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REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Bruce Curtis, *True Government by Choice Men? Inspection, Education, and State Formation in Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1992).

Allan Greer and Ian Radforth, eds., *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1992).

THESE BOOKS are searching for the state in pre-Confederation Canada. They ask questions and demand a theoretical approach that an older historiography would refuse as folly, or misunderstand as a waste of time. In their purpose they can only be applauded; but their search is at times disturbingly narrow, justified by a loudly-proclaimed 'theoretical' shout and at other times too preliminarily eclectic and indiscriminate to cast much illumination on the shadowy substance of state structures and power in mid-century Canada.

Curtis telescopes the process of state formation in Canada West in the 1840s into the emergence of educational inspectors. He provides useful information on the 37 District Superintendents, and no doubt the rise of 'bureaucratic administration' and 'institutionalized,' 'efficient,' 'self government' were important components of a larger process of state formation, but this study is too minutely focused and Curtis too hesitant to explore connections among various processes of state formation to convince anyone remotely sceptical about the rather larger abstractions that lie at the skimpy base of

his elaborate, superstructural, argument. The reader is constantly referred to the sociological 'theory' of state formation, a process writ large in historical meaning, and referenced by abundant allusion to the classical and avant-garde theorists of the last century. Indeed, the promotional frontispiece to this study informs us that Curtis "presents a systematic application of the insights of ... Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Gramsci, and Foucault" (to which could be added the names Corrigan and Sayer, Abrams, and Mao Tse Tung), which is all well and good until one stops to ponder how such a catalogue-like theoretical listing could be systematic. Moreover, this text is a juxtaposition of theoretical assertion and an almost antiquarian narrative of School Acts and inspectors' reminiscences and difficulties, most of which leave the impression that the much-vaunted 'efficiency' and 'self-government' that Curtis sees as central to the rising bureaucratic administration of his choice men was somewhat illusory. We are treated to pages of description of the trials and tribulations of school inspectors, who suffered through inclement weather, falls from their horses, and the common cold. Curtis makes the most of describing all of this, but he is also capable of imposing on fairly mundane and self-serving accounts a theoretical depth that discerning readers will want to question. When one inspector wrote to his superior in words of ingratiating self-importance — "I may be enabled to say 'I have done the state some service,'" — this is attributed to the official's "sense of his world historic mission." (168) Gramsci's organic intellectuals and ideological

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organic intellectuals and ideological moral blocs are rather easily located given this 'reading' of the past, but it is all a little too precious.

We would not know from Curtis' account, for instance, that the bureaucratized administration of schooling, well into the 1850s, allowed Egerton Ryerson to pocket interest on upwards of £20,000 in funds earmarked for schooling and its officialdom. As Michael Piva points out in an article in the Greer and Radforth collection, "administrative controls remained relatively lax," a point accentuated by Peter Baskerville's discussion of transportation and state formation, in which it is argued that beyond the realm of schooling 'expert' authority at mid-century was quite circumscribed, save for times of obvious crisis. (262, 231) As argument, then, Curtis' account of school inspection is a useful elaboration on the movement toward bureaucratic administration and state formation; but as a 'model' of a process or an example of 'representative' developments it is overstated to the point of distorting actual historical relations in the evolution of state and civil society.

A problem of a different sort characterizes *Colonial Leviathan*, a text that reaches for the pervasiveness of state influence at the same time that some of its articles question this assumption. As a compilation of papers presented to a 1989 conference on state formation, the Greer and Radforth collection gathers together a number of interesting and valuable articles. But the collection lacks coherence, the form and substance of the articles varying considerably: some examine discrete slices of the process of state formation, offering enticing glimpses into corners where the institutions of regulation and ideological reproduction were forged; others provide empirical study of processes that, however important, are theoretically and practically distanced from state formation; finally, at least two of the essays are suggestive 'think-pieces' meant to stimulate research on

gender and regional identity. This kind of patching together of quite different presentations makes for some abrupt shifting of conceptual and empirical gears, but the process is not without its rewards.

The single most important contribution of the articles in this collection, also developed by Curtis, is the notion that the coming of 'responsible government' actually entailed the subversion of the reform strategy of the 1830s. Power was indeed transferred, but not from the Executive to 'the people'; rather, a series of innovations concentrated authority in the council or 'cabinet,' shifting the locus of rule within the Executive rather than displacing it elsewhere. This power was then increasingly prone to the administrations of various centralized structures that would mark the construction of new developments in local government, public works, and various services. The role of Charles Edward Poulett Thompson, Governor General from 1839-1841, and later Lord Sydenham, in paving the way to this end with his ideas on utilitarian reform is detailed in Ian Radforth's important essay. The decisive importance of finance and transport in this period of state formation can be gleaned from articles by McCalla, Baskerville, and Piva, although it is not entirely clear that there is a neat fit between the seeming political successes of 'administration' and the apparent looseness of the managerial dimensions of state power. The peculiarities of the Lower Canadian state emerge in Allan Green's account of the birth of the police, in Brian Young's discussion of 'positive law' and the rule of the Special Council, and in Jean-Marie Fecteau's suggestive account of state and society in the transition to capitalism. Lykke de la Cour's, Cecilia Morgan's, and Mariana Valverde's outline of the various ways in which state formation solidified a gendered social order could also be read as complementary to the revisionist assessment of 'responsible government' as an expres-

sion of a slight of hand that promised popular sovereignty at the same time as it delivered institutionalized subordination and regulation.

At this point in time, however, there are more questions than answers about the nature of state formation and its meaning in mid-century Canada. Graeme Wynn's concluding statement in the Greer and Radforth collection voices a scepticism about the power of the state in the Maritime colonies of British North America. Religion, ethnicity, and locality, suggests Wynn, gave form and structure to the everyday lives and identities of most colonists, not the state. This is perhaps too facile a dichotomization, for the state, however, rudimentary, was seldom bluntly divorced from such features of popular experience. The task of searching for the early Canadian state, which these texts usefully introduce as centrally important, will be carried out only when larger synthetic studies integrating various realms of economic, political, social and cultural life are proposed and carried out. Books like these make the job easier and, hopefully, will lend it a legitimacy that it has heretofore lacked.

Bryan D. Palmer
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Colin Howell and Richard Twomey, eds., *Jack Tar in History, Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press 1991).

THE LAST TEN YEARS has seen much light cast upon those workers who made their life at sea. Margaret Creighton, one of the essayists, believes that maritime studies have moved, if it is possible "light-years over the past decade." (145) Have the historians of "real" labour noticed? In the Canadian context, "working men who got wet" constituted the principal focus of Memorial University of Newfoundland's 1980 shipping history

conference. Recruiting, desertion, literacy, nationality, productivity and adjustment to technology were all scrutinized. Sailors in Atlantic Canada from 1820 to 1914 received full treatment by Sager in 1989, while their port life in Québec and the Maritimes was equally well documented by Fingard in 1982. Elsewhere, for the 18th century, studies of seamen have appeared. Most notable is a study of the British Navy by Rodger (1986) improving upon the pioneer work by a Canadian scholar, the late Stephen Graddish (1980). For French seamen especially useful is the work of two other Canadians, Pritchard (1987) and LeGoff. To these should be added Rediker's study of Anglo-American merchant seamen between 1700 and 1750 (1987), though Lemisch helped create the modern subject with his 1968 essays on seamen in colonial towns (but, typical of colonial American scholars, he ignored Halifax) in the era of the American revolution.

