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REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Jack Munro and Jane O'Hara, *Union Jack: Labour Leader Jack Munro* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre 1988).

THIS IS A POPULAR account of the life of the best known labour leader in British Columbia. For the publisher and co-author Jane O'Hara, a journalist, Jack Munro is a good subject because he is a personality, someone easily recognized beyond the world of the labour movement. Munro has been the head of the International Woodworkers of America since 1973, but it is not only this job that has elevated him to celebrity status. When an issue arises regarding the forest industry, the labour movement, politics, native land claims, or the environmental movement, the media seek out Munro for a comment. A large, rough-looking man, Munro has the appearance of a retired barroom brawler. His language is earthy, peppered with profanities and wit, and he pulls no punches in making pointed comments about public figures. The one-liners, physical gestures, and displays of anger can be very entertaining, and for many in British Columbia, Munro is the embodiment of the labour movement.

Munro was reluctant to participate in the writing of this book, but was convinced that it was important for labour leaders to tell their side of the story. Most of the book is in Munro's voice, presumably edited by O'Hara, with the co-author providing short introductions to each chapter. Munro is a controversial figure: many see him as a wild and woolly radical, while to others he is a right-winger

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too cozy with business and government officials. Munro regards himself as a pragmatic moderate, with both feet planted in the real world.

Appropriately, the book begins with a discussion of the British Columbia Solidarity movement in which Munro played a prominent role. In the summer of 1983, Premier Bill Bennett's Social Credit government introduced a series of measures which attacked social programs and union rights. Unions, community groups, and individuals banded together in an alliance led by the British Columbia Federation of Labour. By early November the province seemed headed for a general strike. Yet, there was a sense of concern on the picket lines. Where was the movement headed? In back-room negotiations the BC Fed decided to derail the Solidarity Express and Munro volunteered to do the job. A private meeting between Munro and the Premier resulted in the Kelowna Accord, a verbal agreement that met a few demands, but even Munro admits that it was not a victory. Many groups that had participated received nothing and felt betrayed. The exhilaration of the summer and early fall dissipated, to be replaced by acrimony and a general feeling of malaise. Questions were raised about the leaders. To many it was Munro who had sold out the movement.

Munro faced the criticism head on, bluntly stating that "the Solidarity coalition was not a good idea to begin with." (4) In Munro's view union struggles and social struggles do not mix. Munro was against the movement from the beginning, and the attitude of Munro and others in the union movement ensured that no

attempt was made to build bridges and perhaps solidify the links between the union movement and the larger society. However, as Munro points out, it is not fair to lay the blame solely on his shoulders. Others in the BC Federation of Labour shared his perspective, only to distance themselves from the decisions in ensuing months.

As the book makes clear, Munro had been consistent during the events of 1983. Born in Alberta in 1931, Munro grew up in a rural environment. His father died at an early age, and Munro endured the humility of living on relief. After quitting school in grade eleven, he began as an apprentice machinist in the CPR Ogden shops in Calgary. In 1952 he was transferred to Lethbridge to continue his apprenticeship and became involved with the International Association of Machinists. As the railroads made the transition from steam to diesel in the 1950s, Munro was a casualty. He was laid off in 1958, and moved to Nelson, British Columbia, where he worked for the CPR for a few months before being laid off again. In November of 1959 he was hired by Kootenay Forest Products as a welder, and so began his life in the forest industry.

Union activity became his major pre-occupation. Rising from job steward to plant chairman, he caught the attention of regional officials. He was hired by the IWA as the business agent for the Nelson local in June of 1962. Munro remembers the bitter, 224-day 1967 strike in the interior as the most significant strike of his life. As a prominent member of the negotiating committee he was closely involved in organizing and managing the strike. He found that he enjoyed the power and responsibility that came with leadership. In 1968 he was elected third vice-president of the regional IWA, running on the establishment ticket headed by president Jack Moore. In 1973 Munro replaced Moore.

In the last half of the book Munro discusses his years as president. The chapters are built around his personal life,

primarily his successful battle with alcohol and his two marriages, and the major negotiations that he was involved in. The 1975 contract negotiations were particularly difficult, with the IWA feuding with the pulp unions, the provincial government threatening back-to-work legislation, and the federal government set to bring in wage-and-price controls. The year 1986 was also a big year for Munro and the IWA. There was a 4 1/2 month strike over the crucial issue of contracting out, a battle to defeat protectionist sentiment in the United States, and the dissociation of the Canadian IWA from its international parent.

For Munro the job of a union leader is to negotiate, and he relishes this process, including the pressure, the arguing, the cajoling, and the publicity. To be effective, according to Munro, the leader must maintain a close, trusting relationship with the hired guns in business and government. The issues under discussion must be accepted in principle by all and directly concern the material interests of the members. Fundamental social change, civil rights, and broad working-class concerns are beyond the purview of union activities. Munro's behaviour during the Solidarity upheaval reflected this narrow orientation.

Noticeably absent from the book is the membership of the IWA. Co-author Jane O'Hara has gathered flattering comments on Munro from prominent politicians of all political stripes, from business leaders, and from union executives, but we do not hear from millworkers in Terrace or loggers on Vancouver Island. The discussion of union affairs does not go beyond the executive offices. Munro is portrayed as a labour statesman, but how he is perceived by working people remains unclear. Furthermore, Munro offers no political vision, except for a commitment to tripartism. Considering that he ran unsuccessfully as an NDP candidate in 1966 and that he is contemplating running for office in the future, this is a curious omission.

A book like this is understandably one-sided, and Munro's blunt and often unflattering observations must be seen in perspective. After all, Munro heads a union that has been losing members, that coolly accepts the assaults of technological change, that is at odds with the public sector unions and the pulp unions, that has workers being used as cannon fodder in disputes with environmentalists, and that appears in the time of Munro's leadership to have little appreciation of social change in the last thirty years. Munro actually refers to his second wife as "the little broad." (116) This book is important in showing that labour leaders are human beings and in offering insights into the activities of a prominent British Columbian, but it is hardly the last word on Munro, the recent history of the IWA, or the provincial labour movement.

Gordon Hak
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Doug Smith, *Joe Zuken: Citizen and Socialist* (Toronto: Lorimer 1990).

IN JUNE 1979, OVER 24,000 Winnipeggers, including this reviewer, voted for a Communist as mayor of the city. This was not the result of any sudden ideological conversion but testimony to a life of service and integrity. That Joe Zuken only received 25 per cent of the total vote of the winning candidate was largely due to the lingering prejudices of the Cold War and the frightened injunction that the election of an acknowledged Communist would jeopardize our position in the bond market and among investors. No one, however, could find fault with his record of municipal service of over forty years on Winnipeg's school board and city council. Zuken the public servant was in a class by himself, a position granted even by his sometime red-baiting opponents.

This first attempt at a biography of Zuken is admirable in many ways, but it is not without minor flaws. Mr. Smith is a Winnipeg freelance writer whose sym-

pathy for Zuken is patent. Despite his willingness to point out occasional contradictions in Zuken's thought and actions, this remains a warm and affectionate portrait. Not that this is at all inappropriate; Zuken attracted and deserved such friends and admirers. But in this case, it does lead to some minor distortion and romanticization.

Smith presents Zuken as a child and representative of Winnipeg's North End, a community which has acquired in Canadian history, politics and letters an almost mythic character, spawning novelists and actors, mandarins and cabinet ministers, business tycoons, television personalities and even a United States Senator. The tendency to sentimentalize is well-nigh irresistible, and Smith is not invulnerable. For him, the North End is ethnic, immigrant and left; all of which are of only limited accuracy. There were heavy concentrations of Slavs and Jews; but the Anglo-Celts were always in a majority. It has a reputation of being politically radical, but over time Conservatives and Liberals (who called themselves Independents) won most of the local Council and school board seats. But the North End was overwhelmingly working class and socially dynamic. Smith suggests that as much as any other politician in the city's history, Zuken personified his constituency. He may well have been "Mr. North End," but councillors from more affluent wards with business, and especially development, connections did a fair job representing those interests and a good deal more successfully, as it turned out.

The author's account of Zuken's early years is fresh and often fascinating. It was not well known that Zuken spent hours at the Peretz school as a volunteer teacher of Yiddish which he loved. Of even more interest was the chapter devoted to amateur theatre. For many years he was both actor and director in a series of plays, occasionally in Yiddish, but always with a working-class bias. This theatre of the left, to which Zuken devoted much time and effort, was a continuing and effective

educational vehicle by which to spread a message of hope and solidarity. Besides, he loved it and seemed to have been something of a ham. This sensitive side of Zuken, who often appeared overly serious and, indeed, humourless in his public *persona*, is as touching as it is surprising. There are no surprises, however, in the description of Zuken the lawyer and his working-class law practice. He devoted himself and his tiny firm to the small but personally important concerns of ordinary Winnipeggers. He attracted like-minded colleagues, as often for social as for ideological reasons. For Zuken, the law was a means of making a modest living placing his skills at the service of fellow working people. It also gave him the time and opportunity to become a local politician (although I suspect he would not relish the appellation).

The major focus of the book is on his career in municipal life, first on the Winnipeg school board from 1942 until 1961 and then on city council from 1962 until his retirement in 1983. This forty year span of electoral victories measures his standing with the electorate but indicates as well that North End voters were not to be dissuaded by the over-heated rhetoric of the Cold War. Zuken scored some legislative successes in public affairs but they came neither frequently nor easily. As an avowed Communist he was always the outsider, often failing even to find a seconder for his motions. He was studiously ignored when appointments were made to influential committees, which bothered and frustrated him, and almost never was he included in political junkets, which didn't. His role, therefore, was necessarily that of gadfly, of *provocateur*.

On the school board, he worked tirelessly and ultimately successfully for kindergartens and curriculum reform. As a secularist, he favoured neutral schools, but in this account there is some confusion between religious exercises and religious instruction. But it was as a member of city council that his reputation blossomed. His general position was to

extend services to ordinary Winnipeggers while shifting the local tax burden away from houses to business. It was a discouraging battle. In the final analysis, however, Zuken's popularity was earned by his willingness to forward individual requests and deal with individual problems at city hall. People from all over the city, not just his own ward, would call Zuken with their difficulties and he would always respond.

In his enthusiasm for his subject, Mr. Smith occasionally distorts the story. As only one example, when describing Zuken's attack on the CPR's exemption from local taxes, Smith notes that this concession was "wrested" from the city. Hardly. Winnipeg fell all over itself to bribe the CPR to route its track through the city. His explanation of Zuken's willingness to accept a QC is somewhat ingenuous. More seriously, Zuken's decision to join the CP in 1941 is not fully examined nor is there a satisfactory account of the way in which the party contributed any effective support, if it did, to Zuken's political career. He was often at odds both with local Communists and with Soviet policy.

There are numerous small points with which one could quarrel; but it would be wrong to leave the impression that this is not a creditable treatment of Zuken's impact on Winnipeg. Smith's account is well written and often insightful. There will be other occasions to deal with some of the more subtle ideological and intellectual questions in Zuken's life. For now, this popular biography serves Zuken well and Winnipeggers, especially, will read it with interest and sympathy.

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Anne-Marie Gingras, Chantal Maillé, Evelyne Tardy, *Sexes et militantisme* (Montréal: CIDIHCA 1989).

MALGRE L'OBTENTION DE droits politiques égaux et en dépit d'un engagement militant accru, les femmes demeurent encore largement sous-représentées parmi les élus-es politiques et au sein des instances décisionnelles des syndicats. Comment expliquer la persistance de cette disparité et pourquoi semble-t-il si difficile pour les femmes de s'approcher des rouages du pouvoir? L'action militante aurait-elle un sexe? Voilà la question que posent, d'emblée, les auteures de *Sexes et militantisme*. Cette étude vise, en fait, à mettre en relief "les difficultés qui peuvent survenir dans l'exercice de l'engagement militant" (54) afin d'isoler, dans un deuxième temps, celles qui seraient spécifiques aux femmes.

Deux hypothèses centrales sous-tendent cette étude. Les auteures postulent en premier lieu que la sous-représentation chronique des femmes aux postes clés des organisations résulte de contraintes spécifiques que vivent les militantes. Ces contraintes seraient de deux ordres, soit les responsabilités familiales que les femmes doivent assumer et le mode de fonctionnement des structures dans lesquelles elles militent. La deuxième hypothèse s'attarde à la conception même du militantisme. En raison, notamment, de modèles différents de socialisation, hommes et femmes n'auraient ni les mêmes raisons de militer, ni le même cheminement, ni la même façon de militer.

Afin de vérifier ces hypothèses, les auteures utilisent le matériel recueilli en 1986 auprès de 148 personnes par le biais d'entrevues de type semi-directif. Les critères retenus sont le sexe et l'âge des personnes, le type d'organisation à laquelle elles appartiennent et le niveau de responsabilités qu'elles y assument. L'échantillon se répartit comme suit: 48 personnes militant au niveau provincial (P.L.Q. et P.Q.). 48 issues de trois partis municipaux (Rassemblement des

citoyens de Montréal, Rassemblement populaire de Québec et Action civique LaSalle) et 52 en provenance des centrales syndicales (C.S.N. et C.E.Q.). Les résultats de l'analyse sont regroupés en cinq chapitres. Les trois premiers portent sur le profil des individus, les contraintes liées à leur engagement militant et sur les satisfactions qu'ils en retirent. La perception qu'ont les hommes et les femmes de leurs pratiques militantes et de celles de leur vis-à-vis fait l'objet du chapitre suivant. Un dernier chapitre s'attarde à la perception des unes et des autres en ce qui a trait à la sous-représentation des femmes dans les postes de pouvoir et compare les solutions préconisées.

L'analyse comparée révèle entre autre que les motivations, les satisfactions, ainsi que les cheminements militants de ces personnes sont assez similaires, notamment pour celles détenant des postes importants. Ces résultats infirment donc en partie les hypothèses liées à la conception du militantisme. Par contre, l'idée que les hommes et les femmes militent "différemment et que cette différence est perceptible de part et d'autre" (22) est entièrement confirmée par l'étude. Une proportion égale de militants et de militantes remet par ailleurs en question ce que les auteures nomment "l'engagement sacerdotal." Plusieurs aspirent, en effet, à un militantisme plus souple où la vie privée ne serait pas entièrement engloutie "par la cause." Il est toutefois intéressant de constater que ce regard critique ne procède cependant pas d'une même démarche. Alors que les militantes rejettent ce modèle par refus d'assumer une triple tâche, les hommes le font bien souvent à la suite d'expériences personnelles difficiles: impliqués "à temps plein" dans leur organisation, ils ont vu vaciller, ou même s'écrouler leur vie de couple et désirent éviter de renouveler leurs "erreurs." Vie familiale et militantisme s'avèrent, effectivement, difficile à concilier mais de façon fort différente pour les hommes et les femmes. L'examen du profil des individus est d'ailleurs assez révélateur à cet égard.

Ainsi, alors que 60 pour cent des militantes n'ont pas de conjoint, un pourcentage identique de militants vit en union. Détail intéressant, le niveau de responsabilités a peu d'influence sur le statut matrimonial, sauf pour les militantes syndicales: celles qui assument peu de responsabilités vivent en couple dans la moitié des cas alors qu'une seule des militantes détenant des postes importants a un conjoint. On observe par ailleurs un décalage important en ce qui concerne la charge d'enfants. Un tiers seulement des militantes a des enfants de moins de 18 ans alors que 50 pour cent des hommes se retrouvent dans cette catégorie. Conséquemment, plus d'hommes que de femmes estiment que la famille constitue une contrainte à leur engagement. Il faut bien voir cependant que pour ces hommes, la contrainte résulte non pas des enfants, mais du refus de leur conjointe d'assumer seule le poids de la vie familiale: c'est donc "la capacité de travail de leur compagne et sa volonté de "libérer" le conjoint militant d'un certain nombre d'heures par semaine qui sont déterminants" (147) pour ces militants. En ce qui concerne les femmes, ce sont les enfants et les tâches domestiques qui constituent une contrainte et ce d'autant plus, révèle l'enquête, qu'elles ne jouissent d'aucun support organisationnel de la part de leur conjoint. Les responsabilités familiales constituent donc une contrainte majeure pour les femmes en raison de "l'organisation sociale de la gestion familiale (qui) s'est peu adaptée aux modifications apportées dans les divers rôles des femmes." (212)

Le mode de fonctionnement des structures impose aussi ses contraintes. La majorité des répondants-es dénonce la lourdeur des procédures et la rigidité des règles. Du côté syndicale, l'insatisfaction est toutefois beaucoup plus grande. Les critiques des militants et surtout des militantes sont en effet très virulentes: mainmise des "cliques" qui empêchent l'éclosion d'une véritable démocratie, jeux de coulisses, système parallèle de

pouvoir, etc. Les militantes syndicales de la base indentifient de plus ce système à un modèle masculin, reprochant aux hommes de se complaire dans la lourdeur et le statu quo afin de mieux conserver le pouvoir. Ils est en outre intéressant de constater que parmi la population militante syndicale assumant d'importantes responsabilités, cinq femmes seulement sur 13 estiment avoir reçu l'appui des membres de la direction lors de leur élection, alors que 10 hommes sur 13 se retrouvent dans cette catégorie. Bref, la démocratie syndicale est lourdement questionnée par la base militante et quiconque s'intéresse à cette question trouvera à ce chapitre des témoignages qui incitent à la réflexion.

Quant aux solutions préconisées pour contrer la sous-représentation des femmes dans les postes importants, le consensus est loin d'être atteint, notamment en ce qui concerne l'action positive. Si le milieu syndical est plutôt favorable à cette mesure, l'accueil est plus que mitigé au sein des partis politiques. Les militantes politiques sont hésitantes, car elles craignent qu'une telle mesure n'entame la crédibilité des femmes. Elles favorisent plutôt la généralisation de mesures incitatives et l'amélioration des conditions de militantisme. Une majorité de militants politiques se dit par contre en défaveur d'une telle mesure, alléguant son caractère anti-démocratique. Ils aspirent néanmoins à un changement des mentalités — de la part des femmes surtout, précisent-ils — et invitent celles-ci à prendre davantage leur place. Du coup, les contraintes que vivent leurs collègues féminines sont totalement évacuées. Dialogues de sourds...

L'étude révèle bien d'autres aspects de la vie militante. L'analyse des trajectoires révèle par exemple l'importance, pour toute une génération, des comités de citoyens et de citoyennes et du Parti Québécois, comme école de formation. Plus globalement, cette étude permet de faire le point sur l'état des pratiques militantes et surtout, de constater la persistance des mécanismes d'exclusion que

vivent les femmes. Les personnes peu familières avec cette problématique apprendront beaucoup de cette étude qui est bien documentée et présentée de façon rigoureuse. Les initiés-es constateront, pour leur part, la persistance de phénomènes identifiés, notamment, lors des enquêtes conduites par la CSN et la CEQ au début des années 1980. L'analyse comparée des milieux politiques et syndicaux fait toutefois l'originalité de cette étude qui met en relief des similarités et des différences qui renvoient notamment à la nature du pouvoir qu'exerce chacune de ces organisations.

On peut se demander par ailleurs ce que l'avenir nous réserve. En maintes occasions, l'étude révèle que les écarts de perception entre les hommes et les femmes s'amenuisent au sommet de la hiérarchie militante et qu'en fait, les valeurs dites féminines semblent mal résister au contact du pouvoir. Les femmes détenant d'importantes fonctions auront par exemple moins tendance à critiquer les structures ou le mode de fonctionnement de leur organisation que ne le font les militantes détenant peu de responsabilités. Plusieurs hypothèses sont émises par les auteures pour expliquer cette dynamique: meilleure intégration à la culture organisationnelle, plus grande "souplesse" acquise au fil des années, refus de critiquer un système dont on partage désormais les avantages... Il aurait été intéressant que les auteures approfondissent davantage cette question et confrontent leurs résultats au choix politique qu'elles font dans leur chapitre introductif. Alléguant qu'il est illusoire, en l'absence d'un mode de scrutin proportionnel, de fonder un parti féministe et soulignant, par ailleurs, l'importance de créer un rapport de force en faveur des femmes, elles plaident en effet pour une intégration aux structures de pouvoir existantes et ce, afin de mieux les modifier de l'intérieur. (51) Ce choix est certes plus que recevable mais il faut reconnaître — et les résultats de cette étude sont très

probants à cet égard — que l'entreprise comporte ses risques.

Lucie Piché
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Don Akenson, *At Face Value: The Life and Times of Eliza McCormack/John White* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1990).

WHAT IF A 19TH-CENTURY Protestant Irish immigrant turned successful businessman and Tory MP had been a woman passing as a man? This is the hypothesis explored by Akenson's fictional biography/autobiography of John White, Orange Order leader and Belleville MP in the 1870s and 1880s. Akenson asks us to consider the possibility that John White died of typhus during the Irish potato famine, but that his identity was assumed by his sister Eliza as she immigrated to Canada as an orphan with three younger brothers in tow. This possibility is presented with a fair degree of plausibility, including details about Eliza's childhood training as a blacksmith and her change of gender as she becomes the family breadwinner.

What remains implausible in the narrative is the suggestion that John White's sister Eliza is the same person as the Toronto high-class prostitute Eliza McCormack, who entertained many of the city's prominent male citizens in the 1850s. Akenson is entitled to write a 'what if' book: but the plot has to be consistent, and the character has to have enough psychic depth to sustain the plot. That a girl brought up as a young blacksmith might have changed gender appearance in order to own a foundry one can believe, especially in the light of a spate of recent books on 'passing' women. But why would the young woman not continue to work as a blacksmith? Why would she become a prostitute, only to then escape her 'fallen woman' role by becoming one of her customers? Akenson's historical novel only problematizes the gender switch, not the other changes in status

(from respectable to fallen and back again) that he claims occurred.

Without more secondary sources on the history of sexuality in 19th century Canada, it is difficult to comment on Akenson's fictional memoirs. The hero/ine is presented as a suffragist (which is consistent with the historical record on John White); and yet, her/his relationships with women are those of the traditional rogue who turns model husband after marriage — hardly feminist material. Of course not all passing women were feminists; the recently published memoirs of the English aristocrat Ann Lister (who seduced numerous ladies while loudly decrying both Chartism and feminism) are a useful reminder that the ancestors of today's lesbians were not uniformly progressive. But the views on women and female bodies expressed by Akenson's character seem unambiguously traditional and masculine; it would have been more interesting to present ambiguities in the hero/ine's psyche, not just in her physical appearance.

The sexual and reproductive negotiations of the hero/ine and her/his wife are presented quite sensitively, taking into account some of the work done in gay and lesbian history but grounding this in local historical circumstances. The sexual dimension of the Whites' relationship is only presented in brief detail, but it is suggested that the couple's gender roles went deeper than their clothes: the butch/femme dichotomy, while not universal, was probably assumed by many couples in which one of the women passed as a man, and Akenson's account is consistent with much of the work done by feminist and gay historians in this area. Little is known, however, about 'passing' women and their wives in the area of childrearing, and here Akenson presents an original suggestion. The seven children of the White couple are, in Akenson's account, 'really' half-white illegitimate children of Mohawk women, adopted through a Tory Mohawk middleman. There is no doubt that many mixed-

race children were probably unwanted and available for adoption; and yet, given the prevailing racism, one wonders if two white women would really have accepted these babies as their own.

The adoption of the children gives rise to the only episode which I found unwarranted and perhaps prejudiced. This is John White's wife's rejection of a newborn boy because it was of the wrong sex. The purported lesbian separatism of White's wife Esther is particularly odd because, after having or adopting five girls, the Whites then had boys: Akenson explains the sudden tolerance of boys through reference to Esther's conversion from Methodism to Presbyterianism, an odd linkage to say the least.

In any case, the sexual and emotional life of Eliza/John does not occupy either Akenson or the fictional autobiographical narrator nearly as much as business and political affairs, from the Fenian Raids to the Riel Rebellion. Sometimes these are well integrated into the narrative, but at other times historical information is stitched together, as if having done research on a topic such as the state of Ottawa's public transportation in 1875, Akenson felt obliged to use the information whether or not it moves the narrative along. In particular (and this is perhaps inevitable given Akenson's expertise on the topic) there are interminable details of equally interminable intrigues within the Orange Lodge. While plodding through these, I found myself arguing with the author, saying: "If John White had really been a woman, and a hooker at that, do you think she would have been so serious about pledges and ribbons and Orange parades?"

But perhaps I was wishing for a Canadian Moll Flanders. Akenson's character is interesting and entertaining, especially because of the sustained sexual ambiguity: but she/he, at least in this fictional presentation, lacks Defoe's character's wit and verve. Whether male or female, John White remains a 19th-

century Eastern Ontario Tory Orangeman.

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Jean-Marie Fecteau, *Un nouvel ordre des choses: la pauvreté, le crime, l'État au Québec, de la fin du XVIII^e siècle à 1840* (Montréal: Vlb éditeur/Études québécoises 1989).

LE LIVRE DE Jean-Marie Fecteau est important et intéressant à plusieurs titres: il s'adresse à des objets historiques encore trop souvent négligés, la pauvreté et le crime; il comble un vide important dans l'historiographie québécoise de la période charnière du tournant du 19^{ième} siècle et de l'impact de la transition de la féodalité au capitalisme sur la gestion de la pauvreté et du crime; il propose la révision de certaines certitudes concernant l'importance respective de l'État et de l'église catholique dans la gestion de la pauvreté à la fin du 18^{ième} siècle; il répond aux questions concernant la spécificité du développement de la gestion de la pauvreté au Québec; mais surtout, en recourant à l'approche de la régulation sociale, il permet de poser des questions essentielles concernant les rapports entre le maintien d'un certain ordre et la production/reproduction de la société.

La facture du livre est la suivante: après une introduction présentant les grands concepts opératoires tirés de la théorie de la régulation utilisée pour son analyse, l'auteur partage son livre en deux parties. Ces parties, dont les divisions sont fondées chronologiquement, présentent la logique de régulation de la pauvreté puis du crime à travers l'étude des discours et de la logique d'opérationnalisation des formes organisationnelles de prise en charge des marginaux.

La première partie, consacrée à la période 1791-1815, pose les bornes de l'étude. En Nouvelle-France, la gestion de la charité est l'affaire de l'administration centrale de la colonie. Celle-ci voit

au bien-être relatif du petit peuple dans les cas de crise, règle les détails de la vie quotidienne, contribue à l'implantation des institutions de prise en charge des démunis, subventionne leur fonctionnement et confie la gestion quotidienne de ces institutions à des communautés religieuses de femmes. La Conquête anglaise du Canada remet en question cette organisation de la gestion de la pauvreté car le modèle anglais, fondé sur la gestion locale de la pauvreté par les élites socio-économiques, repose sur une autre logique de régulation. Mais, jusqu'au moment où l'Acte constitutionnel de 1791 laisse à la législature bas-canadienne le choix des institutions locales à implanter dans la colonie, la structure d'assistance héritée de la métropole française demeure essentiellement la même.

La législature bas-canadienne ayant renoncé à adopter les *Poor Laws*, l'organisation des modes d'assistance continue de reposer sur le modèle féodal de la régulation sociale. Au plan de l'organisation de base, les pratiques demeurent sensiblement les mêmes: pratiques de mendicité et de charité qui fondent un processus de réappropriation par les classes populaires du surplus économique extorqué; rôle d'informateur de l'église auprès de l'État quant à la situation socio-économique prévalant dans la colonie; procédure collective de redistribution du surplus social dans les villes dans le cadre de campagnes de souscription orchestrées par les élites locales; intervention importante de l'État, mais limitée aux crises sporadiques dans les campagnes causées par les épidémies ou les disettes.

Au plan de l'organisation institutionnelle, les quelques hôpitaux existant dans la colonie française sont, dans les décennies suivantes, totalement laissés à la charge des communautés religieuses féminines. Les années 1800-1810 entraînent toutefois l'amorce d'une intervention ponctuelle et spécifique de l'État dans la gestion de l'assistance institutionnelle de la pauvreté. Cette intervention revêt un caractère traditionnel

puisque l'État limite son action à maintenir les capacités d'hébergement des hôpitaux généraux et à assumer la charge financière de l'hébergement de catégories spécifiques de personnes. Ainsi, les communautés religieuses gérant les hôpitaux généraux reçoivent de l'État des subsides ponctuels leur permettant de reconstruire ou d'agrandir leurs établissements. De plus, les législateurs bas-canadiens décident de verser aux communautés religieuses les montants représentant le coût financier des enfants trouvés, des personnes dérangées et des malades indigents.

L'organisation répressive du crime après la Conquête reprend le modèle féodal anglais de gestion des tensions. La pratique généralisée consiste à résoudre les conflits au plan local par des procédures d'arbitrage et de conciliation. La manifestation du pouvoir de la justice royale prend la forme des tribunaux royaux, et s'exprime localement dans la fonction de juges de paix. L'analyse des pratiques répressives montre d'ailleurs la faiblesse du recours à l'appareil répressif bas-canadien et souligne sa fonction régulatoire d'arbitrage ultime des tensions que l'organisation communautaire ne peut résoudre.

