organization.

Several other essays tackle the question of gender and skill. Felicity Hunt's

article on women bookbinders and printers lacks gender analysis but gives a descriptive account of the plight of skilled craftswomen who fought an uphill battle against both profit-seeking employers and patriarchal unions. The plight of the better-known women sweated workers in the needle and other trades is described by Jenny Morris, in what is unfortunately a weak piece assuming that 'sweating' can be defined exclusively by a certain wage level, thus neglecting the subjective and cultural elements so well studied (especially for the English working class) by other historians. Morris also presents a rigid, one-directional framework in which mechanization is said to cause feminization and hence low wages.

Domestic servants, the most numerous of Victorian working women, are the subject of Edward Higgs's article, which suffers from an over-reliance on (indeed an obsession with) census data. Such data can tell us what kind of households had servants, but in order to shed light on both the labour process of domestic themselves, other types of data would have to be mined. It is true that servants left few autobiographies or records of any kind: but Higgs could have learned a great deal from Gill Burke's fine study of Cornish women miners, who also left virtually no records but who are brought to life in this fascinating study. Burke is mainly concerned with deconstructing middle-class perceptions, both male and female, of non-genteel women's work, but by a very careful reading of admittedly limited sources she shows it is possible to write from the perspective of the "silent" women of history. Burke is one of the few contributors to this anthology who pays close attention to cultural "data" — particularly dress codes — without neglecting economic factors.

Clerical workers at the turn of the century are the topic of Meta Zimmeck's fine study of the relationship between the ideology of gentility and labour market stratification. Unlike other feminist historians, Zimmeck does not make the false assumption that gender is the only source

of stratification; male clerks were rigidly divided into meaningless categories and ranks. She also shows that the Post Office, an important employer of women clerks, was seriously concerned with the moral regulation of its women workers; management memos argued that if there were no marriage bar, married women workers would want to "outrage nature" by practicing birth control. Management also claimed that low wages for women "protected" them from unscrupulous men who might marry them for their money! These arguments are referred to by Zimneck as "the workhouse test," the attempt to make sure that no female employment was so attractive as to discourage marriage and dependence on male breadwinners. The "less eligibility" principle for women's employment is a concept that might bear further reflection.

The book ends with a series of essays on women and unions. The lack of comparative perspective is a problem here, since it could be argued that English unions were particularly masculine and patriarchal. English historians assume that all other countries (including Scotland) are "special cases," but a less ethnocentric perspective might show that English trade unions had structures that made them peculiarly suited to patriarchal privilege.

Be that as it may, Joanna Bornat's article on wool and worsted workers reveals the fascinating story of a handful of powerful women union leaders of the 1870s who uncharacteristically opposed protective legislation. In her article on social feminism, Ellen Mappen turns her attention to the largely middle-class reformers of the Women's Trade Union League and the Women's Industrial Council. The Council is of interest to Canadians because its president in 1893 was none other than Lady Aberdeen, who in 1894 founded the National Council of Women of Canada. The Council apparently emphasized "social research" à la Beatrice Webb (as opposed to the more activist orientation of the pro-Labour WTUL), and although this focus on investigating "less fortunate women" is not

criticized by Mappen, it was an important way in which middle-class women exercised their class hegemony while claiming to help working-class women. The National Council of Women of Canada undertook some questionable "research" projects (such as a survey of feeble-minded women later exploited by eugenicists), and it might be interesting for a Canadian feminist historian to pursue the intellectual origins of the Canadian bourgeois feminist's interest in research.

The final article is a rather confused overview of women in unions before 1918, by Deborah Thom, which focuses on the World War I tactical dilemmas about "dilution" of male skilled jobs through the use of female labour.

In conclusion, it is clear that while some English historians of women's paid work are still in the grip of economic empiricism, others are being much more creative in their search for both sources and interpretive frameworks. Nancy Grey Osterud's work best demonstrates what other historians are also pointing out, namely, that there is not one cause of women's ghettoization, no one route to marginalization. The anthology as a whole, especially when taken together with the companion volume edited by Jane Lewis (*Labour and Love*, 1986) shows the need to look at the life of women as an integrated whole shaped by several different variables — household work patterns, culture, trade union structure, the economics of production. The sooner we understand the variability in women's oppression, the sooner we will be able to devise flexible strategies to overcome it.

Mariana Valverde
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David Howell, *A Lost Life: Three Studies in Socialism and Nationalism* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press 1986).

DAVID HOWELL HAS ACCOMPLISHED both

more and less than is suggested by the title of this book. Rather than a sustained examination of the relationship between socialism and nationalism, the author approaches the problem through insightful political biographies of three socialists who grappled with the national question: James Connelly, John Maclean, and John Wheatley. They represent, Howell argues, a "lost left," which was rapidly marginalized by the orthodoxies of Labour and Communism. The suggestion is compelling. Marxist studies of the national question are invariably rooted in the debates in the Second International between Rosa Luxemburg, Otto Bauer, and Lenin. After their time, social democracy settled on reforming the institutions for the "nation-state," while the Communist Party's search for "The British Road to Socialism" came to share the same assumptions about the appropriate strategic terrain. Neither tendency was well-equipped to understand the appeal of "peripheral nationalisms" in Scotland and Wales in the early 1970s. The subjects of Howell's book could, plausibly, offer a forgotten insight into the national question in Britain.

Unfortunately, the three studies are only tenuously connected in the book's brief conclusion. Consequently, the author's choice of subjects and their place within a wider socialist movement is not adequately explained. Nor is there any indication that the "lost left" to which they belonged was uniquely receptive to their nationalism. Rather, their efforts at reconciling socialism and nationalism relegated them to the margins of both movements. Moreover, Howell makes no claim that any of these figures provided a "viable synthesis" (140) of socialist and nationalist ideas. Much of the frustration the reader feels is the product of attempting to address the issue as a series of comparative biographies. The various national identities which the three individuals confronted were not immediately comparable. Irish and Scottish nationalism, let alone the "British" nationalism of Wheatley represented quite different phenomena with varying

degrees of support. Although controversial on this and other scores, Tom Nairn's discussion of the weakness of Scottish nationalism in the nineteenth century should alert us to an important fact: the character and strength of a national movement is closely linked to uneven development. Connelly's depressed Catholic Ireland and the booming Clydeside industries which nurture Maclean's socialism could scarcely provide a greater contrast. The nature and strength of nationalist sentiment would necessarily differ in each case. If socialists attempt to address the democratic aspirations in nationalist movements, each of these examples provide quite different possibilities. Such a comparison would appear to be a necessary starting point, before examining the attempts of individual socialists to respond to them.

The real strength of this book lies elsewhere. The work of a careful and incisive historian, *A Lost Left* presents Connelly, Maclean, and Wheatley as discrete examples of a displaced socialist creativity. In their own ways, each was forced to come to terms with questions that the Labour and Communist Parties have long since declared settled. Howell sympathetically and articulately examines their individual political journeys in a manner which reflects the liveliness and complexity of socialist politics in an era punctuated by the Great War, the Easter Rising, and the Bolshevik Revolution. The discussion of Connelly, which fills half of this large volume, is the strongest of the three studies. The consistency and tension between Connelly's revolutionary socialism and his participation in a nationalist insurrection which lacked immediate socialist goals is explored. Howell impressively balances a critical appraisal of Connelly's tangled attempts to root a socialist movement in Ireland's pre-capitalist past, its tradition of radical agitation, and the persistence of Catholicism. At the same time, the author's consideration of Connelly's decisions reflect Lenin's recognition that "a 'pure' social revolution: is an historical illusion. Easter 1916 appeared to Connel-

ly as an opportunity to halt the slaughter of the war and to encourage a mass mobilization which could potentially turn from national to social goals. Such hopes might appear misplaced, but Howell recognizes that such was the choice of a committed revolutionary in "an increasingly bleak situation." (153)

Much of Howell's discussion of Connelly strays far from the national question and, indeed, from Ireland. Like other peripatetic revolutionaries, Connelly embodied a practical internationalism, participating in Scottish and Irish municipal politics, the DeLeonite Socialist Labor Party, the IWW, and the Socialist Party of America and, back in Ireland, with James Larkin in the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. Reform and revolution, syndicalism and political action, bureaucracy and direct action: the great debates of the era of the Second International swelled around Connelly. They were no less tractable than the national question and Howell weaves them together expertly.

Much the same is true of the discussion of John Maclean. The politics of the Red Clyde are dissected with a close eye to contradictory developments. The potential of the housing agitation, the tensions between craft privilege and socialism in the context of dilution of labour, and the difficulties of translating revolutionary internationalism into a workable programme during the war are all combined to create a balanced appreciation of the possibilities and constraints which faced Maclean and his comrades. His postwar campaign for a Scottish Socialist Republic is less easily understood. Howell labours valiantly, but unsuccessfully, to convince us that Maclean's struggle for Scottish independence ought not be considered an aberration. A general consideration of the growing support among workers for Scottish Home Rule in the 1920s might have strengthened his case. Finally, the short discussion of John Wheatley appears out of place in this book. Wheatley's stage was Britain, rather than Ireland or Scotland and, unlike the other two figures, he

was drawn to the reformism of the Independent Labour Party rather than to revolutionary socialism. His experience in the Labour Cabinet deepened his radicalism, but he never accepted the revolutionary premises of Connelly and Maclean. In his enthusiasm for an interventionist state, he might better be examined in the context of the evolution of social democracy. Although such sentiments isolated him from Labourism in the later 1920s, his ideas are not far removed from the subsequent orthodoxy of the Labour Left.

While *A Lost Left* does not entirely fulfill its implied promise of evaluating the legacy of a forgotten socialism and its insights into nationalism, there is much to comment it. Howell's ability to reconstruct a complex socialist movement, complete with its dilemmas and aspirations, has previously been demonstrated in his study of the ILP and is again apparent. He successfully reminds us of the real limitations of the prevailing Labourist and Communist orthodoxies. Like the labour movement, national movements within Britain have strained at the constraints of the British state and socialists, ironically, have often been slow to listen. While one may agree or disagree with Hobsbawm's declaration that "Marxists as such are not nationalist," they are democrats. Nationalist critiques of centralized (and increasingly authoritarian) power and plea for self-determination must be heard sympathetically, if not uncritically. Labour's uncritical loyalty to the British state and its existing constitutional form cannot be defended on democratic grounds. This is as true in Wales and Scotland as it is in Ireland. Howell's hopes of "creative relationships between national and communal movements" (287) requires a recognition of a democratic impulse behind nationalist demands.

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Logie Barrow, *Independent Spirits: Spiritualism and English Plebeians 1850-1910* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1986).

IN 1902 FRANK PODMORE, a fabian and a spiritualist, wrote in his *Modern Spiritualism*: "There appears to be some natural affinity between Socialism of a certain type and Spiritualism. The vision of a new heaven will perhaps be most gladly received by those whose eyes have been opened to the vision of a new earth, the dwelling place of righteousness. It is certain that many Socialists have been spiritualists." No one really took up that claim and investigated it until Logie Barrow's careful delineation of the relationship between spiritualism and early English socialism in the *History Workshop* in 1980. Though he did not specifically argue that the decay of traditional religious teachings, of which the rise of spiritualism was a symptom, was related to the rise of socialism, the implication was there. In his new, full-length study of what he calls "plebeian" spiritualism he goes much further in exploring and cementing the relationship between this peculiarly nineteenth-century form of religious unorthodoxy and political radicalism. Drawing on an extraordinarily rich documentation he brings together Owenite socialism of the early part of the century and ILP socialism at the end by tracing the role of mesmerism, secularism, and spiritualism in that development.

His plebeians are self-educated artisans and those engaged in minor professional and clerical tasks, he argues that, in contrast to middle-class spiritualists, who rarely saw any conflict between Christianity and spiritualism, the plebeians were secular, anti-Christian, sometimes atheists. Their religious radicalism nurtured political dissent. Second, he suggests that spiritualism, like mesmerism, was part of what he calls a "democratic epistemology," a rather inflated way of saying that they believed that knowledge is accessible too — neither a clergy nor a clerisy was needed

to transmit knowledge to the people.

Was spiritualism a form of knowledge? Barrow answers affirmatively. Indeed he contends that given the state of medical and psychiatric knowledge at the time, spiritualism was a "science." "Delusion or not," he writes, "this feeling of actually participating in this process of Science or sciences was inseparably part of spiritualism."

But spiritualism was a "religion" as well as a "science." Here I think that Barrow is somewhat less helpful than in his other arguments. He fails to see, or at least he does not have much to say about it in his book, that spiritualism was one of many attempts to salvage some sort of religious belief from the wreckage left by the claims of Darwinian science and the Higher Criticism — historical science. It was also part of the nineteenth-century romanticization of death (as Phillippe Ariès has argued), that was so obvious in the new, highly-adorned funeral monuments set in park-like burial grounds. Spiritualism took the sting out of death and, adopting a progressive evolutionist view of life, pointed toward a better world ahead, one which made no distinction between the here and the hereafter. Such a better world was often enough a socialist one.

Barrow also implies, without developing it much, that spiritualism, like some other dissenting doctrines, sometimes contributed to breaking down social barriers. The case of women is interesting. Usually shut out of positions of leadership in the traditional churches, women took a prominent part, especially as mediums, in the spiritualist movement, as in Theosophy. The modern founders of spiritualism were the Fox sisters.