The present volume, the latest recruit to this enriched literature, derives from a 1990 conference held at Saint Mary's University in Halifax. The addresses of two American scholars, Lemisch and Young are irritatingly absent. Kealey's "afterward" explains Lemisch's but not Young's truancy. As the essays are so diverse in subject matter, I shall deal with each, except the lead essay by Linebaugh and Rediker as it is merely a reprint from the *Journal of Historical Sociology*, and was presented at another conference in 1988. It demonstrates that the working class existed in the 18th century, if nowhere else, at least at sea.

Scott's study, the next essay, deals with the relative freedom experienced by black sailors in comparison to field or domestic slaves. It enabled them, among other things, to observe white revolution in mainland American ports or black revolution in Haiti, and presumably to help them form some notion of personal and political freedom. Long on ideas and short on evidence, the value of this piece remains uncertain.

Rogers examines opposition in the British Isles to the press gang during the American War of Independence. Using intelligently British Admiralty papers he concludes, as others have before him, that the press in particular and service in the royal navy in general was hated and widely feared. If English radicals, like Granville Sharpe, the anti-slavery activist, were not prepared to shield the "idle wretches," (75) whom the press swept up, then the "honest seamen" and "industrious fishermen" would remain equally unprotected, and slave emancipation remained not just a distant but an unworkable dream.

Will the Royal Navy and the Westminster Parliament cooperate in the bicentennial celebration of the 1797 naval mutinies in England? If there are democrats still in either institution, Moore's subject — participatory democracy and seamen's self-management — should be a major conference theme. His research too is on an important, if well-worn, subject. Like Linebaugh and Rediker, he has uncovered no new sources, but reworks others' research. Before he goes to print again on this subject, he must master the rich resources of the National Maritime Museum or the Public Record Office. For now, I cannot see how his well written account advances our knowledge one cable's length.

Cadigan's essay also deals with another major theme: debt and economic dependency by wage labourers in the Newfoundland fisheries. Inspired by Antler, Sider and Crowley, he tackles, using CO194, the peculiarities of the world of resident and migratory fishermen from 1775 to 1824. He succeeds only in making more obscure the very subject on which he wishes to cast light.

Dugaw deals with that rarest of creatures, the female sailors. Using literary sources she found almost none, though warrior women, she earlier discovered, figured in perhaps 1000 English ballads in the two centuries before 1850. Inciden-

tally, using other sources, Sager found 752 undisguised women among the 183,000 sailors he studied. However interesting, they were peripheral to the wet working class.

Creighton, who studies sailors as men who loved women, but who lived "in worlds without them," (163) has used a formidable array of evidence, namely crew lists, logs and diaries drawn from New London, Salem and New York City in 1818-78. Captains' wives were the principal females she uncovered, and seaman almost invariably disliked them. Sex-segregation to highlight "the male-ness of the sailing ship," (145) is her subject.

Whaling was a vicious and indiscriminate business, but Norling deals with the sentimentalizing of its New England branch by looking at maritime women and their men between 1790 and 1870. For feminist historians, the Nantucket woman has been an impressive discovery. The long absences of their husbands obliged them, like soldiers' wives in wartime, to run the household and to become familiar with everything needed to survive. Their later resistance to the 19th-century sentimentalist process attempting to confine these women to "suffer and be still" is impressively documented.

Burton found that, by the end of the 19th century, the earlier roguish-rakish Jack Tar image of sailors was largely inappropriate. What had emerged were trade unionists, bargaining collectively, and after many decades reversing the downward wage trend. Control over the timing and nature of their wage payments was crucial both to supporting their families, and to elevating their self-esteem, within the framework of the new family morality of late Victorian England. It was a mix of economic radicalism and social conservatism, and is a novel way of studying both masculinity and patriarchy, two current concerns largely pursued by feminist historians.

Pritchard is rewriting the history of a celebrated fiasco in French naval annals. The planned French naval assault on Louisbourg, Annapolis Royal and Boston in 1746 was the largest expeditionary force to sail from France before the American War of Independence. His essay deals with the 7,250 ill-fated crew members and 3,530 military, of whom perhaps 80 per cent lost their lives. As France possessed "a small, even minuscule seafaring population," (207) at least half came not with seafaring experience but driven by poverty from distant cities and from the peasantry. If it was not their peasant background that devastated them in 1746, what did? To know, we shall have to await the book.

Dye tells us what American seamen, made prisoners by the British between 1812 and 1815, looked like. From 14,739 cases, Dye studies their rank, racial origin, ethnicity, place of birth, age, height, body build, hair and eye colour. Some 18 per cent were black or mulatto, the vast majority of whom were free. Few held more than the lowest rank. On average they were older than whites: 29 versus 26; but the same height: 5'6". Most whites came from New England, most black seamen from the middle states and the south. None were women. As my colleague, Don Davis, would say, "So what?" Good methodology. Lousy history.

The penultimate essay belongs to much-cited Sager, who has turned to oral testimony of Canadian seamen of the 1930s and 1940s, the last of a breed, to uncover their history. Their strength and ultimately their undoing was their democracy. Their betters were oligarchs, who, playing wiser politics and holding the purse strings, easily won the great battles of the late-1940s. To me it was a Greek tragedy; but Sager will doubtless find humour and a silver lining in the final draft.

Lastly Muise deals with Yarmouth's merchant seamen, as part of a larger study of Nova Scotian mid-sized towns (three

such essays have so far appeared). Using census returns from 1871 to 1921, at a moment when seafaring peaked and a long economic decline was ushered in, he provides six snapshots of a society in transition. Even in 1871 only a tiny proportion of Yarmouth-owned vessels were crewed by Yarmouth natives, so large had the fleet become. Such vessels were much more likely to have a Yarmouth master, whose earnings were more than twice that of sailors. Mean age rose as shipping declined in importance and wages fell relative to land-based industry. Industrial opportunities themselves lasted only a generation, so Yarmouth like Glasgow entered the post-industrial era at the same early moment in the 1920s.

This collection contains the usual mixed haversack common to all such anthologies. The best, which hold the germ of an idea, are worth reading, while the rest are utterly forgettable.

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Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds., *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History* (Toronto: University of Toronto 1992).

THIS COLLECTION, bravely sub-titled "new essays," covers some topics that are not in and of themselves "new"; in fact, several of the studies are already available in slightly different form. Others are "new" in the sense that their subjects have not been specifically addressed to this point. The approaches and methods also vary in degrees of newness. All the topics, however, are discussed enthusiastically by rising feminist scholars committed to moving gender analysis forward. Themes and issues are presented, and questions raised, that will undoubtedly be debated in classrooms and scholarly journals for some time to come.

To begin with the interesting, solid, but not-terribly-new: Janice Newton

presents a straightforward biographical account of some prominent early 20th-century women socialists that does not depart significantly from earlier studies by Joan Sangster and Linda Kealey. Ruth Frager's contribution on the participation of Jewish/non-Jewish women garment workers in two strikes against Eaton's (Toronto) is meticulously contextualized and sensitive to the complexities of race/gender/class. It is also essentially traditional labour history in its focus on strike dynamics. Lynn Marks' examination of working-class women participants in the Salvation Army is inaugural in that little attention has been given to the question of religion and class, if a little more to religion and gender. But her gender analysis, indicating that the Army provided more opportunities for active female leadership than did mainstream churches, points to an even more-neglected analytical category in revealing age as a significant motivating factor. Eighty per cent of Army officers, women and men, were under 25; women, in particular, were a transitory presence in the officer ranks. The age/gender relationship, therefore, is one that needs development. Youthful idealism, romanticism, and adventurous spirits are not necessarily gender-specific, even if they are ultimately realized in different ways by women and men.