Les documents montrent d'ailleurs que le fonctionnement de la justice royale est partiellement enrayé par des problèmes internes associés à la compétence et à l'assiduité des juges de paix. De plus, divers procédés de filtrage opérés au moment de la décision des jurés concernant la confirmation des accusations et le verdict, de même que la pratique de dispenser largement le pardon royal contribuent à restreindre l'activité et la sévérité de la justice royale. Néanmoins, dans son application, la justice présente un caractère sélectif significatif: les condamnés sont en grande majorité des personnes en marge de la production, des hommes célibataires et anglophones, des personnes plus ou moins exclues des réseaux d'alliance communautaire.

La seconde partie du livre de Jean-Marie Fecteau s'ouvre sur le blocage des institutions politiques au Bas-Canada entre 1815 et 1840 et sur la polarisation des intérêts des diverses classes possédantes de la colonie. La contradiction fondamentale entre une assemblée populaire locale possédant un pouvoir normatif et un exécutif au service des intérêts de la Métropole, de même que la transition vers le capitalisme, l'ouverture d'un marché intérieur, l'amorce d'une production manufacturière locale, et le développement urbain conduisent à une critique généralisée des formes institutionnelles traditionnelles de régulation de la pauvreté et du crime et à l'émergence d'un discours de réforme qui sera la victime de ce blocage des institutions politiques bas-canadiennes.

La critique de l'organisation de l'assistance et de la répression des illégalismes vise tout autant la prise en charge des enfants trouvés et des aliénés, le fonctionnement des hôpitaux généraux, les pratiques de charité privée, l'efficacité et le coût de la police que l'obsolescence de la prison. Ces critiques s'appuient sur la nécessité de contrer la désagrégation sociale des classes populaires et d'organiser le traitement actif de la pauvreté et du crime, sur la constatation de l'inefficacité et des coûts élevés de la gestion de l'assistance et de la justice, et sur la dénonciation de la vétusté des institutions d'assistance et de punition.

Constatant une rupture des liens de dépendance entre classes populaires et élites locales dans les villes, les réformateurs cherchent à obtenir la mise en place des moyens de contrôle assurant la gestion des masses populaires. Les institutions étatiques, gérées par les experts en vue du redressement moral, physique et psychique, deviennent, dans le discours des réformateurs, la panacée sociale unique. Les hôpitaux généraux et les lieux de traitement des aliénés doivent devenir des centres de traitement dirigés par les médecins; les maisons d'industrie permettront l'action préventive par la mise

en place d'un ensemble de techniques de socialisation au travail et à l'épargne; le pénitencier opérera la réforme morale des délinquants. Malgré l'émergence d'un discours réformateur dès la décennie 1810, l'analyse de Fecteau met en lumière la continuité de l'équilibre des rapports sociaux fondant la régulation sociale jusque dans les années 1830 et sa capacité à assurer la régulation des tensions sociales au sein de la colonie.

L'action de la principale formation institutionnelle bas-canadienne, l'État, signale d'ailleurs que celui-ci n'est que partiellement opérationnel. Les conflits entre la Chambre d'Assemblée et l'exécutif colonial retardent l'adoption de mesures urgentes de régulation; le manque d'autonomie de l'administration coloniale face à la mère-patrie rend celle-ci dépendante des politiques décidées à Londres; enfin, le pouvoir exécutif n'est pas efficacement représenté au niveau local. L'arrivée des immigrants irlandais pauvres et malades au début des années 1830, qui surcharge la capacité d'assistance de la colonie et entraîne la rupture de l'équilibre des rapports sociaux, ne trouve pas de réponse du côté de l'État.

L'ensemble de l'intervention étatique visant la gestion de la pauvreté et du crime, loin d'être pensée en vue d'une politique de gestion préventive, experte et concertée des masses, est marquée par un pragmatisme et un empirisme constant. Le financement et la détermination des modes administratifs tant de l'assistance en cas de disettes, de pauvreté que des hôpitaux généraux et des hôpitaux publics, créés en vue de répondre aux besoins des immigrants indigents, sont les objets de mesures temporaires et expéditives répétées.

L'appareil répressif subit un sort semblable à celui de la gestion de l'assistance. L'appareil policier ne subira une véritable transformation qu'en 1838. Au système de guêt mis en place depuis 1802 dans les villes et les campagnes, s'ajoutera un corps policier salarié et à plein temps. Son impact sur l'économie répressive ne pre-

ndra toute son ampleur que dans les années 1840. L'organisation des cours criminelles reste intacte durant toute la période et le travail des cours royales souligne la même sélectivité que précédemment à l'égard des hommes célibataires et anglophones.

Mais l'appareil répressif n'est pas à l'abri des tensions créées par les conditions sociales dans la colonie. C'est au sein des institutions carcérales que des bouleversements importants apparaissent. Non pas d'ailleurs au plan des prisons dont le mode de gestion ne subit que des transformations mineures, mais plutôt au plan de leur utilisation punitive. Le nombre des entrées dans les prisons à fin d'incarcération punitive entre 1815 et la fin des années 1830 est multiplié par 20. La majorité des personnes punies par une sanction carcérale est composée d'immigrants, surtout irlandais, et les personnes de sexe féminin représentent 35% de la population carcérale. Phénomène plus important encore, la délinquance contre l'ordre public est à l'origine de ce gonflement de la population carcérale. Cette utilisation massive de la prison est d'ailleurs le fait des juges de paix procédant par conviction sommaire. La prison, autrefois réservée à la détention provisoire de la délinquance dure, s'est transformée, avec la crise suscitée par le flux migratoire, en lieu privilégié de la punition de la petite criminalité.

En conclusion, l'auteur montre rapidement comment les changements structurels qui s'opèrent dans les années 1840-1870 consomment la rupture avec les modes traditionnels de gestion de la charité et du crime, ouvrent la voie au capitalisme concurrentiel et à un nouveau mode de régulation associé dont la logique imprègne la gestion de la pauvreté et du crime.

Ce livre de Jean-Marie Fecteau répond donc à des questions importantes posées depuis déjà plusieurs décennies sur la gestion de la pauvreté et du crime au Québec. Bien que le premier jalon soit maintenant posé, il reste encore un impos-

ant travail d'étude concernant la gestion sociale au tournant du 19^{ième} siècle.

Ainsi, si l'approche de la régulation sociale permet d'éclairer un pan important de cette gestion légale, administrative et organisationnelle de la pauvreté et du crime, ses pratiques quotidiennes nous sont encore inconnues. Parmi celles-ci, des mécanismes régulatoires essentiels, tels que les diverses formes légales, socio-économiques et communautaires de mise en marge des personnes dans la société féodale bas-canadienne et d'exclusion de l'assistance charitable ou étatique permettraient d'approfondir le processus de constitution des populations pauvres ou criminelles à gérer.

A l'opposé, une meilleure connaissance des formes de régulation des classes marchandes et seigneuriales et des réseaux de solidarité au sein de ces classes apporterait un éclairage important sur le maintien de ces classes sociales comme élément essentiel de la continuité d'un mode spécifique de régulation des rapports sociaux et de la gestion de la charité et du crime. La montée du capitalisme concurrentiel dans les décennies suivantes entraînera la désagrégation des rapports sociaux traditionnels entre élites et une destruction des réseaux de solidarité de cette classe.

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David Laycock, *Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies, 1910-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1990).

THIRD-PARTY MOVEMENTS and non-partisan waves of protest in western Canada have generated a plethora of monographs but few works of synthesis. For that reason alone, David Laycock's book ought to be welcome. What makes it even more welcome is that, in line with C.B. Macpherson's classic *Democracy in Alberta*, Laycock's work discusses Prairie radicalism in the context of a wider inter-

national and historic debate on notions of citizenship and democracy.

Unlike Macpherson and Marxists generally (particularly Gary Teeple, R.T. Naylor, and John Conway), Laycock presents the ideas of Prairie populists sympathetically. While he outlines a variety of contradictions in the ideology of various strands of populism, he rejects the class reductionism that dismisses all populism as the cranky ravings of marginal *petit-bourgeois* caught between the Scylla of monopoly capitalism and the Charybdis of workers' socialism, and unable to make a rational choice. Populists' notions of democracy, he argues successfully, were advanced compared with such notions generally in the capitalist world. The socialist wing of populism was, despite its *petit-bourgeois* social base, as radical in its views as working-class-based social-democratic parties in North America or Europe.

Following Ernesto Laclau, Laycock sees populism less as an ideology than as a mode of ideological appeal, emphasizing the dichotomy between the people and the power bloc. Laclau's definition of populism is often criticized for its emphasis on mode of discourse since, theoretically, Italian fascists and communists might be subsumed under the definition. But Laycock believes that the focus on discourse is appropriate for studying North American populist thought, which, despite its competing strands, "combines support for popular democracy, agrarian opposition to a polity remade in the image of corporate capitalism, and a fervent desire for suppression of party-dominated political conflict." (69)

Laycock deals with four competing brands of populism on the Plains: crypto-Liberalism; radical democratic populism; social democratic populism; and plebiscitarian populism (Social Credit). His comparison of these four types of populism focuses mainly on two interrelated issues: their conception of the citizen's proper role in public life and their conception of the importance of

technocrats and bureaucrats in planning and executing public policy. The crypto-Liberals, including all the Prairie governments of the 1920s, were the least radical. They saw democracy "in rather narrowly institutionalized and formal terms, with state functionaries and hired professionals viewed as class-neutral and supra-political." (56)

The radical democratic populists, by contrast, including the leaders of the UFA movement (though not the UFA government) and the major farm movements in Saskatchewan, did stress the need for direct citizen control over governments and Henry Wise Wood's 'group government' theory recognized the need for class representation.

While the radical democratic populists believed the balance of class forces could be shifted amiably via class cooperation and perhaps a reconstitution of parliament along lines of class representation, social democrats were more pessimistic. They built on the radical critique of capitalists' economic power to conclude that the class of big capitalists ought to be eliminated or at least curtailed via large-scale public ownership. Ultimately, however, in line with labour parties elsewhere the farmer-based movements and the cross-class CCF moderated the call for social ownership and extolled state social planning as a panacea.

According to Laycock, the social democratic populists demonstrated a less clear commitment to participatory democracy than the radical democratic populists. Though both groups were attracted by the notion that a social-scientific bureaucracy that rose above class interests could provide elected politicians with programs that would guarantee prosperity for all, the social democrats seemed particularly uncritical of such ideas. As Laycock observes, farm and labour movements generally, from Communist through social democratic to conservative, have rarely managed even in theory to reconcile ideas of public control with ideas of rational bureaucratic direction.

The radical democratic populists perhaps came closest but they were less thoroughgoing in their analysis of the obstacles posed to democratic control by citizens over an economy controlled by monopoly capitalists than the socialists were. Only for the Social Credit leadership, fixated on the banks and less concerned with other monopolies, was the issue of popular control over the state and the economy unproblematic. Citizens were only to ask for 'results' and let 'experts' decide how to get them. Public life was thus "characterized as an unnecessary and functionally improper dimension of individual activity." (265)

There are some major omissions in this text. Prairie populist ideology here, despite occasional mentions of Irene Parlbay and Louise Lucas, is presented as an ungendered category. The political ideology expressed by farm women's organizations is ignored. For the United Farm Women of Alberta, at various times between the wars, democracy included the right of a woman to plan her pregnancies, to have protection of her property rights within a marriage, and to have assurances that peaceful resolution of problems rather than manly warfare would be inculcated in schools and practised in international counsels.

The lack of more than passing reference to working-class populism on the Prairies in a book of synthesis such as this one is also a weakness. Laycock cannot be faulted for wishing to correct the class reductionism of other commentators on Prairie populism. He can be faulted for virtually removing issues of class from the discussion of the populist phenomenon. His assertion that others have analyzed the objective bases of populist support seems unsatisfying in a work that attempts, in other respects, to be a definitive work on Prairie populism.

There are also several questionable treatments of events in the book. The discussion of the failure of the Regina Manifesto to deal with issues of popular control ignores the overwhelming influence

in the drafting of the document of the League for Social Reconstitution and particularly Frank Underhill. A discussion of the Farmers' Unity League, stressing their 'impossibilist' and indeed Stalinist agricultural policy, ignores the FUL's campaigns to prevent individual 'petit-bourgeois' agrarians from being evicted by the sheriffs.

Nonetheless, Laycock's book represents the best work of original synthesis on Prairie populism and deserves a wide readership. University of Toronto Press would have served the author better with a tighter copy edit and the services of a professional proofreader.

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Paul Phillips, *Canadian Political Economy: An Economic Introduction* (Toronto: Garamond Press 1990).

ALTHOUGH MORE AND MORE universities and colleges in Canada and elsewhere are developing courses in Canadian Political Economy, there is at present no single text which can be used at the undergraduate level to cover the entire field. This is a serious problem for many instructors of introductory college and university courses who must try to familiarize students with a wide-range of material covering, among other things, Canadian history, political institutions, social and economic structures, ideologies, and political philosophies before any serious attempt can be made to grapple with the complex historiographical, political, and economic debates which are features of the political economy approach to Canadian society.

This short work (119 pages) by University of Manitoba economist Paul Phillips goes part of the way towards fulfilling this need for basic textual material. It contains brief discussions of the intellectual roots of political economy and a review of several basic concepts in political economic analysis. More detailed chap-

ters discuss the organization of market systems of exchange, production theory, the labour process, labour markets, economic growth, fiscal and monetary policy, and international trade, with all of these latter discussions featuring Canadian data and examples.

As a general introduction to some of the basic economic aspects of the operation of the Canadian political economy, this work excels. However, at the levels of elaborating the underpinnings of Canadian politics or providing insights into the diverse approaches and debates in the theory of Canadian political economy this book has virtually nothing to offer.

Phillips claims in the introduction to be guided by Branko Horvat's notion that political economy must be a "fusion of economic and political theory into one single social theory" and asserts that "the economy cannot be studied or understood independent of the distribution of economic power and of the social and political institutions that shape its operations. (12) However, the arguments presented in the book are completely bereft of any recognition of the truly interrelated character of economic thought and action and political theory and practice. There is, for example, no mention of political parties or state structures or any recognition of the impact these political variables have on government policies, economic or otherwise. Instead, the book exists essentially to criticize neo-classical assumptions of perfect competition and clearing markets from a welfare Keynesian perspective. Of course, given the subtitle ("An Economic Introduction") this approach should not be surprising. Given the claims of the introduction and jacket cover, however, it would appear one-sided and limited, to say the least. Nevertheless, while the book clearly fails (as would any short work, to be fair) to clarify the entire gamut of Canadian political economic discourse, and as such does not completely fill the textual void in the subject area, it is a concise and valuable guide

to at least one side of the political economy dialectic.

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Deian R. Hopkin and Gregory S. Kealey, ed., *Class, Community and the Labour Movement: Wales and Canada 1850-1930* (St. John's: LLAFUR/CCLH 1989).

THIS BOOK AROSE FROM a conference of Canadian and Welsh labour historians held in 1987, and the result is a fine collection of essays on the labour history of the two countries. Most of the articles focus on the era of the "second" industrial revolution, a time when capitalist industry throughout the Western world rapidly expanded the size of its operations, and simultaneously became concentrated in ownership and control. This period of accelerating technological, economic, social and political change saw the emergence of organized labour movements in both Wales and Canada. This was also the time when coal reached the height of its importance as the primary energy source, and commenced its decline, and coal miners' struggles are central to many of the essays.

There is space here only for a cursory mention, in the order they appear in the book, of the individual articles included. John Williams provides an illuminating study of the rise and decline of the coal industry in Wales, arguing its rapid expansion was tied to the special qualities of clean burning Welsh coal for use in steam-ships, and the fall of the industry came with the change from coal to oil as the fuel for shipping beginning during the 1920s. Robert Babcock, in a comparison of the response of workers to industrial development in Portland, Maine and Saint John, New Brunswick, finds no evidence of a more deferential working class in Canada conforming to the theories of Louis Hartz and others regarding the respective American and Canadian national cultures. Craig Heron describes the sec-

ond industrial revolution in Canada and its impact on workers, and also raises comparisons to the American experience in this period, and the uneven effects across Canada. Christopher B. Turner examines the relationship between religion and the labour movement in Wales in the period before 1914, finding a close intertwining of evangelical Methodism, so strong throughout Wales, and the emerging socialist movement. Dot Jones, writing on women's work (and suffering) in Wales, also makes comparisons, in this case between the role of women in rural, mainly agricultural Cardiganshire, and in the coal mining Rhondda valley, arguing in both cases that the informal participation of women in the economy was of much greater importance than has previously been recognized. R. Merfyn Jones, in his article on North Wales prior to World War I, an area of "relatively small scale industrialization," deals with the strike of quarrymen and others and shows these workers were closely allied with rural struggles against land enclosure and tithes, with Welsh nationalism, and with radical Liberalism before the war and the Labour party after it. Bruno Ramirez, writing about migration and the labour market in Quebec up to 1915, discusses three important migratory patterns: the colonization movement, promoted by the clergy to create agricultural settlements in Quebec's hinterland; the movement from rural Quebec to the industrial and urban life in New England; and the immigration of Italians and other Europeans to Montreal and other industrial centres in Quebec. Linda Kealey, in her contribution, outlines the role of women in the labour revolt of 1919 in the Winnipeg strike and in other centres across Canada, showing that the involvement of women was considerable, and that labour activists among the women were subject to the same repressive measures that men faced. Allen Seager, in his article, surveys the historiography of miners' movements in Western Canada, ranging from the Western Federation of

Miners among the hardrock miners of British Columbia and Alberta, to the efforts of the coal miners of Vancouver Island to build a union. Varpu Linstrom-Best also focuses on miners, with a fine selection of photographs taken in the mining camps of Northern Ontario and Western Canada. In the final two essays in the book each of the editors have provided a major statistical analysis of strikes in their respective countries. Gregory Kealey deals with strikes in Canada between 1891 and 1930, commenting on such issues as patterns of strike waves, regional differences, differences in strike issues, and comparisons with the American experience. Deian Hopkin analyses the Welsh strike activity in the period of the "great unrest," 1910-1913, and argues the statistical evidence suggests that in Wales this was a natural continuation of the workers' struggle that had gone on for years, rather than a period of exceptional strike activity related to a wide international labour upheaval.

In his introduction David Montgomery writes that the epoch of the second industrial revolution "lends itself well to comparative history." This book, however, while providing some inspiration for comparative history, actually gives little substance. In none of the essays included is there any attempt to make direct comparisons of the history of the two countries in this period, comparisons with American history being more in evidence. Presumably a comparative approach is suggested simply by printing articles on Wales and Canada side by side, and it is true that this awakens such thoughts in the mind of the reader. Perhaps it may be said that if similar issues spontaneously arise in the labour history of widely separated areas, without any specific effort to search for parallel experiences, this is perhaps a telling indication that similarity in working class responses to industrialization exist throughout the wider international sphere. In this respect, however, the omission in this collection of any treatment of Nova Scotian coal mining history

must be noted, since the parallels with modern Welsh history are so striking. However, criticism of the book for this omission, or for failure of the articles to conform to a unifying theme says nothing of the quality of the individual essays, which is excellent. The collection in general displays a high level of scholarship, and should be of interest to the general reader, as well as being of value to students in the field of labour history.

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Jean Pierre Charland, *Les pâtes et papiers au Québec* (Québec: Institut de recherche sur la culture 1990).

CHARLAND INSCRIT SON étude dans la mouvance de l'histoire sociale en retraçant le développement d'un secteur industriel majeur de l'économie québécoise: les pâtes et papiers. Trois thèmes sont abordés: l'évolution technico-économique, le procès de travail et la gestion du personnel. Bien que l'auteur ait construit son ouvrage sur une présentation thématique plutôt que chronologique, il nous apparaît possible de procéder à une synthèse par période, ce qui permet aussi de mettre en valeur un des points forts de son analyse c'est-à-dire la description de l'origine du secteur.

La première période (1870-1930) du développement de cette industrie en est une de mise en forme des différentes composantes du modèle industriel: technologies, stratégies économiques, organisation industrielle et mobilisation des salariés. Au Québec, le véritable décollage (et la rupture avec le mode artisanal de fabrication) de cette industrie se fait sentir entre 1870 et 1880 (le nombre d'usines passe de 7 à 33). Les procédés industriels utilisés (pâte mécanique, pâte chimique et machine à papier) sont importés d'Europe. Trois facteurs influencent cette croissance: la demande croissante en papier de notre voisin du sud, l'existence des ressources — réseau

hydrographique et forêts de conifères en Mauricie, dans les Cantons de l'Est, l'Outaouais et surtout le Saguenay — et les politiques économiques et industriels des trois paliers de gouvernement.

Les usines de la première génération fabriquent surtout de la pulpe destinée aux marchés anglais et américains. J.E.A. Dubuc, premier grand industriel francophone du secteur, construira des pulperies. Dès 1921, les pulperies connaissent des difficultés économiques. Le nombre de ces établissements chutera de 19 à 10 entre 1925 et 1930. Certaines ferment, d'autres installent une machine à papier. L'avenir est aux établissements intégrés qui fabriquent la pâte et du papier. Le nombre de "foudriniers" ne cesse d'augmenter et leur capacité productive de s'accroître. Des améliorations techniques sont régulièrement apportées dans les différentes étapes du procédé: nouveaux écorceurs, utilisation graduelle de l'électricité, installation de convoyeurs et de défibreurs en continu, etc. De plus, une concentration de la production se fait sentir: le papier journal devient le produit central. Les liens entre les usines québécoises et les grands journaux américains se renforcent. Si de nombreux investisseurs tentent leur chance, plusieurs connaîtront mauvaise fortune. A la fin de la période, le marché est dominé par l'International Paper et par quatre groupes industriels, constitués par regroupement d'entreprises et d'usines.

Un modèle industriel se dessine peu à peu et se stabilise: la structure financière est fixée, les stratégies de marché précisées, les technologies éprouvées. Les firmes se tournent vers le paternalisme afin de créer un collectif de travail stable. Les employés qualifiés sont d'abord recrutés en Europe ou aux États-Unis; peu à peu, les Québécois apprendront le métier. Les autres salariés sont recrutés dans les diverses régions. Les employés vivent une forte mobilité inter-entreprise afin d'augmenter leurs salaires. Certains refusent la discipline industrielle et retournent aux activités traditionnelles

du travail agricole et du travail en forêt. Afin de stabiliser leur collectif de travail, les entreprises déploient divers moyens: création de villes, construction de logements, mise en place de services publics (hôpitaux, écoles, etc.), développement d'activités de loisirs sportifs et culturels, politiques d'avantages sociaux (assurance-vie, assurance-salaire, fonds de pension, vacances, etc.), politiques salariales relativement avantageuses. Les travailleurs créent des associations. Plusieurs formules co-existent au cours de la période.

La seconde période (1930-1960) est marquée par la continuité. Il n'y a pas de rupture du modèle industriel qui s'était progressivement institutionnalisé. Cette période est d'ailleurs moins documentée par l'auteur. Les importantes difficultés économiques de début s'estompent à la fin des années 30. La période de guerre ne sera pas l'occasion d'une relance de l'activité, contrairement à d'autres industries. Il faut attendre la fin de la guerre pour que plusieurs firmes se lancent dans une modernisation des équipements. Au plan économique, aucun nouveau venu ne surgit dans cette industrie, à l'exception de Kruger. Il y a continuité dans le système technique. Les diverses améliorations (électrification du procédé, augmentation de la vitesse de travail des machines, élargissement des machines à papier, installation d'une instrumentation de contrôle, etc.) contribuent à augmenter la productivité. D'ailleurs, la première boîte à suggestions aurait fait son apparition à la Consolidated Paper en 1942. Mais surtout, on assiste à la création d'entreprises qui fournissent des équipements. C'est à cette époque que le PPRIC est créé à l'Université McGill. La proportion de brevets d'inventions détenus par les firmes passe de 13,3 pour cent à 43,4 pour cent. Ces améliorations vont contribuer à faire du Canada le premier producteur mondial de papier journal.

Le recrutement est toujours difficile au début des années 40 mais il semble que les ouvriers ne désertent plus les usines.

Les salaires élevés ont réussi à les fixer dans le salariat, malgré les conditions de travail souvent difficiles. L'âge moyen des employés augmente et des associations de retraités apparaissent.

Au cours de la seconde moitié des années 30, le syndicalisme prend une forme plus stable. Les syndicats locaux se font reconnaître officiellement, les employeurs accordent l'atelier fermé; les lois fixent aussi les règles de la représentativité syndicale. Il existe trois grandes fédérations: IBPM, IBPSMN et la FNPP (CTCC); les deux premières vont se fusionner en 1957 lors de la fusion AFL-CIO. En 1945, 90 pour cent des travailleurs du secteur sont syndiqués. Par contre, les luttes intersyndicales sont plus vives dans les années 40. La CTCC y aurait perdu des plumes particulièrement en Mauricie. Plusieurs aspects des politiques de gestion du personnel sont réglementés par les conventions collectives: les promotions avec création de lignes de promotion où l'ancienneté cède le pas à la compétence, les conditions d'embauche et de renvoi, les conditions de transfert des postes lors de changements technologiques, etc.

Depuis 1960, des ruptures se font sentir dans ce système industriel. On assiste d'abord à la concentration des usines avec la formation des grandes entreprises comme la Consolidated Bathurst, Abitibi-Price, CIP et Domtar. Ces grandes entreprises diversifient leur production. Plusieurs accentuent leur présence dans l'industrie du bois de sciage, ce qui leur assure une stabilité dans l'accès à une matière première, les copeaux. Elles investissent aussi dans la fabrication de carton, de sacs, de papier hygiénique et de papiers spéciaux. À côté de ces grandes entreprises, des firmes de tailles plus modestes poursuivent leurs activités. Parmi elles, deux nouveaux venus: Cascades et Tembec. À ce propos, il aurait été intéressant que l'auteur pousse plus loin l'analyse car ces deux entreprises innovent au plan des modes de mobilisation industrielle. Dans le premier cas, cette

entreprise se spécialise dans la relance d'usines jugées moins ou pas rentables par le biais des modes de gestion du personnel. Dans le second cas, il s'agit de la reprise en main d'un établissement que la CIP fermait. D'ailleurs, les firmes ne sont pas inactives puisqu'une réflexion sur l'enrichissement des tâches est poursuivie et que des expériences sont réalisées comme, par exemple, retirer les horloges à poinçon.

Les innovations techniques sont nombreuses et importantes: augmentation des copeaux comme matière première, utilisation d'un nouveau procédé de traitement chimique des copeaux (procédé thermomécanique), mise au point de procédés semi-chimiques de préparation de la pâte, installation de nouvelles machines à papier (machine à deux toiles) beaucoup plus productives, nouveaux séchoirs et surtout informatisation du travail. Le premier ordinateur est couplé au procédé de fabrication de la pâte en 1963. En 1966, la Cie Rolland est la première à expérimenter le contrôle par ordinateur d'une machine à papier qui fabrique plusieurs variétés de papier. Depuis lors, les contrôles informatisés de procédé prennent de plus en plus de place.

Cette période est marquée par des relations de travail difficiles, une résistance accrue des travailleurs et une augmentation du nombre de jours de grève. Au coeur de ces conflits: la minimisation des effets négatifs de l'automatisation. La sécurité d'emploi et la gestion des mises à pied et de changements d'emploi (par ancienneté) sont des enjeux centraux des négociations. Des innovations introduites dans les modalités de gestion du personnel comme le "Régime de conversion industrielle" de la Domtar et les interventions gouvernementales visent à mettre sur pied des mécanismes de la gestion des pertes d'emploi et des reclassements.

Dans l'ensemble de cette analyse, la question des modes de gestion du personnel et de l'évolution du travail aurait pu être plus précise. La gestion du personnel ou ce que j'appelle les modes de mobilisa-

tion industrielle renvoie à la dynamique entre les politiques de gestion des entreprises et les pratiques individuelles et collectives des salariés. C'est pourquoi la section sur le paternalisme (chap. 6), la section sur la main-d'oeuvre (chap. 7) et le chapitre 9 auraient pu être intégrées. De plus, il ne suffit pas de souligner l'importance accrue de personnel scientifique pour souligner la transformation des modes de gestion, il faut aussi décrire la "technologisation ou technocratisation" de la gestion du personnel avec la création de bureaux, de services du personnel, etc. A ce titre, l'examen des négociations patronales/syndicales comme moment d'investissement de forme serait aussi intéressant.

A plusieurs reprises, Charland insiste sur l'existence d'un processus de déqualification du travail par l'augmentation du personnel scientifique et l'utilisation croissante d'une instrumentation de contrôle de procédé. Son analyse ne me convainc pas. D'une part, il donne plusieurs indications permettant de conclure à une complexification du travail: augmentation du personnel scientifique, mise en place de formations aux métiers de la fabrication du papier et réduction des travaux pénibles peu qualifiés. D'autre part, il utilise davantage cette idée de la déqualification du travail comme un postulat que comme une hypothèse. Or, plusieurs travaux récents soulignent que l'analyse des qualifications utilisées dans les milieux de travail est fort complexe.