Barrow's book is rich in detail about spiritualism, mesmerism, healing, herbal medicine and much else. Its most important contribution, however, is in establishing the plebeian claim that knowledge was open to all. As the world of religion, medicine and psychiatry became more specialized and professionalized, this democratic belief was destroyed. And that led to the decline of both plebeian culture

and that form of socialism which was founded on ethical and religious convictions rather than technical economic teachings.

My one criticism of Barrow's book arises from its irritating habit of remarking on almost every page (and sometimes more than once), that such an such will be dealt with later, or that something has been dealt with elsewhere — as though his readers were limited to ten minute memory spans. Still, taken together with Janet Oppenheim's *The Other World* (1985), *Independent Spirits* further demonstrates that spiritualism is worth more attention than it usually receives from historians of social and cultural change.

Ramsay Cook
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Jerry White, *The Worst Street in North London: Campbell Bunk, Islington, Between the Wars* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1986).

CAMPBELL BUNK was, as the title of this new book in the History Workshop Series indicates, a most notorious place. It was replete with the stigmata of poverty: unemployment, ill-health, poor housing, family violence, crime, hopelessness, discrimination, alcoholism, and filth. And it also suffered, of course, the contempt and condescension of "respectable" society. Its inhabitants were — or were seen to be — in the words of the local sanitary inspector:

Thieves, Prostitutes, cripples, Blind People, Hawkers of all sorts of wares from boot laces to watches and chains are to be found in this road, Pugilists, Card Sharppers, Counter Jumpers, Purse Snatchers, street singers, and Gamblers of all kinds, and things they call men who live on the earnings of women Of course, there are a few who perhaps get an honest living, but they want a bit of picking-out.

Both the actual and hyperbolic notoriety of life at the margin of society meant that Campbell Bunk attracted at-

tention from all quarters. Its inhabitants left their mark in police reports, philanthropic and social casework records, sanitary and housing inspections, the magistrates' court column of local newspapers, social surveys, and muck-raking journalism. Jerry White has taken all of these sources and blended them skillfully with the oral testimony of "Bunkers" themselves to elucidate the social and family relationships found on the street and to document the political attitudes, economic strategies, and community practices which created the dynamics of slum life.

The result is a powerful picture of an urban slum — of the violence and desperation of its social relationships and of the effort, toughness, and will required to escape it. Jerry White has done his job well: he has used an usually rich body of oral evidence not only to draw a static picture but to explain how economic and social change destroyed Campbell Bunk before the bulldozers reached it. His account is particularly strong in demonstrating how shifting inter-war conditions — new factories, classless clothing, freer social attitudes, heightened economic expectations gained as a result of wartime employment in munitions works, more widespread contraception — gave young women "a very different route to independence and equality" than that open to their mothers. The factory girl of the 1920s had a freedom, independence, and self-confidence unavailable to an earlier generation of Campbell Bunk women who had been restricted almost exclusively to service jobs as charwomen, laundresses or street-sellers. Girls had a much lower rate of juvenile delinquency than boys and found fewer social and economic rewards in the traditional life of the Bunk: as a result women escaped the grasp of slum life more readily than their brothers.

White's portrayal of Campbell Bunk is vivid and authentic. The complex web of "lumpenproletariat" life is probed through its "collective identities," including support networks, internal tensions, and collective self-defence. He sketches

well its Mayhew-like labyrinth of casual labour, petty theft, pilfering, rent evasion, and organized criminal activity. He emphasises the community and its strained and suspicious interaction with the world outside. In many ways, then, this is an admirable book. It offers an evocative portrayal of what poverty means that can be recommended as an eye-opener to a class of comfortable middle-class students. It is also a labour of love "put together largely between 9 p.m. and 1 a.m." by an author pursuing an "over-demanding" career in an unrelated field. Jerry White's deep affection for the inhabitants of Campbell Bunk and his eager desire to explain the broader significance of their harsh, often bitter lives radiates through the pages of his book.

Yet somehow one is disappointed. *The Worst Street in North London* is a good example — perhaps one of the best — of the well-researched and empathic community study which has become a hallmark of History Workshop publications and is the culmination of the local studies, social surveys, and journalistic exposés through which the Victorians manifested their concern about the problem of poverty. This particular turf has been well tilled, especially in London. Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth closely investigated the poverty of the metropolis, as did John Hollingshead, Arthur Sherwell, George Sims, Mary Bayly, a string of Fabians, and many more. More recently, analytical and descriptive studies by scholars such as H.J. Dyos, Gareth Stedman Jones, Raphael Samuel, and many others have, with the aid of a steady stream of memoirs, oral histories, and reprints of previously hard-to-obtain contemporary works, ensured that this patch of intellectual ground has been well worked. Further elaborations are unlikely to overturn the range of well-understood interpretations. It is now time to move on to something new.

Patricia E. Malcolmson
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Marjorie Nicholson, *The TUC Overseas: The Roots of Policy* (London: Allen & Unwin 1986).

IT HAS BECOME FASHIONABLE to dismiss studies of organized labour as outdated and superseded by those dealing with working-class culture and experience. This book demonstrates that works about formal institutions have not lost their value. Marjorie Nicholson, who spent much of her own life in the TUC's International Department, makes no apology for the fact that the fruit of her research in the TUC archives "is a record of the decisions and activities of an organization." (259) Her purpose is to trace the process by which the Trades Union Congress came to assume an international role between 1917 and 1945. It is essentially a study of bureaucratic learning, of how a body unprepared for responding to developments in the wider world, particularly colonial empire, gradually acquired the expertise and organization necessary for the task.

The main title is slightly misleading since, for most of the period covered, the TUC was actually doing very little overseas. It was primarily a time of preparation, as the subtitle "the roots of policy" more accurately suggests. One fact is made abundantly clear throughout. The TUC had neither the desire nor the capacity to impose its views on the colonies. It never tried to export trade unionism or to become a Commonwealth body: in fact it resisted affiliation attempts by colonial unions on a number of occasions. Its goal was rather to build on the tentative contacts with already existing trade union movements, gaining at the same time more of a say in the formation of British colonial policy on labour questions. What success was achieved came not in India, where the politicization of such questions had already gone too far, nor in Africa, where conditions were not yet ripe, but in the West Indies, where common goals and traditions made real cooperation possible from the later 1930s.

Nicholson rejects as "ridiculous" and disproved by the record, Marxist charges

that metropolitan labour leaders acted as allies of the bourgeoisie, trying to control colonial trade unions in the interests of British imperial rule. Unwilling to content themselves with "negative attacks on imperialism," (254) the TUC and Labour Party followed the more productive path of encouraging the development of strong, democratic trade unions as the basis for making the achievement of self government a reality. Such "colonial paternalism" was not misplaced: "Left to themselves, the overseas unions might have found different solutions, but in practice they asked for British trade union rights, just as they asked for votes, parliaments and responsible governments." (257) And the TUC played an important part in ensuring that certain colonies gained trade union rights first.

It should not be assumed from this that Nicholson takes an uncritical stance towards the TUC's efforts. From its first plunge into world affairs in 1917, when it established a joint international committee with the Labour Party, the TUC's record was one of mixed success. This was forgivable enough in the 1920s, when the main task was to formulate positions in response to events in India and China. Not only was it handicapped by organizational weakness and lack of expertise. It also faced a situation where trade unionism was closely bound up with the forces of nationalism, and where the revolutionary left, with Comintern backing, was able to mount a significant challenge. India in particular raised the problem of how to reconcile the ideals of self government with those of economic and social democracy. There was no desire by British trade union leaders to transfer power to Indian capitalism under middle-class Congress leadership. For his part, Nehru spoke out against any idea of cooperating with what he called "the sanctimonious and canting humbugs who lead the Labour Party." (95) During this early period, though the TUC did play a part in fostering fraternal aid and colonial trade union legislation, it was the Labour Party which guided the formation of a general policy: "left to themselves, the

General Council would never have sat down to systematic discussion of colonial policy." (136)

During the 1930s, the TUC began to play a more distinctive role. However, as Nicholson shows, this followed a series of institutional failures which revealed how out of touch the TUC was, both with the colonies and with the Colonial Office. The momentum created by the convening of Commonwealth Labour Conferences in 1925, 1928, and 1930 was not sustained in the atmosphere of economic depression. The experience gained by participation in the ILO may have provided a useful education for the TUC, but it required the men like Ernest Bevin and Walter Citrine to supply the leadership necessary for the initiative symbolized by the establishment of the TUC's own Colonial Advisory Committee in 1937. If the book has a hero it is clearly Citrine, whose participation in the West Indies Royal Commission marked an important step for the TUC in broadening its knowledge of colonial conditions, and developing closer ties with officials at the Colonial Office and with trade unions and governments in the colonial empire. The TUC was beginning to replace the Labour Party as the major source of policy advice on trade union matters. The combination of Colonial Development and Welfare legislation and World War II consolidated the TUC's role as watchdog and adviser: by 1945 "the steady representation of colonial grievances became part of the routine work of the TUC staff." (238)

Nicholson's defence of the TUC's "empirical, practical approach" is given weight by her ability to show that, for all its shortcomings, it was "more likely to be useful ... than the destructive methods of communism or the permanent oppositionism of the Pan-African group:" what mattered was the fact that "the TUC's views had at least been formed in actual trade union organization and allowed for different interests and attitudes amongst trade union members." (251) The book is not without its flaws. It would have been stronger, for example, with more about the periods before 1917 and

after 1945. There are places where the exposition is too fragmented and the focus becomes obscured by an overabundance of detail. Nevertheless, historians will be grateful to Nicholson for providing a well researched, shrewd analysis of the manner in which the TUC became a body with world-wide concerns.

Martin Petter
McGill University

W. Hamish Fraser. *Conflict and Class: Scottish Workers 1700-1838* (John Donald: Edinburgh 1988).

THE THRUST OF THIS INTERESTING BOOK is to investigate, through the history of eighteenth-century tradesmen's organizations and the nascent unions of the first four decades of the nineteenth century, the nature of Scottish class relations. Historians have been divided in their interpretation of the workers' response to industrialization, a view shared by myself that the eighteenth-century Scot was docile in his reactions to the first stages of industrialization, and that the nineteenth-century workers accepted class collaboration more readily than class confrontation, having come under fire from Marxists and others who would see the Scottish proletarian response as much less passive, more militantly class conscious.

Hamish Fraser, after putting the weight of substantial original research on the scales, inclines towards the latter view, through not in the extreme form that it has sometimes been expressed. Combining the records of the eighteenth-century Scottish legal system for the first time, he finds examples of craftsmen's trade clubs in the main burghs combining offensively or defensively against the employers, most consistently and successfully in the Edinburgh tailoring trades. And deepening his earlier work on the cotton spinners in the early nineteenth century, and extending it to other trades he finds a burst of aggressive and successful union activity in the 1820s, concerned with con-

trolling the job and maintaining or extending eighteenth-century craft practices in factory and mine, and accompanied by a critique of middle-class political economy. This is broken, by the employers and the legal system, in the defeat of the cotton spinners in 1837-38, and Scottish chartism emerges as cautious and collaborationist in its wake.

To some extent, of course, it depends on what one means by docile and aggressive — the Scottish tradesmen, despite this new evidence, remain pale shadows of (for instance) the keelmen of Newcastle or the building workers of Copenhagen, and the argument of Fraser about militant trades unions in the West of Scotland in the 1820s and 1830s has to be squared with the equally persuasive evidence of Fiona Montgomery about the class collaboration of the Glasgow working-class leaders in the Political Unions of the 1830s. The important thing now is to continue the delineation of the limits of collaboration and class consciousness, rather than to argue for one semantic label or another, and this book is a most useful contribution to that task.

Perhaps the most intriguing point that Fraser makes concerns the existence of a Scottish tradition of eighteenth-century craftsmen appealing directly to the courts for arbitration in disputes with their employers, and the readiness of the courts to listen, and to seek to find formulas that would defuse conflict. Fraser interprets this in class terms — lawyers and judges were the allies of the landed classes from whose ranks they so often came, and they were most reluctant to have their hegemony undermined by social discontent, whether provoked by radicals on the left or by aggressive employers on the right. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, however, this paternalistic view was dethroned by the devotees of modern political economy who saw legal wage regulation as "an archaic remnant of an old society, a barrier to the *laissez-faire* that would create a new wealth:" and the manner of its deposition was by academic lawyers rewriting the law text books to create an

impression that the older interpretations of the law had been mistaken. Just such a device has been traced before by Rosalind Mitchison in her studies of the poor law, and it emphasises the extraordinary flexibility of Scots Law in the hands of a legal profession able to form it after their own perception of social good. Just way the legal profession changed its minds is not explored, but it is not difficult to imagine the influence Dugald Stewart and his disciples at Edinburgh University, continued through the *Edinburgh Review* and the rising prestige of the young Whigs.

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Donald Harman Akenson, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922: An International Perspective* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1988).