In the category of new approaches, Carolyn Strange probes a neglected area of Canadian historiography, as well as a subject of intrinsic interest (two murder trials of "sensationalist" calibre). More important, Strange challenges long-held theories of "chivalric justice," the judicial code of gentlemanly behaviour that has supposedly let women off lightly in criminal prosecutions. She demonstrates, deftly and imaginatively, that this 19th-century chivalric ideal was not exclusively gender-related but had an integral class and racial basis. Her conclusion that "acquittals contribute not to the correction of sexism, racism and classism in the justice system but rather to their obfuscation"

(151) opens up historical analysis of criminal justice, with its traditional, internal, juridical focus, to suggest the more nebulous ways in which law and justice mystify power, and thereby protect and perpetuate its existing forms.

Franca Iacovetta's study of relations between post-war immigrant women and social service case workers reveals both the changes in "host society" attitudes towards immigrants and women, and the continuation of long-held ethnic and gender biases. The professional and volunteer counsellors who staffed the International Institute's Department of Individual Services (Toronto) sought active intervention in the lives of their immigrant clients to ensure the newcomers' integration into Canadian society. Iacovetta describes the Cold War context that gave rise to much bourgeois angst about the "crisis" in the nation's homes, and carefully details the particular difficulties confronting the newly-arrived. Two decades of upheaval saw the Canadian middle class pursue a return to the "normalcy" premised on the traditional family ethic, a "gendered arrangement" that clearly affixed male/female roles, both within and outside of the family, according to "a North American, middle-class model that combined patriarchal ideals of family and motherhood with the notion of a modern, companionate marriage." (263) Nonetheless, the institute counsellors were rarely successful in reshaping their clients' lives, a measure of their limited contact with them and the "selective and pragmatic approach" of the clients themselves. (264)

The author effectively delves into the complicated relationship of gender/class/ethnicity and the welfare state. She shows that immigrant women wanted these services, and utilized them, while still preserving a degree of personal autonomy in the face of the bureaucracy's attempts to make them conform to its expectations about "Canadianism." The implication, however, is that the sense of crisis in the family, and "the family ideol-

ogy that pervaded not only the social work profession in this period but most elements of society" (273) were new to the post-World War II period. Fears about the family and the determination on the part of the "helping professions" to safeguard and sustain its traditional form, are on-going developments in 20th-century Canadian history. There are notable parallels between the 1920s and 1950s, for example, not only with respect to the pervasiveness of the "family crisis" theory, but also its structural and ideological underpinnings: the anxious climate of postwar adjustment, intensive socio-economic change, the challenges that these posed for workers, immigrants, women, and any combination thereof. The "family in crisis" viewpoint was not new to the 1950s, then, nor was the crisis of confidence within the dominant class. What needs consideration is not so much why the latter's response was so adamantly "traditional," as its remarkable success in impeding the logical development of a new family ethic to replace one that was unrealistic and outmoded for so many Canadians.

One of the most innovative contributions to this volume is Cynthia Wright's discussion of gender, class, and the development of consumer culture in Canada. Wright argues for seeing this virtually-uncharted territory as "a key component of understanding the reorganization of class and gender relations in the twentieth century." (250) Approaching the department store as a bourgeois cultural institution will allow historians to grasp the effects of gender and class on consumption, as well as the converse. Wright also stresses the importance of attention to spatial organization in the department store, the centrality of relations between the store and the media, and the changing role and image of the woman consumer. She argues forcefully that "this is not simply a feminist variant of [Bryan] Palmer's argument that consumerism was a brake on working-class militancy." Both views are unidimensional: what we

need to understand are "the contradictions and class differences in this process." Consumerism gave women "public definition," opening a door out of the home and involving both middle- and working-class women in political activism. (238)

If Wright's theoretical stance is clearly outlined, the rest of the essay does not go much beyond an intriguing sketch of the major themes and issues that she believes should be addressed in any history of consumer culture. This is the most preliminary of the studies in this collection, and its various themes, while suggestive, do not come together into a coherent image of the possibilities of such an analysis. Using Eaton's College Street store as a case study is interesting, and her discussion of its spatial organization especially so. But I wonder how far this particular store, which opened in 1930 and never realized its planners' objectives because of the immediate impact of the Depression, can be depicted as an institutional prototype for emergent mass consumerism, a trend that surely dates from at least a decade earlier. In the end Wright's contention about the need for attention to the inherent contradictions of consumer culture, in both class and gender terms, is more asserted than sustained.

Mariana Valverde's study of the racism of early 20th-century women's organizations covers material that was also considered by Carol Bacchi a decade ago, more recently by Angus McLaren in his study of the Canadian eugenics movement, and the author herself in her 1991 monograph. The topic is not new, then, but the discourse analysis employed makes this, methodologically, the newest specimen in this collection. Valverde's focus on image and metaphor in early feminist discourse is evocative, but various assertions are made whose premise is at best unexplained, at worst inexplicable.

Valverde points out, as have others, that "white feminists attacked only the

gender bias of evolutionary and eugenic thought, leaving the basic framework intact." (13) That basic framework was a racism that is clearly repugnant and unjustifiable from our vantage point. But this racism was a scientific as well as a social construction; that is, it was developed, espoused and promulgated by some of the period's leading scientific authorities. Should we be shocked and horrified (or even surprised) that informed Canadians of the time, women as well as men, adopted so-called scientific racism and used it to their own ends? It is indeed unfortunate that these ideas were "not challenged but rather supported by Canadian maternal feminists." (14) But given their prevalence in an age that glorified the scientific, however constructed, can we reasonably expect that women *could* have rejected racist ideas? Why should they have been better or smarter than men of their time, unless we embrace their own view of biologically-ordained gender-defined moral superiority? Curiously, the authors' introductory essay explicitly rejects the celebration of their human subjects as "morally pure." (xviii)

That maternal feminists failed to create a broadly-based movement in neglecting the needs and interests of women of colour certainly cannot be countered. It is evident that these women were never regarded "as potential active agents of the feminist project." But where is the evidence that they were interested in this deliberately self-limited project in the first place? Did they even regard themselves as active agents of any project beyond survival, given their completely marginalized position, delimited as it was by race, class and gender all at once? Who were these women of colour, how many and where located, in terms of class and geography? *Strange points out that the black population of early 20th-century Toronto amounted to 1 per cent of the total. The total population of working-class women of all ethnic backgrounds was considerably larger, and the women's*

movement generally ignored them as well, as Frager vividly demonstrates. Early Canadian feminists were racially and socially-exclusive, as charged. Ultimately, they failed to create a broadly-based movement because they did not aspire to that end. They were concerned primarily with the lot and interests of women of their own kind, not of womankind. Arguing that they *should* have done it neither changes history, nor explains it any better.

Finally, the attention to metaphor is innovative but also irksome in its non-referential obliqueness. White and black, after all, are not just colours of skin. They also represent visible light and its absence, physical properties that are conceivably relevant to all cultures in all times. We need reference to the imagery of purity and "goodness" in cultures that are other than white and European. In this case, understanding the metaphoric implications of light/dark in racist white societies with regard to their symbolic ascriptions in these others would permit confident use of deconstruction as a tool of historical analyses.