Dans l'ensemble, cet ouvrage est fort intéressant, bien documenté même si l'auteur aurait pu laisser une plus grande place aux informations recueillies par entrevue pour décrire la dernière période. Nous souscrivons d'emblée à l'idée que des travaux similaires devraient être réalisés dans d'autres secteurs industriels.

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Keith Archer, *Political Choices and Electoral Consequences: A Study of Organized Labour and the New Democratic Party* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1990).

WHEN THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY emerged from the deliberate collaboration of the old CCF and the Canadian Labour Congress, its founders insisted that Canada would have a British-style labour party with a difference. Instead of the notorious "block vote" that allowed British union leaders like Frank Cousins to cast millions of his members' ballots by raising a card, union delegates at NDP conventions would vote as individuals. Unions, which have up to 80 per cent of the votes at a Labour Party convention, would carry no more than a third of the votes at NDP gatherings. Adapting an established and bitterly debated CCF policy, party affiliation would be a choice for union locals, not their national or international parents. While fifty regular NDP members would be enough to elect a convention delegate, an affiliated union needed a thousand members before it could be represented. As partial compensation, the initial affiliation fee for locals was a nickel a member while regular NDPers in 1961 paid \$5.00 for a membership.

Whatever other judgments can be made about the NDP, its dreams of becoming a mass-based labour party have not been fulfilled. In Britain, where unions launched the Labour Party in 1906, 73 per cent of union members were affiliated in 1976. In Canada, strenuous efforts had persuaded 689 locals with 218,000 members — less than 15 per cent of Canadian unionists — to affiliate by 1963. Since then the proportion has steadily fallen to only 7.3 per cent in 1984: 267,000 members or less than three per cent of the total labour force. Three-quarters of the NDP's union affiliates are in Ontario. Affiliation fees represented a mere 5.6 per cent of the party's federal income that year.

What's wrong? Does it matter?

In a slim book based on his doctoral dissertation for Duke University, Keith Archer examines the problem, dismisses explanations based on ideology and argues that the unions and the NDP itself explain the failure. Public sector unions, the main growth area in Canadian labour since the 1960s, have a sensible aversion to joining any political party that could become their employer. A bigger problem, Archer insists, is the NDP's own approach to affiliation as a source of problems. Leaving ten thousand individual union locals to make a choice based on "self-interest utility maximization," the case for saying no to affiliation is overwhelming. Even a sympathetic union leadership can argue that taxing their members for an affiliation fee will produce certain friction for minor and uncertain benefits.

The failure of affiliation carries a price. Using admittedly skimpy data on the political preferences of non-unionists, affiliated unionists and non-affiliated unionists, Archer argues that members of affiliated locals are much more likely to favour NDP leaders and candidates and to vote for the party than other unionists, even when NDP prospects are poor. In a further look at Canadian voting behaviour in 1979, Archer suggests that issues mattered most in determining Progressive Conservative support, leadership was decisive for Liberals and "attitudes" were the best determinants of NDP support. Those "attitudes" are obviously encouraged among members of affiliated locals. The scarcity of those members helps explain why three-quarters of Canadian unionists and their families consistently vote for the Liberals or Progressive Conservatives.

Though he cautiously avoids spelling it out, Archer's implication is clear. If affiliation to the NDP is a good way to bring unionists to labour's official party, both the party and the Canadian Labour Congress should do some heavy constitutional rethinking. Since the NDP will be

accused of union-domination whatever it does, it might get closer to the British model, encouraging affiliation at the national or international union level rather than by locals and giving affiliates more than the current practical limit of a third of the votes in party conventions and councils.

That might be highly controversial among union members as well as among the NDP activists whose fears of being swamped in their own party helped shape the restrictive rules on affiliation. A 1988 study by Vector Union Report, *The Rank and File: Their Real Opinions*, showed that unionists generally had left-wing views on social services, higher taxes and even on defence but on one issue they were sternly at odds with union policy: three-quarters were opposed to contributing money to the NDP. While a strong minority felt that unions should support sympathetic politicians and oppose political enemies, in the best Gompers tradition, they also believed that members should not be tied to any particular party. While the Vector data has its limits, the findings complicate Archer's claim that ideological factors can be set aside in building the NDP's labour base. So do reminders of bitter CCF and NDP debates about the nature of the labour presence and the feat of being swamped by masses of delegates only weakly identified with the values of democratic socialism. Such fears, most recently recalled in a doctoral dissertation by Dan Azoulay, may be foolish or outdated by they are not trivial elements in the NDP's internal polity.

Archer's assertion that the NDP makes non-affiliation a rational choice deserves serious reflection but it is obviously not the end of the debate. When it comes to political structures, both New Democrats and union members believe that collectivist ideology should be promoted in the spirit of liberal individualism.

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François Demers (directeur), *Communications et syndicalisme: des imprimeurs aux journalistes* (Montréal: Méridien 1989).

Esther Déom, *Quarante ans de syndicalisme chez les journalistes québécois* (Montréal: Agence d'ARC 1989).

PEU D'AUTEURS SE sont intéressés au syndicalisme dans les médias; deux ouvrages parus sur ce sujet à quelques mois d'intervalle, en 1989, compenseront-ils pour ce long silence? Bien que fort différents dans leurs intentions, ces deux livres abordent un même objet. Aussi en ferons-nous en seul compte rendu.

Les éditions du Méridien présentent une histoire du syndicalisme dans le secteur de l'imprimerie et des communications. Le responsable de cet ouvrage collectif, François Demers, enseigne le journalisme à l'université Laval après avoir pratiqué ce métier dans plusieurs quotidiens québécois depuis les années 1960. Militant syndical, il a participé à la fondation de la Fédération nationale des communications et de la Fédération professionnelle des journalistes du Québec. Il signe donc un texte qu'il qualifie lui-même, dans l'avant-propos, de partial car il veut y "mettre en lumière les bénéfices apportés par l'action syndicale." Si le titre de l'ouvrage évoque les deux pôles de l'activité professionnelle de l'auteur, le sous-titre renvoie plutôt à l'histoire même du syndicalisme dans le secteur de l'imprimé et des communications.

Les premiers parmi les travailleurs, dès les années 1830, les imprimeurs et les typographes, mettent en place leurs associations professionnelles. A partir de 1869, l'International Typographical Union of North America étend son influence au Canada et assure aux typographes un statut privilégié au sein de la classe ouvrière. Moins favorisés, les autres travailleurs de l'imprimerie tardent à se doter de syndicats vigoureux. En 1925, le syndicalisme catholique inspire la création de la Fédération catholique des

métiers de l'imprimerie du Canada. Celle-ci connaîtra de nombreux avatars, s'appelant successivement Fédération des métiers de l'imprimerie du Canada (1943), Fédération canadienne des métiers de l'imprimerie et de l'information (1960) et enfin Fédération nationale des communications (1972). Ces changements d'appellation évoquent d'abord le mouvement de laïcisation de la société québécoise et l'éveil de sa conscience nationale; ils correspondent aussi à l'évolution de la composition professionnelle de cette fédération. D'abord exclusivement composée de travailleurs de l'imprimerie, elle accueille à partir de 1944 des syndicats de journalistes. Même s'ils ne représentent qu'une fraction des effectifs, les journalistes écrivent bien et parlent fort: le changement d'appellation de 1960 sanctionne la montée de leur influence. Bien qu'ils ne constituent que le tiers des syndiqués de la FNC, ils en seront les principaux porte-parole. D'ailleurs, les travailleurs de l'imprimerie quittent la FNC en 1976.

S'inspirant d'ouvrages généraux sur le syndicalisme et d'autres sources secondaires, les deux premiers chapitres de l'ouvrage présentent un survol rapide du syndicalisme dans les métiers de l'imprimerie et chez les journalistes. Dans les trois chapitres suivants, en revanche, l'auteur exploite des sources originales. Tour à tour, il y retrace l'évolution des structures syndicales, évoque les relations, parfois tendues, entre les syndicats et les associations professionnelles de journalistes, et, enfin, relate les principaux événements des décennies 1970 et 1980, la première marquée par une montée du radicalisme syndical dont les grèves constituent un indice révélateur, et la seconde, période de ressac pendant laquelle les entreprises de communication poursuivent, à l'échelle internationale, un processus de concentration économique, amorcé plus tôt au Québec.

Dans l'avant-propos, l'auteur, entre autres mises en garde, avertit le lecteur, à

juste titre, que son ouvrage ne rend pas compte de la présence au sein de la FNC de plusieurs autres groupes professionnels que les journalistes. Incomplète, cette histoire de la FNC l'est aussi à d'autres égards. Elle se limite à la chronique des événements et à une description superficielle des structures. Il y manque une présentation des relations du syndicalisme avec l'ensemble de l'économie et de la société et, plus modestement, une explication de la montée des journalistes aux dépens des travailleurs de l'imprimerie.

Telle sans doute n'était pas l'ambition de cette oeuvre collective. La structure même du livre et ses caractères physiques révèlent au contraire des intentions plus modestes. En effet, le corps du texte occupe moins de cent des deux cents pages du volume, le reste étant consacré à des annexes et à des "hors textes" portant sur des événements particuliers. L'impression de collage de circonstance s'impose dès le départ et se confirme à la lecture. Les collaborateurs n'ont pas réussi à intégrer harmonieusement — d'ailleurs le voulaient-ils? — l'ensemble de leurs informations dans une vision cohérente et complète de l'évolution du syndicalisme dans le secteur des communications. Ils ont donc greffé à la trame historique des documents importants et l'évocation d'événements à leurs yeux plus intéressants. En somme, le caractère du livre n'est qu'un attribut de ce genre de publications préparées pour célébrer un anniversaire ou promouvoir une institution. Il faut sans doute rendre hommage aux dirigeants de la FNC qui ont accepté de consacrer des ressources à l'entreprise, mais l'histoire "scientifique" de la FNC demeure encore à venir.

Le livre d'Esther Déom n'a rien de l'ouvrage de circonstance. Il s'agit plutôt de la publication d'une thèse de doctorat en relations industrielles soutenue à l'université Laval. L'auteure se propose d'y étudier les acquis professionnels des journalistes, de 1944 à 1984. Ceux-ci touchent deux aspects de la profession: d'une part les normes affectant l'autonomie des

journalistes et d'autre part l'autorité du groupe sur la profession. Les conventions collectives de cinq quotidiens (*La Presse, Le Devoir, Le Soleil, The Montreal Star, The Gazette*) constituent le corpus à travers lequel l'auteure cherche à brosser le tableau de ces "acquis professionnels." Aucun argument ne justifie le choix de la population qui ne présente d'homogénéité ni sur le plan géographique, ni sur le plan linguistique, ni sur le plan de la représentation syndicale. D'autre part, il est étonnant que les quotidiens de langue anglaise figurent dans l'échantillon compte tenu de la syndicalisation tardive de leurs journalistes (1972 et 1977).

L'auteure inscrit sa démarche descriptive dans un cadre théorique (le genre oblige!) de type systémique. Elle postule que les normes individuelles et collectives affectant la profession, désignées comme les extrants, résultent du travail d'un ensemble de "mécanismes de conversion" (convention collective, conciliation, médiation, arbitrage, grève, lock-out, etc.), travail qui s'opère sur deux catégories d'intrants: des intrants externes d'abord qui sont les contextes économique (marché du travail, produit, technique), légal (droit au travail, de la presse, etc.) et socio-culturel; des intrants internes aussi que sont les objectifs, les valeurs et le pouvoir dont disposent les patrons, les syndicats et les associations professionnelles.

La nature des intrants et les modalités de fonctionnement des mécanismes de conversion affectent la qualité et le nombre des gains professionnels. A cet égard, l'auteure distingue trois périodes, à chacune desquelles elle consacre un chapitre. La première période, qui va de 1944 à 1955, se caractérise par l'absence de conflits ouverts et de revendications d'ordre professionnel. C'est de 1956 à 1968, que les journalistes font les gains professionnels les plus importants (concernant les frais de poursuite, le droit de réplique, les activités extérieures, la distinction entre publicité et information, etc.). La troisième période, de 1969 à

1984, n'apporte aucun changement majeur aux acquis de la période précédente.

Le programme de recherche que se fixe l'auteure ne manque pas d'ambition. La démonstration d'une articulation entre d'une part des influences immédiates (valeurs et objectifs des acteurs que sont les patrons, les journalistes et leurs représentants) et médiatees (contexte socio-économique, juridique, etc.) et d'autre part un corps cohérent de normes professionnelles présente un défi hors du commun, même dans une thèse de doctorat. Certes, l'auteure ne s'explique pas sur les relations qu'elle se propose de révéler (s'agit-il de causalité ou plus modestement de simples corrélations?) mais son cadre théorique met le lecteur en appétit. Malheureusement, il a peu à se mettre sous la dent! Sans doute l'auteure présente-t-elle et commente-t-elle le contenu des conventions collectives, sans doute relate-t-elle les événements marquants des négociations, sans doute en dégage-t-elle les principaux gains professionnels. Mais pour ce qui est des "mécanismes de conversion" et leurs opérations sur les "intrans," l'auteure ne prouve rien. Au contraire, en refermant l'ouvrage, le lecteur a la nette impression que le cadre théorique n'est que brillant placage sans fonction heuristique.

Comment cette faiblesse fondamentale s'explique-t-elle? D'une part, il n'est pas certain que la démarche théorique de l'auteure soit valide. Le moins que l'on puisse exiger d'un projet comme le sien est que son auteur justifie qu'il existe des relations et qu'il soit possible de les mettre à jour entre des réalités aussi éloignées les unes des autres que, par exemple, le partie au pouvoir (intrans politique) et le contrôle de l'accès à la profession de journaliste (extrant). La validité de cet énoncé étant admise, il faudrait encore avoir une connaissance approfondie du contexte socio-économique et des conditions de la pratique professionnelle afin d'établir les liens pertinents entre ces éléments et les

acquis professionnels. Or, manifestement, l'auteure ne dispose pas de cette connaissance — il ne faut pas lui en faire grief: elle n'est pas historienne — mais, en outre, elle s'appuie sur une documentation incomplète et fragile. Ainsi, il ne faut pas s'étonner si les informations concernant le contexte (intrans externes) se résument à des généralités. Au chapitre 3, par exemple, l'auteure expédie le sujet en moins de deux pages, évoquant la révolution tranquille en deux paragraphes. De même, en ce qui concerne les intrans internes (ce qui touche l'entreprise de presse et les journalistes), l'auteure tire l'essentiel de ses renseignements de sources secondaires, superficielles, partielles et, à l'occasion, partiales. Par exemple, elle discute du *Devoir* durant la révolution tranquille à partir d'un numéro souvenir publié à l'occasion du 75^e anniversaire du quotidien! Pour le reste, elle s'inspire principalement d'ouvrages de vulgarisation sans valeur historiographique. L'auteure est à ce point dépendante de ses sources qu'elle va jusqu'à reproduire leurs erreurs. Ainsi fait-elle entrer Claude Ryan comme directeur du *Devoir* en 1969, sur la foi d'une coquille du répertoire d'André Beaulieu et Jean Hamelin (*La presse québécoise...*) Alors qu'avec un minimum de connaissance de l'histoire récente de la presse chacun sait que le triumvirat de Laurendeau-Ryan-Sauriol cède ses pouvoirs à Claude Ryan dès 1964. L'ouvrage contient bon nombre d'erreurs semblables qui dénotent une connaissance superficielle du milieu de la presse.

En somme, même si l'ouvrage comporte une quantité appréciable d'informations sur le contenu des conventions collectives, il déçoit les attentes que soulève l'auteure en présentant son cadre théorique dans son premier chapitre. L'éditeur aurait sans doute dû proposer à l'auteure d'ajuster la théorie à la démonstration de crainte que celle-là serve de repoussoir à celle-ci! Loin de jouer ce rôle de conseiller, l'éditeur n'a

même pas veillé à une révision linguistique satisfaisante du texte. Celui-ci recèle donc un nombre gênant d'anglicismes, d'impropriétés, d'imprécisions, de phrases mal construites, de mauvais accords, de contresens et de banalités ("Tout n'est pas encore rose: c'est l'époque grise du journalisme" [72])! Il y avait pourtant dans ce livre matière à un bon article scientifique.

En somme, le journaliste, le syndicaliste, le spécialiste des relations de travail trouveront sans doute, dans ces deux ouvrages, réponses à quelques-unes de leurs questions et matière à satisfaire leur curiosité. L'historien à la recherche d'explications aux changements dans la profession de journaliste, en revanche, demeure sur sa faim.

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Marc V. Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal: Language Policy and Social Change in a Bilingual City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1990).

WHEN I WAS A KID the line was clear. You could go wherever you wanted downtown as long as you did not go past the System Theatre. With its gaudy display of B-grade movie posters — you could see three for a dollar — this St. Catherine Street institution, kitty-corner to Philips Square, just past Morgan's, marked the limits of the respectable city. It just wasn't safe further east; they spoke French there. The one time Billy Clemmett and I ventured beyond into the unknown, to taste the delights of a "steamic" on the Main, we were heroes on our street for a week, that is, until Jimmy Lahaie ratted on us to our parents. Then my Dad was posted to the colonies and, after three years in Drummondville, the Montreal we came back to had changed. The spanking new home of the Montreal Symphony Orchestra was three blocks past the System!

I was reminded of these spatial and human dimensions to the social and lin-

guistic experience of growing-up an English Montrealer by reading Marc Levine's competent narrative of the evolution of Quebec's language laws. These dimensions are part of the essential elements of the history of language and social change in Montreal that are missing from his social science analysis of the subject. After a brief introduction, Levine details in chronological order the various white papers, commissions of inquiry, bills and laws affecting schooling (chapters 3 through 6) and the economy (chapters 7 and 8) on Montreal island from 1960 to the present. He argues that the changes brought about in both areas were the result of a successful push by a new francophone middle class, based largely in the public and para-public sectors, to displace traditional elites and carve out a new linguistic order that would most directly benefit themselves. Their very success was their undoing, as the effect of the new order permitted for the first time in the private sector a significant presence of a francophone capitalist class which has in post-referendum Quebec displaced the new middle class as the dominant force in formulating public policy.

Although there is nothing particularly new in this argument, this is the first book-length defense of this position in English and Levine does a very good job of describing the plethora of bills, laws and regulations that have been proposed or enacted over the past three decades. Furthermore, his approach is a very useful antidote to the systematically biased reporting on the language issue that has dominated the English-language media in this country for so long. He clearly establishes that the decline in the economic importance of Montreal preceded rather than stemmed from the rise of nationalism in Quebec. The resultant shift in focus from a predominately pan-Canadian outlook to a regional market orientation may have facilitated, but did not cause the linguistic changes. Thus, public policy played an active, indeed for Levine, a central role in the "reconquest" by Fran-

cophones, first in the field of education and then in the economic life of the city.

Social science in North America is often quite myopic: the longer the temporal perspective, the fuzzier the image. Levine's book is no exception and the discussion of Quebecois society prior to 1960, although largely restricted to the first two chapters, not only confuses more than it clarifies, but it denies the importance of an historical understanding of the forces at play.

Off the island of Montreal, Quebec society is described as being folkloric and rural, potentially analogous to Amish society. This image strongly influences Levine's class analysis in two ways. First, it permits him to describe the Quiet Revolution as a dramatic expansion of the role of the State under the political control of a new middle class, which replaced the church as the locus of power. Second, when this middle-class control of an advanced capitalist state wanes in the wake of the 1980 referendum and the economic crisis of 1982, the "new francophone capitalist class" is presented as being the by-product of the Quiet Revolution, without historical roots in the broader society. This interpretation has the merit of simplicity and analytical economy. At any given time there is only one social group within the Quebec nation that one has to bother analyzing in order to understand public policy. First it's the new middle class, and then it's the new capitalist class. Levine thus never has to look at class alliances or mass democratic organizations, such as labour unions or political movements, in order to tell his story.

The historical image of English Montreal is equally misleading. The city is described as being dominated by a "British elite" prior to 1960. The dominant social group in my community were not British; they were English Canadians and had historically constituted a significant part of the dominant social class of English Canada. The economic eclipse of Montreal and the demographic shift to the West Island suburbs of much of the En-

glish-speaking population of the island, both of which Levine recognized, contributed to a dramatic modification of the power structure within English Montreal, which he failed to understand. In the late sixties and particularly following the October crisis, which Levine singularly misreads as an isolated incident by a fringe group, there was a vacuum in the leadership of English Montreal. Symbolically Westmount's Member in the National Assembly was a former policeman, known for his traffic reports on CJAD radio, George Springate. During the 1970s, middle managers and professionals representing the West Island communities increasingly became the spokespersons for a re-defined English Montreal. Indeed, the very name was dropped in favour of the more neutral term of "anglophones," an appellation untainted by the anti-semitism that had for seventy years characterised English Montreal. Put simply, when the leading spokespersons for a community change from being a Senator Hartland de Montarville Molson to being a Peter Blaikie or a Royal Orr, one is dealing with a change in the class composition, and therefore political and economic influence of that community. The protest vote for the Union Nationale in 1976 and the very strong showing by the Equality Party in 1989 were not, as Levine suggests, isolated events. They are signposts along the road of the increasing political and, to a limited degree, economic marginalization of the English-speaking community within Quebec.

Having denied the importance of class alliances and the changing nature of the class composition of the respective linguistic communities, Levine is left with a rather dry story to tell. Indeed, his denial of the importance of history leads him to deny the importance of politics in what must surely be one of the most contentious political issues in Canadian history. The approach adopted is top-down and the emphasis is heavily institutional. Policy formulation is always more important than public debate and, it would

appear, almost unaffected by the democratic process. Guy Fregault's never released White Paper on culture in the early sixties merits more attention than the RIN. Although there is a good discussion of the St. Leonard school controversy of the late 1960s, its implications for schoolboard politics on the island are ignored. The Italian and Portuguese communities, for example, have proven to be important support bases for the staunchly conservative governing coalitions within the largest of the boards, the Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal. Levine's institutional approach leads him to treat each of the school boards as monolithic, whereas they have been the sites of some of the most bitterly fought election campaigns in Montreal.

In a study which focuses on a major metropolitan region, one would have expected some treatment of municipal politics, but leading municipal politicians, such as Jean Drapeau and Jean Doré are only mentioned in passing, while neither the Civic Party, nor its ill-fated opposition FRAP are even mentioned. As this might suggest, Levine staunchly refuses to venture beyond a narrowly defined subject to link language policy to either broader issues of social change or to the evolving nationalist movement. In the chapters on schooling, he concentrates on the question of the language of schooling for immigrant children; whereas in the chapters dealing with the economy, instead of examining the available evidence on the language of work the reconquest is measured in terms of the difference in annual wages earned by differing linguistic subgroups. He concludes more than somewhat optimistically that the linguistic income gap "had all but vanished"; it had not however vanished from his own tables which showed that in 1985, the most recent year for which data is available, the average wage for male unilingual anglophones was still higher than that earned by bilingual francophones and 35 per cent more than that earned by unilingual franco-phone males. This very narrow definition

of the language issue precludes any discussion of the larger issues of language in the metropolitan region. The important UAW strike over the language of work at the GM plant in suburban Sainte-Thérèse is not even mentioned, but then these assembly-line workers were not members of the new middle class, were they?

In conclusion, this study would be useful as a supplementary reading in advanced political science or Quebec history courses in English Canada. It does provide a good survey of the language laws, although it is woefully inadequate in explaining why they were adopted or how they related to broader issues in Quebec society. For the readers of this journal, however, I am afraid this study offers little of interest. Workers and their organizations have been at the forefront of the national struggle in Quebec and will continue to be so, for they pay the highest costs of national oppression. We are still waiting, however, for a good study of their important contribution to appear in either language.

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Freda Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1989).

THIS VOLUME, PUBLISHED in McGill-Queen's Studies in Ethnic History series, provides a comprehensive analysis of the changing immigration policies in Australia and Canada between 1972 and 1984, and, through a detailed narrative of the national policy-making process, Hawkins has provided the most thorough discussion of political initiatives in the area of general immigration policy, refugee policy, and multiculturalism. Moreover, by examining the creation of immigration policies in a comparative perspective, Hawkins not only demonstrates the international implications of such initiatives, but she has shown the important recipro-

cal influences between these two countries. As Hawkins concludes, "It is hoped that this study will show how very similar the immigration experiences of Canada and Australia are, and how important immigration has been and still is in their population growth and national development."

As this quotation makes clear, Hawkins equates progressive or 'liberal' immigration policy with national development, but more problematical for her overall conclusions, she all too readily accepts the Liberal definition of what is progressive and what policies make for the national 'good'. Time and again Hawkins concludes that federal politicians, most notably Robert Andras, initiated more open and liberal policies towards immigration, only to be constrained by the inadequacies of the federal bureaucracy which has — and this is Hawkins' real protest — consistently ignored the advice of academic experts. Unfortunately Hawkins' study suffers from its exclusive examination of official government policies which leads to too little discussion of public criticism. In this regard, Hawkins provides a much more multi-faceted treatment of the Australian example, where the overt policy of exclusion, the White Australia policy, had traditionally been the result of wider social pressures and was particularly lobbied for by the labour unions, farmers, and returned soldiers after World War I. Hawkins' historical sketch of immigration policies between 1900 and 1972 is also rendered more complex for Australia as the Canadian economic and social context has been lost sight of because of Hawkins' obvious worship of the outlook of Clifford Sifton.

Overall, Hawkins is more receptive to the Australian approach to immigration, for there the immigration portfolio has had a high profile both within cabinet and in public debate and academic experts have been provided an institutional forum in the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs. Hawkins does make clear that,

despite the Australian Labour Party's public disavowal of the White Australia policy, Australia's immigration policies still exclude many prospective Asian newcomers. However, her study remains naively optimistic that immigration policies will become increasingly liberal and that multiculturalism will in future allow the full participation of ethnic groups in the political arena if only well-meaning politicians would bypass that encumbrance called the federal bureaucracy and give a ready ear to the rational views of the academic experts.

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David Ashton and Graham Lowe, ed., *Making Their Way: Education, Training and the Labour Market in Canada and Britain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1991).

THE ADVENT OF THE GLOBAL economy has been accompanied by a growing number of studies comparing aspects of North American societies with their counterparts in Europe. Three of the ten chapters in this book offer comparative discussions of school-to-work transitions and labour market trends in Canada and the UK. Two others deal with demographic trends and structural changes in the Canadian and British labour markets. The remaining five discuss aspects of education as preparation for work in Canada, schooling and employment in the UK, high-school drop-outs in Edmonton, a longitudinal study of school and university graduates in three Canadian cities, and a sample survey of state school students in two English cities, an English town and a Scottish town. An effort is made to develop discussion around the three themes of (1) educational and labour-market opportunity structures, (2) cultural values and (3) particular national combinations of educational and work-related institutions. There are several mentions of gender, particularly the existence

in both countries of stereotypically female educational programs and jobs, and the feminized nature of the modern service sectors.

The international restructuring of the division of labour, accompanied by rising unemployment in advanced capitalist societies, makes the subject of this book of concern to educators, governments, employers, workers, the politically active, and, of course, to young people entering the work world. Overall this is a valuable set of papers containing useful statistical information, moderately successful explanatory analysis and interesting research findings. Particularly remarkable among the latter are those reported by Gaskell on Canadian students' responses to high school, Philip Brown on the preoccupations of working and middle-class students in South Wales, and Bynner on transitions to work in Swindon, Liverpool, Sheffield and Kirkcaldy. Tanner's useful work on "reluctant rebels" who left school early in Edmonton shows that many of them shared the world view of those who remained and, unlike the subjects of Paul Willis' research in England, left school despite their commitment to education and getting a good job. They left early because of negative experiences with teachers and unhappiness about how schools were run.

In their concluding chapter the editors stress the relevance of the particular industrialization trajectories of the two countries. An obvious example is that Britain was able to draw on medieval apprenticeship systems to provide skilled labour, whereas Canada recruited skilled immigrants. Ashton and Lowe admit that they do not have systematic, cross-national research findings on which to base explanatory conclusions. Nevertheless they argue, following Marc Maurice and his colleagues, that the key to explanation lies in the interrelations between educational and training institutions on the one hand and labour market structures and the recruitment practices of employers on the other. However, in their summary Ashton

and Lowe also refer to British students' frustrated job expectations and to Canadian students' choices as a basis for educational differentiation, thereby implying that there are limits to a structuralist position which neglects agents' practices. As Gaskell notes, the creation and recreation of institutions by the everyday activities of those who exist within them helps shape the world in which they live, a world which includes labour markets.