THIS IS A CAREFULLY-ARGUED BOOK with a clear thesis: Irish Catholics and Protestants have very similar cultural norms and values when you control for differences of material circumstances and other exogenous factors. On such matters as sexual behaviour, economic aspiration and the treatment of women, he argues effectively that the case for qualitative differences between the two cultures is, at best, unproven. With delightful perversity he maintains that the two cultures are as one in their zeal to set up barriers against mixing with the other. The overall argument is instructive, witty, and balanced.

A substantial share of the book, however, is taken up with a renewal of Professor Akenson's quarrel with Irish-American historians, begun in his provocatively-titled earlier book, *Being Had*. Basically, he takes issue with the received wisdom in Irish-American history that Catholic immigrants from Ireland paradoxically settled mainly in cities despite their rural origins. He sees such observations as one more attempt to

ascribe to Catholics a different culture from that of Protestants, who did not necessarily flock to cities when they emigrated. In fact, Akenson points out, in Canada and parts of Australasia where data on religion are richer for the United States there seems to have been no significant difference between the tendencies of Catholic and Protestant Irish to settle in cities. Somewhat unfairly he tries to use Kerby Miller's subtle efforts to discern cultural distinctiveness in the Irish Catholic immigrant community as an excuse to saddle Miller with every incautious formulation of the received wisdom by earlier Irish-American historians.

Now it is fair to point out that Miller, having marshalled the most impressive array of evidence ever assembled on Irish immigration, sometimes feels less constrained by the details of that evidence than one might expect in the sort of scholar with the patience to undertake such a project as his *Emigrants and Exiles*. But Akenson is so anxious to make a case against Miller and others that he loses perspective himself. He is especially impressed by the fact that in the mid-nineteenth century most Irish immigrants did not live in cities — defined as places of over 25,000 population. He writes (102) that according to the 1870 US census "only" 44.5 per cent of Irish immigrants lived in such cities, neglecting to remind his less numerate peers that in that year only 15.0 per cent of the population, and 30.8 per cent of non-Irish immigrants lived there. No doubt various Irish-American historians have written imprecisely on this subject, but the simple truth is that at least from the time of the Famine, Irish immigrants to the United States did tend to settle in cities substantially more than the general run of immigrants. Table 1, generated from the public use sample of over 100,000 persons in the 1900 census, coded by Samuel H. Preston and Robert L. Higgs, tells the tale. Clearly the disproportionate tendency of the Irish to settle in cities in the United States goes right back to the Famine, and cannot be dismissed by

reiteration of the shortcomings of census data.

In exploring the Australasian and Canadian data, Akenson does raise some fascinating issues for our understanding of the main emigrant stream which ended up in the United States. But he is so committed to his polemical objective that he fails to address the most interesting questions. He is right to remind us that the behaviour, and particularly the residence patterns, of immigrants are not solely determined by the cultural baggage they bring with them. He does not, however, tell us very much about what factors were important. We need to look at both the demographic structure of the different Irish emigrant streams and the opportunity structure of the receiving countries before we can assess how cultural predispositions fit into the whole picture. My own guess is that one of the most useful variables in explaining the urban-rural balance in immigrant settlement will be proportion of single females in the

immigrant stream — a proportion which was unusually high among Irish emigrants to the United States.

Furthermore, I suspect that there is an important spatial dimension to the problem which is independent of the rural-urban variable. In particular, distribution maps of Irish and German immigrants generated from the 1870 census data show a remarkable bifurcation — Irish overwhelmingly concentrated in the Northeast and Germans in the upper Midwest. Perhaps Ontario, where according to Akenson the overwhelming majority of Irish-Canadians settled, should be thought of as the nearest frontier farmland to Boston. Certainly a careful study of Irish settlement patterns in North America, irrespective of national boundaries, would be most welcome. Perhaps if we are lucky Kerby Miller will turn his hand to that task.

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TABLE 1
Persons included in 1900 public use sample of US Census:
Size of place of residence in 1900 by
origin and decade of immigration

	cities over 25,000	towns 2500- 25,000	rural: under 2500	N
Native white stock	17.1%	14.1%	68.8%	54,409
Nonwhites	12.8	8.9	78.3	11,826
Native born of:				
Irish fathers	54.5	18.7	26.8	4,112
other immigrant fathers	41.2	16.3	42.5	14,380
Immigrants who arrived:				
1850 or earlier				
Irish	48.3	17.6	34.1	205
other	38.7	19.8	41.5	393
1851-60				
Irish	53.9	20.9	25.2	282
other	41.3	15.9	42.8	697
1861-70				
Irish	60.3	16.9	22.7	343
other	40.7	14.6	44.7	1,198
1871-80				
Irish	67.5	17.7	14.8	348
other	43.7	17.0	39.3	3,693
1881-90				
Irish	72.8	16.5	10.8	474
other	52.2	16.3	31.5	3,693
1881-1900				
Irish	74.3	19.2	6.5	245
other	53.9	17.3	28.8	2,728
TOTAL	26.0%	14.3%	59.7%	96,962

Gay L. Gullickson, *Spinners and Weavers of Auffay: Rural industry and the Sexual Division of Labor in a French Village, 1750-1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press 1986).

GAY GULLICKSON OFFERS a worthwhile corrective to the usual studies of rural industry. The object of her study, the Norman village of Auffay, lay on the margins of putting-out networks. Only 10 per cent of male heads of household wove in the late eighteenth century, but spinning occupied 60 per cent of women. It is this last group and its shifting occupational pattern that interest the author. For Gay Gullickson, women's work in cottage industry formed "the linchpin both of the family economy and of the overall economy of the [region]." For it was this supplementary income that allowed poor peasants to remain in the village and this occupation that linked them to the national economy. The study traces the women's successive employment in spinning, weaving, and agriculture as developments in these sectors created new openings. Beginning with the last decades of the eighteenth century, when spinning was the primary occupation of women, and on to the early nineteenth century when they turned to weaving, the book closes in 1851, when a quarter of women worked on the land, and a similar ratio as weavers and seamstresses. By then, spinning only occupied 5 per cent of women. One should note, however, that in 1796 only 0.5 per cent of female occupations were "unknown," whereas this was the case of 27.7 per cent in 1851. Mechanical spinning reduced drastically the reliance on domestic spinners who thus lost their incomes. They could not move to the towns and work in the mills since their husbands would then be unemployed. At the same time, the expansion of weaving and improved agricultural methods created a shortage of hands and incited the breakdown of the existing sexual division of labour. Traditionally men had kept to the loom and the plough and women to the distaff and the barnyard. The desire to increase produc-

tion overrode customary concerns about what was proper and led to the ready employment of women. 1808 proved the watershed as three women were hired to weave. Yet males continued to monopolize the weaving of heavier cloths, for women were consciously assigned the production of lighter calicoes for which they received lower piece rates. On the whole, however, by the middle of the nineteenth century, men and women worked side by side both at the loom and in the fields. After a close look at marriage and the family, Gullickson concludes that such transformations did not lead to a reversal in sex roles. Women continued to be responsible for child rearing and household chores; male and female pastimes were segregated and although it was the women's supplementary earnings that allowed the men to meet in cafés, the women were not invited to join them.

The choice of the prosperous *Pays de Caux* challenges one of the premises of the proto-industrial model defined, expanded, and refined by Franklin Mendels and a number of other scholars. According to the theory, rural industries spread to areas of subsistence agriculture, encouraging a specialization between food-producing regions (with vast farms and migrant seasonal labour) and artisanal regions where near-landless peasants tilled their tiny plots and occupied their spare time with cottage industry (mainly textiles). Land fragmentation could be attributed to partible inheritance or to the higher returns, given increased demand, on rentals from small plots. This corner of Normandy fits none of these criteria. Primogeniture prevented intense fragmentation of holdings; large farms prevailed because the soil required heavy ploughs which only well-to-do tenant-farmers could afford. These farmers hired the land-poor peasants either as part- or full-time agricultural labourers, leaving them or indeed their wives to supplement their income by spinning or weaving.

It is unfortunate that the author did not choose to examine the causes of landlessness in her region. She presumes

rather than proves that it devolved from husbanding needs, yet similar conditions prevailed in northern France where peasants gradually accommodated themselves to smaller plots, once they found they could rely on industrial incomes. Although Gullickson writes that it does not matter how the peasants became landless as long as they were landless, tracing the process would have explained how a mixed agricultural and artisanal labour force suddenly became available in the region. The hypothesis seems to be that population grew and emigration lessened.

In fact, some of the more interesting data in this study is demographic. The region did not experience any significant population growth between 1750 and 1850, and therefore, again, does not fit the common proto-industrial model with its falling age at marriage and increased fertility. Gullickson has to posit an *initial* rise in population, in the form of reduced emigration, to account for the existence of a local labour pool. Once that occurred, numbers stagnated because industrial wages took the form of supplementary female earnings. Rural industry, therefore, had little impact on demographic behaviour which continued to be dictated by the occupation of the major breadwinner. Weavers and spinners married younger only during a brief transitional period (1805-17) when they expected steady incomes, but even this seems doubtful, for at other times this decade is described as economically depressed and hasty marriages or lack thereof ascribed to the disruptions of the Revolution and military conscription.

Although we are told that industry spread to the village because it suited the interests of the Rouen merchants, the actual organization of trade is far clearer for the nineteenth than for the eighteenth century. In the earlier period, most of the workforce seems to have retained its independence. While some received raw materials from the city merchants or their agents, most spinners sold their yarn on a weekly basis in a nearby market, an activity. Gullickson further argues, that formed one of the cores of female

sociability and that disappeared once domestic spinning declined. Yet nineteenth-century weavers clearly depended on the merchants and the arrival of the porter was a colourful affair. It is too hastily assumed that a similar putting-out network existed in the eighteenth century despite a tantalizing reference to local merchant weavers which is never pursued. But the organization of trade is not the author's major concern for the emphasis clearly lies on the changes in female employment.

Gay Gullickson makes an important argument about the relevance both of female work and female income and reminds us that proto-industrialization need not involve the whole labour force as it did in some regions. Yet one would have liked to know more about the tanning industry and artisanal and mercantile activities that occupied half of the men in the village in 1796 and nearly 40 per cent in 1851. It would not be surprising to find that changes in those sectors directed the village's development and that Gullickson overstates the importance of textiles and of women's central role in the economy. Furthermore, despite allusions to the changing needs of Rouennais putters-out and to the introduction of mechanized spinning and weaving, we are told little of what goes on beyond the village. Rouen, with its dark satanic mills, figures as a place of exile to be avoided at all costs. Nevertheless, we obtain a clear and eminently readable account of the role of women and of the changes in their occupations, their marriage strategies, and their family relations. As such, this book provides a welcome contribution to our understanding of the many facets of labour history.

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Catharina Lis, *Social Change and the Labouring Poor: Antwerp 1770-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1986).

IN CONTRAST TO MOST HISTORIANS of labour in the early nineteenth century, Catharina Lis has chosen to focus on the working class in a city that did not industrialize. She investigates the creation of an impoverished proletariat in Antwerp between 1770 and 1860.

In the thirteen chapters of her book, Lis systematically constructs her argument that the destitution of Antwerp's labouring poor was caused by the larger and still continuing phenomenon of capitalist expansion. "Pauperization in the nineteenth century cannot be related to the absence or presence of industrialization," she contends, but instead resulted from "the accelerated development of capitalism, which caused widespread social dislocation in the countryside and in the towns." (167) The industrial revolution was but one part of the phenomenon, she concludes.

On the edge of a significant industrializing region, the once flourishing Antwerp textile industries declined dramatically at the turn of the nineteenth century. Lis explains that entrepreneurs financed the commercial activities of the burgeoning port rather than investing in the mechanization of Antwerp's traditional textile industries.

Based on her initial description of the transformation of Antwerp's economy between 1770 and 1860, she asserts that whereas "men as well as women and children, young as well as old, strong as well as weak could win a meagre living" at the beginning of the period, by the nineteenth century "one type of work, based on male physical strength predominated." (35) The economic transition from a textile centre to a port city had "disastrous consequences" for the labouring poor of Antwerp, she asserts. (38) The formerly independent artisans from the declining textile industry, "who in growing measure had been thrown out of work," did not find employment in the

rapidly developing port. Instead, the physical strength of the uprooted country dwellers passing through Antwerp in search of labour won them the new jobs.

"Two thirds of the population had next to nothing," she explains. (16) They lived in increasingly crowded substandard housing and consumed less food and drink. The decline in child employment, the shift from full domestic employment to casual or intermittent labour outside of the home for women, and lower wages for men meant that most families were periodically forced to seek relief. Antwerp's labouring poor lived with the constant threat of destitution.

Lis condemns middle-class philanthropy as ineffective and self-serving, and dismisses public assistance as largely unavailable. The poor, she argues, survived only because they could rely on neighbourhood solidarity to see them through this "phase of acceleration in the development of capitalism." (168)

Lis guides her reader step by step through her argument, advancing methodically from one question to another, to her conclusion "that the so-called Industrial Revolution must be seen primarily as a phase of acceleration in the development of capitalism, entailing on the one hand the restructuring and reallocation of economic activities and on the other social dislocation on a massive scale." (168) She moves through her explanation with logical precision, effectively marshalling her statistical sources to answer each question concisely but comprehensively. At times, however, the people are only statistics. Their day to day lives and their city are submerged in the counting. Her descriptions do not allow us to imagine, for example, what life was like in a house with an average of seventeen square meters per head consuming 47.2 kg. of meat per year.