The other really "new" essay is Karen Dubinsky's examination of heterosexual relations in the context of rural and Northern Ontario. Dubinsky does not effectively explain the point of the rural/Northern delimitation, but her piece covers a largely-ignored area, both geographically and in terms of social relations. Employing legal records of prosecutions for seduction, Dubinsky underlines the gender basis of sexual politics in seeking to understand the roles of "female agency, autonomy and self-assertion in the realm of sexuality." (28) She rejects the simplistic argument that "patriarchy is maintained by coercion alone, or that sex holds only danger for women." (29) The double standard of sexual behaviour, "a cultural imperative of remarkable durability," (30) necessarily depicted women as sexual victims because to do otherwise would have amounted to recognition of

feminine sexual power and women's ability to use it.

This is an impressive study, but there seems to be a blurring of lines between discussion of social constructions of women as sexual victims and discussion of women as sexual victims. The seduction cases show that force and coercion were not the issue so much as conflicting expectations. Dubinsky indicates that women viewed participation as commitment when, in many instances, men did not. Yet she seems to conclude that women were sexual victims nonetheless, due to the entrenchment of "patriarchal ideas and practices about sexuality, desire and gender." (57) Those ideas/practices were obviously entrenched in social and legal ways, but how far did they get in terms of actual behaviour? How can we ever really know with any certainty? More important, as her own evidence suggests, women could and did use the legal construction of sexual victim to get what they wanted from men, usually a fulfilment of the male side of the bargain. Perhaps women, lacking the more tangible forms of economic and social power, tapped the power of sex as one way of meeting their own socio-economic needs and aspirations. The state may well have scrutinized, regulated and judged their sexual behaviour, but this does not preclude their use of sex, gender, law and justice to their own advantage. Both Dubinsky's seduction cases and Strange's murder cases show that some women did just that. If men used power to get sex, maybe women used sex to get power.

These studies, all told, are engaging and suggestive, both in terms of what they are about and how they are conceptualized. What is new about them is at times obscured by what is not new. The over-arching theme, despite recognition of myriad "complexities," still tends toward "women at the mercy of patriarchy." We have to be careful about relativizing suffering, if inadvertently. Just as some forms of power are more powerful than others, as the authors acknowledge, not

all oppression is equal, either in nature or effect. There is obviously a considerable gap between oppression that undermines lifestyle and oppression that threatens life itself.

While it is recognized, at least implicitly, that patriarchy and capitalism are mutually-supportive, they are often discussed as separate entities, harkening back to those "tired dichotomies." It is all too historically evident that patriarchy/capitalism oppress women. But they oppress men, too, and children, and animals. Perhaps that is the essence of our gender conflicts, historically and today: we are all oppressed by the system in varying degrees and have to fight it out between and among ourselves, men, women and children — as the system encourages us to do — in the interests of self-protection and even survival.

I understand the authors' presumably-unanimous aversion to analysis that merely juxtaposes resistance and dominance. But it is not clear to me that our forebears in the practice of "new" social history in this country are altogether guilty of over-simplifying the interplay of social power and human agency in this manner. Nor is it clear to me that the current crop of the "new" is not using largely the same approach, assertions to the contrary.

All of which suggests that discussion of any topic labelled "conflict" cannot avoid "this tired dichotomy of top-down domination *versus* bottom-up resistant," (xviii) since this "tired dichotomy" is an intrinsic part of the dance of power. It still seems to be the historical "space" where we can most clearly view what it meant to be powerful, powerless or "empowered" at any given moment, in ways both new and not-so-new.

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Jean Provencher, *Chronologie du Québec* (Montréal: Editions du Boréal 1991).

JEAN PROVENCHER NOUS propose une chronologie du Québec qui ne manque pas d'attraits, ni de surprises, mais qui, pour le spécialiste en histoire ouvrière, souffre de plusieurs lacunes. C'est sous cet angle que nous examinerons la plus récente parution de l'auteur des *Quatre saisons dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent* (1988).

Voici donc une «vaste chronologie du Québec depuis 35000 av. J.-C., date approximative de l'arrivée des Indiens en Amérique, jusqu'à 1980», qui se veut un ouvrage de référence pour l'étudiant. L'auteur a découpé sa matière en cinq parties: quelques dates importantes avant 1534; La Nouvelle-France 1534-1760 (une erreur s'est glissée dans la Table des matières, qui parle de 1700); un nouveau régime, 1760-1867; le Québec qui se construit, 1867-1929 et le Québec moderne, 1929-1980. Les événements sont regroupés sous quatre catégories d'analyse: ce qui se passe dans le monde, Canada et Amérique du Nord, politique québécoise, culture et société québécoises.

Les grandes dates retenues avant 1534 ne permettent aucunement de situer la culture dominante au Québec dans son enracinement occidental. Il manque une vision de la civilisation occidentale et des apports des diverses cultures à ce qui est devenu, avec le temps, la civilisation ou la culture française. Par exemple, l'auteur retient la date «Vers 4000 av. J.-C., invention de l'écriture par les Égyptiens,» mais il ne parle pas de l'alphabet phénicien, puis grec, ni de la filiation du grec, du latin et du français ... Les progrès des Mayas en astronomie (700-800) sont notés, mais pas l'essor du christianisme dans l'empire romain (Édit de Milan, 313). La «Grande charte» de 1215, la constitution du royaume de France, celle de l'Angleterre, ne sont pas mentionnées, mais l'auteur prend soin de parler de l'arrivée au pouvoir de Moctezuma I^{er} en

Amérique centrale, en 1440. On retient le règne des Incas au Pérou, vers 980, mais pas le couronnement de Charlemagne comme empereur en 800. Jeanne d'Arc meurt sur le bûcher en 1431, mais ni la Guerre de Cent ans, ni la Guerre des Deux-Roses, ni la première carte qui identifie nommément l'Amérique (1507), ne méritent l'attention de l'auteur.

Quels sont les critères qui président à ces choix, nous ne le saurons pas. On sent cependant la culpabilité de l'Occidental et le désir de faire une large place aux divers peuples amérindiens pour la période qui précède l'arrivée de Cartier, mais il nous semble qu'une chronologie du Québec aurait pu faire une large place aux événements constitutifs des deux grandes civilisations, la française et l'anglaise, qui ont marqué l'établissement d'une colonie sur les rives du Saint-Laurent. Il y a là autant de pertinence qu'à parler de Moctezuma ou des Égyptiens.

Sur les deux parties suivantes, la Nouvelle-France et un nouveau régime (1760-1867), il convient de mentionner que la chronologie est accompagnée de nombreuses illustrations et de quelques encadrés qui viennent situer les événements dans leur contexte, ce qui ajoute à la cohérence de l'ensemble. Il aurait été préférable, cependant, que l'auteur soit plus précis dans l'identification des événements et donne la date exacte (le jour et le mois), plutôt que de se contenter trop souvent de l'année: par exemple, la bataille des plaines d'Abraham a eu lieu en 1759, mais il n'est pas inintéressant de savoir qu'elle a eu lieu vers la fin de l'année, et l'auteur aurait dû mentionner la date de la bataille (le 13 septembre), le nombre de soldats impliqués, le décès de Wolfe et de Montcalm, l'entrée des troupes britanniques dans la ville (le 17 septembre); or Provencher mentionne ces événements dans un encadré qui est situé au début de la 3e partie du volume, «Un nouveau régime,» qui commence en 1760 ...