It is well-known that by the end of the 19th century the British educational system contained an established organizing principle which maintained a fairly rigid social order where upper and middle-class youth received private schooling or university education while working class students had severely limited educational opportunities. The state school system was highly centralized. Secondary modern, technical and grammar schools led to stratification among working-class students by the 1950s. Comprehensive schools which later replaced them under egalitarian state policies became stratified themselves, according to Ashton and Lowe, by "forces of tradition combined with pressures from the labour market." Reforms under Thatcher rejected the goal of equality of opportunity by reintroducing a system which prepared youth for their locations in the social order. The onset of recession in the 1980s, especially the sharp reduction in entry-level jobs and apprenticeships, was accompanied by high youth unemployment and urban riots. Youth expecting jobs at the end of their schooling were disillusioned and frustrated, unless they were fortunate enough to enter professional, managerial or technical positions. Government policies eventually gave employers the main role in delivering training schemes.

In the Canadian case, the editors maintain, school systems were not developed by a centralised state, were subject to greater democratic control than in Britain, and were concerned with producing citizens committed to a common culture, rather than workers for specific labour

markets. The traditional elitist nature of Canadian universities receives no comment, yet their role was not unlike that of British universities in catering to privileged classes. They flourished in the absence of a well-developed training culture, a situation that has somewhat improved with the establishment of community colleges across the country. According to Gaskell, however, with the "cafeteria" system in Canadian high schools, students assume responsibility for constructing their own curricula and their routes into the labour market. Employers do not generally provide skilled manual apprenticeship training to 16-year olds, preferring those with post-secondary credentials who enter their training programmes for managerial, technical and professional positions and frequently move within a single, large firm's own labour market throughout their working lives. One result is that students place higher value on academic credentials as passports to better-paid and secure jobs. Meanwhile, unlike their British counterparts, Canadian youth take on part-time (usually service sector) jobs at an early age and acquire considerable work experience before university graduation and entry into the regular job market. That is one reason why Canadians generally are able to move back and forth between the labour market and educational institutions.

There are one or two important issues about the relationship between education and work in advanced capitalist societies which are not fully addressed in this book, probably because it focuses on observable and measurable processes and behaviour patterns at the expense of underlying corporate structures and class struggles. One is the difficulty governments face in trying to manipulate the educational system to train workers for jobs whose number and type can never be fully known in advance, given, from an overall societal standpoint, the unplanned nature of private capital investment and the global reach of corporations which make them very difficult to control.

It is also surprising that, despite several references to class structures, the editors do not offer any comments on the role of the employer or capitalist class which gains access to whatever labour power it requires in the two societies. That class's relationship to the state, so crucial to understanding state policies and labour markets, is scarcely mentioned.

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Gaétan Gervais, Gwenda Hallsworth, and Ashley Thomson. *The Bibliography of Ontario History: La Bibliographie d'histoire ontarienne 1976-1986* (Toronto: Dundurn Press 1989).

IT HAS BEEN ALMOST FIFTEEN YEARS since the call for a new working-class history helped spark an explosion in the number of monographs, periodical articles and dissertations devoted to the history of the Canadian working class. This increase was accompanied in the late 1970s by the appearance of a number of bibliographical endeavors designed to alert practitioners to the best of this growing literature. These usually took the form of bibliographical essays appearing in scholarly journals, prepared by, among others, Bercuson, Cross, Kealey and Palmer. In a further effort to keep these practitioners informed of new publications an annual bibliography of Canadian labour studies began to appear in the *Bulletin of the Committee on Canadian Labour History*; and in 1980 this flurry of activity culminated in the publication of Douglas Vaisey's *The Labour Companion: A Bibliography of Canadian Labour History Based on Materials Printed From 1950 to 1975*.

Unfortunately, while the number of publications in the field continues to grow, the bibliographic control of these works has not kept pace. There is still no retrospective bibliography devoted to Canadian working-class history covering the period from 1975 to the present. As a

result historians must rely on regional bibliographies of the working class as well as more general bibliographies such as the recently published *Bibliography of Ontario History*. Produced as a bilingual update to Olga Bishop's *Bibliography of Ontario History 1867-1976*, and gathering much of its information from the *Annual Bibliography of Ontario History*, the publication includes academic and popular titles published between the years 1976 to 1986. Historians of the Canadian, and in particular, Ontario, working class will find much of interest here. While only one section is devoted to "Unions, labour relations, labour conditions," many other relevant publications will be found in sections and subsections entitled "Manufacturing, industries," "Social classes, stratification," "Democratic socialism," "Marxism," "Labour law," "Immigration," "Industrial Relations," "Unemployment," and "Women's Studies."

The publication would have benefited from a more informative Introduction outlining the scope of the bibliography. For example, we are told that the bibliography includes references to the pre-Confederation period, a departure from Bishop's publication. But what of the rest? Is the work meant to be comprehensive? What formats are included? Are federal and/or provincial government documents included? Bishop's bibliography excluded histories of individual churches and schools; does this bibliography follow the same rule? The editors might have explained, for example, why their bibliography overlaps with the earlier work compiled by Bishop. Some of the information that is provided in the introductory section is puzzling. For example, the editors thoughtfully provide a list of the periodicals that were indexed, but then lessen its usefulness by indicating that "the bibliography also contains references to periodicals not listed here." (xxiv)

The body of the bibliography is arranged by broad subject areas subdivided into ninety-nine sections that are further

subdivided by specific subjects. Access to all the writings of a particular author is available through an author index. As a further aid to locating writings on a specific subject the editors have provided a separate bilingual index to the classification scheme. Those interested in "steel" or "printing" or the "CCF" can quickly find the relevant sections by searching the index first. However, if you wish to find items dealing with the "Family Compact," the "National Policy," or the "Depression," the index will not be helpful. Oddly enough, there is no entry for "working class" but there is an entry for "class studies" (Section 42). When you proceed to that section of the bibliography you find it quaintly subdivided in three — "Upper classes," "Middle classes," and "Lower classes!"

Although a useful compilation of titles published between 1976 and 1986, there are some puzzling gaps. For example, although *Canadian Woman Studies/Cahiers de la femme* appears in the list of journals indexed, the article by Ruth Frager, "Sewing Solidarity: The Eaton's Strike of 1912" (Fall 1986) is missing. The 1979 thesis by John Bullen on the Ontario Waffle is listed, but his article, drawn from the thesis, that appeared in the *Canadian Historical Review* in June 1983, is not. The article by Leslie Pal on the origins of Canadian unemployment insurance published in the *Canadian Journal of Political Science* in 1986 is missing despite the fact that it is a direct response to two earlier articles by Carl Cuneo, both of which are included in the bibliography. There are also a number of theses missing, including Margaret Hobbs, "Dead Horses" and "Muffled Voices": *Protective Legislation, Education and the Minimum Wage for Women in Ontario* (1985), Graham S. Lowe, *The Administrative Revolution: The Growth of Clerical Occupations and the Development of the Modern Office in Canada 1911 to 1931* (1979) and Ralph Ellis, *Textile Workers and Textile Strikes in Corn-*

wall, Sherbrooke, and St. Gregoire de Montmorency, 1937-1939 (1985).

A disappointing feature of the bibliography is the inconsistent approach to pagination and annotations. Not all of the entries include pagination (those that do are sometimes incorrect, viz. Carraro p.210 and Radforth p.214) and even fewer include annotations. This is undoubtedly the result of what must be viewed as the greatest failing of the work, the editors' decision not to examine personally each item they included in the bibliography. Although easier and faster, including citations gathered from other sources without viewing them is a guaranteed method of perpetuating errors. For example, on page 219 the editors include a citation to Lorne Brown, *On to Ottawa* (Toronto 1985), which was likely gathered from CIP information. (It should also be noted that the annotation reads "The trek of the unemployed ended in a fruitless confrontation in Ottawa.") Had they attempted to examine this item personally the editors would have realized that the monograph was not published in 1985, but in 1987 with a different title.

For historians of the Ontario working class this bibliography offers a convenient starting point, but the omissions, the errors, the inconsistencies and especially the reliance on unverified citations, makes it a disappointing work.

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Daniel Hickey, Louise Charlebois et Bruce Oliver, *Guide des sources archivistiques sur l'industrie forestière au Nouveau-Brunswick/A Guide to Archival Sources on the New Brunswick Forest Industry* (Moncton: Les Édition d'Acadie 1990).

NUL NE SAURAIT remettre en question l'importance de l'industrie forestière au Nouveau-Brunswick et cela, dès le 19e siècle. Ce *Guide des sources archivistiques* n'entend pas dresser le bilan de

l'évolution de cette industrie mais bien davantage indiquer les sources essentielles pour mener à bien de telles études.

L'ouvrage se divise en différentes parties: une introduction, une bibliographie sélective d'études et de thèses, une description des fonds et collections d'archives par dépôt, deux annexes ainsi qu'un index français et un index anglais. La description des fonds et collections constitue la raison d'être de cet instrument de recherche et son corps principal.

L'objectif visé par les auteurs de ce *Guide des sources archivistiques* est de rassembler en un seul instrument de recherche un éventail exhaustif des fonds et collections d'archives relatifs à l'industrie forestière conservés au Nouveau-Brunswick mais dispersés à travers de nombreux dépôts. Ces documents historiques se retrouvent aussi bien aux Archives provinciales, dans des musées, des bibliothèques que des sociétés historiques. En raison de la dissémination de telles sources, on voit toute la pertinence et l'intérêt de cet instrument de recherche thématique.

Par ailleurs, les auteurs proposent une définition large et non limitative du vocabulaire <industrie forestière>. Cette industrie doit être "interprétée dans son contexte le plus large, de façon à inclure les lois et les interprétations juridiques servant à délimiter les droits de coupe, de même que les rapports des inspecteurs au gouvernement sur les opérations de coupe; la correspondance des entrepreneurs, les comptes ou les documents juridiques ayant trait aux camps de bûcherons, aux droits de coupe, au flottage du bois, à l'exploitation des scieries ou à la construction de voiliers de bois, de même qu'aux opérations ferroviaires rattachées aux scieries; les opinions et réflexions des bûcherons et des travailleurs des camps et des scieries au sujet des opérations et des conditions de travail; et enfin les documents sur les pâtes et papiers." (8, 9)

Afin de procéder à la recension des ressources documentaires, les responsables du projet ont constitué un

formulaire type qu'ils ont fait parvenir aux institutions de cette province susceptibles de conserver des archives concernant l'industrie forestière. Les auteurs ont établi des contacts auprès de 26 institutions. Après consultation de ces ressources documentaires, ils ont retenu finalement 14 dépôts qui répondaient à leurs critères de départ. De cette façon, on a pu identifier quelque 256 fonds ou collections d'archives qui contiennent des documents relatifs à l'industrie forestière conservés sur le territoire du Nouveau-Brunswick. Fait à remarquer, les auteurs ne se sont pas restreints à un seul type de documents — généralement les archives textuelles — mais ont aussi considéré les documents audiovisuels et les photographies. Ce projet a bénéficié de la contribution de nombreux organismes; mentionnons, entre autres, le CRSH, l'Association des industries forestières du Nouveau-Brunswick, les Archives provinciales et diverses instances de l'Université de Moncton.

La présentation des documents relatifs à l'industrie forestière du Nouveau-Brunswick se fait toujours de la façon suivante: 1- renseignements généraux et bref historique du dépôt; 2- explications sur le système général de classement des fonds et collections conservés par l'institution (selon le cas); 3- description sommaire de chaque fonds ou collection contenant des documents relatifs à l'industrie forestière au Nouveau-Brunswick; 4- identification et présentation des documents retenus. La description sommaire de chaque fonds ou collection comprend ces éléments: la cote du fonds ou de la collection, l'instrument de recherche afférent, le volume des documents spécifiques à l'industrie forestière et finalement, les dates extrêmes de ces documents. La description en français et en anglais de chaque fonds ou collection apparaît sur une même page, ce qui est parfois fort utile. On retrouve une foule de renseignements pertinents sur la constitution de chaque fonds, de chaque collection ou sur le producteur du fonds. Les documents les plus pertinents sur

l'industrie forestière sont clairement identifiés.

Les Archives provinciales du Nouveau-Brunswick constituent le dépôt le plus riche avec ses 173 descriptions de fonds ou collections d'archives qui contiennent des documents relatifs à l'industrie forestière de cette province. Suivent les Archives du Musée du Nouveau-Brunswick (69 fonds ou collections), les Archives de l'Université du Nouveau-Brunswick (45 ensembles de documents décrits), la compagnie Consolidated-Bathurst (22 inscriptions), et les Archives de l'Université Mount Allison (18 descriptions) parmi les dépôts les plus importants.

Les principaux instruments de recherche indiqués pour chaque fonds ou collection regroupent des listes de titres de pièces, des listes de titres de dossiers, des résumés de l'ensemble, des listes d'éléments, des listes de dossiers et des inventaires préliminaires. Ce qui m'apparaît très diversifié et peu normalisé. En ce qui a trait au terme <volume>, généralement il s'apparente au fonds d'archives ou à la collection complète et non à quelques documents comme c'est le cas ici. Il aurait été préférable d'utiliser un autre vocable n'entraînant pas de confusion afin de désigner le nombre de documents retenus.

Nombre de problèmes relatifs à la terminologie employée dans cet ouvrage tirent leur origine de l'absence de définition des termes archivistiques utilisés tant en anglais qu'en français. Cela ne fait qu'augmenter l'ambiguïté et nuit à une véritable compréhension. A l'instar de toute discipline, la terminologie propre à l'archivistique peut paraître rébarbative de prime abord mais s'avère nécessaire et incontournable. La distinction entre un fonds d'archives et une collection se révèle fondamentale; de même, on ne saurait mettre tous les instruments de recherche au même niveau: le guide de dépôt et l'inventaire analytique se situent à deux extrêmes tout à fait opposés et décrivent des unités archivistiques fort

différentes. Si cette terminologie normalisée est dorénavant admise et quasi généralisée en français, les problèmes de traduction demeurent préoccupants. Car, au-delà d'une simple inadéquation de mots, les termes employés en français et en anglais peuvent recouper des réalités et des pratiques différentes au Canada. Dans certaines grandes institutions, les archivistes anglophones privilégient les termes <Record Groups> et <Record Series> qui ne correspondent pas automatiquement ou unilatéralement à <groupe de fonds> et <fonds>. Le terme <collection> en français et en anglais ne semble pas traduire la même réalité puisqu'en anglais il peut désigner aussi bien un véritable fonds d'archives qu'une collection de documents dont le regroupement est le fruit d'un choix ou du hasard et qui n'a aucun caractère organique.

A de nombreuses reprises, on a traduit le terme anglais <collection> par fonds en français, entre autres dans les descriptions suivantes aux Archives provinciales du N.-B.: APNB-1, APNB-2, APNB-3, APNB-4, APNB-6, APNB-8, etc. Alors qu'à d'autres endroits, c'est le terme <papiers> qui est traduit par fonds. La description 31 de ce même dépôt s'intitule en anglais "New Brunswick Aural History Collection" qui contient pas moins de 35 entrevues enregistrées en 1974. En aucun cas, il ne pourrait s'agir d'un ensemble organique (un fonds d'archives) puisque cette collection contient des documents qui n'ont aucun lien entre eux, dont le regroupement est le fruit d'un choix et dont les provenances sont multiples. Accoler le terme <fonds> à pareil regroupement factice va à l'encontre des principes élémentaires de l'archivistique.

D'autres exemples permettront d'illustrer la confusion dans l'emploi des termes fonds et collection. Ainsi, sous l'inscription APNB-68 "Fonds McDonall/McDonnell Collection," on retrouve dans la description "Ce fonds est une collection de portraits de famille qui comprend une photo de l'équipe de la scierie Culligan." (62) Cet ensemble de documents est or-

ganique (fonds) ou il ne l'est pas (collection) mais en aucun cas, il ne saurait être les deux à la fois. Il en est de même pour le soi-disant <fonds> William Notman possédé par les Archives provinciales du N.-B. qui renferme environ 85 photographies, dont des copies d'originaux sur plaques de verre (440 000) conservés au Musée McCord à Montréal. Parler de fonds d'archives à ce moment constitue une mésinterprétation du concept même de fonds puisqu'il s'agit véritablement d'une sélection effectuée par choix et pour répondre à des besoins spécifiques, à partir d'un ensemble organiquement constitué. On devrait alors utiliser le terme collection qui serait beaucoup plus juste et refléterait bien la réalité présente. Une dernière illustration de cette confusion. Aux Archives provinciales du Nouveau-Brunswick, on note la présence de deux <fonds> d'archives pour la *Fraser Company*: un pour les documents textuels de cette organisation et un autre fonds pour les films. Dans les faits, il ne devrait y avoir qu'un seul fonds regroupant tous les documents produits ou reçus par cette personne morale dans le cadre de ses activités.

Par ailleurs, il ne faudrait pas rendre les auteurs responsables de toutes les incongruités archivistiques et cela pour plusieurs raisons: 1- les auteurs ne sont pas archivistes mais bien rattachés au département d'histoire-géographie de l'Université de Moncton; 2- ils désiraient présenter des sources archivistiques sur l'industrie forestière au Nouveau-Brunswick et non présenter ou reformuler les cadres généraux de classement de divers dépôts d'archives. Malgré tout, il aurait été souhaitable que les auteurs fassent les vérifications terminologiques propres à la discipline archivistique.

Malgré ces quelques remarques, l'ouvrage présenté n'en constitue pas moins un *Guide des sources archivistiques* fort intéressant, bien construit, structuré et très riche. Du point de vue méthodologique, les auteurs ne se sont pas contentés de résultats établis à partir

d'une enquête par sondage uniquement, mais se sont déplacés dans chaque dépôt et ont vérifié chaque fonds ou collection afin d'identifier les documents les plus pertinents et répondant à leurs critères de départ. Puisque la définition même d'industrie forestière est suffisamment large, on ne peut nullement reprocher aux auteurs d'avoir produit un instrument de recherche par trop "pointu" et limité. La bibliographie sélective présentée au début de l'ouvrage permettra aux chercheurs d'avoir une idée générale de cette industrie et d'en connaître les grands contours afin de mieux l'insérer dans une perspective globale. De plus, les auteurs ne se sont pas limités aux documents textuels mais ont intégré des documents audiovisuels, cartographiques et iconographiques ainsi que des photographies. On nous présente donc des sources peu connues ou peu utilisées par les chercheurs en sciences humaines et sociales. Autre point digne de mention, l'annexe 2 identifie les sources archivistiques sur l'industrie forestière du Nouveau-Brunswick conservées à l'extérieur de la province, principalement aux Archives nationales du Canada à Ottawa. La présentation générale de l'ouvrage est claire et soignée pour chaque dépôt ainsi que pour chaque fonds ou collection. Il s'agit d'un instrument de recherche d'une excellente facture.

Si l'évolution des diverses disciplines des sciences humaines et sociales repose sur l'intégration des nouvelles approches théoriques et conceptuelles ainsi que sur le rajeunissement des problématiques, il n'en demeure pas moins que la connaissance et l'utilisation de matériaux récents permettent un nouvel éclairage, suscitent des questionnements et remettent en cause certaines idées préconçues. Le présent *Guide des sources archivistiques* proposera sans doute un regard neuf sur l'intégration de cette industrie à l'économie canadienne, sur les relations et les interpénétrations des entreprises de ce secteur économique à d'autres entreprises des Maritimes, du Québec ou des États-

Unis. Il permettra de tracer les jalons de l'évolution du procès de travail, de l'impact de nouvelles technologies.

Afin d'ouvrir vers des perspectives encore plus larges, il aurait été intéressant de sonder les archives historiques d'organisations syndicales, populaires ou politiques des travailleurs. Dans la même veine, les documents historiques de syndicalistes ou de militants ouvriers de cette industrie constitueraient un complément fort appréciable. Dans un tout autre ordre d'idées, on aurait aimé avoir des indications sur la localisation précise de chaque dépôt d'archives, identifiant clairement les personnes responsables, le numéro de téléphone et les heures d'ouverture surtout pour les petites institutions qui ne peuvent recevoir les chercheurs que durant la saison estivale.

Cet ouvrage constitue un outil important, voire indispensable, pour tout chercheur intéressé à cette industrie, à sa structure, à son impact sur l'économie locale, régionale ou nationale. Ce guide demeure le fruit d'un travail patient, minutieux et d'une rigueur constante, les auteurs ont dressé un portrait détaillé des sources historiques de cette industrie conservées au Nouveau-Brunswick qui mérite bien qu'on s'y attarde longuement.

Robert Nahuet
Université Laval

Philip S. Foner and Ronald L. Lewis, ed., *Black Workers: A Documentary History From Colonial Times to the Present* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1989).

BLACK WORKERS OFFERS a single-volume selection of documents from the editors' larger collection under the same title. As such, it presents a readily available documentary survey of blacks' place in the history of the American labour movement, ideal for classroom use especially at the seminar level.

Foner and Lewis concentrate particularly on the 19th and 20th centuries, with material ranging from the antebellum de-

bate over the use of slave labour in southern industry to a study of modern black unemployment in American "rust belt" cities. Altogether, 153 documents appear in this volume, divided into eight chronological chapters and accompanied by an introduction, notes, a brief bibliography, and an index.

Throughout the volume, the editors focus on the relationship between blacks and organized labour. The documents presented here do not address directly the nature of blacks' work or even the conditions of their employment. Rather, they explore the evolution of black-white labour relations with special attention to white labour's historically ambivalent attitude toward interracial cooperation. This choice of emphasis gives *Black Workers* a sharp sense of focus and continuity which contributes greatly to the book's total impact.

Of special importance are: chapter 1, "The Black Worker to 1869," which documents white Americans' contempt for and distrust of free black labour; chapter 4, "The Black Worker During the Era of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods," which describes blacks' difficulty in winning support from conservative white craft unions; and chapter 7, "The Black Worker from the Founding of the CIO to the AFL-CIO Merger, 1936-1955," which examines the major advances made by blacks with the expansion of industrial unionism. Together, these chapters — with the others — document the long struggle by blacks to gain the acceptance and cooperation of the white labour union movement. As the most current documents in the volume make clear, this struggle is far from over, especially for the unemployed and underemployed urban black workforce.

Among the excellent documents in *Black Workers*, many stand out. "Frederick Douglass Encounters Racial Violence in a Baltimore Shipyard" presents a harsh indictment of the prejudice confronting black workers who sought to work alongside whites in the years before the Civil

War. The "Report of the Special Congressional Committee to Investigate the East St. Louis Riots" offers a thorough, articulate, and moving description of the conflict between white and black labour in that city in 1917. The "Report on Situation at Bogalusa, Louisiana, by President of Louisiana State Federation of Labor" documents the bitter struggle in 1920 between black workers and the Great Southern Lumber Company as the former sought to organize a union. "The CIO and Negro Labor" describes the gains made by blacks in industrial unions after 1936 and explores their progress on an industry by industry basis.

In fact, any such attempt to extract individual documents from *Black Workers* does the volume a disservice. This is a superb collection of primary source materials which should be read from start to finish and used in its entirety. The historical relationship between black and white workers in the United States is one which has evolved and changed over time in response to persistent racial prejudice, and the documents pertaining to such change should be studied in close relationship to their historical context. By offering a selection of material so closely related to such context, Foner and Lewis have performed a signal service.

Richard Paul Fuke
Wilfrid Laurier University

Ann Braude, *"Radical Spirits": Spirituality and Women's Rights in Nineteenth Century America* (Boston: Beacon Press 1989).

WHEN FLORA MACDONALD DENISON, and other Canadians, attended spiritualist camp meetings in New York State in the 1890s, they met not only mediums and trance speakers but also many leaders of the women's movement. Every summer Woman Suffrage Day was celebrated with speeches by Susan B. Anthony, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Anna Howard Shaw and Margaret Sanger among others.

That was natural enough for, as Ann Braude has amply demonstrated, spiritualism and the women's movement were closely intertwined during the last half of the 19th century. Though the connection is still largely unexplored in Canada, Denison's spiritualist-feminist career is likely only the tip of the iceberg.

Braude begins with the Fox sisters — unaware of their Canadian origins — and offers a well argued analysis of the religious and social reasons for the attraction of women to spiritualism. In a culture permeated by religious belief and rhetoric spiritualism was the only religious movement where women could play a leading role. Mediums and trance speakers required neither theological education (from which they were excluded), nor ordination (which was denied them); they required only convincing evidence of direct contact with the spiritual world. Moreover, in a society which frowned on women even speaking in public, trance speaking was a way to break the masculine sound barrier. "Mediumship," Braude writes "allowed women to discard limitations on women's role without questioning accepted ideas about women's nature." If women were thought to be naturally "religious," spiritualism took advantage of that feature of woman's proper sphere.

From the 1850s spiritualists were active in virtually every reform cause: abolitionism, prohibition, hydropathy, and women's rights, including demands for marriage reform. "Women's freedom," one spiritualist declaimed, "is the world's redemption." At the Seneca Falls Convention in June 1848, usually taken as the beginning of the women's movement, spiritualists played a dominant role and, in Braude's judgment "consistently, those who assumed the most radical positions on women's right became spiritualists."

Spiritualism, with its roots in liberal theology and a natural offspring of the 19th century's sentimentalization of death, Braude argues, was a form of radical individualism. The desire to free

women (and men) from all unnatural social restrictions and conventions meant that spiritualists supported anarchist, socialist and "free love" causes. It was the desire for "liberation" which distinguished the early women's movement from the later, more limited, suffragist movement.

Braude is especially informative in her discussion of "free love." Rather than the sexual libertines their critics claimed, the proponents of "free love" really only demanded that the ideals of true womanhood be enforced. If marriage was so wonderful it hardly required the shackles of the law to enforce it. So, too, Braude's chapter on the struggle of spiritualists to break the monopoly of male doctors over healing is perceptively argued, and even blackly amusing. Spiritualism, at least one medical man contended, could be explained by the angle of the uterus. "Uteromania," science evidently demonstrated, "results in mediomania." Braude might have gone on to observe that the war between spiritualists and medical doctors was eventually partly resolved by the emergence of psychiatry where once again male professionals dominated. The connection between spiritualism and modern psychology and psychiatry is an area worthy of research. The best work so far has been done in France.

Throughout the early part of her book Braude, like Alex Owen in *The Darkened Room*, maintains that spiritualism built on, rather than challenged, woman's traditional role. Yet, in her concluding chapter, she appears to adopt a contrary position, rejecting Ann Douglas' contention that spiritualists contributed to the "morally impotent sentimental culture" of liberal protestantism. Her argument is not very compelling. Indeed, if the book has a weakness, it is that Braude too readily accepts spiritualists and their claims almost at face value, emphasizing only the undeniably reformist elements, while ignoring the fraudulent and intellectually vacuous side that led to Norman Vincent Peale and other forms of mind cure. Per-

haps if Braude had included more about male spiritualists in her study, she might have realized that Henry James was not without insight into at least one of the other messages of mediumship.

Ramsay Cook
York University

Susan Lehrer, *Origins of Protective Labor Legislation for Women, 1905-1925* (Albany: State University of New York Press 1987).

HAPPILY, THIS BOOK does not attempt to survey the vast array of sex-specific labour laws enacted in many American states and challenged in almost as many American courts between 1905 and 1925. Rather, it takes a theoretical and thematic approach.

By analyzing the "social forces which led to the emergence of protective labor legislation for women" (16), Lehrer cogently dismisses social democratic theses about the social bases and motivations for this kind of reform known as social demand and social justice models. She describes the opposition of some labour organizations, including the women printers' League for Equal Opportunity. (Here it should be noted that social democratic historians have managed to sustain a social demand thesis for sex-specific labour laws without even seeking evidence of working women's opinions.) She shows that the AFL followed rather than led the trend toward protection, shifting from a general suspicion of legislative approaches to a preference for uniform legal standards combined with an acceptance of special (women-only) standards to assure "the preservation of the race." When Lehrer discusses male unions' advocacy of sex-specific restrictions, she acknowledges that their intentions were to eliminate or limit women's access to crafts. Asserting that the impetus for the Women's Trade Union League's promotion of laws protecting working women came from middle-class social reformers,

she exposes their socially conservative rationales, notably about reinforcing the maternal role and hence the family to avoid revolution.

Similarly, Lehrer contests both liberal theories about the state as a neutral arbiter between interest groups and simple Marxist ideas about the state maintaining the dominant class. Instead she applies Poulánzas's concept of state policies as means of resolving class conflict and intra-class contradictions. Her case for labour reform attenuating class conflict relies exclusively on social reform groups' statements about alleviating social unrest, without ascertaining if this was, indeed, what prompted legislatures. Conversely, her case about allaying intra-class contradictions depends on a retroactive argument about labour standards protecting "progressive" employers from cutthroat competition, speeding the introduction of technology and increasing labour efficiency. One would like to learn more about the stance of progressive employers before the proposed regulations passed into law, given extensive documentation about manufacturers' opposition to bills, including efforts to vitiate them by changing the wording. More precise charting of the application of and resistance to legal standards and linkage to the installation of new technologies and systems of labour management would substantiate her metatheory about defending the long-term interests of capitalism.