My major disagreement is not with the well-documented details of her explanation nor with her conclusion, but rather with the context in which she sets her study. As her justification for undertaking this project, she informs her reader in the introduction that until the late 1960s, "the Industrial Revolution was

deemed a fundamental divide: there lay, on one side, 'a world of scarcity,' and on the other, 'an affluent society.'" (2) The publication of Michael Harrington's study of poverty in America finally led a few historians to question the universally accepted assumption that industrialization had introduced universal affluence, she explains. Lis must be aware of the vigorous debate waged among historians over the course of the last century and a half over the consequences of the industrial revolution. But her bibliography, like her introductory justification, neglects the myriad of articles and books by such "pessimists" as J.L. and Barbara Hammond and Eric Hobsbawm. Had she discussed Antwerp in the context of Hobsbawm's rather than R.M. Hartwell's generalizations about industrialization, her study would have raised intriguing comparative questions not just between industrializing and non-industrializing regions, but between England and the continent.

Although Lis cites some of the regional studies of particular Belgian industries, she avoids the significant questions being raised by Belgian economic historians. J. Craeybeckx, H. Coppejans-Desmedt, J. Dhondt, J. Van der Wee, R. De Vleeshouwer, H. Hasquin, and P. Lebrun, to mention a few, have analyzed the uniquely Belgian relationship of the availability of capital and raw materials, dramatic political change, centralization, mechanization, and living standards. This comparison of the course of economic change in the second industrial nation with the standard English model of capitalist expansion is rarely heard outside of Dutch and French speaking circles.

Aside from these missed opportunities for comparative history, the logic of Lis's argument and the quantitative detail of the explanatory picture recommend this book to specialists and undergraduates alike. Lis provides invaluable insights into the process of the creation of a labouring poor during this period of rapid economic change.

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Hans Speier, *German White-Collar Workers and the Rise of Hitler* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1986).

THIS INTERESTING AND USEFUL BOOK has acquired the status of a historical document, quite apart from its analytical value as a careful and extensive survey of the circumstances of German white-collar workers in the first three decades of the century. On the one hand, it reflects the flowering of German sociology, which was beginning to generate an impressive cohort of critical young scholars in the permissive and supportive environment of the Weimar Republic, before the Nazi assumption of power brutally terminated these possibilities. A student of Emil Lederer and Karl Mannheim in Heidelberg, and then active as a characteristic member of the left professional intelligentsia in Berlin (as an editor for a large publishing house, and with affiliations to the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik*, the SPD's Labour Education department, and the City social service apparatus, married to a municipal pediatrician in Wedding), Speier was all set to publish his research when the new Nazi climate brought a change in the editors of the sponsoring series, and the publication was scotched. (As a bonus, the book prints two letters from Theodor Geiger, one of the two editors, reporting the veto exercised by the other, the Nazi academic, Andreas Walther). By then, Speier was already in emigration, teaching at the New School of Social Research in New York. An article from the manuscript was published in *Social Research* (1934) as "The Salaried Employee in Modern Society," and the first four chapters were produced in mimeographed (and virtually unobtainable) form under the aegis of Columbia University. But the work essentially disappeared from view until, with the encouragement of Jürgen Kocka (the leading latter-day specialist on the same subject), Speier resurrected the book in the series edited by Kocka, Helmut Berding, and Hans-Ulrich Wehler, the *Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft*,

which over the last ten years has become the key showcase for "critical" or "social science" history in the Federal Republic.

Thus the book is a perfect case study in the uneven constitution of sociology and social history as academic disciplines in twentieth-century Germany. There has been an understandable tendency to associate the fortunes of sociology during Weimar and emigration with the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research. But, of course, growing knowledge of Max Weber and his contemporaries should have told us that social research already existed on a remarkably broad basis before 1914, and the context of German sociology in the 1920s was far more rich and variegated than that familiar Frankfurt-focused image suggests. The same was true of the American emigration, where complex lines of filiation remain to be uncovered. For instance, an associate and co-generationist of Speier, Hans Gerth, was largely responsible for the early introduction of Weber in the English language, and his co-editor of the famous selections *From Max Weber* (1948). C. Wright Mills, also brought the influence of Speier and other German analysts of white-collar workers into the English-speaking world via his *White Collar: The American Middle Classes* (1951). Arthur Vidich, himself a student of Gerth at Wisconsin and the co-author of a volume on the "new middle classes" in the United States, usefully draws attention to these connections in this *Forward* to Speier's book. Speier's book also documents the growth of sociological — and political — interest in the burgeoning white-collar categories of employment between the wars, an interest pioneered before 1914 by Speier's teacher, Emil Lederer, who also found his way to the New School after 1933. The rediscovery of this interrupted critical sociological tradition has played a big part in the self-definition of social science history in West Germany, and as well as Speier both Gerth (with his sociology of the late-eighteenth century *German intelligentsia*), and Lederer (with a collection of his essays from 1910-

1940, introduced by Speier) have appeared in the *Kritische Studien*. In other words, this reflects an important piece of mid-twentieth century German and American intellectual history, although figures like Gerth, Speier, and Lederer typically fail to appear in the substantial literature on the German-American intellectual emigration (as in Martin Jay's *Permanent Exiles. Essays on the Intellectual Migration from Germany to America* (New York 1985), while — equally typically — a figure like Siegfried Kracauer, who also wrote about *Die Angestellten* (1930) always does.

If that is the book's symptomatic importance, what is its substantive contribution? Essentially, it provides a comprehensive introduction to the white-collar problem in the Weimar Republic. In a series of clipped analytical statements (few of the fourteen chapters are much longer than ten pages), Speier deals successively with the social structural characteristics, status, and social values (or, more exactly, "honour" or "social prestige." *Geltung* in Weberian terms), and political orientations of the white-collar sector. The first cluster of chapters deal with the internal complexity of the stratum, indicating the major sub-categories (clerical personnel in small enterprises, foremen, technical personnel, commercial employees in larger establishments, including saleswomen, lower personnel in giant establishments, typists, and machine operators, and finally non-civil servant government employees), and their various working situations, skill levels, social origins, opportunities for promotion, and status hierarchies. The middle group of chapters explores the issue of social prestige in terms of the white-collar employee's "particular perceptions of social value in German society," (8) arguing that the latter derived less from a common socioeconomic situation than from a contending plurality of orientations, including their perceived closeness to employers, demarcation against manual workers, levels and conceptions of educational attainment, larger political attitudes

towards the nation and the national interest, and so on. Third, Speier presents the development of white-collar organizations between the turn of the century and the collapse of the Weimar Republic.

If one thing emerges most strongly from Speier's account it is the complex heterogeneity of the white-collar sector, in all three of the above dimensions, from working situation through "social valuations" to political and trade union outlook. This is a salutary corrective to the common perspective which conflates white-collar employees too easily into a single category, whether for the purposes of sociological analysis or political mobilization. This process of careful disaggregation — which goes somewhat against the grain of the early discovery of the phenomenon (and its rediscovery in the 1960s as the "new working class"), which was more taken by its unified appearance or potential — is handled concisely and persuasively in the longish opening chapter (which in the English version is called simply "A Survey of the Stratum," as opposed to the original German, which explicitly stressed "The Variety of White-Collar Workers." The contrast between upper and middling managers, technicians, and foremen on the one hand, and "objectively" proletarianized shop assistants, typists, and office workers on the other, is particularly well done. The rationalization of the office was also an important development. The novel phenomenon of the "machine-operating employee" (via the introduction to the Adrema Addressograph, of which some 1,000 were in use in Cologne by 1930, or the widely used tabulating machine) both generated new expertise and simultaneously degraded older functions (as in the new division of labour required by the tabulating machine, in which the book-keeping knowledge of the male tabulator became serviced by the unskilled work of the female hole-punchers, checkers, and sorters).

This grasp of contradiction allows Speier to stress the relative indeterminacy in white-collar political allegiances

during the Weimar Republic, a view which he says was strengthened in the intervening forty years before the book's final publication. White-collar workers were actually quite divided in their political allegiance, distributing themselves among three national umbrella organizations — the Christian-National Gedag (593,800 members in 1931, or 34.1 per cent of all organized white collars), the Liberal-National GdA (392,850, or 22.6 per cent), and the Social Democratic Afa-Bund (465,591, or 26.8 per cent). Moreover, the 1918 Revolution produced a major radicalization of attitudes and behaviour, stimulating a general upsurge of membership in white-collar associations, a massive leap in the Socialist federation in particular (quadrupling in 1918-19 from 94,000 to 366,000 members), and a new willingness to think and behave in trade union ways. At the same time, however, in the later years of Weimar the tide ran more in favour of the right-wing Gedag, whose main affiliate, the German-National Association of Commercial Clerks (DHV) with 409,022 members in 1931, had a long tradition of radical right activity. As Speier says, in general "the salient feature of the unionization of salaried employees [during the Weimar Republic] was not their proletarianization," but "its animating political purpose: to preserve the status and esteem of salaried employees vis-à-vis blue-collar workers," and in the DHV this received an extra charge from the ideological militancy of a strong minority who "combined this trade union activity with anti-proletarian, anti-democratic, anti-semitic, anti-republican, and anti-feminist views." (139) But, taking the white-collar sector and the Weimar years as a whole, what this really bespeaks is the political *volatility* of the white-collar constituency, a point which also emerges from recent accounts of the Republic's electoral history. Some further support for this view is lent by Speier's comments on the greater radicalism of the Afa-Bund, as opposed to the Social Democratic blue-collar unions, during the economic crisis after 1919-30, when the younger and

more academically trained functionaries of the Afa-Bund evince a more radical and less compromising politics than the pragmatists of the Free Trade Unions, who bent over backwards to accommodate the rightward political trend, up to and including the Nazi *Gleichschaltung* itself.

This re-emphasizes Speier's point about the white-collar sector's general heterogeneity, and it is a pity from this point of view that he did not explore the values and outlooks of the various trade union blocs and sub-categories of employees in more detail. This ideological dimension is the weak part of the book, and the brief references to the Afa-Bund intellectuals (and the different ideological profiles of the DHV activists, GdA functionaries, and so on) suggest that the author's claims concerning the derivative and "parasitic" nature of white-collar values are too simple by far. In fact, when we combine Speier's remarks about politics with some of his salient distinctions regarding the differential sociology of the three federations' memberships (for example, the exclusively male composition and higher status bias of the DHV/Gedag, the similar biases of the GdA, and the technical as opposed to commercial and clerical bias of the Afa-Bund, together with its much stronger recruitment from female shop assistants and lower-grade office staff), we have the makings of a very interesting research agenda regarding the different bases of ideology formation in the three camps — about the different potentials the three white-collar federations were assembling in this larger political sense. Heterogeneous and lacking in a coherent value-system the white-collar sector as a whole may have been, but questions of consciousness may still be explored in more specific occupational and organizational contexts.

The relationship between the sociology of white-collar employment — the main locus of Speier's problematic — and the politics of the collapse of Weimar remains the under-developed part of Speier's analysis. There are other aspects

that could certainly be further developed. The impact of feminization in certain (low-status, subordinate, exploited) areas of office and retailing employment becomes especially interesting in view of recent attention to women's history in the inter-war years, and while present in the general texture of Speier's account, questions of gender deserve far more explicit and prominent attention. Nonetheless, this is an extremely useful addition to the literature.

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Donald Howard Bell, *Sesto San Giovanni: Workers, Culture, and Politics in an Italian Town, 1880-1922* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press 1986).

THIS CASE STUDY OF THE RISE and temporary fall of the Italian working class chooses as its scenery a factory suburb of Milan, one of the strongholds of the labour movement and its organizations. To-day, local government in Sesto is led by a Communist administration, while trade unions keep up to their traditions of political strength and cultural engagement. Sesto is, of course, both historically and presently, a privileged observatory to study the contradictions of industrial development in Italy.

Bell leads the reader through an accurate reconstruction of the history of the Sestese working class, from the advent of modern industry to the victory of Fascism. The aspects touched in this history include the relationship between workers and the Catholic Church, demographic make-up, the occupation of the factories, cultural and leisure activities, and the schism between Socialists and Communists. This partial list of themes is sufficient to indicate that the ambition of the book is to go beyond approaches traditionally adopted in this field.

This innovative agenda builds on established methods of interpretation developed in Britain and the United

States. For instance, Bell's analysis of the changes of the artisan legacy in Sesto (from the stress on individual autonomy to the increasing centrality of values of mutuality), is certainly based on the wealth of historical research on the subject since the seminal works by Edward P. Thompson.

The importance given to cultural aspects on the local level allows attention to single workers and informal types of grouping among them. Therefore we meet, along the pages of *Sesto*, machinists and operators involved in politics at that extremely interesting political level which is the intermediate one: militants active in the workshop, especially during the crucial period of the immediate post-war years. It is true that these are still the exceptional members of the working class: however they include younger and less-skilled workers, as well as recent immigrants. It is in fact quite relevant to follow the connection between political positions — reformism or maximalism in the Socialist party — and structural condition within the working class: the reformists based their strength on older, skilled factory workers and local artisans, the maximalists on other strata. Bell notes the tendency of the unskilled to gather in Catholic organizations, reinforcing a point made in many traditional interpretations.