Le révolution française ne reçoit que deux petites lignes d'attention: «Début de

la révolution française avec la réunion des États généraux,» nous apprend-t-on sous l'année 1789. Pas un mot sur la proclamation du tiers état en Assemblée nationale, sur le Serment du Jeu de paume, la Déclaration des Droits de l'homme et du citoyen, l'abolition des privilèges, la prise de la Bastille, etc. De même, l'adoption du Code civil de Napoléon, en 1804, est passée sous silence, tandis que 4 lignes sont consacrées à l'importation des dahlias d'Angleterre. Dans la même veine, les conférences de Charlottetown et de Québec (1864) sont à peine mentionnées, alors que la publication de Léon Provancher, *Flore canadienne* (1862), reçoit 7 lignes d'attention!

Par contre, signalons le souci de l'auteur de rendre compte des premiers pas de l'organisation ouvrière, en mentionnant le premier arrêt de travail des typographes à Québec en 1830, la naissance de la Quebec Journeymen Shoemakers' Society en 1835, celle de la Société amicale et bienveillante des charpentiers de vaisseaux de Québec en 1840, la première grève des débardeurs de Québec, en 1855, la fondation de la Quebec Ship Labourer's Benevolent Society en 1857.

Les choses se gâtent cependant pour les deux autres parties, qui contiennent plusieurs erreurs de fait et où l'on peut relever d'importantes omissions du point de vue de l'histoire ouvrière. Par exemple, la Grande Association de Médéric Lanctôt est ignorée, alors que le championnat de patinage de 1867 est mentionné; la «politique nationale» de Macdonald, en 1879, est réduite à «l'institution d'un tarif protectionniste.» Si l'auteur mentionne l'arrivée des Chevaliers du Travail en 1882, il oublie la création du Conseil des métiers et du travail de Montréal (1886) qui regroupe également les syndicats internationaux. L'invention des *Corn Flakes* est mentionnée (1898) mais pas la fondation du Parti ouvrier (1899), ni celles des Parti socialiste (1904) et Social-démocratique (1910), encore moins celle du One Big

Union (1919). La participation canadienne à l'invasion de la Russie, la fondation du Parti communiste du Canada (1921), celle du Parti progressiste dans l'ouest (1921), tout cela est passé sous silence.

Dans la dernière partie, le *New Deal* existe sans que l'on mentionne Roosevelt (1933); les «procès de Moscou» sont ignorés (1936-1938); «Léon Blum crée le Front populaire» (1936) sans participation communiste, la conférence de Munich est placée à tort en 1937 alors qu'elle a eu lieu en 1938; l'*Anschluss* de l'Autriche avec l'Allemagne n'est pas mentionné; l'interdiction du Parti communiste canadien en 1939, l'élection de Fred Rose comme candidat du Parti ouvrier-progressiste (communiste) dans Montréal-Cartier sont ignorées, et en 1943 et en 1945; l'affaire Gouzenko (1946) qui, selon certains, serait à l'origine de la guerre froide, n'est même pas mentionnée, de même que la grève des 130 000 cheminots de 1950, la fondation de la Fédération des Unions industrielles du Québec (FUIQ) en 1952, les bills 19 et 20 de 1954, le *Manifeste au peuple du Québec* de la FUIQ en 1955, l'élection de Claude Jodoin, un Québécois, comme premier président du Congrès du travail du Canada en 1956, la grève de Murdochville en 1957, la déconfessionnalisation de la CSN en 1960 (mentionnée lors de la fondation de la CTC en 1921); le nom du premier chef du NPD ne vaut pas la peine d'être signalé, semble-t-il, ni la création de l'assurance-hospitalisation (1961), ni l'octroi du droit de grève aux fonctionnaires en 1964. Pour le front commun de 1972, l'auteur ne donne pas le nom des centrales qui en font partie et ne dit rien de la grève générale du printemps 1972, ni de l'occupation de la ville de Sept-îles par les grévistes, etc. Enfin, la grève générale déclenchée par le CTC en 1976 contre le gel des salaires décrété par le gouvernement Trudeau aurait au moins mérité une mention ...

En somme, si le monde du travail est bien présent dans le livre de Provencher,

c'est avec beaucoup d'omissions et de renseignements incomplets. L'ouvrage demeure utile à ceux qui désirent faire un survol de l'évolution du Québec, mais le manque de perspective claire sur la civilisation occidentale, qui aurait pu présider au choix des informations dans la section «monde,» le caractère éclectique des informations que l'on y retrouve et l'absence de plusieurs éléments d'information majeurs sur le monde du travail peuvent donner une mauvaise impression au lecteur peu expérimenté. Cela est d'autant plus dommage que d'importantes synthèses ont été publiées sur le sujet, dont celle de la CSN-CEQ (1984) et celle de Jacques Rouillard (1990). Espérons que l'auteur intégrera ces aspects dans une deuxième version de son livre.

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David Descent, Louis Maheu, Martin Robitaille et Gilles Simard, *Classes sociales et mouvements sociaux au Québec et au Canada. Essai-synthèse et bibliographie* (Montréal: Editions Saint Martin 1989).

L'OUVRAGE DONT IL sera question dans ces lignes est essentiellement un outil de travail. Le livre est divisé en trois parties: la première est réservée à une interprétation d'ensemble de la littérature sociologique consacrée à l'étude des classes et à celle des mouvements sociaux; (17-64) la seconde est une bibliographie sélective découpée en trois thèmes et 15 sous-thèmes; (93-187) tandis que la troisième est constituée d'un index des noms d'auteurs. (191-204) Les pages 65 à 92 quant à elles, regroupent les références bibliographiques de l'essai-synthèse; elles se trouvent alors à faire double emploi avec la deuxième partie puisqu'elles reprennent une bonne proportion des références bibliographiques de l'essai-synthèse. Au seul

niveau de la présentation, il suffisait, comme on l'a fait d'ailleurs, d'identifier les ouvrages qui avaient été retenus dans la synthèse pour offrir du même coup au lecteur toute l'information nécessaire concernant celles parmi les références indiquées qui avaient fait l'objet d'un traitement de la part des auteurs.

Quoi qu'il en soit de cette redondance, pour le chercheur en sciences sociales, ce genre d'outil est indispensable; il représente un effort de réflexion très utile et il facilite grandement l'accès à la littérature, surtout quand la production prend une ampleur telle que l'on peut se demander s'il est encore réaliste de penser être capable d'en maîtriser les contenus, les polémiques et les subtilités.

Les travaux qui font l'objet de cette synthèse représentent l'ensemble des études diffusées tant au Québec qu'au Canada sur les classes sociales et sur les mouvements sociaux au cours des trente dernières années; plus précisément, la bibliographie et la synthèse couvrent les années 1960 à 1986, encore que le gros des ouvrages et articles cités appartient bel et bien aux années soixante-dix et à la première moitié de la décennie suivante. C'est donc dire que la synthèse porte sur un corpus qui est très lié à l'analyse et à l'interprétation d'une conjoncture tout à fait particulière tant au Canada qu'au Québec, celle au cours de laquelle on a assisté à la diffusion de la pensée marxiste. Les auteurs soulignent cette caractéristique dès l'ouverture de leur analyse: «les classes sociales et les rapports sociaux de classes que nous retiendrons ne sont pas de l'ordre d'une analyse de la stratification sociale. Il s'agit plutôt de ces rapports qui lient et opposent des groupes sociaux dans des rapports de domination, voire d'exploitation.» (19)

Si ce parti-pris est intéressant, dans la mesure où l'abondance de ce genre d'interprétation de même que l'importance des polémiques soulevées en son sein justifiaient qu'on s'attarde à revoir les termes de ces débats, il n'en demeure

pas moins qu'il aurait également été intéressant de profiter de l'occasion pour aller quand même un peu plus loin. Or, l'idée de base qui court tout au long de la synthèse, celle selon laquelle nous serions passés d'un recours à la grille d'analyse fondée sur les conflits de classes au recours à une grille qui privilégie désormais l'étude des mouvements sociaux me semble passer à côté de plusieurs questions de fond.