Her alternative to notions of the law as an impartial set of rules is more convincing (and legal recognition of sex-specific laws is essential in the American context). An admirably coherent chapter on Legal Ideologies and Social Change demonstrates the grafting of doctrines like freedom of contract onto natural law jurisprudence in the 1880s to contend that an "ideology of Individualism" designed for small producers in an open market gained judicial acceptance at the inception of monopoly capitalism. The famous Brandeis brief — a legal argument citing substantive economic evidence to

establish the "reasonableness" of labour laws — is treated as a way of circumventing concepts like equal protection under a *laissez-faire* jurisprudence. Lehrer adds that briefs and judicial decisions upholding sex-specific laws were grounded in often unarticulated premises about the primacy of women's maternal role, women's weakness, and their dependence upon men.

The original feature of *Origins of Protective Labor Legislation for Women* is Lehrer's socialist feminist interpretation of this kind of reform as an attempt to mediate the contradictions in capitalism between capital's need for the reproduction of the labour force and its desire for cheap, i.e. female, labour, and as a patriarchal imperative to protect women only in so far as their domestic functions were threatened. Her interpretation is supported by citations from manufacturers and by a provocative but persuasive explanation of the relative failure of the campaign for a minimum wage (an adequate wage would have reduced women's need to work long hours but might also have reduced women's compulsion to stay in the home).

Mary Lynn Stewart
Simon Fraser University

Richard M. Valelly, *Radicalism in the States: The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party and the American Political Economy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1989).

RECENTLY, SOCIAL SCIENTISTS seem to have rediscovered the state and the past. Sociologists call for "bringing the state back in" and they and also political scientists seek to endow their respective disciplines with a grounding in history. Richard Valelly, an assistant professor of political science at MIT, has elected to use history to explain the absence of alternative or radical political parties in the contemporary United States.

In his case, how well has a political scientist used history to explore and explain the failure of political radicalism in the United States? Frankly, the question has no easy answer. On the one hand, Valelly tells a familiar and simple story, one with which students of American history are quite familiar. His brief survey of the peripheral regions of the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries — the South and the trans-Mississippi west — describes a region whose tillers of the soil and hewers of ore and wood were exploited by Northeastern core capitalists. Hence first Populism and later the Non-Partisan League and finally farmer-labourism flourished in such states as North Dakota, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, the latter of which forms the subject of this case study. Valelly also credits a familiar villain — the New Deal — with the death of state-level radicalism. On the other hand, he tells that familiar story by using the sort of formal social-science models, explicit theories, and language (should I say discourse?) with which many historians feel less than comfortable.

His is a history which applies to the narrative of farmer-labourism in Minnesota Walter Dean Burnham's "political system of 1896"; Immanuel Wallerstein's concept of core and peripheral economies; the more general theory of "the development of economic underdevelopment"; and the political science model of state administrative capacity. As Valelly explains it, Minnesota's farmers and workers suffered between 1896 and 1932 from the "system of '96" which stressed a political economy of accumulation, that is, public policies which favored the creation of savings and wealth (economic growth) over equity and redistributive policies. Living in a peripheral region whose productive wealth based on extractive industries was plundered by core capitalists, Minnesota's farmers and workers united politically to use the power of the state to protect themselves. The federal structure of the United States and the rel-

ative impotency of national government prior to the New Deal enabled state-level reformers and radicals to use administrative agencies (state capacity) to alter the existing political economy. Valelly proceeds to describe and explain how radical political élites organized politics, shaped strategies, amassed resources, built coalitions and seized power in Minnesota. And he makes no apology for focussing on élites because "purposive, spontaneous collective action by ordinary people is exceptional." (16)

Chapters 2-5 narrate the origins of farmer-labour radicalism in the upper Midwest from the World War I era; through the hard times of the 1920s when political conservatism, repression, and internecine conflict among radical élites (mostly independent leftists vs. communists) rendered state-level radicalism impotent; into the triumph of farmer-labour in Minnesota in 1930 with the election of Floyd Olson as governor. Valelly explores how radical élites built a political coalition among exploited workers, discontented small farmers, and smalltown retailers and bankers which assumed power when the Great Depression destroyed the "political economy of accumulation." Once in power, Minnesota's farmer-labourites used the state's absence of a civil-service system to build their own political organization which rewarded its loyalists with government jobs and contracts. According to Valelly, the combination of a radical reform program — the promotion of unions and collective bargaining; mortgage relief for farmers; banking reform; and protection of small retailers against national chains — with public patronage enabled the farmer-labour party to hold power after Governor Olson's untimely death and to dominate the state's legislature and its congressional delegation until the political crisis of 1937-38.

Valelly suggests that the success of farmer-labour in Minnesota and the New Deal nationally doomed state-level radicalism. New Deal reforms shifted the

locus of political change from St. Paul to Washington, and the new national state administrative capacity diminished the importance of state-level reforms. Washington Democrats, not St. Paul farmer-labourites, determined agricultural policy, industrial relations rules, monetary and fiscal regulations, and general economic policy. Minnesota's radicals controlled a political organization which its conservative political enemies condemned as an old-fashioned corrupt machine and its trade-union allies criticized as an obstacle to civil service job security. Not only did New Deal policies preempt radical reform in Minnesota; according to Valelly, the New Deal precipitated a schism in the farmer-labour coalition. National agricultural reform benefitted large farmers in Minnesota who deserted the coalition for the more conservative, anti-New Deal Farm Bureau Federation. The Wagner Act split the labour movement and caused AFL affiliates in Minnesota to join conservative business and rural critics of the New Deal and state-level radicalism. By 1937-38, the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party was in disarray, its carefully constructed coalition of interest groups wrecked, and itself no match for a newly dominant Minnesota Republican party. As the Roosevelt Democratic coalition replaced the "system of '96" nationally and the "political economy of accumulation" gave way to the "political economy of balance," in Minnesota a conservative counter-offensive defeated state-level radicalism. And since the triumph of the New Deal and the collapse of the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota, state-level politics in the United States has become the province of traditionalists, conservatives, and narrow interest groups. Radicalism, argues Valelly, thus vanished from the American political arena.

Valelly seeks to clinch his case by comparing the fate of the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota to that of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) in Saskatchewan. As state-level radical-

ism atrophied and died to the south it flourished to the north because, according to Valelly, Canada during the 1930s lacked both an effective national government and a New Deal. Canadian radicals, unlike their American brothers and sisters, continued to use provincial government to practice the "political economy of balance." Later, even as central power grew during and after World War II in Canada, reformers transformed the CCF into the New Democratic Party (NDP). Had Valelly written his book after the recent election (1990) in Ontario, he might have grown even more eloquent about the structural political differences between Canada and the United States and their impact on popular politics and radicalism.

How valid is Valelly's tale of the fate of political radicalism in the United States? And does he provide the "new historiography" and "new analysis" which he promises in a preface? I have no qualms with his version of how and why radicalism declined in Minnesota. Clearly, the answer must be found, as he finds it, in the forces set loose by the New Deal, which, on the one hand, shifted reform from the state to the national level and, on the other hand, created new political alliances at the state level. Historians, however, have been describing that process for many years, and Valelly, rather than giving us a new historiography, adds another building block to an older story of the New Deal and political radicalism. Moreover, the splits between the Farm Bureau and the Farmers' Union and the AFL and the CIO on which so much of his analysis hangs are also old stories to historians who have explored such schisms in a variety of states and cities. How much Valelly's explicit comparison of state-level radicalism in Minnesota and Saskatchewan adds to the analysis I leave to others more knowledgeable about Canadian history since the 1930s. Suffice it to say that I am pleased and encouraged that political scientists now consider history important and that one of them can write

a narrative and analysis that would do any "professional" historian proud.

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Joe William Trotter, Jr., *Coal, Class, and Color: Blacks in Southern West Virginia, 1915-1932* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 1990).

COAL, CLASS, AND COLOR is a title featured in both the Blacks in the New World series and in the Working Class in American History series at University of Illinois Press. Trotter's new study, like his earlier and superb *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915-1945*, is thus situated at the very important intersection of two of the most intellectually and politically exciting bodies of historical work developed in the United States over the last twenty-five years. Unfortunately, that intersection has carried too little traffic. However, the recently published works of Robin D.G. Kelley, Eric Arnesen, Darlene Clark Hine, Trotter and others suggest that the history of what Edna Bonacich has called "class-race segments" can produce startling insights enriching both African-American and working-class history. In the specific case of Trotter, his new book further establishes that he does not so much straddle the two related fields as stand at the head of the historians studying each.

For Trotter, the "key" to understanding race and class in West Virginia's coal fields, and to seeing the drama of much of modern African-American history generally, is "the process of black industrial working class formation — proletarianization." (1) This process, "in confirmation of conventional Marxist interpretations," was "highly exploitative." (265) It was likewise exceedingly complex.

While focussing on class formation, Trotter never minimizes the importance of race. He records and applauds examples of black-white labour unity, espe-

cially in the biracial 1921 "armed march" of miners in Logan and Mingo counties. At times, white immigrants, who temporarily apparently felt more comfortable in the company of blacks than of native-born whites, elected African-Americans as their union leaders. However, Trotter never supposes that, in a setting featuring job discrimination, trade union racism, segregation and strong African-American desires for autonomy, labour unity easily or quickly dissolved a sense of race among African-American miners and made them act on purely "class" grounds. The "commitment to working class solidarity," according to Trotter, often matured "within the framework of black unity." (114) Conversely, black miners acting in ways historians have regarded as accommodationist (that is, reacting to white working-class racism by accepting paternalistic "protection" from white employers) did not necessarily lack all sense of class consciousness. Indeed in a wonderfully nuanced discussion, Trotter shows how black miners attempted to use paternalism to their advantage as African-American *workers* and probes both the possibilities and the costs of such a strategy.

Nor does Trotter's emphasis on proletarianization cause him to neglect history outside the workplace. Though his treatment of the labour process is thorough, he argues that the black working class was made not only in counterpoint to capital and to white workers but also in encounters with the state and through "the dynamic actions of blacks themselves." (1) West Virginia's African-Americans retained the franchise, as blacks largely did not in the Southern states from which many miners came. During the years Trotter studies, black population in the southern West Virginia mining area almost doubled, but with the coming of women's suffrage, black voters increased by almost 200 per cent between 1910 and 1930. Thus the black working class was in a position to influence state policy, and did so, especially in the improvement of mining conditions, the winning of the right to

sit on juries and the insistence that "separate but equal" not be a wholly hollow phrase in describing African-American schools in West Virginia. Beyond party politics, Trotter describes a vibrant movement in support of Marcus Garvey among miners and a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which was in southern West Virginia at times a mass, working class based, overwhelmingly black organization capable of stunning civil rights victories. More broadly still, the "dynamic actions of blacks themselves" included a luxuriant growth of fraternal organizations and a host of African-American churches whose appeals to the rural past and in the industrial present are brilliantly analyzed by Trotter.

While stressing class formation, *Coal, Class, and Color* avoids seeing the black population as an undifferentiated proletarian mass. Skill divisions in the mines, differences based on birthplace and religion, and even colour distinctions among blacks find a place in Trotter's study. Particularly sustained and acute are the discussions of gender differences and class divisions among African-Americans in southern West Virginia. Along with Kelley's *Hammer and Hoe*, Trotter's work shows the potential of the incorporation of gender as a category of analysis in studies of black labour. Trotter explores tensions between relatively highly waged (but frequently unemployed) black men and black women working either unwaged in their own homes or for low wages in the homes of others. His discussion of the importance of gardens to women in proletarianizing black families is especially important. So is his emphasis on the role of the imperative to unite against racism in submerging, but not eliminating, gender tensions. Similarly, Trotter portrays distinct differences of ideology and interest between black miners and the growing black middle class which depended on their patronage, but sees the need to form a front against racism as setting limits on what Kelley has called "intra-racial class conflict."

Trotter's father mined coal and his familiarity with coal culture is based on background as well as on meticulous research. Uncommon clarity marks his description of mines and mine labour and appreciation of the issues of autonomy and, above all, of health and safety below ground pervades his narrative. That one black miner, working fifty years hand-loaded "90,000 tons of coal, the equivalent of a seventeen-mile-long train of 1,750 cars, each containing fifty tons" (108) has concrete meaning for Trotter and is made meaningful to the reader. Among much else, this remarkable book therefore teaches that we not only need far more histories of the black working class but far more historians from the black working class.

Dave Roediger
University of Missouri

Martin B. Duberman, *Paul Robeson, A Biography* (New York: Ballantine Books 1990).

ALL AT ONCE, Martin B. Duberman's biography of Paul Robeson is an eloquent account of Robeson's artistry; a sensitive record of Robeson's political radicalism; a detailed chronicle of the US government's sordid attempts to discredit and silence Robeson; and a beautifully written history of 20th century Afro-American life through the personality of a man whose pioneering struggles in the arts and politics are no longer adequately appreciated. The biography is both exhaustive and definitive. By digging deeply in rich sources, including scores of interviews, Duberman has produced one of the most powerful and insightful biographies of an African-American.

If Robeson suffered few of the most virulent manifestations of white racism while growing up in New Jersey, his heritage as the son of an escaped slave and a Presbyterian minister instilled in him great sensitivity to racial and social injustices. During high school and college at

Rutgers University, most of the racial snubs he endured took place on the playing field (where he was a brilliant athlete in 12 sports) rather than in the classroom (where he was also brilliant). While not altogether ignoring these slights, he retained "confidence in the essential beneficence of the American system." (29)

For Robeson, like other talented blacks during the Jim Crow era, finding a satisfying profession was no easy matter. He settled upon the law, but was a desultory Columbia law student and made little effort to find work at a New York law firm. His limited prospects as a black lawyer and his growing reputation as a recital singer and actor steered him towards a career as a performer. Almost certainly his commitment to the stage reflected the new opportunities for black talent on Broadway. In the years prior to Robeson's 1923 debut in *Taboo*, the possibilities for black casts and themes had been established by several plays, including Eugene O'Neill's *Emperor Jones* and the fabulously successful musical *Shuffle Along*. The heady intellectual and artistic ferment of the Harlem Renaissance also captivated Robeson.

Relying upon his prodigious natural talent and remarkable presence, Robeson became the leading black actor of the era with his roles in *All God's Chillum Got Wings*, *Emperor Jones*, *Porgy*, *Showboat*, and *Othello*. Robeson also earned a reputation as the preeminent spiritual singer of his time. By the end of 1925, the outlines of Robeson's future career had been established and for the next two decades he would juggle concert tours, stage performances, and the occasional movie role. At times Duberman traces Robeson's unfolding career in exhausting detail (there are litanies of dinner parties and marathon nights of dancing and drinking which read like passages from the society pages), but he properly stresses the significance of Robeson's remarkable success on the stage; Robeson demonstrated to theatre goers that they could be enriched by black performances in ways that racist "coon"

plays and vaudeville routines always had denied. Neither his popular adulation nor financial security, however, sheltered Robeson from American racism (hotels and restaurants, for example, periodically refused to serve him). Robeson's film career never overcame the restraints imposed by racist stereotypes and Robeson deeply resented that he was never offered the inspiring roles that he was suited to play.

During the 1930s, Robeson's growing appreciation of Africa, profound fear of fascism, and instinctive concern for social justice led to a frenzy of political activism. During several visits to the Soviet Union, where he was received warmly, Robeson discovered that he "felt like a human being for the first time since I grew up Here I am not a Negro but a human being." (190) In 1938 Robeson confirmed his deepening commitment to socialism by entertaining Loyalist troops during the Spanish Civil War. His trip to Spain, he later wrote, marked "a major turning point in my life." (22) The craven failure of western democracies to back Republican Spain fed Robeson's mounting disgust with the West. Despite warnings from his agent that his political activism would hurt his career, Robeson made it clear that his political commitments had taken primacy over his artistic career.

By revealing the details of Robeson's evolving political activism during the 1940s, Duberman demonstrates convincingly that Robeson was not the naive stooge of the Communist Party that his critics would later claim. His hopes that the war might initiate the serious social and economic reforms that the New Deal only had hinted at were not satisfied by the subsequent modest gains of industrial unions and civil rights groups. Moreover, his outspoken support for the CIO and the Communist party, and his participation in various civil rights groups attracted the attention of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the FBI. But even as the FBI placed Robeson under surveillance, the exigencies of war

brought the American mainstream closer to Robeson than at any other time in his life.

The tragedy of Robeson's postwar years dominate the biography. The persistence of colonialism, the timidity of denazification in Europe, and especially the belligerence of the United States quickly robbed Robeson of his initial postwar optimism. In 1948 he campaigned vigorously for Henry Wallace, who, he believed, offered the only hope for progressive reform and international peace, and was deeply discouraged by Wallace's defeat. As the climate of American politics soured and the "liberal Left" collapsed, Robeson faced mounting harassment from the FBI, local governments (which refused to allow Robeson to perform or speak in public buildings), and journalists. The threat of violence from patriotic vigilantes loomed wherever he performed and on several occasions led to attacks by mobs of self-appointed "100 percent Americans." Reactionary denunciations were joined by attacks from black leaders, including Roy Wilkins, Bayard Rustin, Walter White, and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Although Robeson's unrepentant radicalism led to his ostracism by mainstream black and white leaders, he continued to enjoy broad support within the labour movement and the black masses.

Duberman, more than any previous biographer of Robeson, exposes the shattering repercussions of McCarthyism on Robeson's life. Beginning in 1950, the State Department denied Robeson his passport, effectively ending his career since few American halls were willing to risk scheduling him. But, as Duberman makes clear, Robeson suffered much more than the loss of the right to travel and the deterioration of his artistic powers. The physical and mental toll of his seven-year fight to win back his passport left him exhausted, depressed, self-absorbed, and isolated from the new wave of black activism which he so desperately wanted to be a part of.

Robeson's career and reputation never fully recovered from the Red Scare.

In 1957, the Supreme Court forced the State Department to return Robeson's passport, and Robeson set out to restore his career in Europe. He received a hero's welcome, but his voice and his acting had lost much their earlier magnetism. Robeson himself recognized his declining abilities and this awareness, Duberman argues, when combined with the stress from years of harassment, led Robeson to attempt to commit suicide in Moscow in 1961. Contrary to rumour, there is no evidence that Robeson was driven to attempt suicide by a sudden and profound disillusionment with either Communism or the Soviet Union. Robeson's recovery was extremely slow, in no small part because he was shunted from hospital to hospital until doctors in East Berlin managed to revive a measure of his old vigor. That Robeson recovered at all is a miracle given that doctors in England subjected him to massive doses of sedatives and over fifty electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) treatments. There is little reason to disagree with Robeson's son who believed that "wrongly administered" ECT treatments had "damaged his father's brain." Although Robeson lived until 1976, for all practical purposes his public career ended with his attempted suicide in 1960.

Duberman's biography of Robeson does much to counter the strident charges made by Robeson's contemporary critics. Most of his critics emerge as mean-spirited, shallow, and unprincipled in their attacks. Duberman establishes that Robeson was not politically naive; if anything his assessment of the world order following WWII was perspicacious. Duberman, however, does not effectively grapple with the most trenchant critiques of Robeson's activism. For many black critics, Robeson's errors were twofold: first, he did everything to make Communism rather than race his "issue"; and second, he was essentially a left-wing integrationist. As Harold Cruise has argued, Robeson's message offered little to black activists who were increasingly attracted

to black nationalism during the 1960s. And while Duberman demonstrates Robeson's lifelong commitment to agitation, he fails to explain how Robeson's political vision could have offered any effective guidance to the black masses. Moreover, Robeson's penchant for integration prevented him from ever developing a sophisticated black cultural philosophy. (Instead, he sought obsessively to prove that the pentatonic scale was the universal root of folk music around the world.) Though not Duberman's intention, his biography of Robeson reveals the manifold contradictions in the careers and philosophies of many of the black activists and artists who were formed in the crucible of the Harlem Renaissance. Though endowed with exceptional talent and despite their acute awareness of their significance, they had great difficulty in giving voice to either an original black aesthetic vision or a political program which recognized the peculiar needs and aspirations of the black masses for whom they claimed to speak.

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Maier B. Fox, *United We Stand: The United Mine Workers of America, 1890-1990* (Washington, D.C.: UMW 1990).

THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA are learning to live with their history. For much of the 1970s labour historians received little encouragement from union headquarters. The union was still distributing an official history originally published in 1952 in celebration of John L. Lewis. In the 1980s, however, the UMW seems to have embarked on a new era of "glaznost" in assessing their history. On the occasion of the union's 100th anniversary last year, the union released *Out of Darkness*, a video prepared with the help of labour historian James Green and filmmaker Barbara Kopple; the film contained remarkable documentary footage of episodes such as the Ludlow Massacre

(1914) and the Pittston Strike (1989) and provided a candid look at the history of the union over the last century. Also last year the union sponsored a scholarly conference at Pennsylvania State University where UMW officers, including the president, listened attentively to a series of academic papers by labour historians and other students of the coal miners. Meanwhile the union research coordinator, a scholar with a background in the study of American history, was preparing a modern history of the union, and this impressive volume appeared in time to be distributed to delegates at the centennial convention of the union in September 1990.

The book is presented as a general history, organized along chronological lines, but the author often manages to overcome the restrictions of institutional history to give a good sense of the surrounding economic and social environment in which the union developed. The blow by blow of past battles is not absent but is successfully subordinated to a number of major themes. In particular, Fox demonstrates the union's lasting commitment to principles of racial and ethnic equality and an inclusive industrial unionism; in both cases the UMW defined the scope of working-class solidarity more generously than most of its contemporaries. He also points out the challenges created by the chaotic economic structure of the industry and gives close attention to the contending proposals for regulation of the industry advanced, especially in the 1920s, by social democrats such as John Brophy and more orthodox thinkers such as John L. Lewis and his advisor Jett Lauck. One of the interesting features of the book is that the early leaders of the union are brought out of the shadows cast upon them by their successor Lewis; among this group John Mitchell is given a moderately revisionist treatment suggesting that Mitchell, usually targeted by labour historians as an exponent of class collaboration, is also susceptible of a more nuanced interpretation as an advo-

cate of wider principles of working-class citizenship. By contrast John L. Lewis appears in a somewhat less familiar role. Despite his almost dictatorial control over the union for 40 years, Lewis is neatly cut down to size; as a result we gain a better sense of the contending forces within the union and the prevailing opportunities to which Lewis was responding in his notorious succession of strategic changes. In the 1920s Lewis appeared to be one of the architects of defeat for the house of labour and spent much of his time manipulating his rivals and suppressing internal opposition; by the 1930s, however, Lewis appeared in the historical spotlight as the spokesman for industrial unionism and reconstruction of the house of labour along more militant lines. Then in the 1940s Lewis appeared to perceive the limits of the new era of industrial legality which the UMW had done so much to introduce; his dramatic breaks with President Franklin Roosevelt and with the Congress of Industrial Organizations have been interpreted as idiosyncratic moments of retreat into isolation but can also be seen as moments of concern with the limits of industrial legality, best exemplified in the showdown over the Taft Hartley Act (1947), which Lewis vigorously denounced as a form of industrial slavery. Finally in the 1950s Lewis finds himself retreating into history and mythology, leaving behind a mixed legacy of achievement for the coal miners and a corroded union machinery which produced Tony Boyle as the heir apparent — later to be convicted for the murder of his rival Joseph Yablonski.

How do the Canadian districts fare in this general history of an international union? Fox notes that Canadian coal miners first appeared in the columns of the *United Mine Workers' Journal* in the 1890s and he continues to punctuate the narrative with references to Canadian developments. In addition to the union records, Fox has used the work of Canadian scholars such as Ian McKay and Allen Seager (and others), and the major devel-

opments among the Canadian coal miners are given due attention. From the time locals of the Western Federation of Miners entered the UMW in 1903, followed by deserting Provincial Workmen's Association members in Nova Scotia in 1908, the UMW was an international union. Eventually there would be UMW locals in five provinces, and in places such as Nova Scotia and Alberta the UMW did much to set the working-class agenda for the provincial movement. Fox has an eye for Canadian detail, and points out for instance that in the 1920s the government-owned Canadian National Railway was operating coal mines in Ohio and showing its solidarity with other operators by refusing to sign union agreements. He correctly identifies the longtime Canadian rivals, the revolutionary J.B. McLachlan and the Lewis-appointed Silby Barrett, as representative figures of the era, locked in their deadly struggle over the prospects of revolution and reform and the relative benefits of industrial democracy and industrial legality. For the record, a couple of small corrections to the Canadian references can be noted: referring to a Canadian candidate for international office in 1976 (510), Fox overlooks Joseph Nearing of District 26 who ran (unsuccessfully) for secretary-treasurer against William Green in 1924; also he implies (284) that "several" miners were killed at Waterford Lake in 1925 — several were shot but William Davis was the only fatality.

On reflection some contrasts between the experiences of the Canadian and American unions stand out strongly. The economic issues facing the coal miners in Canada were different from those in the United States, largely because the Canadian coalfields were located in the economic hinterlands, far from the centres of industry and population; and from the earliest days of the National Policy the coal industry was familiar with close regulation by the state — the usual issue for these regional industries was whether they would enjoy protection or suffer destruction. Secondly, and again the result

of geography, despite the best efforts of radicals to form a national union of all Canadian miners, including those in the hardrock country of Ontario and Quebec, the Canadian miners rarely occupied the centre stage of Canadian labour history as the UMW was accustomed to doing in the United States. Thirdly, the advent of the welfare state also indicates contrasts: in Canada reforms such as old age pensions and socialized medicine tended to proceed through a series of legislative enactments promoted by the political parties on the left and benefiting all citizens of the provinces where they applied; for American coal miners, however, such achievements were more often a by-product of the class struggle, the most notable example being the aggressive collective bargaining in 1946 which created the Health and Welfare Fund, paid for by a negotiated royalty imposed on coal production.

One further comparative observation can be made as well from the general history of the union. It would be misleading to read the recurrent conflicts between the international office and the Canadian districts as instances of American labour imperialism directed at foreign workers. The confrontations acted out in Alberta and Nova Scotia were frequently repeated in other districts and there is little basis for concluding that the Canadians were singled out for special subordination to the international office. Indeed the Canadian districts seem to have been more successful than most in preserving their contracts in the 1920s and maintaining their right to elect officers and ratify contracts, even in the most dictatorial days of the Lewis regime. Ironically, however, when the forces of reform began to gain ascendancy in the 1970s, building on concerns about health and safety in the industry and internal democracy in the union, the Canadian districts failed to share in the experience. Much of the agitation revolved around issues of state policy and court-ordered elections — more confirmation of the web of industrial legality defining contemporary labour history. At

the time this left the Canadian districts out of step with the round of renewal taking place in the union. Now as the UMW continues to discuss the possibilities of merger with the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers, the future of the Canadian districts may not be entirely clear since the Canadian locals of the OCAW were reorganized in 1980 as the Energy and Chemical Workers Union.

With the publication of this history, the UMW has set a fine example for union-sponsored labour history. As to be expected, this is a highly sympathetic account, but it is not uncritical and the conclusions represent the considered judgement of an experienced scholar rather than the official view of the union. The book is ably written and the research is solidly based on the existing secondary literature and the extensive union archives (which should soon be properly housed and organized for the use of researchers). There is a 44-page bibliography and a list of sources for each chapter; unfortunately there are no numbered footnotes, so there can be some difficulty in identifying the precise sources of individual statements. In producing this book the UMW has fulfilled its responsibility to provide both an informative general history for the use of its members and also an authoritative starting place for future research on the union's history. Others will address local events and specialized themes more fully, but *United We Stand* will remain the standard general history of the union for some time to come.

Finally, it must be noted that in discharging its responsibilities to history, the union's concern is by no means purely nostalgic. The union's history is not over and the idea that the coal miners should "get back into history where we can honour you" has no place in the thinking of the current UMW president. In his preface Richard Trumka reviews the new challenges facing American labour in an age of transnational capitalism and wholesale assaults on workers' rights. He argues that the UMW's legacy of leader-

ship in the American labour movement points towards innovative strategies in the organization and mobilization of membership and allies. Trumka situates himself on the left of the AFL-CIO leadership and underlines the urgent need to define an autonomous working-class politics which will help set the agendas for the next century. The UMW has been counted down and out more than once in its history, but it is clear from this history that the last chapter has not been written.

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Judy Lown, *Women and Industrialization: Gender at Work in Nineteenth-Century England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1990).