Within such complex fragmentation, structural as well as cultural-political-religious, the historian must situate the advent of Fascism. Bell maintains, quite rightly I believe, that the capacity of local Fascists to defeat the working class stemmed from their abilities to call upon some of the same kinds of institutional and organizational networks. At the same time he recognizes that the workers' patrimony of institutions and culture was the basis of resistance to Mussolini's forces once they came to power.

The mimetic capacities of the Fascists have already been noticed by a number of scholars. Nowhere are they so evident as in the cultural field: time after time, place after place, the traditions, songs, and slogans of the left were plundered and

reversed. The physical locations of daily exchange were appropriated. The most striking example is that of inns and pubs and bars, places that Mussolini feared as nurseries of free talk, contagious, he claimed, like the malaria he claimed to eliminate from Italian swamps. The evocative names of such places appear in Bell's book: *Polo Nord*, *Trattoria Carducci*, *Quattro Gradini* (Four Stairs), names recurrent in towns and villages, slender but unmistakable signs of the inter-local validity of pre-fascist workers' culture.

This is indeed a major value of Bell's work: that in different ways, both on details and on major aspects, he tries to contrast theories which stress factory mechanization as a source of working-class consciousness and politicization, while showing that, on the contrary, preexisting worker culture and working-class community life played an important role. Bell is drawn to conclude that Sesto can be considered a microcosm reflecting events in other Italian zones and towns; but other works of the same kind are essential to pursue this line of interpretation.

From the methodological point of view, the book can be appreciated for its wide range of primary and secondary sources as well as for their combination. On the theoretical plan, I welcome the use of such concepts as identity, considered as a resource for resistance and readjustment both to industrial developments and to political violence or repression. The notion of public sphere, elaborated by Jürgen Habermas in connection with the political and cultural rise of the bourgeoisie in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has been reposed by Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge in terms of a proletarian public sphere. Although Bell does not explore the theoretical sides of this proposal, he has employed the concept empirically, hereby showing its fertility and potential.

It is intrinsic to any approach giving much relevance to cultures that continuities become evident even where breaks and ruptures have generally been seen. Perhaps not paradoxically, this can be applied to the overall tone of the book.

In spite of the innovations, the prevailing framework does not challenge political primacy over daily and cultural areas of life. In a similar way, the more local characteristics are often sacrificed to the general picture that the author aims to construct. Curiosity is left for the more anthropological aspects of the story, that I am sure Donald Bell could document, on the basis of his participation in the community and of the memories that even informally he must have come across. These remarks do not intend to diminish the value of this contribution to the history of the Italian working class, rather to point out that the way to historical innovation is open and can be continued.

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Adrian Shubert, *The Road to Revolution in Spain: The Coal Miners of Asturias 1860-1934* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 1987).

AN EVENT OF NATIONAL POLITICAL significance can often be given a new interpretation through a detailed social history of the site of the event in the period before it took place. In *The Road to Revolution in Spain*, Adrian Shubert has applied this technique to the two-week insurrection of Asturian coal miners in October 1934. He devotes half of his study to the mines and miners of the Asturias and half to union politics in the area. Shubert has two goals. First, he rightly contests sociological theories of mining communities which "start from the premise that workers' behaviour is determined by their social conditions." (17) Shubert denies that a single model of the mining community can be universally applied and therefore that such a model can be used to derive universal attributes of miners' behaviour. Shubert's critique is in line with recent social histories of miners, but few have made the diversity of miners' experience such a central thesis of their work. Second, Shubert seeks to use the history of the mines and miners of the Asturias to

supplement interpretations of the origins of the 1934 uprising in terms of Socialist planning or worker spontaneity.

In contrast to accounts of homogeneous miners' communities, Shubert sets out the divisions among Asturian miners (natives vs. immigrants, inside vs. outside workers) and the fragmentation created by numerous companies and the dispersion of small villages in which miners did not predominate. Many of the Asturian natives combined farming with mining. Native miners were more likely to work their way into better-paying production positions than transient immigrants. And piece rate production, Shubert contends, limited workplace cooperation.

The Asturian mines suffered frequent economic crises. The boom years of World War I were followed by a long depression in the 1920s and 1930s marked by mechanization, stricter workplace supervision, declining living conditions, and a somewhat greater dependence on immigrants. Shubert is ambiguous as to how far he thinks these post-World War I changes went in reducing the divisions he describes for the pre-war era; he does feel that they helped endow miners with a shared openness to radicalism. For Shubert, the 1934 miners were radical (like those described by his sociologists), but lacked the homogeneity these sociologists see as a basis of miners' radicalism. While Shubert speaks of "the work place ... providing the miners with the opportunity for overcoming the divisions inherent in work in the mines" (61) and of "[p]oor-and deteriorating-social conditions" as "things [miners] all experienced together more or less equally," (79) he does not mention a change in the nature of social and cultural divisiveness among miners during the 1920s and 1930s in his conclusion. (163-4) I think Shubert bypasses this issue because he assumes that given certain political conditions, proletarianization leads naturally to radicalization. Therefore he does not go beyond identifying the heterogeneity of the mining population to analyse whether Asturian miners' 1934

radicalism had a social and cultural component despite (or because of) this diversity. On the whole, Shubert's discussion of such matters is thin when compared to the recent historiography on miners in Europe and the United States.

The studies by M. Bulmer, D. Lockwood, and others which Shubert attacks are largely American British/northern European in inspiration. Some of what Shubert describes in the Asturias is similar to developments in southern French coal basins (although in line with his problematic the differences should receive special consideration). In any case, Shubert is right to question hypostatized models of the mining community. The problem is that he offers no alternative for understanding *social* relations among Asturian miners. He has opportunities for doing so. Shubert criticizes R. Blaumer for proposing that "the key factor in miner solidarity is after-work sociability." (18) But when discussing company efforts to overcome "the miners' notorious fondness for the tavern" (84), Shubert does not seek to challenge Blaumer on whether this might have been an element in the making of an "occupational community" (Blaumer's term) among Asturian miners. More serious is Shubert's failure to discuss the miner's family. Did some immigrant miners marry the daughters of native miners? Was there occupational endogamy and/or occupational inheritance among the core of lifetime miners? Would the presence of several family members performing different jobs in the mines (although not necessarily working at the same time) change the picture of a labour force sharply divided between inside and outside workers, and among various inside workers?

The chapters on union history focus on the national and regional leadership of various unions and on the Asturian miners' growing disenchantment during the 1920s and early 1930s with the Socialist miners' union's reliance on pressuring the state to ameliorate the effects of the crisis in the coal industry. Shubert's explanation of the October

1934 uprising is essentially economic and political: the economic difficulties of the 1920s and early 1930s created the conditions for miners' radicalization; disappointment with the Socialist union and the Republic, fear of fascism, and the formation of the Socialist/Communist/Anarcho-Syndicalist *Alianza Obrera* in the spring of 1934 gave an impetus to take up arms when the call came. This narrative is important, but insufficient. We need to know something about Asturian miners' culture in and out of the workplace to understand what it means to say that they launched a social revolution in October 1934.

This points to a lacuna in *The Road to Revolution in Spain*. Shubert ignores a central convention of books about places where important events took place. He does not bring together his interpretation of Asturian miners before 1934 and his account of the October 1934 uprising. A close look at the participants in the 1934 insurrection would have clarified Shubert's argument: did inside workers, native workers play a leading role in October 1934 or did all miners participate to the same degree? Shubert suggests that one social group — young miners — provided the impetus for the radicalism of October 1934 (153-4), but we learn little about their relationship to the cleavages stressed elsewhere in the book. In criticizing the archetypal "mining village," Shubert points out that Asturian miners did not live in isolated communities: did miners fight side-by-side with other Asturians or in separate groups?

Perhaps Shubert's real beef is not with sociologists' models, but with a tradition in social history which stresses the mobilization of social networks and cultural communities (even among heterogeneous populations) rather than radicalization due to immiseration or youthful revolt in explaining major social movements during periods when state power is in question. Were the October 1934 events a culmination of the previous 74 years, as the title of Shubert's book suggests, or a break with them, as occasional comparisons to the radicalism of

new, young factory workers in Europe in 1917-20 hint? (153) Only a social and cultural follow up on Asturian miners in 1934 would clarify this central issue in *The Road to Revolution in Spain*. And it would turn a promising monograph into a major contribution to work on coal miners and social movements in Europe.

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Robert Edelman. *Proletarian Peasants: The Revolution of 1905 in Russia's Southwest* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1987).

THE TITLE OF THIS BOOK appears an oxymoron: "proletarian" usually denotes those attitudes and patterns of collective behaviour that distinguish industrial workers from peasants and other social groups. In this case study of agrarian unrest during the 1905 Revolution, however, Robert Edelman demonstrates that peasants of the right-bank Ukraine defied those categories imposed by scholars and theorist on the various entities of society. They did not act like the rebellious peasants of conventional social models: "They were neither atavistic, millenarian, nor randomly violent." (175) Instead, they organized strikes, articulated specific demands consistent with their immediate interests, and provided mutual assistance to those lacking the resources to ride out work stoppages.

Why did the actions of right-bank peasants deviate so radically from prevailing typologies of peasant rebellion? Edelman explains their behaviour in terms of the peculiar economic developments of the Ukrainian provinces of Kiev, Podol'e, and Volynia. By the turn of the century, local nobles had transformed their estates into capitalist enterprises, specializing in the production of sugar beets. So profitable was this venture that right-bank landlords, unlike much of the Russian nobility during the post-emancipation period, had little need to sell or rent their land. Successful landlord

capitalism increased the hardships of the local peasantry: the burgeoning village population had even less opportunity than peasants in other parts of the empire to acquire more land. At the same time, however, small cultivators of the Southwest were not forced to leave the countryside and join the growing ranks of land-poor peasants who migrated to distant industrial centres. They supplemented the income from their meagre land allotments by hiring themselves out as day labourers on sugar plantations. Although no exact figures concerning the number of such labourers are available, Edelman provides ample evidence of the widespread employment of allotment-holding peasants. It was this experience as wage workers on capitalist estates, the author emphasizes, that induced right-bank peasants to copy the demands and tactics of urban workers in 1905.

Edelman's investigation of peasant protest in the Southwest not only advances Western scholarship on rural Russia, which has produced few local studies of agrarian revolt outside the Central Black Earth and mid-Volga regions. It also serves as a test case of the theories of peasant politics and rural rebellion that have engaged both scholars and activists for over a century. A useful introduction to these theories comprises the first chapter. Here, much attention is devoted to the ongoing debate between marxists, who stress the vulnerability of the peasant village to external forces, and the so-called culturalists, who emphasize the insular nature of the peasant community and the consequent persistence of village institutions. Chapter 2 examines the economic and social developments of the right-bank Ukraine prior to 1905, thereby establishing the historical context for the strike movement described in detail in the following two chapters. Based largely on primary sources, including local and regional archives seldom accessible to Western historians, this core section of the book confirms several current assumptions about the peasantry and challenges many others. On the one hand, it supports the prevailing notion concerning

the cohesion of the peasant village in its struggle with landlords and government officials. Any tensions between different elements of the village population were insignificant compared to their common hostility toward outsiders. The experience of right-bank peasants, on the other hand, belies the international consensus that middle peasants played the most active role in the countryside during the 1905 Revolution: the numerically superior poor peasantry dominated in the Southwest. Local female cultivators, moreover, revealed little of that conservatism invariably attributed to peasant women: they not only participated in strikes, but sometimes assumed their leadership. Nor did landless agrarian workers display the political militance ascribed to them by some Marxists: their actions bore a remarkable resemblance to the behaviour of Marx's *lump-proletariat*. Village institutions also proved more vulnerable than culturalists have allowed. The *skhod* or assembly of heads of households acquired a completely new function in 1905: it became a strike committee. Similarly, elders were ignored or dismissed if they blocked the strike movement. Indeed, as the author advises in his brief conclusion, Marxists and culturalists "would do well" to revise their concepts and categories.

Edelman's book grapples with one of the most fundamental problems confronting students of early twentieth-century Russia: identifying the discrepancies in behaviour patterns within broad social groups. *Proletarian Peasants* carefully documents the regional disparities that came to the fore in rural Russia during a revolutionary situation. It also shows that right-bank peasants reverted to more conventional forms of agrarian protest in 1907, when the regrouping of landlords and government forces reduced the effectiveness of strikes. By concluding his study at this point in time, however, Edelman leaves some important questions unanswered. Did continued wage labour on capitalist estates exert any influence on the *mentalité* of right-bank peasants during the following decade? Did the

strike movement have any significant residual effects on village institutions? Did women's active participation in strikes have any long range repercussions? Did the aftermath of the 1905 Revolution see the progressive erosion of patriarchal village tradition? An investigation of these issues would help clarify the relationship between the competing identities of right-bank peasants who straddled both the traditional world of pre-capitalist village agriculture and the more modern economy of the capitalist plantation. Despite this unfinished business, Edelman's book is a welcomed addition to scholarship on the peasantry in Russia and elsewhere.

Christine Johanson
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Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (New York: Oxford University Press 1986).