Par exemple, comment et pourquoi l'interprétation fondée sur l'établissement de rapports antagoniques entre les classes a-t-elle pu se substituer à des approches alternatives? Quels liens pourrait-on tisser ou mieux, quelles ruptures pourrait-on relever entre ce nouveau genre d'approche et celle, beaucoup plus «classique,» défendue par les analystes durant les années cinquante? Comment peut-on établir l'effet de la question nationale sur cette nouvelle vision des rapports de classes au Canada et au Québec durant les années soixante-dix surtout? Pourquoi, enfin, tous ces paradigmes ont-ils péri, au-delà ou en deçà de la reconversion autour de l'étude des mouvements sociaux? Il me semble, à cet égard, que le présent travail pêche sans doute de n'avoir pas développé de filiations solides avec l'histoire, un travers qui laisse l'interprétation du présent de l'analyse en suspend. Cependant, pour ce qui concerne très spécifiquement son objet d'analyse, ce petit ouvrage demeure et demeurera indispensable.

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Bruno Ramirez, *Par monts et par vaux. Migrants canadiens-français et italiens dans l'économie nord-atlantique, 1860-1914* (Québec: Éditions du Boréal 1991).

LES RARES ÉTUDES où l'on a su abattre les frontières historiographiques, théoriques et même géographiques ou nationales, offrent toujours une lecture

stimulante. Nourri d'une riche problématique et d'une écriture bien menée dans un style narratif très vivant, ce livre de Bruno Ramirez, paru en anglais quelques mois auparavant, nous fournit l'occasion d'une telle lecture. Bien au fait des développements les plus récents en histoire ouvrière, en histoire de l'immigration et même en histoire de la famille, cet ouvrage a le mérite d'embrasser les trois champs, répondant ainsi aux urgents besoins d'intégration exprimés ces dernières années. Dans une perspective à la fois large et spécifique, il étudie deux mouvements migratoires fort importants en ces décennies marquées par l'industrialisation nord-américaine: l'émigration des Canadiens français aux États-Unis et celle des Italiens de l'Appennin méridional vers le nord-est américain. Chacun des deux mouvements est considéré dans sa globalité au moment de l'interprétation mais restreints à des sous-ensembles pour la recherche: le comté de Berthier sert de terrain d'observation pour l'expérience des Canadiens français et c'est surtout vers le point de chute montréalais que l'auteur a dirigé sa recherche sur les Italiens.

Tel qu'annoncé dans la préface, on est loin de la simple comparaison puisque l'intégration de ces mouvements au contexte économique nord-atlantique demeure une constante préoccupation. Ce livre s'intéresse avant tout aux transformations de la «géographie économique et sociale» des régions touchées et les migrants y sont perçus comme des «agents d'évolution sociale,» qui se meuvent à l'intérieur du vaste espace nord-atlantique. Les frontières nationales, qui n'ont guère empêché ces flux migratoires, n'ont pas non plus servi de limites au domaine du chercheur. L'approche développée s'intéresse non seulement au contexte d'émigration et au processus migratoire comme tel, mais aussi à son prolongement: à sa contribution à la transformation des deux arrière-pays agricoles en composantes permanentes de l'économie nord-atlantique et à la

transformation des marchés du travail des sociétés d'accueil, aux liens entre l'arrière-pays rural et le capitalisme industriel. Cette perspective permet de mettre en évidence, comme le souligne souvent l'auteur, le double rôle du Québec comme société souche et société d'accueil. Elle permet aussi d'appréhender l'espace géotemporel qui sépare mais relie également milieu de départ et milieu d'accueil, cet entre-deux animé d'une dynamique complexe dont témoignent éloquentement les migrations temporaires qui précèdent souvent la migration définitive.

Une première partie situe les migrants dans les sociétés agraires, fournissant une analyse des contextes qui ont donné naissance aux deux mouvements d'émigration. Les deux situations sont à l'opposé l'une de l'autre et produisent chacune leur propre processus de prolétarianisation rurale, processus que l'auteur place à l'origine de l'émigration. Dans Berthier, c'est un contexte de développement orienté vers l'agriculture commerciale qui donne naissance au phénomène d'émigration. Des distinctions sociales importantes s'y creusent, entraînant la paupérisation et la prolétarianisation d'une large portion de la population pour laquelle l'émigration devient une issue. Ces familles migrantes choisissent massivement les destinations américaines. La fréquence des mouvements de retour, souvent suivis d'un nouveau départ, ainsi que le maintien de certains liens matériels (propriété d'une terre) reflètent cet espace géotemporel reliant la société souche et la société d'accueil et traduisent un processus et des stratégies complexes.

En Italie, dans l'Apennin méridional, des troubles sociaux et politiques et une structure de la propriété foncière paralysante se conjuguent pour produire un contexte de sous-développement. L'absence d'agriculture commerciale spécialisée et la situation sans issue vécue par un prolétariat rural important donnent lieu dès la fin des années 1870 à une

émigration temporaire de jeunes hommes, qui vient bouleverser la société agraire de départ. Les marchés du travail et de location des terres des villages d'origine s'en trouvent transformés, de même que les rapports sociaux locaux, ce qui n'empêche pas le processus d'évoluer vers un mouvement d'émigration définitive, impliquant cette fois beaucoup de familles entières.

Dans la deuxième partie de l'ouvrage, l'auteur analyse les rapports entre la migration et les marchés du travail dans le but d'élargir la compréhension de ce qu'il considère comme deux mécanismes-clés dans les dynamiques de l'économie nord-américaine: l'internationalisation de la main-d'oeuvre et la régionalisation des marchés du travail capitalistes. Un premier chapitre examine sous cet angle le cas du Québec, tentant de mettre en rapport les trois principaux mouvements de population qui l'ont sillonné: le mouvement de colonisation, l'émigration vers les États-Unis et la migration en provenance des régions économiquement faibles de l'Europe vers le principal pôle de développement industriel du Québec, Montréal. Au terme de cette démarche, l'auteur prend ses distances face à un modèle d'explication basé sur l'inégalité du développement pour lui privilégier une reconstitution historique des déplacements de population en interaction dans le temps et l'espace.

C'est à une telle reconstitution que les deux derniers chapitres sont consacrés, reprenant l'analyse des deux mêmes mouvements sous l'angle de l'interaction entre migrations et marchés du travail: les immigrants temporaires italiens dans l'économie nord-atlantique et les immigrants canadiens-français sur les marchés du travail de la Nouvelle-Angleterre. Le cas des premiers, mieux que tout autre phénomène, incarne le caractère international du capitalisme industriel, d'où l'importance d'étudier à la fois la société d'origine et la société d'accueil. L'immigrant temporaire italien vit dans ces deux mondes à la fois et

l'importance du premier (famille et village d'origine) est prépondérante.