DRAWING PRIMARILY on the Courtauld family papers, employment records, census and the memoirs of a middle-class school mistress appointed in 1847, Judy Lown reconstructs work and family relations of workers in the Courtauld mills in north-east Essex, England. She aspires, however (as indicated by the book's sweeping title), to provide a much more general interpretation of the relationship between gender and wage work in a period of concentration and increasing scale in manufacturing. Hence, although Lown's case of the Courtauld silk works has been little explored from a gender perspective, and much of the empirical evidence is relatively fresh and new, the story is a familiar one. Lown provides a clear and systematic statement of the issues and makes a provocative argument well-supported by the evidence. Her themes are the coexistence of continuity within change, narrowing opportunities for self-regulated or skilled work for women in the process of textile mechanization and factory organization of work, the interpenetration of the worlds of home and work, the spread of the myth of separate spheres, the role of employer paternalism, some male workers' privilege,

and middle-class women's teaching in constructing working-class domesticity, and, finally, the alternative, but not oppositional ideology built by feminists calling for women's rights in marriage, the workplace, and politics.

Women and Industrialization is organized as follows. The first chapter explores the English silk industry in three periods — the 14th century with its guild organization which limited women workers to wives or daughters assisting guild members; the 18th, in which commerce-oriented put-out production redefined a hierarchy of specialized functions (here the Spitalfields silk industry is central); and the 19th century, which was characterized by dispersed centers of mechanized factory production. In Essex, this development went along with changes in agriculture and the wool textile industry (mechanization of spinning), which reduced opportunities for women's employment, impoverishing families and providing a female work force for the new silk mills, including Courtauld's. The company's strategies of labour allocation by age and gender were critically important in establishing the gender character of jobs.

Chapter Two analyzes company records to reveal Courtauld's employment practices: the gender segregation of jobs, contrasting male and female mobility patterns (the former, involving many fewer workers, provided ladders for vertical mobility, while the latter, concerning the majority of workers, permitted only horizontal mobility), absenteeism (only women took leave to care for children, the ill or the elderly), and workers' health. The living arrangements and household structure of workers are the concern of Chapter Three, again contrasting the experience of male- and female-headed households, and concluding that men benefitted "from a position of authority both outside and inside the home." (89) Courtauld's nonconformist religion-based paternalism, which promoted his workers' welfare by various schemes

seeking to teach orderly habits and exercised strict control in the workplace, is discussed in Chapter Four. Here again, the different consequences for men and women workers are emphasized: men more often benefitted from Courtauld's policies, while women were more likely to be seen as objects to be shaped in a middle-class image. The result was a tendency toward accommodation by men (who did not support women's strikes) and female resistance in the name of long-held household customs to attempts to teach middle-class behaviors and values. Paternalism in the broader community — including civic improvement — is the subject of Chapter Five.

Chapter Six moves beyond the case study to examine the debate on women's employment and rights in England as a whole. This attempt to broaden the context is less successful than the case study. It not only draws on familiar voices and groups, but also assumes that the debate and ideas expressed in the national arena reflect and shape those in the towns, homes and workplaces, the particularities of which Lown has so effectively established. Such congruence needs to be taken as problematic, not assumed, given the specificity of industrial and geographic conditions that the earlier chapters have shown. One such set of connections between middle and working-class women on both local and national levels which Lown does establish is that around respectability and domesticity. Working-class women were seen as the key — if they themselves could be taught order and virtue — to male personal conduct. Middle-class women in the towns in which Courtauld had mills, Lown shows, "deprived of their former economic role in the household economy, partly acted as mediators of this ideology to working-class women. They also extended the boundaries of their own restricted domain" as teachers or visitors to the sick and dying. (185) Nationally, male proponents and opponents of state intervention to "protect" women workers, she

demonstrates, were criticized by middle-class feminists. Some like Harriet Martineau were libertarian, opposing any legal restriction on women's right to employment; others, like Anna Jameson objected to the double standard by which women were praised as "keepers of domestic and moral virtue and compelled through financial necessity to work." (182) Yet both these critics accepted the notion of women's "natural" talent for nurture, and argued that women should be permitted to take this talent into employment, thus making the world a better place through "feminine" jobs as teachers, nurses, or social workers. This is exactly what Mary Merryweather, the company teacher, believed that she was doing, as — on the private level — did the wives of the Courtaulds themselves and of their factory managers.

One other area in which Lown's arguments are especially effective is in identifying the limits of women's collective action in the "complex web of patriarchal and capitalist interests [linking household and workplace] which were the result of human agency rather than the neutral progress of technology." (215) She theorizes that three criteria determined collective success or failure: labour market fluctuations (jobs available to men and women), the resources they could call on and the strategic alliances they were able to make. In most of the 19th century, women workers in the region had few alternative job opportunities outside silk weaving and winding; hence their labour market position was not strong. Toward the end of the century, however, local labour market conditions became more favorable for women. Needless to say, however, their resources were nowhere near as powerful as their employers. And men workers, who were a small minority of the silk work force, benefitted more from company paternalism, hence tended to ally themselves with bosses, not their women fellow workers. The "family wage" ideal which was accepted by the end of the century tended

both to reinforce patriarchy in the household and marginalize women in the workplace. Showing how this came about in that niche of the silk industry controlled by the Courtaulds is Lown's major achievement.

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Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: Gender and Power* (London: Virago 1990).

DOROTHY THOMPSON OPENS her study of Queen Victoria with the observation that instead of seeking "fresh" facts, she will reinterpret Victoria's lengthy and copiously documented reign. As she points out, originally the book was conceived as part of Virago's *Pioneer* series which was "intended to spotlight outstanding nineteenth-century women in a popular and accessible way." (ix) Although ultimately the book was not included in that series, its concise format, remarkably jargon-free style, as well as helpful guide to source material, create an excellent introductory text for students who are concerned with questions of gender in relation to the political and social history of the period. The only minor drawbacks worth noting are incompletely documented illustrations and a tendency to repeat some of the arguments, especially in the sections dealing with republicanism.

Thompson helpfully explains the book's framework in the dedication where she describes it as differing from traditional biography in its examination of "parallel lives." (v) In effect, the parallel lives are those of Victoria herself which are chronologically traversed twice: the first three and a half chapters mainly dealing with the ways in which Victoria and the royal family organized their own lives; the second three and half chapters exploring how different factions of the British public responded to the institution of monarchy from Victoria's accession in 1837 until her golden jubilee in

1887. Broadly speaking, the two themes of the book — the private and domestic organization of her life in the chapters dealing with her family background, the throne of England, her life with Prince Albert and her relationship with John Brown, and the public readings of her position in the later chapters dealing with republican critiques of the monarchy — are brought together in the seventh chapter, "Jubilee Years." Here in this last chapter an overall assessment of Victoria's impact on the monarchy is considered from the dual vantage points of what she managed to achieve from her own perspective and what the British public thought of a woman holding the country's highest official position at a time when it was deemed that women should be excluded from public life, at least according to the prevailing ideology of separate spheres.

In the last chapter and conclusion, Thompson fully elaborates the book's central (and I would suggest most interesting) argument: namely that the modernization and hence survival of the British monarchy was facilitated by Victoria's personality, longevity and gender. Taking up the much discussed question of why monarchy survived in Britain when it was increasingly abandoned elsewhere in Europe, Thompson suggests that the figure of a female queen flexibly served different ruling ideologies throughout the period. For example, at the time of her accession she was seen as a revitalizing symbol of youth, purity, and 'female' innocence in contrast to the aged corruption and excesses of her Hanoverian uncles, George IV and William IV. Closely associated with leading Whig politicians of Lord Melbourne's ministry, the new queen helped to defuse republican critiques of the monarchy. By the end of the century when a more conservative, imperialist ideology was espoused by administrations such as Disraeli's, the image of the older queen as mother of the country and empire was popularly accepted. What Thompson extrapolates

from examples like these is the argument that a woman made the power of the throne seem more symbolic than political. In Thompson's words, "A female on the throne must always have appeared less 'political' in an age in which public political action was exclusively a male preserve." (138)

One of the most useful aspects of Thompson's study is her careful consideration of the multiple and contradictory ways in which the queen and royal family were perceived by their subjects. As the author observes in the third chapter, in many respects the Victorian court adopted a kind of middle-brow ambience which tended to deflect criticism by steering a compromise between the extremes of the exclusive country aristocracy and radicals who would overturn the existing social order or high church ritualism and low church temperance. Instead a policy of moderation was adopted which involved patronising contemporary but not avant-garde theatre, music and art, encouraging serious intellectual pursuits, and dispensing royal honours to new kinds of people. (Thompson notes that the queen was proud of making the first Jewish peer.) Apparently an atmosphere of middle-class conformity, especially in terms of family virtue, made the monarchy especially attractive to that highly important sector of Victorian society. And yet at the same time the royal family amassed an amazing private fortune and lived in a fashion which bore little relation to middle-class daily experience. For instance, as Thompson comments, the queen "travelled with an immense retinue of servants, ate off solid gold plates and had hands so weighted with jewels that on occasion she could barely handle her knife and fork." (124) This heterogeneous raw material was taken up by statesmen, court painters, photographers and journalists who constructed a royal image that smoothed out the queen's individual complexities by turning her into a devotional image of maternal rule in the later years of her reign.

Shifting the basis of monarchical power from political to symbolic was consistent with the increasingly popular idea of constitutional monarchy wherein the ruler functions as a merely ceremonial head of state. Despite the fact that Victoria definitely held strong political views and even occasionally influenced political affairs, she did so rather indirectly. Perhaps even more important than her indirect style was the fact that she was increasingly represented in her domestic capacity as royal mother, widow and benevolent matriarch to the subject peoples of the empire. As Thompson notes, such representations were circulated by the rising mass press, souvenir and entertainment industry, all of which contributed to the growth of a popular Toryism among the working and lower-middle-classes who enthusiastically embraced conservative jingoistic and familial ideology. Significantly Thompson concludes by commenting on the disturbing ambivalent legacy of Victoria's reign: on the one hand she helped to strengthen a monarchy which exerted a largely conservative social influence which included reinscribing the moral authority of women in the family as opposed to public life; and yet on the other she nonetheless provided a conspicuous role model for female participation in public life which as Thompson suggests "worked at a deeper level to weaken prejudice and make change more possible in the century following her reign." (145) Taking up the unspoken implications of Thompson's concluding sentence, one cannot help wondering how the conservative politics of Margaret Thatcher relate to this British tradition of symbolic female authority.

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John Holford, *Reshaping Labour: Organization, Work and Politics — Edinburgh in the Great War and After* (London: Croom Helm 1988).

THE AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK emerged from his work as Workers Educational Association tutor organizer to ensure that his thesis study of the labour movement in Edinburgh is available to a wider public. This book is a small fragment of that larger puzzle: what were the pressures and influences which produced the labour movement of 20th-century Britain — that labour movement which has been so drastically reduced and reshaped in the last twenty years.

This book has many strengths. It is informed by a Gramscian concept of ideology. The changing meaning of key concepts is explored and the notion of legitimation, in its broadest sense, plays a key part in explanation. The impact of the 1914-18 war is crucial here. Profit became profiteering and through their participation in that brutal mass conflict working-class people were able to appropriate patriotism to many aspects of the labour movement. Welfare and state regulation became patriotic. For a short period both government and unions courted the ex-servicemen, whose 'sacrifice' gave them a claim to attention which working people had rarely had before. Holford suggests that this change brought a brief period of confidence to labour which scarcely lasted into the early 1920s. The concept of efficiency which had referred to the war effort began to slip back and refer to profits and the rights of capital.

Another strength of this book, and perhaps its most innovative one is the attention which is given to organization. Before the war, the labour movement was an ill co-ordinated network of organization which ranged from the Socialist Sunday Schools and Women's Co-operative Guild to the ILP and many Trades Unions, all loosely co-ordinated by the TUC and LRC. After the war, a much tighter, more hierarchical and co-ordinated movement

was created around the Labour Party of the 1918 constitution and its supporting trades unions. Holford suggests that this owed much to the experience of the war. The debates and discussion documents were full of military metaphors. There was much talk of mobilization and discipline. The increasing impact of Taylorism on industry had more importance for the labour movement than many admitted. This influence put more emphasis on organization and less on propaganda and effective action. Thus the labour movement that emerged in the 1920s was better suited to carrying on internal disputes than to the old ILP program of propaganda (education) and loosely co-ordinated and broadly inspired action against poverty in an opportunistic way. This is an important insight but often seems to anticipate the collapse of spontaneity of the 1960s labour movement in an anachronistic way. It may be that the impact of military and tayloristic models on 1914-18 placed a fatal and tragic flaw in the labour party, but we still have to explain the road to 1945 and indeed, in Scotland, the breakaway and survival of the ILP as a party without and then a party despite the labour party itself. Certainly the 1960s was a period of disillusion followed by disaster for many in the labour movement, but this had much to do with fundamental changes in the social geography and occupational structure of Britain.

Another strength of this book is the manner in which it places Edinburgh on the agenda of labour history. The city, despite its elitist and middle-class image, was the home of the first socialist organization in Scotland. This study gives the 30 per cent of Edinburgh's occupied population who were part of the industrial labour force a place in history, but more needs to be made of the impact upon them of being part of this intensely confident bourgeois city. Holford notes the fragmented nature of working-class experience in the city and attributes much of this to the industrial structure (breweries, rubber works, printing and gas meter mak-

ing). He notes the way in which many strikes were played to an implicit audience of the Edinburgh public as both sides vied for support (the concept of legitimation does need more work here), but he does not follow up the implications of this.

As many have done in the past Holford shows that the outcome of this process was a labour party which looked after 'politics' which had to do with parliament and other representative bodies, and a supportive trades union movement which looked after bargaining over wages and conditions and left politics to labour politicians. It is not always clear that this was the inevitable outcome of the processes he describes. After all part of his story was the creation of the Trades and Labour Council in Edinburgh which co-ordinated the relationship between unions and 'politics'. He seems to suggest the sterility of all this but perhaps anticipates too much and ignores 1945 and even the 1960s, but he has placed Edinburgh firmly on the map of labour history and added to our understanding of the switch from a diverse and dispersed labour movement to a centralized and disciplined one. It is a building block for labour history which is widely welcomed.

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Roderick Floud, Kenneth Wachter & Anabel Gregory, *Height, Health and History: Nutritional Status in the United Kingdom, 1750-1980* (New York: Cambridge University Press 1990).

THE AVERAGE ACADEMIC READS far less than we all think. Material of my own for example (though probably not for this journal) has appeared in print without even the editor reading it, let alone the scholarly community. It is actually becoming increasingly difficult to have manuscripts rejected. Even if the situation were less unhappy, the prospects of this book among the readership of this journal would not be good. More than half the text

should really have been in technical appendices; and there are 55 diagrams, 39 tables — many of them several pages long — and a dozen or so equations scattered through 327 pages of text. On the basis of the foregoing, and its accompanying whiff of the social sciences, many readers will not even finish this review, much less pick up the book.

For those that do, the interpretative heart of the book — chapters 7 and 8 — should be on the reading list of everyone interested in class and the history of the well-being of peoples everywhere. For though the topic of the book is nutritional trends in the United Kingdom since the mid-18th century (and its major primary sources are drawn accordingly) the research incorporates the latest literature on nutrition around the world, and nutrition is no peripheral subject. Despite the long technical discussions, the authors lose no opportunity to refer to the big picture. International comparisons and insights abound.

Physical anthropologists and many official institutions, including the World Health Organization, have long called upon anthropometry (the science of human measurement) to help track nutritional welfare. Historians began using such techniques systematically only in the 1970s — largely as a result of the cliometric explosion in slave studies. Most states in the western world began to measure at least some of their citizens, even before they began to count them systematically — usually because they were interested in closely identifying some groups, such as incarcerated criminals, and selecting others for special service, such as military personnel. As a result there are some quite remarkable data in the archives that provide continuous records of aspects of the human physique from the early 18th-century down to the present. Sweden, the Hapsburg Empire, Great Britain, and the US are particularly well-endowed. Moreover, when European countries expanded overseas they measured peoples with whom they came

into contact, especially those whom they wished to exploit to the full, such as Africans. Cheap data-crunching computers and sophisticated new statistical techniques that give us population characteristics from heavily biased samples (selection of the tall for military service, for example) have made these data relatively accessible to the scholarly masses in the last decade.

Why bother (and it may not be only the barely numerate that throw out the question)? The answer is that anthropometry promised to bypass the awful problems of reconstructing real wage and national income trends from historical data. In short, it promised historians direct access to welfare trends and the social and economic tensions that formed them. Economic growth, immiseration, the trauma of urbanization, industrialization, famine, epidemic and endemic disease, and environmental disasters should all show up in the human physique — be it height, birth-weight, or some other anthropometric index — without having to wrestle with the bias and representativeness of a few observers. It is even possible to derive reliable estimates of menarche, and thus the onset of fertility, from such records.

The present volume is the end result of a gargantuan effort to collect and analyze the records first of the British military and second, a charitable society that, beginning in the 18th century, recruited poor children and prepared them for careers in the merchant marine. All the data exploited here comprise male heights, though prison records (not used here) now yield female trends.

Except that the British are now better off than they were in 1750, the findings are striking. The average British adult male is nearly 4" taller than his 1750 counterpart. However, major discontinuities in the trend toward improved nutritional status, do not correspond very well with traditional views (on either side of the ideological divide) of the social impact of industrialization. It is the mid-

dle of the 19th century that emerges here as the period of greatest stress and there is much to support the evidence of Booth, Rowntree and contemporaries on absolute poverty in early 20th-century Britain. Average height at the time of World War I was little different from what it had been at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. As recent studies on the mid 19th-century US, late 19th-century Montreal, early 20th-century Vienna and several mid 20th-century third world areas indicate, it is urbanization and the accompanying diseased environment, rather than the factory system *per se* that has exacted the greatest human toll — or to put it differently the shift of the factory system into the towns.

Other important findings are that the class differential in heights in the 19th century were staggering, and while the gap has narrowed very markedly, it still exists today. Indeed, only in Sweden have class differentials totally disappeared. For regional and urban/rural differentials, trends over time are almost as dramatic. Urban dwellers are now taller than their rural counterparts — quite the reverse of two centuries ago, and the Scots have lost their considerable advantage. These conclusions and many more are the products of painstaking research and are convincingly presented.

Yet this book, and historical anthropometry in general, will probably not realise the expectations of a few years ago. First, the connection between nutritional status and human stature may well be valid for the population examined here. But the argument against a significant genetic component in stature differentials is less convincing in other parts of the world — in particular Africa (the Twa and the Tutsi peoples in Rwanda-Burundi for example), and until that issue is addressed, there must be residual reservations about work of this type. Second, nutrition, as the authors acknowledge, is a net concept. It is an output measurement for a process that has so many inputs — environmental quality, work-load, food-intake, disease,

childhood abuse, and many, many more — that it is often not at all clear what a change in nutritional status can tell us. Because the authors are well aware of this, they use anthropometry as only one of several indicators of human welfare in their discussions. Mortality, morbidity, as well as the more traditional economic indicators buttress their arguments. A few years ago, however, anthropometry was viewed as a solution — as substitute rather than a supplement for such things. Perhaps this is as it should be: to have it otherwise could only reduce the opportunities for academics to publish, though it just might make them better read.

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Rosemary Pringle, *Secretaries talk: sexuality, power and work* (London: Verso 1989).

FROM THE PERSPECTIVE of what has come to be the dominant approach to left-wing labour studies, *Secretaries talk* is a challenging book. First, it does not focus on the labour process, but uses approaches — Foucault's discourse analysis, psychoanalysis, and cultural analysis — that are not usually applied to production relations. Second, while feminist in focus and inspiration, it challenges some of the tenets of feminist approaches to work. Third, it studies a category of work, the secretary (as distinct from the larger group of women office workers into which they often blend), whose class position is murky and whose very existence flickers in and out of official Australian statistical analysis.

Rosemary Pringle sees the workplace in general and the secretary-boss relation in particular as a site of the construction of sexual and gender meanings, of pleasure, power and resistance. Here she extends Cynthia Cockburn's insight that gender, and patriarchal, relations are constructed not merely at home but in the workplace as well. But where Cockburn's

study of the British printing trade, *Brothers*, rests on straightforward historical analysis. Pringle draws on more controversial methods to explore the relation of sexuality, power and work. In the latter, she is also not without precedent; twenty years earlier, Herbert Marcuse brought a critical psychoanalysis to bear on American organizational theory in *One dimensional man*.

Pringle is also concerned to correct feminism's various tendencies to treat work and sexuality as separate entities by locating her study of this classic feminine occupation in the debates on culture, sexuality and identity. More particularly, she takes to task: liberal feminism for its rationalist faith that a gender neutral sexual politics is adequate to produce equality; radical feminism for its insistence that libidinalised workplace relations can connote only danger, not pleasure; left feminist empiricism, for its failure to theorise the complexity of gender, class and work for women who work as secretaries; and all tendencies for their failure to query the meaning for women workers of the supposed structural split between home and workplace inherited from marxism, weberianism and the latter's influence on functionalism.

The research is shaped by its context, mid 1980s Australia, a time of switching to computerised word processing and restructuring following the 1981 recession. It has a strong empirical base, beginning with a history of the feminization of the occupation as a tactic of labour supply management. But at its core are interviews, the secretaries' "talk" of the title. These were conducted with 45 teachers and 135 students from state and private business colleges, with 30 students followed into the workplace. The bulk of the 244 other interviews was with secretaries and related workers and with 76 bosses (with women managers over-represented and sometimes in "boss-secretary pairs") across a "representative sample" of workplaces. Special efforts were made to find feminist, lesbian, gay and heterosexual

male secretaries. We also hear briefly from aboriginal students who are trained in special streams (below the regular streams, called "orchid" and "daisy") in rural state colleges and go on to work in aboriginal organizations and the public sector.

Pringle asks why, in the context of affirmative action and pay equity programs, is it so hard to untangle what a secretary does from what a secretary is? If the function is to assure internal and external communication for her work unit, this clearly involves specialised knowledge and administrative skills, as well as shorthand and typing. But this kind of labour process analysis, she argues, is inadequate to get at the ways in which secretaries are constructed — in the popular imagination, actively in training schools, and critically by the women themselves. Because the position is also relational — a secretary works for a boss — and because bosses are overwhelmingly men and secretaries women, work relations are gendered and sexualized in particularly deep ways. Developing strategies for change, she argues, requires understanding and destabilising the discourses which give meaning to "secretary" and the unconscious levels of meaning construction. And for her, to understand discourse is to relate it to "structures of patriarchy and capitalism, gender and class, the labour process and psychosexuality [which] provide a context and a set of limitations to the transformations that are possible at any point." (5)

Pringle provides witty sketches of the core discourses of the secretary: the classic middle-class model of "the office wife"; the declassé "sexy secretary" of the tabloids and business machine ads; and liberal feminism's modernist, gender-neutral "career woman," with middle-class aspirations into management. Similar portraits of the ways the roles are played out — master/slave; nanny/naughty boy; mother/daughter; rational distance; team; or as co-workers — are used to explore the effects of different ages, mar-

ital and family statuses, class origins, sexes, gender styles, and corporate cultures on work relations. It is not among secretaries working for unions — where, despite political solidarity, the effect of electing officers and having a permanent staff was to create a gap as wide as in some corporations — but in a situation where a woman manager refused both familial and dominance roles that Pringle finally found the secretary-boss relation as one of co-workers.

On this basis, Pringle then turns her attention to sociological debates: to argue that both liberal and left organizational analysis are distorted by taking particular masculinist conceptions of rationalism for granted; to examine predictions that technological change means the proletarianization of the occupation (not for real "secretaries"); and to reconsider the debates on gender and class, work and home. The last illustrates a limitation of the book. Secretaries describe the ways in which home and work are not for them fully separated and place themselves, as workers and members of families, descriptively in relation to popular notions of class. Thinking of the ways in which these women workers manage, construct, and violate the workplace/household separation and of class as biographically shifting class identifications is a useful corrective to the abstractness of some structural definitions, but does not in itself provide an alternate macrosocial conception. This discussion invites, but does not generate, a consideration of the ways in which late capitalism mobilises these intersecting relations of class and gender and household and workplace.

Not only sociological but strategic concerns run through the book. Her Foucauldian understanding of power as dispersed, leads Pringle to see resistance as similarly dispersed. Working-class secretarial students resist teachers' attempts to turn them into middle-class ladies; yet their interest in clothes, in boyfriend management, in how to be adult, she suggests, provide an opening for crit-

ical discussion of gender relations. Working-class and middle-class secretaries use family in different ways to resist the demands of bosses for overtime or for personal control. But, although pleasurable, tactics like putting salt instead of sugar in the boss's tea, she points out, remain fragmented. More unified campaigns at the level of Australian state politics, have had mixed results with success in getting repetitive strain injuries included in workers' compensation schemes, but failure to institute state supervised pay equity, and only limited interest on the part of most women workers in affirmative action campaigns that ignore childcare needs.

In one of the reflexive asides on methods that appear throughout the text, Pringle tells us she has written the book for the feminist secretaries — many of whom have moved into management or post-secondary education — she most closely identifies with. How can they win recognition, yet also continue to get power and pleasure on their own terms? Not by encouraging the (re-)entry of men into secretarial work (a category still dominated by men after World War II in Australian journalism, police, transportation, and the courts for example); for that is more likely to lead to upward mobility for individual men and a horizontal division, with women on the bottom rungs, than an upgrading of the occupation as a whole. Nor by desexualizing and depersonalising the workplace; for that, she argues, capitulates to the view that women and femininity, socially constructed as they may be, do not belong there in the first place. Rather she calls for workplace solidarity against abusive bosses and campaigns that address women workers' dual location, both linked to discursive critique.

But strategic, as well as theoretical issues remain to be explored. Trade unions have won better conditions for women working in the public sector, but liberal managers have opened up career ladders into management. What are the implications of the existence of these dif-

ferent routes for feminist secretaries, particularly if we accept her persuasive argument that the class location of secretaries is ambiguous and varied insofar as some are on the lower rungs of the "service class" while others are workers without organizational or familial resources? Is careerism for women, however empowering and pleasurable, to be considered differently than for men?

Pringle's study opens up other questions. It does not consider how its national location, its Australianess, affects the findings. It would be interesting to take Pringle's perspective into comparative work on other occupations or national social formations. A similar approach to steelworkers or to occupations that are in the process of changing from single-sex to both male and female could open up our understanding of the articulation of cultural and psychological with political factors necessary to an expanded transformative political practice.

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Joan Acker, *Doing Comparable Worth: Gender, Class and Pay Equity* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1989).

THIS IS AN EXCELLENT BOOK in which Joan Acker attempts to show the way gender and class structures and struggles interpenetrate in the battle to achieve comparable worth (equal pay for work of equal value) in the state sector of Oregon between 1983 and 1987. From the vantage point of being a feminist on the Task Force empowered to develop a new job classification plan and compensation free of gender biases for the state sector, Acker describes the way unions, feminists and management pulled together to support a new job classification and a comparable worth plan, but also struggled against one another over how these goals were to be achieved. In the process, 'true comparable worth' (compensation based on gender-free job evaluation points for

all state jobs) was watered down, first to comparable worth only for the most undervalued job classes in which women predominate, then to poverty relief for the most undervalued classes. Despite this apparent defeat for the women's movement, Acker sees many positive benefits coming out of this particular battle — such as the symbolization of the continuing validity of the women's movement, the integration of women into the labour movement, the destruction of the family wage, and the unmasking of power's embeddedness in gender and class structures. Ranged against these benefits is the support which job evaluation and comparable worth lend to the capitalist division of labour, hierarchy and market-driven wages.

Considerable attention is paid to the way job evaluation — traditionally a management tool — reproduces job hierarchies in organizations, and hence gender and class inequalities. Hay consultants were hired to add legitimacy to the comparable worth efforts by the State. But they clearly sided with management in a largely successful attempt to prevent the Hay Guide Charts from being 'watered down' by the four-to-three feminist-union vs. management majority on the Task Force in the attempt to recognize and reward women's under-recognized job skills (such as stress in clerical jobs, and human relations skills). Job evaluation committees were set up which had the effect of intensifying gender divisions among workers, but preserving the class boundary between managerial and non-managerial jobs. Service, blue-collar and clerical workers were placed on one committee, and middle-level supervisory and professional personnel on a separate committee. Each committee had an equal number of women and men. The men continually downplayed women's job skills in clerical positions against the objections of the women. Men were more prone to pass judgement on women's job skills than women were on male job skills. The structure of these committees prevented

non-supervisory workers from evaluating supervisory and managerial jobs. Though there was some correction for gender biases, because most managerial and supervisory jobs were occupied by men, the preservation of class boundaries also reproduced gender inequalities.

The motives of management are clearly revealed in this book. The Personnel Department of the State attempted to use comparable worth as a vehicle to introduce a centralized job classification that would enhance its control over the nine unions that bargained with it. Hence, it supported a temporary suspension of collective bargaining, and redlining or redcircling (in which 'high-waged' male jobs would have their wages frozen or wage increases slowed down until other job categories caught up). In a curious way, redlining functioned to reduce gender differences, and produced some agreement between management and middle-class feminists who also supported it as a comparable worth mechanism.