THE APPEARANCE OF CONQUEST'S TEXT coincided almost precisely with the first stirrings of *glasnost* in the USSR, and with the efforts of a number of writers, Soviet and nonsoviet, to reexamine the history of agricultural collectivization, the blankest of "blank spots" in that country's history. It seems appropriate, therefore, to try to situate his conclusions within the spectrum of recent discussions.

Conquest believes that collectivization produced a catastrophic loss of life and caused permanent harm to Soviet agriculture. Today hardly anyone would disagree with either proposition. Mainstream Soviet writers will argue that peasants paid an enormous — albeit necessary — price for the building of a modern military-industrial state. More critical commentators, Soviet and nonsoviet, insist the price was too high, and dispute the very notion of necessity. Meanwhile Soviet economic reformers are grappling with the inefficiencies of an over-bureaucratized agricultural system in which resources (both human and

material) are squandered and productivity stagnates.

To acknowledge that millions suffered and died does not, however, end the discussion. There is still the question of how many millions, and the even more contentious issue of why they died, of who or what was to blame. Conquest's arguments on each of these points need careful and critical scrutiny.

On the death toll of collectivization the historical evidence is (not by chance) thin. The easiest way to estimate the loss of life is to extrapolate from census results, but publication of the Soviet census of 1937 was wholly suppressed, and the 1939 census that followed is regarded with more than a little suspicion. Using statistics from earlier years, Conquest has attempted to calculate how large the Soviet population should have been in 1937 or 1939, and concludes ("conservatively") that 14.5 million peasants died — roughly half as a result of direct persecution and the rest from man-made famine. This figure exceeds the total number of deaths for all countries in World War I.

Conquest's method seems straightforward, but it rests on shaky assumptions. Would the birth rates of the mid-1920s have held steady throughout the following decade despite massive social changes (rural-urban migration, overcrowding, dislocation of family life, heightened female workforce participation)? Can one distinguish between infants who died and babies who, due to birth control or maternal infertility, were never conceived? What can death rates of the previous decade tell us about normal mortality in the 1930s? Conquest, knowing little demography, and apparently considering that any attempt to argue for lower rates of mortality than he asserts can be nothing less than an apology for Stalinism, has in fact produced a worst-case scenario. Far from conservative, his estimates of mortality greatly exceed those of most other authorities — including critical eyewitnesses such as William Chamberlin and present-day demographers such as Barbara Anderson.

Conquest distinguishes between two

groups of victims: the targets of the dekulakization campaign, who were stripped of their possessions, deported under the harshest conditions to the most remote and forbidding corners of the USSR, or executed more directly; and the famine casualties of 1932-33. In both cases he assigns full blame to Stalin and the top Soviet leaders, who decreed forced-march collectivization and "the liquidation of kulaks as a class" and set the grain quotas that left peasants starving. The famine, in Conquest's account, was entirely man-made, an intentional measure to force peasants to submit to the wishes of the regime. It was, moreover, a "genocidal" campaign directed against the independence-minded Ukrainian minority within the Soviet population.

The author's concentration on the Ukrainian experience does not prevent him from describing the suffering of other nationalities (Kazakhs in particular), but only in the Ukrainian case does he use the term genocide. Without denying that the Ukraine bore a heavier burden than other territories, one must ask whether this terminology is appropriate. Did the Stalin leadership set out with deliberate intent to destroy one ethnic population while tolerating others? Or did Ukrainians rather have the misfortune to be concentrated in regions which, for economic and perhaps climatic reasons, experienced the greatest hardship and loss of life? Deaths in adjacent areas of the lower Volga and North Caucasus seem to have been as heavy among Russians and other nationalities as among Ukrainians.

Emphasizing the destructive, manipulative power of the Soviet leadership and the suffering of the victims, the author tells us little about the nature of Soviet society — about peasants who survived, or local officials who implemented collectivization, or city dwellers and industrial migrants whose future also depended on the outcome. Consider a few alternative scenarios: 1) The flaws of an ill-conceived plan were compounded by natural disaster as excessive grain quotas left the countryside unprotected in the face of drought and crop failure. 2) Coer-

cive and exhortative efforts "from above" were mirrored by zealous and even hysterical initiatives "from below": directives were misunderstood and misapplied, producing chaotic disruption and devastation. 3) The peasants, through suffering and resistance, proved that the regime's power was not limitless: collectivized agriculture in its final form (circa 1935) was significantly different from the system proposed in 1928-29, reflecting some measure of adjustment and interaction between rulers and ruled.

Propositions such as these — which by no means exhaust the range of recent scholarship — are inherently no less plausible than Conquest's version of events. They do not exculpate Stalin and his cronies, but they do change the terms of indictment. They also direct the historian's attention to different bodies of evidence from those that Conquest has used, and raise different questions about the lessons of collectivization.

The story of collectivization needs closer, more careful study than has hitherto been possible. *Harvest of Sorrow* has succeeded in bringing the topic to the attention of a wider public, but will not provide a useful foundation for future research. Its demonological approach obscures the diversity and complexity of the problem, ignoring the issues that Hannah Arendt summarized so well as the banality of evil.

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Lewis H. Siegelbaum, *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1931-1941* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988).

THE SOVIET STATE was developing its institutions since its inception in 1917, but it is widely acknowledged that the 1930s played a particularly important role in shaping the whole system. What happened then helped make the USSR powerful but also saddled it with a heritage called "Stalinism" and with an institution-

al grid that is choking the country nowadays and proves to be very resistant to change.

At the heart of both the success and the malfunctions that became deeply embedded in the "model" of the 1930s were the methods employed in those years to overcome the country's backwardness: coercively accelerated economic growth, speed oriented industrialization with a very one-sided preference for heavy industry, ruthless "collectivization" of the peasants. The five-year plan launched by the government was a novelty that attracted enormous interest the world over, and so was "stakhanovism" — a phalange of record-breaking workers that appear in September 1935 — that can be seen as either an episode, or something more weighty, according to the interpretation one chooses. The methods adopted by the leadership to keep their plans rolling created a host of effects, some just passing, other longer lasting. Those effects are still hotly debated by scholars and assume a particular sharpness and intensity in the discussions that are raging nowadays in the Soviet Union. Were other methods available that could have helped to solve problems and spare the country some of the most revolting chapters in its history? This problem of "alternative" concerning a period that is still heavily under-researched is fascinating — although Professor Siegelbaum, wisely, does not venture into it. He wants to know "what really happened" an ideal or an impossible dream bequested to historians by Ranke — but he is also keenly aware of "the mythological labyrinth" that has to be straightened out in order to understand the events. One of Siegelbaum's great merits is that he is aware of some of the broader trends that either predated the plan-era or were triggered by it and went well beyond what leaders expected or could really handle. In a short time span thousands of large factories were built and old ones were renovated and provided with a mass of modern equipment, initially mostly imported. Unfortunately, "the human factor" was not yet ready for a task like that. Therefore, the influx of modern

technology was accompanied by an influx of a crude or very poorly skilled labour force and by rather speedily and poorly trained technological and managerial layers. On top of it, the problem was obviously more complicated than just installing and learning to operate machines. A large factory is already a complicated entity, but a whole industrial system is of an even higher order of complexity and there was another, broader dimension still — namely the whole socio-economic and political entity that took shape in those years. All three dimensions emerging simultaneously, in the wake of the hectic economic development and without much chance given to graduate transitions and adaptations, could not but engender deep imbalances, the inadequacy of the available cadres being just one of them. A whole set of such imbalances produced very sharp tensions and crisis phenomena, and — in fact — the whole period can be characterized as a protracted social and political crisis. Leaders desperately tried to control the situation, including by mass terror but also through a variety of policies aiming at motivating people to handle their tasks efficiently. Or handle them somehow at least. It is no wonder that a situation like that created a climate encouraging short-cuts and miracle-remedies. Stakhanovism belongs to this class of policies. It was initially inspired by an experiment organized by a party secretary in one of the Donbass coal pits who proposed to Aleksei Stakhanov, a miner of peasant extraction, to break a productivity record. The experiment succeeded and "the method" was soon taken over by the Centre (Ordzhonikidze, the Commissar of heavy industry first, Stalin somewhat later) who believed it presented a great lesson and prospect. It seemed to illustrate to all concerned the enormous productivity potential present in the system that was wasted by either poor workmanship or poor management, or both. Promoting and expanding a movement of heroic performers bore a promise of a great leap forward in the sluggish coal mining industry and in industry at large, both suffering from

quality and productivity problems. Renewed prestige for Stalin's industrialization and for his brand of socialism as well as new lustre for the Soviet working class could also, hopefully, be secured in this way.

Was this policy an effort to pay more attention to the working class and enhance its prestige in the system, after some years of purely pro-managerial and pro-cadres policy? or was it just a step, simply, in the productivity battle? Stakhanovism lent itself to be a model for workers, but also a whip against the managers and technicians, or some in-between function. A stakhanovite could be seen as a hero, or just a highly motivated and efficient worker, but in the eyes of many workers and managers he could simply be a villain. Central policy hesitated between the possible functions for stakhanovism and never really made up its mind. Many managers and workers did not care for "heroics," believing that industry needed education and organization on a mass scale and workers could not become record-breakers of heroic proportions without managers preparing special conditions for the select few. But even those few could not continue to excel in feats of high productivity because the over-centralized and minutely "planned" industrial system was not capable of providing conditions for smooth supplies of materials, spare parts and instruments. Serious by only spotty spurts of productivity immediately ran afoul of shortages in transportation or coordination. A lasting and widespread productivity achievement needed much more than the worker's zeal. Stakhanovism itself could be seen as an illustration of the ills of over-centralization. It was imposed as a policy from the center, transformed into a campaign and soon began to exhibit what many campaigns suffered from: "sham proclamations without the real participation of the masses" — that is a quote by Siegelbaum from a party critique of a policy of productivity in the early thirties. It can equally be applied to stakhanovism despite the bigger inputs and pressures

from above invested in it compared to the earlier "shock workers" campaign.

Be it as it may, initially the launching of the stakhanovite wave soon produced a very curious mixture of menaces and exhortations directed toward the factory technostrucutre, enjoining them to actively promote the movement or else face accusations of sabotage. There was also a lot of workers' opposition and resentment of the stakhanovites and the privileges accorded them. But the main pressure was applied to managers to shape up and match the new energy of outstanding workers that these managers were supposed to organize in the first place. Persecutions followed with chilling, even paralyzing effects on managers and technicians. Soon dissensions at the top could be discerned, with Stalin, probably also Zhdanov, pressing for penalizing the cadres and Ordzonikidze, the first to realize what persecutions were doing to his realm — heavy industry — demurring and seeking to protect his cadres from accusations of sabotage. It all merged during these fateful years, 1936-38, in a broader maelstrom of purges, but the purges "also led to deemphasis and eventual marginalization of stakhanovism itself" says the author. Once the big purges were stopped the pro-management, "pro-bosism" policy resumed and management were now allowed to define "a stakhanovite" according to their wishes because, as the author points out, "stakhanovism could ... be made and unmade merely by the alteration of the criteria by which they were distinguished from other workers." Accordingly, managers could transform it into a fiction or replace it with other forms of stimulation although still keeping the term in the vocabulary.

These are only some of the points inspired by or borrowed from Siegelbaum. But his monograph is much richer. It is thus far the best entry into the Soviet industrial scene, from above and from below, presented with remarkable competence and good judgement. He helps us understand the organization of labour and problems of stimulation; we learn about norm setting and shop-floor foremen; we

get a good historical overview of forms of labour organization and "socialist competition" through the decade that interests him and we should commend him, in particular, for his knowledge of the labour process in the coal mines where stakhanovism was invented. One has sometime the impression that he might have worked himself, or at least observed mine-shafts in operation.

Also interesting is his study of the cultural myths associated with stakhanovism and sometime one even marvels whether he didn't succumb himself a tiny bit to some of them. But this impression is just a result of Siegelbaum's cautious approach and readiness to examine claims and counterclaims, without dismissing everything out of hand as sham — another trap into which some authors fall. The period was ripe with myth-making and "potemkin villages." But he process itself was no "potemkin village" and the author convincingly maneuvers between myth and reality and comes out with his scholarly realism intact. He knows and shows that the initial aims of stakhanovism failed already in the early months of 1936 and this, he suggest, "was to have serious, indeed fatal, consequences for many who have been called up to lead this movement." He thus leads us, briefly, into "the great purges," as one has to, being tempted as most authors are, to link them to their own topics in the hope of finding the clues to these momentuous phenomena. He creates the impression that somehow purges and stakhanovism are two alternative policies: one having failed, the other followed. This is how one could read this statement of his: "It has already been suggested that police terror largely replaced stakhanovism as a device for bringing pressure upon industrial cadres." What he actually meant is unclear, but relations between stakhanovism and the purges are tenuous, or might have just been incidental. The triggers of the purges are still murky. Clouds were accumulating for sometime over the heads of all the cadres, not just in industry, and in sectors where stakhanovism and labour productivity

were irrelevant. The was on the cadres still awaits to be deciphered and, in the meantime, Siegelbaum's fine study gives us enough to ponder over the industrial development and policies, their obvious crises in the later 1930s and the very real and extremely complicated problem of productivity in a situation of social, political and economic flux.