Du côté des Canadiens français émigrant aux États-Unis, le travail des enfants dans l'industrie textile de la Nouvelle-Angleterre est identifié comme l'élément-clé du caractère massif de l'exode aux deux dernières décennies du XIXe siècle, de même que du succès de l'insertion de cette population aux marchés du travail du nord-est américain. La réponse massive qu'ont apporté les Canadiens français à la demande importante pour le travail des enfants et jeunes adultes dans l'industrie textile nord-américaine repose sur des mécanismes de sélection et des stratégies bien définies qui amènent au sud des familles jeunes présentant une structure des ménages et un nombre d'enfants caractéristiques. Ayant bien soupesé les avantages de leur situation en rapport avec les possibilités offertes par le marché du travail de la destination choisie, ces familles ont compris que le projet migratoire pouvait être rentable. Dans ces conditions, les enfants sont peut-être ceux pour qui la migration a pu représenter le plus grand choc; cela n'avait sans doute jamais été démontré aussi clairement auparavant.

Certaines questions, que l'auteur juge partiellement subordonnées à une approche descriptive dans le corps du texte, sont à nouveau discutées de façon plus analytique dans la conclusion: *L'importance de tenir compte des dynamiques de classe dans la société souche*; les mécanismes de sélection et les stratégies qui se cachent sous les «facteurs d'attraction» souvent évoqués; le double rôle du Québec, terre d'émigration et d'immigration.

Ce qui fait la force de ce livre est aussi ce qui fait sa faiblesse. En intégrant synthèse et démarche de recherche, l'auteur fait un pas vers une perspective globale mais le résultat est parfois un peu frustrant pour le lecteur. Et dans la synthèse et dans la recherche, on a l'impression d'atteindre rapidement certaines limites qu'on voudrait voir

dépasser. Dans la synthèse, l'auteur se heurte parfois à l'insuffisance des recherches et des connaissances, comme dans le cas des Canadiens français sur le marché du travail montréalais, donnant l'impression d'une synthèse prématurée. A certains moments par contre, la référence à l'historiographie prend le dessus, ce qui alimente la synthèse mais laisse moins de place aux apports originaux. Dans le traitement du phénomène de la colonisation par exemple, aucune information n'est apportée sur les rapports entre le comté de Berthier et ce mouvement, ce qui aurait pourtant contribué à une meilleure intégration de la synthèse et de la recherche.

La recherche concernant le comté de Berthier se limite à des sous-ensembles plutôt restreints (migrants repérés à travers les contrats notariés impliquant des transactions foncières, lieux de mariage apparaissant en marge des registres de baptêmes, familles migrantes dont le recensement de 1881 atteste le retour au pays). On ne trouve pas de trace dans cet ouvrage de l'intéressante méthodologie annoncée dans un document précédent et permettant d'identifier nominalement les émigrants provenant d'un lieu donné au sein des recensements américains par le système Soundex et ainsi de les suivre jusqu'à leur lieu de destination (Bruno Ramirez, Jean Lamarre et Louise-Edith Tétreault, "The Emigration from Québec to USA, 1870-1915: Questions of Sources, Methods, and Conceptualization," document de travail inédit, Université de Montréal, 1988). C'est peut-être à cette distorsion entre synthèse et recherche qu'il faut attribuer un traitement un peu inégal, mieux réussi pour la partie italienne, qui repose sans doute sur des connaissances plus achevées et plus solides, quoique le chapitre portant sur les Canadiens français et les marchés du travail américains soit très réussi et d'un apport précieux.

Par ailleurs, la place accordée à Montréal sur ce grand échiquier nord-

atlantique ne rend peut-être pas tout à fait justice à son importance comme pôle d'attraction pour les populations rurales de la province dès le XIXe siècle. L'auteur a tendance à opposer Montréal à l'ensemble des destinations américaines, ce qui bien sûr minimise sa place parmi les destinations accessibles aux ruraux. Dans le cadre d'une approche nord-américaine du phénomène migratoire, il y a sans doute place pour une autre analyse qui, au lieu d'opposer Montréal au « géant » américain, l'intégrerait au vaste ensemble composant le nord-est américain comme pôle d'attraction pour les Canadiens français dès le milieu du XIXe siècle, c'est-à-dire dès sa première phase d'industrialisation. Bien sûr il faudra tenir compte de ses particularités propres, plusieurs étant liées au fait qu'il évolue dans une socioéconomie différente de la plupart des autres.

Malgré ces problèmes, la parution de ce livre marque un pas important dans l'évolution de l'historiographie sur les migrations au Québec, un pas vers une perspective globale, voire une synthèse. Les mises en rapport y sont nombreuses, suggestives et donnent de riches problématiques.

France Gagnon

Armand Chartier, *Histoire des Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1775-1990* (Québec: Éditions du Septentrion 1991).

Yves Roby, *Les Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1776-1930* (Québec: Éditions du Septentrion 1990).

COIFFÉS D'UN TITRE assez similaire, ces deux ouvrages publiés à quelques mois d'intervalle par la maison d'édition Septentrion se veulent une synthèse de nos connaissances sur l'histoire des Franco-Américains. Ces vues d'ensemble sont particulièrement bienvenues car, sur cet important épisode de la francophonie en

Amérique du Nord, aucune synthèse n'était parue depuis celle de Robert Rumilly en 1958. Commandité par l'Union Saint-Jean Baptiste d'Amérique, l'ouvrage de Rumilly, plutôt narratif et fidèle à une conception traditionnelle de l'histoire qui met l'accent sur le rôle des leaders et des institutions, se cantonne à tracer un tableau des luttes des élites nationalistes franco-américaines pour la survie de la langue et de la culture française. Ne soyons pas trop sévère pour Rumilly cependant, il reflète la façon de faire l'histoire de son époque et un premier ouvrage de synthèse exige toujours un travail considérable.

Bien appuyés sur les nombreuses monographies récentes touchant la vie des Franco-Américains, les volumes de Roby et Chartier représentent de solides contributions à une meilleure compréhension de l'enracinement de près d'un million de Franco-Québécois en Nouvelle-Angleterre. À plusieurs égards, ces deux ouvrages se rejoignent dans l'interprétation générale qu'ils donnent au mouvement migratoire et dans l'analyse qu'ils font de l'intégration des francophones à la société américaine. Cependant l'angle d'analyse et les préoccupations se révèlent différents, résultat surtout de la formation professionnelle des auteurs.

Historien à l'université Laval, Yves Roby nous présente une étude fouillée, privilégiant une approche socio-économique. Mettant à profit les nombreux travaux sur les Franco-Américains de spécialistes en sciences sociales, il est soucieux de bien situer les phénomènes sociaux en rapport avec le développement économique; il donne une place importante aux données démographiques; et il analyse plusieurs phénomènes sociaux comme la mobilité et les conditions de vie en milieu ouvrier. L'aspect le plus novateur de l'ouvrage tient à ce que l'historique ne se limite pas aux élites nationalistes et religieuses; il y a un effort pour rendre compte des classes populaires qui forment après tout la grande majorité

des immigrants. On y étudie, par exemple, les occupations de ces derniers, leurs salaires, le travail des femmes et des enfants, la vie familiale, le logement et les loisirs. Pour appuyer sa démarche, l'auteur a eu recours aux travaux en histoire orale, source d'informations privilégiée pour retrouver les aspirations de la classe ouvrière.