Acker does an excellent job in showing the contradictory positions of feminists and unions in the struggle over comparable worth. Feminists within and outside the Task Force were more interested in comparable worth than job classification, but went along with the latter to get the former. But a difference of opinion developed between trade union feminists who were not willing to sacrifice the right to bargain collectively to get comparable worth, and non-union middle-class feminists who were willing to make such a concession, especially given their view that, in the past, male-dominated trade unions had not devoted sufficient energy promoting comparable worth and protecting women's interests. For their part, the unions accepted the principle of comparable worth, but were not willing to sacrifice collective bargaining rights or agree to redlining (which they interpreted as an attack on some of their more active male members) in order to get it. Throughout the book, Acker argues that, while there was a coalition between the women's

movement and the labour movement in Oregon, divisions did develop between unionists and feminists outside the unions, as well as among feminists themselves and among unions themselves (especially between the Oregon Public Employees Union which initially supported a one-time suspension of collective bargaining to achieve comparable worth and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees which opposed this tactic).

Acker is quite right in distancing herself somewhat from the simplistic abstract discussions of patriarchy and capitalism, or gender and class. She argues that case studies — such as Oregon — show just how complex class and gender interests can be. Acker concludes that "writers on patriarchy have sometimes asserted that the primary cause of women's oppression is the interests of men in maintaining the subordination of women. ... This study suggests that such formulations may be too abstract and too static, as well as too simple.... In the Oregon pay equity process, the interests of managers and male workers were at odds. Male-dominated unions would not undercut the interests of male members, but this sometimes meant supporting women's interests and sometimes opposing them... . Moreover, it is too simple to speak of 'women's interests' for these contained internal contradictions and were also not the same for all women." (206-7)

In conclusion, I am reminded of a proposal from some quarters of the Canadian labour movement that a simpler way than job evaluation to achieve equal pay for work of equal value would be to grant women the average difference between their own and men's wages, salaries and benefits. This could possibly lessen some of the tensions between women and men in the working class created by job evaluations, remove the necessity of high-paid lawyers and pay-equity consultants, go some way toward implicitly acknowledging the impact of women's domestic labour on their lower wages, and preserve

scarce human and financial resources for the organization of women within and outside the working class on a variety of other issues — such as affirmative action, sexual harassment, sexual assaults, child care, abortion, plant shutdowns, massive unemployment, underemployment, pensions, part-time work, subcontracting, anti-unionism, and technological change.

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Phyllis Palmer, *Domesticity and Dirt: Housewives and Domestic Servants in the United States, 1920-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1989).

Ann Duffy, Nancy Mandell and Norene Pupo, *Few Choices: Women, Work and Family* (Toronto: Garamond Press 1989).

A FRIEND WHO USED TO EARN her living cleaning houses told me with some disgust about how people at parties in her largely middle-class social circle responded when she told them she was a house cleaner — averted eyes, a change of subject. Only her reassuring comment that she was really an artist would salvage such conversations. A more effective way of restoring her stature would have been to remark offhandedly about how the job really provided quite a “comfortable” living. Of course, no one would have believed her.

It is curious, by contrast, that historians have been subject to a recurring delusion that woman domestic servants at some time in the past were paid decent wages. Phyllis Palmer, while acknowledging that this is a fantastic notion, nonetheless pursues a line of argument which skirts around the wages question. In her consideration of the relationship between white middle-class housewives and domestic servants (usually women of colour), she pursues instead the question of status. She asks, “Why have we [women] put up with the low value accorded to our central work role? Why have some

women (op)pressed other women into service instead of protesting our exclusive responsibility and challenging men to work with us to reorganize how, where, and by whom housework is done?” (xii) Notably absent from her approach to answering these questions is an analysis of how service work was linked to other aspects of the interwar and war-time economy. The theoretical questions raised by the 1970s domestic labour debate might never have been raised, for all the attention she gives them. This omission exacts serious costs in her interpretation of why domestic workers were excluded from the emerging labour law and welfare state provisions of the 1930s and 1940s. But her approach significantly improves on the earlier marxist debate in one respect: it is indisputably concerned with women’s experience and women’s culture, occasionally even to a fault.

The virtues of her approach are clear. She uses domestic workers’ own accounts of the work they performed, their preferences, and their grievances. Her sources are domestic workers’ letters to Frances Perkins, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Franklin Roosevelt and YWCA surveys of servants’ views. This material is supplemented by other recent histories of American domestic workers, such as Evelyn Nakano Glenn’s research on Japanese-American women. Together, these sources provide a much-needed counterpoint to the more abundant advice manuals, middle-class memoirs, and novels she draws on for the housewives’ story. Both groups of sources play useful roles, and Palmer skillfully develops both viewpoints.

Unlike many women’s culture studies, *Domesticity and Dirt* conveys a sense of the diversity and conflict among women of different races and classes, without reducing any one group to a minimal background voice. The housewife and servant relationship was clearly part of women’s culture, the practices through which women among themselves have constituted femininity. But Palmer also

shows how women in this relationship also acted out of class and racial cultures.

Woman servants brought to their jobs religious and moral values different than those of their employers, and housewives were middle class, not only in style and quantity of domestic consumption, but in their endorsing of science as a guide to domestic work and of scientific management as a means supposedly to improve domestic labour.

The other major strength of Palmer's study is her use of object relations theory. More than just a decorative addition, this psychoanalytic view of the housewife-servant relationship helps reconcile an interpretive difference in the American historiography of domestic labour. Palmer's interpretation, loosely summarized, is that the Western tradition's link between sex and dirt is built into most Americans' psychosexual development, with consequences (varying historically) for the status of housework. Women's complicitous contempt for housework expresses an aversion to other repressed psychic contents: the bad mother and the whore, those destructive monsters of a child's pre-Oedipal stage when the link between sex and dirt (pollution) is forged. In the gendering process described in the object relations account, masculinity allows men to feel relatively unthreatened by a contaminating association with dirt, whereas for women, femininity includes both the pure and the impure, the latter being a source of danger.

White women's continued use of women of colour as servants well into the 1940s was, Palmer argues, a way for these housewives to ensure both their whiteness and their femininity. By creating in the real world a duality of the white managing mistress, freed from dirty domestic labour, and non-white servant, kept in the background to do invisibly the routine cleaning and washing, white women could deny any association with the rejected side of femininity. Palmer contends that this psychic mechanism underlay the demand for servants. She shows

that the actual rate of servant employment varied with local labour markets, remaining high in areas where many women needed work, rather than constantly declining in response to the diffusion during the interwar years of domestic appliances. Reduction in the available labour supply, rather than lessened demand, was the cause of the emergence after World War II of the sanctified, self-sufficient home-maker.

Palmer presents this post-war change in domestic labour arrangements as a cause of the middle-class character of the response initially awakened by *The Feminine Mystique*; she might also have looked back to the failures of turn-of-the-century domestic reform. In explanation of these failures, Delores Hayden has pointed to husbandly resistance, while Cowan attributes them to a genderless preference for privacy among "American families." From an object relations perspective, Hayden is clearly right about the sexual dimension of the masculine resistance (equating shared cleaning with promiscuous sex), but Cowan is also correct to see that white middle-class women, too, had a stake in protecting their privileged form of femininity.

The shortcoming of the object relations interpretation is that it does not serve (and perhaps cannot serve without distortion) as a cohesive perspective to unify all the interesting material Palmer's study includes. For instance, her valuable discussion of how both AFL- and CIO-organized domestic workers fought for inclusion in NRA codes and Social Security does not figure in her closing psychoanalytic chapter. The failures of these struggles had less to do with housewifely collaboration than with the servants' locals' inability to meet the dues demands of their unions, and with the unions' inability to control the domestic labour supply in the desperate 1930s. Like agricultural workers, another low-wage group, domestic workers were excluded from Old Age Insurance. In this way, the state protected servants' employers from record-

keeping and tax-collecting, and left more than half of gainfully-employed Black Americans, women and men, out of contributory welfare programs. Palmer suggests that resistance to including domestic workers in various regulatory and welfare state programs had to do with the state's aversion to seeing the home as a workplace. Undoubtedly such an aversion existed; however, due weight must also be given to business-sensitive politicians' distaste for making demands on the tax base.

Palmer's neglect of some economic questions and her commitment to a women's culture approach lead to another odd omission. Only once in the book (and this in a quotation from a Depression-era journalist) is the husband's role in setting servants' wages explicitly mentioned. (106) Palmer refers to housewives as "employers," adopting the diction of the period's domestic reform discourse. Surely the power relations of domestic labour would be better described if the breadwinning husband was named as the employer and his wife as the manager or supervisor? To know how the value of domestic workers' labour was given a price, it is essential to describe accurately who had what kind of power within the domestic economy. But Palmer seems less interested in zero-sum housekeeping budgets than in questions about other kinds of value. In this emphasis, she shortchanges questions about wages. Both status and wages are important, and even moreso is the relation between the two, left largely unexplored in this book.

As with many valuable historical monographs, the descriptive chapters of *Domesticity and Dirt* are richer and more informative than the theory surrounding them, and the implicit theory is more complex than the analytical framework set out at the book's beginning and end. Nonetheless, in her analysis of the links between domestic arrangements, economic change, and femininity's dualisms, Palmer's use of psychoanalytic theory is outstanding. She shows how fruitful an

explicitly psychological component may be in an historian's theoretical perspective.

The absence of a psychology is noticeable in *Few Choices*, a sociological work on contemporary Ontario women's domestic labour. While this work surpasses Palmer's in its attention to economic questions, its authors' insistence on women's agency is not matched by as sophisticated a theoretical account of agency. Women are described as making choices within constraints, but how they do so is "personal," not necessarily the consequence of family background, childhood socialization, or any but the most general gender ideology. Duffy, Pupo, and Mandell appear to conceive of agency as undetermined except by the setting of outside limits. So, while their interview-based research is extremely valuable in destroying simplistic notions of what determines women's contemporary role in domestic labour, an explanatory gap is left. Like *Domesticity and Dirt*, however, *Few Choices* holds considerable interest in the research materials it reports and will serve well its publishers' goal of providing a useful educational tool for a relatively large audience.

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Richard E. Wokutch, *Cooperation and Conflict in Occupational Safety and Health: A Multination Study of The Automotive Industry* (New York: Praeger 1990).

THIS VOLUME COMPARES the health and safety records of vehicle manufacturers operating in a number of countries including Britain, the United States, Sweden, Japan, Germany and Kenya. Information was collected from on-site interviews, studies of company records and analysis of national injury statistics. The focus is on how management practices and institutional arrangements affect health and safety outcomes.

The book can be divided into four sections. In the first section, the basic approach is developed. It is argued that the study of national legal, political and structural arrangements and the strategic choices made by local managers and workers can explain the variances in accident rates between countries and between companies and individual plants of the same company. The interaction between agents of the state, employers and employees is also deemed to be critical. A balance needs to be struck between cooperation and a level of power which allows each party to be assertive. Too much cooperation or too little assertiveness by any of the three classes of agents will lead to above average accident and illness rates. The second section provides a useful analysis of the 1973 agreement between the major American vehicle producers and the UAW which led to the introduction of joint committees and a more cooperative approach by labour and management to health and safety. While the author claims that injury statistics suggest that this agreement improved health and safety, problems with the data reduce our confidence in this interpretation. The third section provides an extensive review of how health and safety concerns are handled in a number of national jurisdictions. The final and in my opinion most interesting section provides case studies of three vehicle makers, each with production sites in more than one country.

The attempt to integrate the effect of both national and local influences within a comparative framework which includes a number of countries is commendable. The author has provided a useful framework for further analysis. Unfortunately, the promise of this approach is not fully realized. The first, and most significant problem is the use of national and plant specific data on injuries and illness to assess the effectiveness of health and safety environments. The author goes to great pains to warn the reader that data in this area is unreliable. There is an entire chapter devoted to the problem. Different

definitions over time and between countries hamper international comparisons of trends. Misreporting is also rampant. In the United States the major motor vehicle firms were recently fined millions of dollars by OSHA for falsifying their accident reports. In interpreting injury data one needs to be sensitive to differences in the risk context: for example, is the plant old or new, are the workers young or old, is overtime being worked? One also needs to control for differences in social relations between employers and employees. Are employees pressured not to report accidents by management? In aggregate, these problems are so immense as to make comparisons between plants in different countries based on reported injury rates virtually meaningless. The author is forced to make numerous assumptions about the data. It is assumed that the level of misreporting in the United States between 1973 and the mid-1980s was constant, an assumption with little justification. Progress in this field will demand the development of alternative measures of risk which are perhaps less dependent on outcomes and more reflective of the risk context itself.

A second problem is the limited information drawn from the local interviews. While the author uses this information skillfully to discuss some of the differences in labour relations and the administration of health and safety, we do not get a comprehensive picture of the social relations within a company. We are not told how many people were interviewed or the positions they held. Were there differences of opinion between managers and between workers? The author spends much of his energies describing the extent to which relationships are cooperative or assertive. There are other equally important dimensions to social relations which need exploring in greater detail including the attitudes of workers or harassment.

The results support the author's initial hypothesis that low injury rates are dependent upon a balance between cooperation and assertiveness. The author also

suggests that in some cases Swedish style increases in the degree of worker control over how work is done may actually lead to increases in injuries as workers are allowed to override the advice of health and safety experts and take additional risks.

Wokutch has approached the problem of health and safety in a creative and energetic fashion. His work, despite its limits, deserves to be read and the concepts and the approach expanded upon in order to enhance our understanding of the factors explaining variances in health and safety outcomes.

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Christopher McAll, *Class, Ethnicity, & Social Inequality* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1990).

CHRISTOPHER MCALL ASPIRES in this book to remedy a long-standing neglect of ethnicity by analysts working from class-based theories, especially those inspired by Marx. An aim of the book in particular is to integrate concepts of class and ethnicity so as to provide a more unified framework for studying inequality.

The book is thus an attempt at theory construction. Much of it is structured in parallel, with chapters or sections devoted to class analysis followed immediately by passages given over to aspects of ethnicity. In the early chapters, where this structure is most prominent, McAll surveys some classical and not-so-classical theories. His choices here lay the groundwork for the remainder of the book, and therefore deserve scrutiny. Class analysis requires for him a review above all of Marx, Weber, and some more contemporary Marxists, such as Miliband and Poulantzas. Clearly partial to Marxist theoreticians (but with a place of honour reserved for Weber), he provides a fairly partisan assessment of Parsons and Dahrendorf, who are taken as representative of non-Marxist approaches to class.

In this early portion of the book, he seems to me least successful in identifying the critical theorists and theories of ethnicity. Drawing in part on Barth and Weber, he poses a fundamental theoretical choice that he believes must be made between ethnicity as "content" (defined largely by cultural difference) and ethnicity as "identity" and group boundary. There is nothing inherently wrong with this or with the conceptual option McAll takes — for ethnicity as a boundary. The difficulty that must then be faced, however, is to distinguish the ethnic boundary from that associated with any other type of social group. This McAll does not solve, in my view. He is not helped by his stated opinion that ethnicity as a concept is vague.

The middle portion of the book continues the conceptual development and also illustrates the central concepts, drawing now on empirical literatures. Again, passages on class analysis tend to alternate with those on ethnic themes. McAll's use of empirical examples is wide-ranging and eclectic, making the discussion hard to summarize. There is an evident tendency to focus on materials having to do with British and Canadian societies, although he is not exclusive in this respect. His many acute observations hold the reader's attention, as does his writing style, for he writes with verve.

In the book's final section, which carries the title "Inequality and pluralism: The ethnicity of class," McAll presents his marriage of the two conceptual families surrounding class and ethnicity. He has been careful in earlier sections to criticize purely reductionist treatments of ethnicity, which view it as merely a mask for class inequality, a position he, along with most others, sees as untenable. As an improvement, he proposes that classes may have their own "ethnicity" (hence the title of the section). By this, he appears to mean something akin to the Weberian concept of a "status group": classes may form communities that seek to distinguish themselves from other social groups on

the basis of cultural and other visible criteria. No doubt, this is true, but one may question whether it is a useful extension of the concept of "ethnicity." At times, his argument seems to stray close to the position he criticizes, in viewing the ethnic aspects of class as creating a mystification of the underlying class structure.

A more critical difficulty with this argument is that it does not address the fullness of ethnicity in industrialized societies. It adapts ethnic concepts to meet the needs of class analysis, but only by pulling these concepts away from their original focus. As has often been noted, ethnicity and class are typically not coincident (even if they correlate and interpenetrate in significant ways). This lack of coincidence, which McAll does not adequately acknowledge, is generally the basis for the claim of ethnicity's independent importance (as just one example, Francois Nielsen argues from it that ethnicity usually offers a wider basis for political mobilization than class does, see "Toward a theory of ethnic solidarity in modern societies," *American Sociological Review* [April, 1985]). McAll's argument thus rests on a shaky foundation: the view that ethnicity grows out of class.

Nevertheless, McAll's book represents a fresh approach to a classical problem for social theory, one whose prominence seems only to be increasing as a result of events in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. The book deserves to be read. Let readers draw their own conclusions.

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David Winch, *Collective Bargaining and the Public Interest: A Welfare Economics Assessment* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1989).

WINCH SETS OUT TO ASSESS the process of collective bargaining, currently in use by unions in the private and public sectors, as a mechanism for the determination of the terms (e.g., wages) of employment

contracts. Using economic analysis and reasoning, the author finds collective bargaining and the associated potential for strikes, as a mechanism of dispute resolution rooted in conflict, to be in violation of the various criteria that he considers in assessing the process. Consequently, Winch proposes the arbitration of interest disputes as an alternative to strikes as a possible last resort during the collective bargaining process.

Chapter one sets out the purpose and scope of the book. The author first briefly reviews the extensive bodies of literature which outline the arguments both "for unionism" as an institution with positive effects and "against unionism" as an institution with negative effects. The author identifies a general policy issue that he believes should be of primary concern: how to increase the benefits that unions yield while reducing their negative impacts. But the scope of this book is squarely within the realm of economic analyses of the effects of unionism.

Both chapters two and three provide the basics of labour economics upon which Winch builds the central discussion of collective bargaining. Chapter two begins with an important discussion of the various aspects of human labour which makes the provision of labour services in the labour market of a free society so unique relative to the operation of other markets one may consider in the economy (e.g., the market for capital or commodities). Winch then provides a thoughtful review of the distinct notions of efficiency, equity, and integrity in the context of labour markets, and gives a general overview of the types of employment contracts which individuals may develop with prospective employers. Chapter three complements the groundwork presented in chapter two by providing a review of the economic rationale underlying the spot labour market, the defined period contract, and the indefinite period contract. Throughout both chapters two and three, Winch successfully integrates the concepts of efficiency, equity, and

integrity into the discussion of the provision of labour services and the notions of contracting.

In chapter four, the author directly assesses the efficiency, equity, and integrity implications of collective bargaining in the context of a market economy where the alternative is individual contracting with employers. The conclusions reached relate to whether collective bargaining has substantial negative impacts in each of these three areas.

Bearing in mind that the author's stated aim is to assess the harm that unions do while remaining cognizant of the benefits they yield, the chosen characterization of unions (as an economic entity) and of the range of contract outcomes that employers and unions are considered to bargain over (i.e., only wages were considered for ease of exposition) is nevertheless narrow. First, through their roles as social and political entities, unions may also have an impact on contract outcomes, either through broader social and political influences, or more directly through the bargaining process in some situations. Consequently, as an economic analysis, assessing unions in terms of the efficiency, equity, and integrity effects of collective bargaining (only as an alternative form of contracting) leads to a limited evaluation, particularly since the non-economic aspects of unions can give rise to union effects on economic outcomes. Second, the range of contract outcomes and the diversity of the mix of contract outcomes achieved is often dramatically different under union contracts than otherwise. The exclusion of these considerations, in the context of a simplified wage analysis, may be viewed as a further limitation.

In chapter five Winch assesses whether the current system of collective bargaining, by which outcomes are determined on the basis of the power the respective parties wield within a system of potential (strike) conflict, serves the public interest with regard to either efficiency, equity, or integrity. In each case,

Winch concludes that the current system of collective bargaining and potential strike does not serve the public interest. Chapter six examines the special case of the functioning of labour markets and collective bargaining in the public sector. Again, Winch concludes that the current process of collective bargaining does not satisfy the three criteria of efficiency, equity, and integrity and that the violations may be considerable.

Having made the case that collective bargaining with final dispute resolution by strikes (lockouts) essentially does not satisfy the three criteria of concern in either the private or public sectors, Winch explores an alternative in chapter seven and provides recommendations and conclusions in the eighth chapter. The proposed alternative to a system of collective bargaining accompanied by the potential for strikes is a process of collective bargaining accompanied by arbitration (instead of strikes) in the case of an impasse in negotiations. Specifically, Winch recommends that an arbitration service be established, that the criteria to be used for arbitration be included in legislation, that workers maintain the right to organize, that either party to negotiations have the right to request arbitration, that the right to strike (lockout) be replaced by the right to obtain arbitration, that current income redistribution policies be reviewed, and that the minimum wage legislation be repealed.

This book constitutes a new case for the arbitration of interest disputes as a substitute for the right to strike. With regard to the central recommendation proposed, the book covers a lot of ground to make the case for arbitration. That is, although collective bargaining, strike activity, and arbitration are the ultimate focus of the book, much of the supplementary discussion focuses on broader aspects of unionism which detracts somewhat from the focus of the book, since it is not clear that the introduction of a system of arbitration will alleviate many of the "deficiencies" that many critical ob-

servers of unionism associate with unions and collective bargaining. Further, while the specific recommendations appear meant to be workable, the recommendations with respect to arbitration *per se* do not appear likely to be as practical as the author may wish. Finally, the recommendations concerning income redistribution policies and the minimum age could well be argued independently of the case for arbitration.

Overall, the book is very well-written and the discussion of concepts is presented in a manner which should be highly accessible to non-specialists in economics. However, the book provides only an economic perspective, and in this sense represents a limited view of what unions and collective bargaining represent. Each stage of the discussion integrates the concepts of efficiency, equity, and integrity into the analysis in a unique and highly valuable manner that should add considerably to our understanding of the criteria by which the system of collective bargaining can be evaluated. This is particularly the case since Winch has emphasized the notion of "integrity," which seldom appears in industrial relations analyses of such issues. This book is a thoughtful new look at the case for interest arbitration that should be of concern to students of industrial relations.

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Tom Rankin, *New Forms of Work Organization: The Challenge for North American Unions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1990).

THIS IS A STUDY of labour-management relations at Shell Sarnia, a capital-intensive, continuous process plant. It is described as the "most advanced example to date of a new form of work organization in North America." The plant operates day and night, the workforce is organized into six process teams (each team runs the entire plant) and one craft team. The

teams allocate work, train workers, schedule vacations and have a voice in recruitment, peer evaluation and discipline. Wages are based on jobs learned (through seven steps). The workplace is described as participatory and workers as "resources to be developed" rather than as commodities to be exploited. Workers are represented by the Energy and Chemical Workers Union (ECWU), Local 800.

The author stresses that this "post-Taylorist" operation (the wave of the future) clashes with industrial unionism, which developed in response to and meshes well with taylorized work processes. The constituent elements of industrial unionism include: seniority as the basis for transfers and promotions within an elaborate set of job classifications; regulation of shopfloor practices by rules embodied in detailed contracts; a collective bargaining process that minimizes rank-and-file involvement and negotiates industry-wide agreements; an adversarial attitude that considers all workplace issues as zero-sum. As a self-proclaimed friend of labour, Rankin warns that unions must adapt, like Local 800 has, to emergent forms of work organization or risk further decline.

Local 800 and the company agreed to a brief, 13-page contract that specifies basic wages and conditions of employment; the contract is unambiguous and requires no administration. A much lengthier Good Works practices Handbook (GWPH) covers a broad range of issues and provides guidelines on how these issues should be handled on a daily basis. The GWPH is continually negotiated "through a highly participative problem-solving process that attempts to satisfy the interests of all concerned." A third document, the Philosophy Statement, contains values or ideals that act as a guiding framework for positive labour-management relations.

Issues covered by these documents are handled by a network of labour-management committees. The key decision-making body is the Union-Management

Committee. All other committees operate under its direction and it oversees administration of the GWPH and promotes adherence to the ideals of the Philosophy Statement. On this committee sit the local union executive, the ECWU national representative and management representatives. The joint committees operate by consensus, and each side has veto power. Disagreements "are resolved through moral, expert, and formal (i.e., management's) (sic) power."

The author offers a jargon-laden justification of this system and then proceeds to glowingly describe a virtually frictionless workplace in which there are no losers. Every example of issues addressed by joint committees ultimately has a positive outcome, having been settled to the satisfaction of all parties. How do we square this idyllic portrait with Rankin's admission that "formal" power, i.e., management's power, is sometimes invoked to resolve issues? Can we really believe that management has never overridden a labour veto, that disagreements have not left an issue unresolved, that neither side has exercised its veto power, that the process has never left workers disgruntled and disadvantaged?

Rankin's critique of industrial unionism rings true. Too many unions are top-heavy bureaucracies that discourage debate, inhibit rank-and-file participation and deter flexible modes of handling contentious workplace issues. For Rankin, Shell Sarnia's system decentralizes power within the local union, allows for worker and union participation and provides a flexible (as opposed to rule-bound) mode of negotiation. But do these structures make Local 800 a strong and independent union, as Rankin alleges? How do workers benefit if, as is likely, participation, flexibility and diffused union power weaken labour's power? "Jointness" ensures that issues are channeled through committees on which managers sit. The presence of management cannot help but influence the decisions of worker representatives, precluding the

exercise of an independent voice for workers. Shell's joint structure also guarantees that decentralized union power translates into divisions within the workforce and between workers and the union. Rankin admits that this collaborative structure blurs the union's interest in establishing an identity separate from management. It is puzzling how such an admission can be squared with attributions of union independence and strength. We should also ask, flexibility by and for whom? A researcher less committed to a specific form of workplace relations would have studied the conditions under which and the proportion of times that workers "flexibly" yielded to management and vice versa. It is only on the basis of such (missing) data that the reader can judge how the system is really working.

Rankin likens Local 800 to a craft union, but it looks more like a Japanese enterprise union. North American unions' drift toward this latter form has opened the door for employers to whipsaw individual plants and extract significant concessions from unions. How can Local 800 represent a solution to the problems unions are facing and to union decline?

Shell Sarnia purportedly is a harbinger of the future. But continuous-process plants are exceptional. Shell Sarnia employs 138 workers. It has a technological base that even in the 1960s and without benefit of socio-technical systems theory was being operated by teams of cross-trained workers not tied to the rhythms of the assembly line. And how can any manufacturing plant portend the future when the largest and fastest growing segment of the labour force is located in the service sector?

Whether employed by Eatons or Shell, the situation of workers will be improved not by the development of an enterprise consciousness and labour-management collaboration but by the forging of strong ties along class lines. To the extent that unions follow Rankin's advice and turn inward to identify and cooperate with their immediate employ-

ers, there is little hope for a revitalized labour movement.

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Michael S. Kimmel, *Revolution, A Sociological Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1990).

GENUINE COMPREHENSION COMES, it has been remarked, when the object under study is decomposed or, to use a more modern term, de-constructed. Only when things come apart can they really be seen for what they are. By their nature, then, revolutions expose those aspects of society which at other times lie 'hidden' as functioning normality. For this reason, these momentous transformations have been of special interest to social scientists.

Most studies of revolution focus on particular historical events or particular types of revolution, but there have been several attempts to isolate those characteristics common to all revolutions, to find a single embracing theory. None of them, however, has been completely satisfactory and consequently new attempts continue to appear.

The book by Michael Kimmel is an attempt to review and advance the principal theories of revolution. In his words, he wants "to build an adequate theoretical explanation of revolution;" and to do this, he "will discuss ... various theories ..., compare them analytically, and then draw parts from each to build (a) synthetic theory of revolution." (3) He has grouped the theories into a set of plausible categories which include 'classical' views, 'non-structural theories,' world-market concepts, theories of class struggle and of the state, and social psychological accounts. With the unnecessary caution that 'a theory of revolution must be internally consistent,' 'follow a causal argument' and 'make sense of a number of empirical cases...', he begins his discussion.

Although the categories themselves are not problematic, the way the author carries out the reviews certainly is: there is no informing argument either within or between the categories to link the theories he has chosen to examine. His discussion amounts to little more than just reviews of theories. Review follows review without any meaningful linkage.

This lack of an argument has several inter-related implications for his numerous surveys. First, it leaves him without a clear guide as to what these 'analyses' should embrace — revolution being an ill-defined and broad subject — and therefore gives his choice of categories, theories and points drawn out a somewhat arbitrary air. Second, it renders his reviews rather superficial since there is no overall point he is making other than to say that all the theories are only partially correct. Third, his critical appraisals frequently amount to mere contrary assertions or restatements of criticisms already made, with no in-depth exploration of the different premises of these theories or their internal logic. Nowhere does he actually advance the debate on the theory of revolution.