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Moshe Semyonov and Noah Lewin-Epstein. *Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water: Noncitizen Arabs in the Israeli Labor Market* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1987).

THIS INTELLECTUALLY FOOLISH and politically dishonest book, dealing with the position of Arab workers from the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza in the Israeli socio-economic hierarchy, purports to make two contributions to scholarship. It claims to be the first study of the process of "integration" of noncitizen Arabs into the Israeli labour market. And, in the authors' words "on the theoretical level, it discusses the findings in light of sociological theories regarding the dynamics of labor market stratification in ethnically heterogeneous societies." In so doing it manages to go doubly and dangerously astray right from the outset.

What is involved in the exploitation of Palestinian labour in the Israeli economy is precisely the opposite of "integration," even in the limited sense that guest workers in Western Europe might be said to be integrated into the host economy, while remaining socially ostracised and politically impotent. The authors' comparison of the Palestinians labouring in Israel, not to the position of the inhabitants of one of the Bantustans functioning in South Africa with the help of Israeli investors and military advisors, but to Italian guestworkers crossing the Swiss border, would call forth a bellylaugh were it not so obscene. This must

represent the first time in history when an industrial host devotes so much energy to dynamiting the houses of its guest workers.

The authors waste little time in showing the ideological flag. The origins of the notorious slave labour system, which forms one of three pillars (the Congressionally supervised rape of the American taxpayer being the second, and arms sales to the world's pariah regimes the third) on which Israeli wealth has been built since 1967, they impute to "lack of economic opportunity in the West Bank and Gaza Strip." This makes it "necessary for many of these workers to seek employment in Israel." Of course, the natives, being somewhat primitive, get "integrated" from a lower income base and poorer educational attainment level than Israeli workers, thus placing themselves at a disadvantage before the impartial judgement of the marketplace. But ultimately it is the law of the market, not that of military overseers, that counts.

That being the case, the authors could afford to ignore such adventitious institutional details as the wanton destruction of traditional agrarian society by massive confiscations of land on which first, Jewish paramilitary colonies, and then dream homes for American retirees could be built. They could bypass as irrelevant the diversion of the bulk of the water resources away from Arab farms, and the military policy of forcibly capping Arab farmers' wells, in order to satisfy the demands of Israeli industry with its appetite for the cheap labour of uprooted peasants, not to speak of the need to keep the swimming pools in the Jewish settlements filled. And it is of no consequence that Palestinian produce is largely banned from Israel if it threatens Jewish farm output while the occupied territories are forcibly opened to the dumping of Israeli goods.

Nor, given that the market determines all, did the authors need to be concerned with Israeli actions to preclude the emergence within what they quaintly call the "administered territories," of local industrial alternatives to agricultural

employment the refusal of licenses (required for almost everything) to any but handicraft style shops, the neo-mercantilist trade policy, the seizure of foreign exchange transferred in by the PLO or the Jordanian government to support local development initiatives.

Once native labour rendered surplus by "lack of economic opportunity" went hunting for work off the reservation, the authors impute the observed income differential to two factors. The most important is "extreme occupational segregation" which can perhaps be taken as a polite reference to another aspect of Israeli "administration" — the savage busting of Palestinian trade unions, while forcing all Palestinian workers wishing to legally participate in the Israeli labour market to pay full taxes, social security charges and Histadrut membership fees. The tax money gets recycled back not into economic development, but to underwrite the cost of military occupation: the social security charges go to support the cost of indexation of wages and savings instruments and the subsidization of basic commodities — for Israeli citizens only; and the Histadrut fees help sustain its growth as an industrial giant in its own right while the "union" watches indifferently as Palestinian workers are discriminated against in terms of pay and conditions and are hired and hired at the whim of their employers.

As to the role of the second factor, "ethnicity," it can be best summarized, as the authors of this laundry-manual would never do, by the record of the Israeli Supreme Court — in the last half of 1986 it hear 59 complaints from Palestinians in the territories being "administered" by military overlords, settler goon squads and secret police, and rejected 59 of them.

To be sure, the authors take note of the fact that, in addition to the formally organized labour flows, there is a black market — which they impute to a reluctance on the part of the Palestinians to pay taxes. That the black market labour force has been estimated by some observers to total three times the size of the formally organized part apparently has no special

bearing on the question of relative wage determination.

For when all is said and done, the authors conclude, "social and economic forces of the labor market have governed the incorporation of noncitizen Arabs in Israel, despite laws and regulations."

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Ronald P. Dore, *Flexible Rigidities: Industrial Policy and Structural Adjustment in the Japanese Economy, 1970-80* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1986).

THIS STUDY PROVIDES much needed insight into the inner workings of the Japanese economy both at the micro and macro levels. With a catchier title, it actually is an alternate version (duly acknowledged) of another 1986 publication by Dore, with contributions by Koji Taira, put out by the International Labour Office (ILO) simply as *Structural Adjustment in Japan, 1970-82*. While much of both are the same, this book has short introductory and concluding chapters not found in the ILO volume. Dore's main stress here is on the question of why foreign competitors are unable to penetrate the Japanese market (the ILO book is one of a series of comparative country studies and, while certainly related, has its focus on Japan's relatively successful transition through the recent upheavals in the world economy). His answer lies mainly in what he believes are unusually tight-knit relationships among firms which serve, rather than compete with, one another and, as a result, foster adaptability and innovation.

This rejection of the "invisible hand," Dore claims, gives Japanese enterprises a "natural immunity" against foreign intrusion, observed in

a dense web of 'relational contracting' between firms specializing in different parts of the production process, or between manufacturers and trading companies, between trading companies and retailers — relationships which are backed not only by their foundation in trust

and mutual objective, but by all the things that trust means, quality guarantees and security of supply. (248)

All this is best brought out in the last third of the book's 278 pages which are devoted to a highly detailed, at times somewhat discursive, in-depth study of the declining Japanese textile and garment industries. Once again, Dore displays his admirable talents as a field observer reporting upon grass-roots human organizations and social relations in a way that economic analysis alone almost never captures. Included are eight nitty-gritty vignettes (not found in the ILO book) of textile and garment company groups, families, and individuals. These three chapters alone make the book worth reading.

In the first two-thirds of the study, Dore examines the overall Japanese economy (a variety of statistical tables is very useful). His portrayal of "organized capitalism" in Japan rests on the assumption of a high degree of coordination, cooperation, and consensus among employers, labour, and government. In tracing the major economic changes Japan experienced in the 1970s, he shows how each of the dominant institutions adjusted its behaviour because of close basic ties among them. The economic traumas of those years could be readily coped with, Dore claims, because of long experience in the preceding decades with constant structural change. Thus, despite a slower growth rate by half, Japan not only could avert the threat of large-scale unemployment but also continue to enjoy rises in income, improvements in skills, and advances in technology. Unlike the Western economies, which he believes are far more rigid and stagnant, Japan successfully weathered the storms of environmental pollution, runaway inflation, and uncompetitive industry.

Basically, Dore argues, Japan's resiliency emerges from the vast array of small family enterprises (of which textile and garments are the exemplars) which readily innovate and cut costs through their business and social ties with one

another and even with the relatively few highly concentrated, large-scale conglomerates. Especially in the producer goods area, Dore contends, "the alternative with which a lot of these trading relations have to be compared is, indeed, not a free cut-throat market, but intra-firm transfers." (81) This is a type of economic dualism that contributes to rather than detracts from rising productivity. Further, these relationships receive blessings, and as necessary, protections from an able "political-bureaucratic" government elite which has the task of shaping a national consensus on economic policy that actually preserves the dual structure. As a result, Dore says, Japanese economic growth has been so rapid that substantial parts of Japan are now "post-industrial" even as industrialization remains incomplete. Dore admits that even with such a capacity to adjust to change and control markets in the long run, Japan is not able to keep out all foreign competition. Economic expansion and restructuring themselves make room for some increase in manufactured imports from countries that develop comparative advantages such as the labor-intensive NICs. (Also, Japan gives in to vociferous trading partners who demand reduction of persistent Japanese trade surpluses and revaluation of the yen against the dollar.) Inevitably, Dore seems to agree, the Japanese economy must become more open, but doing so entails extended delays as Japanese industry adapts to the pressures.

In dealing with employment adjustment, Dore gives special attention to labour-management relations at the plant level. He finds a highly active process of collective bargaining (an appendix describes labour disputes in two textile companies) and close joint consultation. Also, he emphasizes the absence of government in these activities even though in the 1970s a number of new important laws were enacted to meet the threat of rising unemployment. Yet, "the consensus shared between government officials and corporate managers is shared also by the leaders of labor unions." (148)

(The ILO version has a fuller treatment contributed by Taira of the Japanese labour market behaviour during the period.)

Thus, tripartite participation in policy making at various levels — national, industrial, and enterprise — seems also to be an essential ingredient in Japan's economic flexibility. Dore's study of textiles and garments provides strong supporting evidence, although additional case studies from other industries are needed for a full test (the ILO book contains such a study by Taira of consumer electronics, an expanding rather than declining industry.)

Dore's research argues for more jointly administered sectors, rather than free markets, in modern "mixed" economies in order to achieve growth and stability. Although the study greatly helps to explain Japanese experience in this respect, it does not bring out the contrasts with other advanced market economies as sharply as it might. Perhaps the differences are made more evident in *Taking Japan Seriously*, a "companion volume" Dore also has recently authored.

Solomon G. Levine
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Hill Gates, *Chinese Working Class Lives: Getting By in Taiwan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1987).

FOR NORTH AMERICANS, Taiwan's workforce remains both a mystery and a threat — a faceless mass whose productivity and low wage demands siphon jobs from a widening range of industries, yet few of us have any sense of the price Taiwan's miracle economy exacts from its own workers. Veteran anthropologist Hill Gates's study of Taiwanese history and working-class culture provides and engrossing examination of life amidst a sustained 10 per cent annual growth rate in GNP.

Gates's enquiry relies on interview conducted in late 1980 among subjects known to her during the previous

decade's field work. As such, *Chinese Working Class Lives* is not overburdened with statistical data; indeed, labour historians concerned with cross-national, quantitative study of third world workers will be disappointed by the dearth of all but the simplest price and wage series and demographic information. The oral history technique Gates employs is useful, though without more basic data concerning Taiwanese working-class life, her study lacks necessary reference points. Much of Gates's discussion relies on topical essays that preface her interview subject's autobiographies. Taken singly, each of these are informative; but paired as they are throughout the text, the essays and autobiographies seldom fit together as well as they might. Still, historians and social scientists will find this useful introduction to Taiwan's socio-economic development.

Although Japanese occupation of Taiwan between 1895-1945 brought the beginnings of modern industry and factory life, the island remained largely agricultural until the late 1950s, when over 50 per cent of its population engaged in farming. With the boom of the later 1960s, the economy shifted from agriculture to industry; by the mid 1980s, less than one third of the island's families farmed, with many among the group drawing a sizeable share of their incomes from non-farm sources. Gates details this economic watershed by examining the efforts of Taiwanese families to live lives that conform to widely-accepted cultural ideals of traditional family and the "good life." What Gates does not make clear is that such aspirations, rather than what pundits variously term the "Confucian work ethic," or "Chinese economic culture", is what drives Taiwan's economy, as it does those of Hong Kong, Korea, and Singapore. In all these economies, entrepreneurship is less a search for short-term gains than it is the creation of lasting security for present and future generations.

The central chapters of Gates's study poignantly outline the poverty that punishes weakness, failure, or ill fortune

in Taiwan. For most Taiwanese, demanding physical labour is the rule. Shopowners typically open early, close late, and rarely take holidays, even at lunar New Year's. Modern factory workers often put in six-seven day weeks at ten or more hours daily. Taiwanese workers made clear to Gates their employment preferences. Lowest on this occupational scale is "bitter labour" (ku gong) that includes heavy, repetitive work characteristic of pre-mechanized construction. For instance, on small jobs women still transport cement, bricks and other materials by shoulder pole. Less taxing physically is the service sector, which includes domestics, restaurant, hotel, shop help, and "entertainers" — a euphemism for the large numbers of bar girls and prostitutes in the island's larger cities. Most desirable are factory positions, particularly those in modern, export-producing plants run by large American or Japanese concerns.

Despite the finely-shaded autobiographies of older workers that so richly show (in Charles Tilly's phrase) how ordinary people "live the big changes" in Taiwan's development, none of Gates's interview subjects included members of the modern work force so crucial to the island's recent success. Instead, she profiles this group in the simplest terms.

As a group, modern factory workers share two basic traits: youth (50 percent are between 15 and 14 years old) and rural origins. Young Taiwanese take factory jobs in hopes of funding night school courses. Few, however, manage the demanding schedule of work and study. Many parents depend on the unmarried children to remit all their earnings, net of personal expenses, to help with family expenses, particularly the costs involved in educating younger sibs. These pressures are particularly intense on young women workers, who are obliged to contribute to family income before traditional patrilocal marriages bind them economic to their husbands' households.

Unlike the storied practice of "lifetime" employment among major Japanese firms, work in modern

Taiwanese factories is rarely long-term. Personnel managers discourage employment of older women as does the customary pattern of early marriage and child-bearing. Mean abandon factory work once growing families outstrip wages suited to single workers. Mature male workers typically aspire to life as independent small businessmen beyond the factory system.

Taiwan's modern industrial sector depends on what Gates's terms a "part-time proletariat" of young, unmarried workers who stream through the factories. When downswings in the economy occasion widespread lay-offs, these workers retreat to the "parental" economy of the farm or small business. Above all, this is what has long made Taiwan attractive to multinational corporations: a cheap, abundant supply of workers who do not bargain for wages, strike, agitate through political parties, or even settle in workers' districts that might foster a collective sense of victimization.

The recent passing of Chiang Ching-kuo, Chiang Kai-shek's son and political heir, promises relief from authoritarian KMT rule, chiefly through the prospect of legalization of other political parties and greater personal freedom. Gates's present analysis of the Taiwanese workforce does not speculate on how these important changes are affecting, or might affect, the lives of the children of the older workers she knows and admires. Given Gates's twenty years of commitment to the study of the island's working class, one hopes her future research will grow beyond the deftly crafted ethnography she presents.

C.G. Watson
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Otto Jacobi, Bob Jessop, Hans Kastendiek, and Marino Regini, eds., *Economic Crisis, Trade Unions and the State* (London: Croom Helm 1986).

LIKE THE PARALLEL VOLUME on "Technological Change, Rationalization and Industrial Relations," this book is a

collaborative project of West German, Italian, and British scholars. The articles are based on conference papers delivered in 1983, and updated to the following year. There are trios of articles on each of the three countries. They focus on relations between trade unions and states since 1973. Generally, they explore the implications of "the end of the Keynesian consensus" — in particular, the apparent reversal of the trend towards corporatism in Western Europe. The introduction and opening trio of essays on the current crisis attempt to place the more specific studies that follow in comparative perspective, and to relate the analyses to current theoretical debates.

The section on Italy is undoubtedly the weakest. The translations are inept, but one suspects that the original Italian was not always much clearer. All three papers focus on the trilateral agreement of January 1983 between the Italian government, the labour federations, and the Confederation of Industry. The agreement seemed to herald a new corporatist era in Italy, but it broke down in little more than a year. The authors attempt to explain how the agreement came about and why it was impossible to sustain, but they fail to shed much light on these matters. One thing does become clear, however. The 1983 agreement was a sign of weakness on the part of the unions. At best, it gave them access to decisions about implementing capital's agenda, controlling the deficit and reducing labour costs. When the CGIL (the main labour central) refused to agree to the Craxi government's proposals in 1984, the latter were simply implemented by decree. Labour's cooperation was not essential.

The essays on West Germany reveal something similar. As Otto Jacobi shows, the German unions responded to economic crisis with "moderation." Although they pressed their Social Democratic allies in the Schmidt government to remain loyal to Keynesianism, they accepted the need for "restructuring" the West German economy. This meant acquiescing in measures to cut labour costs, reduce social expenditures, and in-

crease profits. Generally, as Kastendien-diek and others point out, the unions have pursued a corporatist strategy that defeats their ostensible objectives. Their very offer to "cooperate" involves an acceptance of capital's agenda — and a promise not to mobilize labour against it. Since there is nothing more that capital wants from the unions, it has no incentive to offer further concessions. Even the symbolic acceptance of labour as an equal partner is dispensable, when there are other means of securing labour discipline. As Ulrich Mueckenberger shows, the German courts have played an important role in this respect. Since 1982 the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition, like the British Conservative government, has been able to by-pass the unions and mobilize popular support directly. This has left the unions pining for a return to corporatist intermediation.

The most dramatic turn against corporatism has been in Thatcher's Britain. Richard Hyman traces the earlier drift towards quasi-corporatism, pointing out the bi-partisan support for it and the uneven effects of corporatist arrangements on capital and labour. Corporatism was to support capital and restrain labour, but by the late 1970s it was proving ineffective in both respects. This provided the opening for Thatcher, who made the unions and the corporatist structures that gave them influence scapegoats for the economic crisis. Colin Crouch explores the Conservative shift from corporatism to *contestation*, as a strategy for dealing with labour. As Hyman points out, the de-mobilizing effects of the preceding corporatist strategies of the labour movement worked to Thatcher's advantage. Bob Jessop attempts to put her policies in theoretical perspective, by exploring the states of monetarism and the relation between monetarism and corporatism. He shows how monetarist policies inevitably fail as a response to structural problems, and lead to a choice between deregulation, privatization, and commercialization on the one hand and government regulation, national economic planning, and decommodification on the other.

Thatcher's obvious choice, the former one, involves a dismantling of corporatist institutions.

Jessop's analysis relates to the more general issues raised in the first part of the book. In their Introduction, the editors relate the changes in industrial relations to the twofold crisis of postwar capitalism — the supersession of the Fordist regime of production and the decline of American hegemony. In this context, the Keynesian welfare state seems an obstacle to renewed capital accumulation. According to the authors, *neo-liberal* and *neo-statist* responses to the crisis are both possible: the latter, but not the former, is compatible with corporatist practices. Altwater *et al* explore the collapse of the class compromise that was the basis for the Keynesian welfare state. This they attribute most fundamentally to "the victory of value (and the law of value) over the political control of the states (over Keynesianism as a political principle)." (23) In other words, Keynesianism is based on the false premise that capitalism can be contained within a nation-state. According to Altwater, the inability of states to control capitalism leaves them with only two choices: "either the neo-liberal alternative ... or the politicization of the sphere of production by seizing the production and investment decisions." Call it socialism. Jacobi suggests that the neo-liberal strategy may actually lay the ground for a revival of Keynesianism, by purging the system and creating pent-up demands. He emphasized, however, the divergent impact of the current crisis on the unions in Britain, Italy, and West Germany, suggesting that the former are likely to have been "most enduringly weakened." (46) Regini pursues a similar theme, in stressing that any expectation of convergence in the pattern of Western European industrial relations is misplaced.

The issues raised in these opening essays are interesting, but the subsequent articles do little to resolve them. The reader concerned with comparing North American and West European industrial relations will find only bits and pieces of

relevant information here. Even the tripartite comparison of the three countries remains unclear. More light is shed on the phenomenon of corporatism, which emerges as a contingent strategy for labour and capital. For labour, it is a means for securing recognition as an estate of the realm, under capital's hegemony. For capital, it is one means among many for securing labour's subordination. As all these articles show, corporatism has been eminently dispensable in the present economic crisis. That, at least, has been no great loss.

Warren Magnusson
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Colin Barker, ed., *Revolutionary Rehearsals* (London: Bookmarks 1987).

THE CONCEPTION is excellent a series of case studies of major social upheavals in the period since the 1960s demonstrates the potential for working class led socialist revolution. Execution of these studies, however, is uneven and, in some cases, deeply flawed.

Five case studies of mass working-class struggle from the substance of this collection: The French general strike and factory occupation in May 1968; the factory belts of regional workers' councils in Chile in 1972-73; the popular power movement in Portugal during 1974-75; the independent workers' councils in Iran which emerged in the period following the fall of the Shah and before the ascendancy of the Islamic Republic; the growth of Solidarity in Poland as a potential basis for a self-governing workers' state.

The essays serve an important function in detailing the continuing powerful role of the working class in the contemporary struggle for socialism and democracy. This reminder is particularly pertinent in the contemporary period when it has become academically fashionable to be "post": post-class, post-marxist, and to dissolve political analysis into the mushy categories of populist-democratic "discourse."

The title of the collection, "Revolutionary Rehearsals," reveals the two themes — the eruption of the workers' movements on to the center stage of political struggle and their incapacity to consummate a socialist revolution. The essays provide substantial descriptive material documenting the scope and breadth of the workers' role in occupying factories, in some cases taking over production, distribution and creating the embryo of self-governing political power. If for no other reason but for the compilation of these experiences, the book is an excellent sourcebook. The second theme of the study relates to an analysis and discussion of the reasons why these upheavals failed to lead to revolution and here there is a constant theme: the failure of non-existence of revolutionary leadership/party. This is the weakest section in all of the essays.

There is no serious reflection on the fact that all the upsurges discussed in this book were not led by conventional radical parties but by revolutionary social movements. In a broader context, the only two socialist revolutions in the western hemisphere (Cuba and Nicaragua) were led by movements (26th of July and the Sandanista). Neither is discussed, apparently because they did not measure up through the optics of state capitalist school of theorizing as workers' revolutions. The authors come already quipped with reality in the form of the vanguard party and therefore fail to reflect on why all the little Leninist sects which played at times an active and dynamic role were never able to be part of a larger transformation and ended up trying to cannibalize individual members from the larger movements.

Several hypotheses for the centrality of social movements can be suggested but are never considered by the authors. Given the fluidity of the class structure (the movement of individuals from wage work to unemployment to "self employment") and the heterogeneity of the labour force — mass of reserve army, petty producers and distributors — organizations of the orthodox style based on the factory work place are not adequate to

capture the great mass of humanity exploited by the capitalist system and state in general. The conventional concept of wage worker based party building for economic demands toward socialism in large party bypasses the dynamic interaction of classes that takes place outside the factory gates in the specific social structures of dependent forms of capitalism. It is interesting to note that even in the case of an advanced capitalist country like France, Birch describes this awesome power of the social movements and captures the breadth and complexity of non-factory class participants but fails to theorize either — reverting to the old party saw about "the crises of party leadership."

The essays by Birchall on France, Poya on Iran, and Robinson provide us with a somewhat nuanced analysis of the class-relations between the workers' struggle and other social classes and institutions. The essay by Gonzalez, however, is deeply flawed in several areas. In Gonzalez's account of Chile, Allende is presented in a one-sided role of "leashing" the working-class struggle, historical reality is far more complex and contradictory: Allende alternated between mobilizing the labour movement through legislation facilitating organization and the formation of workers' councils and calling for restraint. Given Gonzalez's negative account, there is no plausible explanation for the continuing workers' support for Allende.

Likewise, Gonzalez fails to discuss the contradictory forces in the military. For him it is all a reactionary mass. Betraying no notion of a revolutionary crisis that did lead to fissures in all the major institutions, Gonzalez is not able to explain why the coup took place in September 1973 and not earlier. The reason is clear: the pro-coup military had to purge the constitutionalist offices before they could seize control over the conscripts and enlisted men. But to have analyzed these divisions would have required Gonzalez to move away from abstract dogma to historically specific institutional analysis.

None of the studies provides us with

an understanding of the role of imperialism in the class struggle and how it influenced workers' struggles. Anecdotal references are inadequate to understanding the sustained interaction between local classes — particularly the petit bourgeois — and the imperial state. A wealth of material on Chile was virtually ignored. The reduction of the struggle to simply a contest between wage workers and local capital is essentially to transpose this struggle in England to the rest of the world. Likewise, the authors ignore the decisive importance of non-wage workers in the struggle — and fail to theorize on the politics of coalitions and movements within the struggle. Instead, there is an extreme 'workerism' that reduces the struggle to its socialist component. One of the keys to the revolutionary failure, as Poya and Robinson point out, is the failure to unify the movements ... but there is no theorization of this point.

Probably the most extreme form of workerist dogma is found in Gonzalez's account of a copper miners' strike in Chile. There is no critical analysis of the particular demands, leadership or specific circumstances: every strike is presented as a blow against "reformism" and a move toward socialism. While the Allende government was trying to reinvest copper earnings into employment programs for the unemployed, a fraction of the leadership led by a right winger named Medina was calling strikes to secure raises substantially above the rest of the working class and kept raising the ante as each demand was met. After the coup, Medina supported Pinochet — as he slaughtered unionists by the thousands — and it was revealed that he had been funded by the CIA. Gonzalez's support for Medina before the coup could have been attributed to his short-sighted workerism — ill-informed as it was. But to continue to take this line after what the public record has revealed speaks to a wilful ignorance of reality, one capable of making the radical left accomplices of the far-right.

The more general problem is that not all strikes and segments of labour serve

the interests of the labour movement in every moment. The problem of one-dimensional analysis reemerges in the analyses of Poland and Iran. The contradictory nature of Solidarity with its emphasis on workers' councils and clericalism, democratic socialism and support for Ronald Reagan is not integrated. For the writers the only problem is the absence of a revolutionary organization capable of leading. Even in Poya's useful detailed account of the 'Shora' (workers' councils), there is no conception of anti-imperialist, pre-capitalist clerical social forces which were able to capitalize on the anti-Shah struggle. Instead, we have the rather odd classification of Khomeini as the leader of a bourgeois counter-revolution.

Only through the dogmatic lenses which reduce complex reality to capital and labour can such an inadequate formulation take place. The lack of a multifaceted analysis thus leads to vehement attacks on "reformists," other revolutionaries, and centrists and virtually no discussion of pre-capitalist, imperialist components of the class struggle. It leads to descriptions (in the better essays) of a multiplicity of social actors but an incapacity to rethink the political structure best suited to incorporate them. For all of their theoretical and analytical weaknesses, these essays do provide us with a wealth of material demonstrating that the working class is still a central actor in revolutionary struggles; that class struggle is the major driving force in history; and that socialist revolution is possible in the later twentieth century. It also demonstrates the pitfalls of reformist parties and programs and the need for independent class organizations. In summary, it is a valuable reference book despite its political shortcomings,

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