As in any discussion of revolution, Marx's ghost hovers over most of the chapters of this book. This is because many of the theories have built on or borrowed from Marx or were express efforts to counter Marx's work. Whether an author wishes it or not, Marx often becomes the backdrop to such studies, and Kimmel's book is no exception. Unfortunately, his command of Marx's writings is not terribly convincing and the reader is treated to a much diminished Marx or a Marx gleaned from secondary sources. Given the evident centrality of Marx to the topic, this is no small shortcoming.

The main shortcomings, however, are methodological rather than substantive. The first has to do with our author's intentions to 'draw parts' from the theories under review in order to create a 'synthetic theory of revolution,' a theory which would presumably overcome the

one-sidedness or fill in all the omissions of the other theories. In short, the reasoning, such as it is, would see pasted together such 'themes' as the world-economy, class-struggle, the state, social psychology and multiple-dysfunction, etc., in order to produce a complete and connected whole, a synthetic theory.

It is more likely that the result would be syncretic rather than synthetic. Virtually every theory the author examines rests on different premises, making a genuine synthesis impossible. It need hardly be said that it is methodologically unsound to take parts of the conceptual apparatus of different theories and graft them together as if they were compatibles. The outcome can only be a pastiche, a cut-and-paste composite. This problem never seems to have occurred to the author even though it stands at the very centre of his project.

The second problem has to do with his objective, which is to produce a theory of revolution that will cover the nature of all revolutions and their causes and outcomes. Such a theory, however, in order to be all-inclusive, would have to be cast at such a high level of generality that it would be unable to produce the *differentia specifica* necessary to the analysis of any given revolution. It might give us a definition of the 'genus' of revolution, but it would not be of any use, for example, in distinguishing bourgeois from socialist revolutions or either of these from pre-capitalist social transformations. Such generality has very limited value and quickly descends into commonplaces and mere description.

Kimmel's conclusions are a good illustration of this point. In the summary of the themes he has drawn out, he begins: "Spatial and temporal issues frame the occurrence of revolution, and they must construct our analyses of revolution." (sic) A clearer but not a safer statement could be made. Of course, they must, but since everything is 'framed' by space and time what analysis could not take these

'issues' into account? The rest of his conclusions are similarly trite and obvious.

His concluding sentence to the book reads: "For the circumstances may change dramatically from generation to generation, and from country to country, but the well-springs of human emotion from which revolutions must inevitably draw are constant in their effort to articulate a language of freedom and dignity." Wherever he has used the concept of freedom, it is nothing more than the 'rights of man' in modern democracy, and the meaning of these 'well-springs of human emotion' is anyone's guess. But the point is that these commonplace, empty assertions are precisely the kind of outcome to be expected from the methodologically purposeless pursuit of a theory of revolution so general as to encompass all revolutions, their causes and their consequences.

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William Leiss, *C.B. Macpherson: Dilemmas of Liberalism and Socialism* (Montreal: New World Perspectives 1988).

CANADA HAS PRODUCED few 'epic theorists' and fewer still of Crawford Brough Macpherson's (1911-1987) stature. 'C.B.' was Canada's premier political theorist and a leading intellectual for Canadian political economy. He commanded an international audience that especially respected his clarity of mind on complex theoretical questions.

I have long regarded Victor Svacek's "The Elusive Marxism of C.B. Macpherson" (*Canadian Journal of Political Science* IX:3, September 1976) and Macpherson's reply to be the essential statement on his assumptions and theoretical insights. William Leiss' *C.B. Macpherson: Dilemmas of Liberalism and Socialism*, however, is a valuable extended essay which includes additional biographical elements and benefits from Macpherson's later writings, namely *The*

Life and Times of Liberal Democracy (1977) and *The Rise and Fall of Economic Justice* (1985). Leiss also calls upon some brief interview material with Macpherson (2 July 1986) and Macpherson's previously unanalyzed Master's thesis, "Voluntary Associations within the State, 1900-1934, with special reference to the Place of Trade Unions in relation to the State in Great Britain," (1935) which he uses to considerable advantage in revealing some formative influences on Macpherson's thinking.

For the most part Leiss presents an intellectual biography, but in the end tries to push further by applying the notion of 'quasi-market society' in what for me is a weakly-connected final essay. This chapter is billed as an empirical application of Macpherson's legacy but I think is a distraction where Leiss' own agenda takes over from Macpherson's and ceases to reveal much about the subject and too much about the author. As a biography there are significant limitations since it does not rely upon personal letters, archives, records or interviews with friends and colleagues. Instead, Leiss relies for the most part on the public record (the exceptions being the Master's thesis and one interview with the subject).

The core of the presentation is constructed around a simple periodization distinguishing Formation (1930-1955) and Maturity (1955-1985) with a further sub-division of the first period into Foundation (1936-1942) and Development (1943-1954). The major break occurs with *Democracy in Alberta* (1953), Macpherson's only published study of concrete political events, especially petty bourgeois class consciousness. Leiss provides a strong account of Macpherson's weaknesses in this study, especially in contrast to the broader insights derived from Macpherson's own London School of Economics Master's thesis.

Macpherson is best remembered for the works of his maturity where he established himself through his arguments about the transformation of capitalism as

a managed economy. In his mind this required extending the roots of liberal democratic theory founded on the "uneasy compound" of liberalism and democratic principles. The marriage of democracy and class meant that the freedom of capital placed debilitating constraints on citizens. Macpherson was always alert to the importance of preserving and extending civil and political liberties in liberal democracies. Macpherson became famous for his theory of 'possessive individualism.' He focused on the way capitalist market societies diminish the powers of many, whereby the production process itself creates wants. In his later work, Macpherson stressed the revival of economic justice as a liberating demand for citizens as workers and consumers.

Leiss' critique focuses on Macpherson's weakness in conceptualizing and specifying 'the market' in capitalist or other terms. He has a healthy skepticism over the lack of precision in Macpherson's analysis of markets, particularly the level of analysis used and the abstract way the concept is invoked. Leiss also makes an excellent point about consumption as "a significant domain of human creativity and satisfaction" (102) whereas Macpherson juxtaposes people as 'doer versus consumer.' For Macpherson the main focus was on the creation of wants in opposition to doing but Leiss stresses the act of consumption as an important cultural domain for realizing human qualities. I am reminded of Antonio Gramsci's insight about the inherent relationship between production and consumption in the modern industrial system he called Fordism, but elaboration would take us too far afield here.

C.B. Macpherson fought for civil liberties both analytically and practically, inside and outside the academic community. Macpherson's role in creating the intellectual space of the left in Canada within academia cannot be sufficiently stressed. Leiss makes a welcome contribution to scholarship about this important

thinker and doer but it is not the definitive word of intellectual biography.

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Benjamin Martin, *The Agony of Modernization: Labor and Industrialization in Spain* (Ithaca: ILR Press 1990).

A BOOK SUCH AS THIS has been needed for a long time. It fills a gaping hole in the literature on the Spanish labour movement and will be invaluable to those interested in the working classes of Europe and in modern Spain alike. Moreover, this is one of those rare books which more or less live up to the superlatives on the dust-jacket.

At base, what Ben Martin provides is a survey of the labour movement and the evolution of labour relations in Spain from the 1860s through the Spanish Civil War. And, as a survey, this volume shines for its thoroughness and its incorporation of the latest research. Anarcho-syndicalism and socialism, the two principal protagonists of Spanish labour history, are, of course, discussed at great length. Martin is particularly good on the complex struggles within the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) as well as with the inability of the anarchists who dominated it in the 1930s to deal with the realities of revolution and civil war between 1936 and 1939. However, he includes the lesser lights as well. Dedicating an entire chapter to the attempts to create a Catholic labour movement is especially praiseworthy in this regard.

Martin also avoids the common trap of considering labour in isolation. The retarded development of a labour relations system is of almost as much interest and concern to him as the growth of labour unions and labour politics and he treats the enactment of protective legislation, the evolution of collective bargaining and state labour policy at some length. His discussion of the labour policies of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, Spain's

peculiar manifestation of the inter-war crisis of constitutional government, is particularly interesting.

Another virtue of Ben Martin's book is that it contains a very strong comparative element. This is always to be welcomed, but especially so in the case of Spain, whose variant of the modern European experience is usually ignored by anyone who is not a hispanist. For example, in his discussion of labour relations in the early 20th century, Martin described Prime Minister José Canalejas, who tried to bring organized labour into the institutions of the state and make the state more of a mediator, as a "failed Lloyd George." The comparison is an interesting one but calling him the "Spanish Giolitti" would have been more apt. (For his efforts, Canalejas was assassinated by an anarchist gunman.)

There are, inevitably, things to criticize. Two glaring errors of fact on page 96 should have been caught in the editing process: the name of the Socialist Party and the year in which it was founded are given incorrectly. They should read Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol and 1897, respectively.

In his discussion of the Second Republic and the origins of the Civil War, Martin argues that after the anti-Church legislation, labour legislation was the most controversial area of reform. A contention such as this is difficult to measure but, in a country in which agriculture was still much more important than industry and in which the countryside had been the primary locus of social conflict for a century, agrarian reform was undoubtedly more contentious and significant.

Finally, one can take issue with Martin's overall vision of modern Spain, which he uses as the basis for a strong and ambitious argument: Spain was economically backward and had "residual archaisms" which meant that any likeness it bore to other western European nations was merely "a thin veneer." (4) This lack of development, this Spanish distinctiveness, was reflected in the history of labour

relations. Unlike the rest of western Europe, where "sustained economic growth and the improving status of wage earners made trade unions a more integral part of the institutional, social and economic fabric and had a moderating effect on their outlooks and policies," from World War I on Spain was "convulsed by a major breakdown in labour relations." (xv) Only in the post-Franco period have labour relations in Spain "modernized" but even so, Spanish unions remain underdeveloped by European standards. (425)

There is no room here to present an alternative picture. Let me just suggest that Martin's claim that "Spain was different" is highly debatable. I would argue that throughout the modern period Spain has been very much part of the European mainstream. One might also suggest that Martin's view of events in other parts of inter-war Europe is excessively rosy. The 1920s and 1930s in Germany, France and Italy — and, for that matter, in England — were not exactly a period in which workers did well and unions were integrated into harmonious social and political systems.

I have spent the last few paragraphs disagreeing with Ben Martin's interpretation of Spain's recent history. I do not, however, want to conclude my review of this superb book on a negative note. *The Agony of Modernization* will undoubtedly be the standard text on the Spanish labour movement for a long time to come. That it offers so much to argue about is a sign of its richness and boldness.

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Baruch Hirson, *Yours for the Union: Class and Community Struggles in South Africa* (London: Zed Books 1990).

BARUCH HIRSON'S *Yours for the Union* examines the making of the black working class in South Africa between 1930 and 1947. It focuses on workplace and community struggles in the country's in-

dustrial heartland — the Witwatersrand — where "the first major industrial organization of the black proletariat developed." (ix) The work is largely a narrative of events reminiscent in style of earlier histories by left-wing activists such as Eddie Roux (*Time Longer than Rope*) and H.J. and R.E. Simons (*Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950*).

Hirson, a lifelong activist and former political prisoner in South Africa, participated in many of the events he recounts in his role as an organizer of the Workers International League. The book is not, however, a memoir; it is based primarily on records available in archives. It is supplemented by interviews with trade unionists and political activists and, for events in the black locations or townships, by autobiographies of residents. What emerges is a rich reconstruction of a previously hidden history; a reconstruction which is vital, "for," the author maintains, "the lessons that should have been learnt then still have relevance for the working class of South Africa today." (xii) Hirson's claim to "have avoided extensive polemic in the belief that the facts speak for themselves" belies the theoretical and political underpinnings of the book. A committed Trotskyist, he clearly states his views on the role of the working class and its party in the struggle and rarely shies away from offering judgement on the actions (or inactions) of his political rivals.

The working class was made through its struggles in two distinct arenas — the workplace and the wide community. In the former, a black all-male labour force organized into trade unions confronted (white) capital on class lines; in the latter, men, women and children from all classes challenged municipal, provincial and state authorities. The failure to merge the two, Hirson suggests, decisively weakened the working class.

The book's analysis of the rise and fall of South Africa's first industrial working-class movement is generally informed by Trotsky's writings on trade

unionism, in particular by the view that if unions failed to confront the state and capital as the instruments of a revolutionary proletariat they would inevitably become the 'policing' agents of monopoly capital. As the South African economy boomed after the depression of 1929-32, the number of African workers on the Witwatersrand increased dramatically. They were eager for industrial organization but were rejected by the existing (white) trade union federation. An independent trade union movement subsequently emerged and was buoyed up by the success of its organizers in winning small wage increases and other improvements through the use of official state machinery. When the world war broke out in 1939 the government, desirous of industrial quiescence to meet its high production targets, gave *de facto* recognition to the unions and allowed them to grow. By 1943 membership was estimated at 150,000. The initiative for the organization of unions often came from whites, most often churchmen, members of liberal bodies, trade unionists and left-wing activists, although a number of black nationalists were also involved. Hirson disparages the roles played by nearly all of these individuals and their organizations in the working-class struggles of the time. While most supported the war effort and either opposed strike action or urged the workers to exercise restraint, the Trotskyists, principally Max Gordon and the WIL, were anti-war and continued to press wage claims without any consideration for industrial peace. Hirson maintains that the desire to limit or even prevent strikes was not merely a wartime stratagem but rather related to the fact that members of some of these groups "had little sympathy with direct working-class action, in the factories or in community struggles, and they used the issue of wartime production to conceal their own petty-bourgeois prejudices." (88) Even the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), concerned to support the Soviet Union's war effort, acted as a brake on

some key unions where workers called for strike action. This policy of restraint seriously weakened the movement and left it unprepared for future assaults. After the tide of the war had turned in 1943 the state and capital felt confident enough to move against the burgeoning unions and, among other measures, intensified pass laws restricting the mobility and deployment of labour, and pegged wages. The workforce responded with a series of disastrous strikes culminating in the famous five-day strike of between 70-100,000 mineworkers in 1946. The brutal crushing of this strike (which left thirteen miners dead) signalled the eclipse of the working class in the struggle against the state. Union membership declined precipitously and opposition politics were increasingly shaped by the middle classes in the African National Congress (ANC). Hirson attributes the collapse of the union movement to petty-bourgeois leadership, internecine struggles that plagued the left, and failure to co-ordinate action at the workplace with that in the wider community.

Community struggles — against passes, lodger permits, poor and expensive transport and housing — were more successful. Hirson focuses on three conflicts: the Alexandra bus boycotts to protest fare hikes, a riot in Vereeniging sparked by police brutality, and the shantytown or squatters' movement in Johannesburg. The massive increase in the rate of African urbanization and proletarianization from the 1930s was not matched by an expansion of transport facilities and housing, and when the state moved to confine Africans to residential areas far from their workplaces on the outskirts of white towns confrontation was inevitable. As the petty bourgeoisie was hesitant to enter these struggles and once in was quick to retreat, the leadership was most often drawn from the ranks of workers (especially those marginal to the economy, like washerwomen) and from lumpen elements. The most prominent figure in the shantytown movement, James

Mpanza, is described by Hiron as a figure of social protest and rebellion unlike Hobsbawm's 'social bandit'. While the squatter movement was arguably the biggest social and political upheaval of the war years, it lost its impetus and the squatter camps were moved and consolidated by the state. The bus boycotts, the longest of which lasted fifty days, ended quite differently, with the capitulation of bus owners, employers, the City Council and the government. Again Hiron is highly critical of the role of many political activists in these struggles. The CPUSA, concentrating its efforts on winning white electoral support, "missed the main opportunity, and could not capitalise on the growing militancy, because passivity in the face of popular action had become part of its hallmark." (61) The ANC's leaders, compromised by petty-bourgeois interests in property and transport, also failed to participate in the major township struggles and this left their organization small and relatively powerless. It was this inactivity which contributed to the ouster of the ANC's conservative president, Dr. Xuma, by the radicals of the Congress Youth League (Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Anton Lembede and others) in 1949.

Hiron is concerned to highlight the role of women in community struggles. Their exclusion from manufacture, commerce, and clerical work left them confined to the service and informal economies (as domestics, washerwomen, beer brewers, small traders, etc.) and this ensured that they were most often the primary participants in conflicts with the state and capital. They were central to the shantytown movements and the bus boycotts, and were often in the front rank of union protest marches. The Vereeniging riots of 18-19 September 1937 were sparked when women urged their menfolk to attack a police raiding party. Police brutality, including vicious assaults on men and abusive body searches of women, and continual police disruption of illicit beer brewing (a vital source of

income for women) angered the residents and created the climate for confrontation.

Although *Yours for the Union* is mainly concerned with the struggles of the urban proletariat, it does recognize the importance of rural protest and revolt. The vast majority of Africans lived in the rural areas. These were predominantly infertile, eroded and grossly overpopulated regions characterized by poverty, malnutrition and high infant mortality. Residents protested such conditions and, on occasion, rose against state attempts to impose betterment or rehabilitation schemes which often entailed an expropriation of peasant resources. Most left-wing activists ignored rural struggles believing that it was necessary to concentrate on the organization of workers in the towns. But because of the persistence of an oscillating migratory labour system in South Africa the majority of urban workers were also, or had recently been, peasants the connection between town and countryside was therefore continuous and intimate. The consciousness of the urban proletariat was shaped not only by new experiences in the city, but by rural perceptions as well. Hiron's application of Rudé's analysis of ideology is thus particularly appropriate: he demonstrates how inherent (rural) and derived (urban) ideologies fused to inform worker consciousness.

While many of the struggles of this period ended in defeat and devoured people and political groups, they all contributed to a tradition of resistance which impelled the opposition movement forward. These were not, however, revolutionary struggles: they did not attack the system as a whole but rather sought the amelioration of conditions therein. Hiron concludes by asking the question: "Could a more militant leadership [the Trotskyists?], by focusing on political struggles that affected African workers, have achieved more?" This is one of many questions that he raises but does not answer. Indeed, aside from the warning against petty-bourgeois leadership of the

trade unions and the dilution of workers' concerns in nationalist politics, and the advocacy of joint labour and community struggles, it is not clear what the lessons are for the contemporary black proletariat. The adoption of a more explicit and all-encompassing analytical framework might have produced bolder and more specific prescriptions, but probably at the expense of the very lively and accessible narrative format.

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John Higginson, *A Working Class in the Making. Belgian Colonial Labor Policy, Private Enterprise, and the African Mineworker, 1907-1951* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1989).

HIGGINSON APPORTE UNE importante contribution à l'histoire sociale et politique de la formation du prolétariat africain dans les régions minières de l'Afrique australe. Il est malheureux que ce livre conçu et écrit dans la perspective de la *cultural history* marxiste paraisse un an trop tard, au moment où la vision globaliste de l'histoire d'obédience structurale et aux ambitions universalistes cède devant les offensives postmodernistes. Il est à craindre que la déroute du marxisme en tant que grand narratif qui forme la logique profonde de la recherche et de l'écriture de Higginson, contribue à limiter l'audience du livre aux seuls spécialistes de l'Afrique australe.

Higginson voit dans l'ouvrier des mines de cuivre du Haut-Katanga (Le Haut-Shaba du Zaïre actuel) l'agent collectif autant de la transformation des travailleurs migrants en prolétariat industriel que de la prise de conscience politique. Au cours de la première moitié du XXe siècle que couvre le livre, Higginson nous présente la naissance d'une classe en soi suivie de sa transformation en classe pour soi. Le livre s'achève sur une première tentative de quasi syndicalisation, largement encadrée par

l'État colonial et par l'entreprise monopoliste. Malgré ceci, elle démontre, selon l'auteur, que le mineur katangais est désormais capable d'action politique de longue haleine. Il est ici utile de rappeler au lecteur non familier de l'Afrique australe que l'exploitation minière de cette région est dominée par l'Union minière du Haut-Katanga qui depuis la fin de la première guerre mondiale constitue l'un des principaux producteurs du cuivre au monde.

Le livre est organisé en trois parties qui se succèdent en ordre chronologique. A chacune, Higginson donne un titre qui souligne la caractéristique dominante de la période. Les premières vingt années de l'exploitation seraient marquées par la formation d'une communauté de travailleurs noirs faisant face aux conditions éprouvantes de travail et de vie; travail essentiellement manuel exécuté par une main-d'oeuvre sans qualification qui rendait le remplacement d'un ouvrier moins cher que tout investissement dans la mécanisation. Remplacés majoritairement à six mois d'intervalle, les travailleurs sont surtout éprouvés par la maladie et la mort tant physique que sociale.

La seconde partie couvre une dizaine d'années qui s'ouvrent sur le début de la politique de stabilisation des travailleurs et s'achèvent avec la reprise économique à la veille de la seconde guerre mondiale. La stabilisation (contrat d'engagement à long terme, mesures en faveur du mariage des travailleurs, construction des cités ouvrières salubres, bonne alimentation, scolarisation des enfants de travailleurs et formation professionnelle pour ces derniers) ouvre selon Higginson la porte à la lutte des classes. La formation du prolétariat africain résulta alors des transformations du processus de production modifiant les relations de production. La réduction de la surveillance européenne du processus de travail, due autant à la grande crise économique qu'à la bonne formation professionnelle des travailleurs noirs, laissa à ces derniers plus d'espace

social et autorisa l'initiative politique du travailleur noir.

L'entrée du Congo belge (Zaïre d'aujourd'hui) en guerre à côté des alliés signifia l'intensification de la production minière. Rappelons ici que c'est l'uranium stocké par l'Union minière à New York juste avant le début de la guerre qui a permis aux États-Unis de fabriquer la première bombe atomique. La dizaine d'années qui suivirent l'éclatement de la guerre a été marquée au Katanga par une prise de conscience de classe et par une lutte de classe contre l'Union minière et contre l'État colonial.

Le livre s'arrête au moment où le Congo belge entre dans la décennie qui l'a conduit à l'indépendance de 1960. Higginson n'est pas ainsi obligé de s'interroger sur le pourquoi de l'absence totale du prolétariat qu'il dit organisé et conscient de ses intérêts de classe dans le processus politique qui conduisit à l'indépendance. Ce dernier fut totalement dominé par les mouvements politiques et les intérêts sociaux de la petite bourgeoisie en quête des moyens politiques d'accumulation. Il n'y a pas de doute que les indices de conscience de classe que Higginson met tellement en valeur sont réels. C'est le passage des indices ponctuels au processus politique et culturel qui est trop vite assumé.

Il n'y a pas de doute non plus que l'ouvrier noir de l'Union minière fut objectivement capable d'assumer son identité prolétarienne. Higginson montre bien qu'en tant que classe, ces travailleurs se sont faits largement eux-mêmes, mais il est dommage qu'il ne leur reconnaisse pas un peu plus d'autonomie créatrice. Il semble exclure au départ que la spécificité des conditions d'existence et d'expression culturelle pouvait conduire à éviter la répétition du processus occidental "classique" de formation d'une classe pour soi.

Le lecteur francophone du livre est frappé par le peu d'attention accordé à l'orthographe et à la syntaxe du français. Il s'agit non seulement des noms propres ou titres de documents mais aussi de

certaines citations rendues parfois inintelligibles.

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E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1990).

THE PUBLICATION OF *Factory Girls* is a welcome event. Textiles led the way in Japan's industrial revolution, and the great majority of the workers were female. The importance of the topic contrasts sharply to the absence of English language studies. In the last decade, impressive work has been published on the history of women in the textile industries of North America and Europe. With the appearance of this book, English language readers now have access to a comparable study of Japan.

Tsurumi begins with a chapter on the background of women's work in pre-industrial Japan. She shows that rural women by the 1800s often worked outside the home in support of a family economy, but she argues as well that the scope (in numbers of workers and distance from home) and the intensity of labour demands in the textile industry would prove unprecedented. A second introductory chapter describes the early days of mechanized silk and cotton production (1870s), when working conditions were relatively tolerable.

The main body of the book consists of the following six chapters, three each on the silk- and the cotton-spinning industries. Tsurumi chronicles the sharp deterioration of working conditions in both industries through the 1800s and 1890s and the increasing difficulties and deceptions that marked the process of recruiting female labour in both cases. She also details the punitive system of work discipline and incentive wage policies (especially in the silk industry) which undermined solidarity by forcing workers to

compete with each other. She argues that workers responded with both resistance and resignation, and that "the nation and the companies had much more success in capturing bodies for mill work than they did in capturing hearts and minds." (195)

The book concludes with two effective comparative chapters. In the first, Tsurumi asks whether life in the mills, however dismal, was any worse than that on the small, tenanted farms where most factory girls grew up. While she recognizes that the evidence is ambiguous, her conclusion is persuasive: the work was extraordinarily arduous in both factories and farms, but the factory girls had less flexibility and variety in work routine, were more strictly supervised, and were more vulnerable to disease, accidents, and sexual harassment. The final chapter compares work in the spinning mills to two other common alternatives for young women, employment in small rural weaving sheds and in urban brothels. While it appears that the conditions of life as a weaver or a prostitute were even worse than for either silk or cotton spinners, Tsurumi stresses several important common characteristics of all four types of work. In every case, the young girls were essentially "sold" into service by the family head (father), who received a desperately needed deposit up front. In every case, their work lives were intensively supervised and strictly confined. In each case, the workers were treated as disposable, renewable resources, essentially "thrown away" when ill or injured. Finally, sexual abuse was the typical experience of women in all cases.

The breadth of this study is a considerable achievement. By treating both cotton and silk spinning, and by including comparative analyses of farm labour, weaving and prostitution, Tsurumi offers a comprehensive social history of labouring women in the Meiji period and is able to identify important common features of Japanese women's varied experience at work. While she relies mainly on secondary Japanese sources (as she notes at the

outset), she also uses a few major primary sources to good effect, especially the 1902 government report on factory conditions (*Shokko jijo*), as well as diaries, interviews with elderly former spinners, and the texts of the spinning girls' songs.

Tsurumi interprets the factory girls' history clearly and consistently. She argues that the unremitting exploitation of the factory girls, to the limits of endurance and beyond, made possible the dual "achievement" of Meiji Japan's ruling oligarchs and their entrepreneurial allies. On one hand, the factory girls' labour allowed the nation to undergo capitalist industrialization. At the same time, on the other hand, an "old agrarian world" in which landlords exploited impoverished tenant farmers was sustained by textile wages that allowed the spinners' families to pay exorbitant rent.

This interpretation, which echoes that of Japanese historians such as Nakamura Masanori, has much to recommend it. Nonetheless, I see two problems with Tsurumi's argument. First, the argument that factory wages contributed to the persistence of an "old agrarian order" is problematic. Does this mean that if the textile industry had not developed, and tenant farm daughters had been unable to earn wages to support their families, rural society would have undergone a more progressive transformation? This seems unlikely, and I would have liked to see this implication dealt with. My own inclination, which accords with some of the evidence presented in this book, is to argue that the "old agrarian order" was already changing on the eve of textile industrialization, and that factory girls hastened the commercial transformation of the countryside. This transformation by no means liberated most tenant farmers or farm daughters from complex relations of subordination, but it did shift the basis of landlord domination from personal to economic obligation. To recast the argument in this way, of course, in no way vitiates the point that the "individual and collective costs" of the textile girls'

"contribution" to this process were enormous.

Second, Tsurumi convinces the reader that the factory girls were oppressed and exploited to an extraordinary degree, even in comparison to textile workers in other industrializing societies, but her unrelenting focus on this point causes her to downplay the ambiguity and possible change in worker behaviour and consciousness. She too easily assumes that the recruiting cartels imposed by regional federations of mill owners had the desired effect of preventing job switching. Unfortunately, Tojo Yukihiko's long and difficult study (*Seishi domei no joko toroku seido*, Tokyo University Press, 1990) appeared too late for Tsurumi to consider it. He shows that the cartel of the Suwa mill owners did not function effectively. He suggests (on the basis of fragmentary evidence, to be sure) that over time the factory girls made decisions about going to work on the basis of their own wishes as opposed to those of their fathers.

Of the many issues treated in the book, this question of the consciousness of the factory girls is certainly the most difficult to resolve. While I agree that loyalty to company and nation was much less important than defence of family interests in moving factory girls to endure

harsh and humiliating conditions, this matter is complex. In my own research, I found that unionized spinners in the 1920s demanded better treatment as just compensation for service to the nation's economy. Tsurumi hints at this complexity with the case of proud young workers who angrily refuse a landlord's pressure for sexual services. These women claimed they were "superior factory girls" who had been praised by the president of a big silk company as 'treasures of that silk company.'" They told the landlord to engage prostitutes instead. This incident merits further scrutiny. Perhaps these women (and the spinners in the 1920s) were defending their dignity by manipulating corporate (or nationalist) ideology in cynical fashion. At the same time, by boasting of contributions to the company, they distanced themselves from the prostitutes, whose plight, as Tsurumi shows, was very similar to their own.

By presenting such examples in the spinners' own words, taken from songs and diaries, Tsurumi allows readers to form their own interpretations, and her book is a provocative contribution to the study of women in Japanese history.

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