Sur les conflits ethno-religieux qui ont opposé certains éléments de la communauté franco-américaine aux évêques irlandais, sujet sur lequel la littérature est abondante, l'ouvrage apporte un éclairage nouveau. En effet, l'auteur a dépouillé systématiquement plusieurs journaux franco-américains et consulté les archives de la Propagande à Rome où il a trouvé une intéressante correspondance. Il enrichit ainsi l'étude d'une question qui a profondément divisé les élites franco-américaines et qui culmine avec l'affaire sentinelliste dans les années 1920. L'échec des Sentinellistes marque le chant du cygne d'une certaine conception de la survivance importée du Québec qui lie intimement la langue et la foi dans le réseau institutionnel paroissial. L'auteur fait remarquer avec justesse que la présence de plus en plus importante de Franco-Américains de naissance dans la communauté (les deux tiers en 1930) modifie les perspectives des élites au cours des années 1920. Une majorité impose une stratégie plus modérée qui lie la préservation de la langue française à une meilleure adaptation des institutions à la réalité américaine. Ce changement d'orientation n'empêchera pas le mouvement d'assimilation de se poursuivre et on peut se demander même s'il n'en a pas accéléré le processus.

L'ouvrage de Chartier se distingue de celui de Roby par la périodisation qui se prolonge au-delà des années 1930, et par l'insistance qu'il accorde à l'imaginaire franco-américain tel qu'il s'exprime dans le mouvement des idées et la production littéraire. Franco-Américain de naissance, l'auteur enseigne la littérature à l'Université du Rhode Island.

La portion la plus neuve de l'ouvrage touche les trois dernières décennies (1960-1990) alors qu'il note un renouveau d'intérêt chez les Franco-Américains pour leur origine. Il l'attribue au changement d'attitude du gouvernement américain à l'égard des langues étrangères, à l'intérêt récent pour les études ethniques aux États-Unis, aux retombées positives pour les autres groupes minoritaires de la lutte des Noirs américains pour faire reconnaître leur spécificité culturelle et aux ressources apportées par les gouvernements français et québécois. Fait intéressant, le dynamisme du réveil culturel dans la communauté franco-américaine se manifeste, entre autres, par la création du «Franco-American Resource and Opportunity Group» à l'Université du Maine dans les années 1970. Influencé également par le mouvement de contre-culture chez les jeunes américains, le groupe refuse le modèle de survivance des aînés et propose plutôt l'héritage culturel comme expression partielle de l'identité individuelle des Franco-Américains.

Malgré des manifestations de fierté culturelle un peu partout en Nouvelle-Angleterre, l'auteur n'est pas sans se rendre compte que l'assimilation a fait son oeuvre. Pour la masse des Franco-Américains, les origines françaises ne sont qu'un souvenir: la majorité d'entre eux ne comprend pas et ne parle pas le français. Seule une minorité parmi les élites essaie tant bien que mal de maintenir la vitalité du patrimoine culturel. Depuis un bon moment déjà, on ne peut plus parler de communauté franco-américaine; elle est devenue un groupe ethnique qui s'identifie bien davantage par son passé que par sa relation dynamique avec le présent et l'avenir.

En épilogue, l'auteur qui tente d'expliquer les ravages de l'assimilation, fait ressortir le conflit chez les défenseurs de la culture franco-américaine entre le modèle de survivance chez les anciens qui

lient la langue à la religion catholique, et celui qui se retrouve chez les plus jeunes où la foi n'est plus une caractéristique fondamentale de l'identité française. Le sentiment d'appartenance chez ces derniers a même tendance à se définir moins en fonction de la langue, qu'on parle de moins en moins, qu'en fonction de l'origine franco-américaine. Mais ce différend me semble masquer la source profonde de leur lente disparition comme peuple.

Traditionnellement, les élites canadiennes-françaises, au Canada comme en Nouvelle-Angleterre, ont misé pour conserver le français sur la famille, l'école et la paroisse. Mais c'était s'illusionner: cette stratégie pouvait convenir à une société rurale, mais elle était inefficace en milieu urbain où les lieux d'échange avec la culture dominante sont fréquents et intenses. La force d'attraction de l'anglais s'en trouve alors décuplée et le prix à payer pour conserver le français de plus en plus élevé. Dans ce contexte, l'auteur note par exemple l'impossible concurrence de la presse franco-américaine avec les journaux américains et les ravages causés par les mariages mixtes. Les jeunes générations de Franco-Américains, pour qui l'utilité du français devient marginale au travail comme sur la place publique, en déprécient la valeur et s'identifient à la culture dominante, perçue comme supérieure. La pente vers l'assimilation devient alors irrésistible malgré les efforts de «l'élite patriote» pour conserver l'identité francophone.

Pour faire face aux défis de la modernité, il aurait fallu que les élites se donnent une stratégie de conservation de la culture française mieux adaptée au monde urbain. Mais compte tenu de la puissance d'intégration de la société américaine et de la faiblesse numérique des Franco-Américains, il est douteux que les résultats aient pu être bien différents. Le Québec lui aussi, mère-patrie de ces francophones, subit le fort pouvoir d'attraction de l'anglais. Depuis

les années 1960, les Franco-Québécois se sont donnés une nouvelle stratégie de survie pour faire face à la modernité; elle s'articule autour de mesures de protection de la langue par l'Etat québécois. Un tel programme évidemment était hors de la portée des Franco-Américains.

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Université de Montréal

Ken Cruikshank, *Close Ties: Railways, Government, and the Board of Railway Commissioners, 1851-1933* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1991).

THE SUBTITLE of Cruikshank's book is to some extent misleading, insofar as the Board of Railway Commissioners did not exist for the greater part of the period under discussion. In fact, one of the major strengths of this study is to examine the continuities of the "struggle to expand, or perhaps more correctly, to reassert public authority" over the railways before and after formal regulation. Rejecting the extreme positions of other historians, who argue that railway regulation was either invented by the railway corporations themselves, or represented a radical and destructive form of state intervention, Cruikshank shows that while "politics was always a part of rate-making" on the Canadian railways, market forces and the financial requirements of the railways were never ignored by government or regulatory authorities. (21) State intervention "helped foster a greater balance of power between a number of smaller shippers and the railway industry," but the claim that regulation was a decisive factor in undermining the viability of the industry is specifically refuted. (100) In the context of the North American literature, then, *Close Ties* may be regarded as a moderate Canadian antidote to the semi-conspiracy theories of both left and right-wing historical revisionists in the United States: Gabriel Kolko, *Railroads and*

Regulation (1970) and *Albro Martin Railroads Triumphant* (1992). While the point might have been more clearly stated in his introduction, the main body of Cruikshank's work is also perceptive of the major peculiarities of Canadian railway regulation: namely, the struggle to assert public authority over *public* corporations, from the confederation-era intercolonial in the Maritimes to the Canadian National Railways, which operated North America's largest railway system in the name of the crown after 1917.

Less ideologically-driven than their American counterparts, Canadian historians have traditionally privileged the regional dimensions of the freight-rates controversy. Given the fact that key 'market' differentials were ultimately 'geographical' in nature one may say that contradictions of capitalism have been transformed into contradictions of federalism in the conventional literature. Cruikshank is keenly sensitive to this dialectic, but quite properly focuses attention on the historical origins of the conflict in central Canada; localism rather than regionalism pitted rising against declining commercial centres at the dawning of the railway age. Montréal, Toronto, or London, Ontario were early beneficiaries of the transportation revolution, while Québec City, Hamilton, or Kingston battled (with significantly varying degrees of success) for a place in the new order. Nor was the later emergence of a regional discourse over freight rates unproblematic, as, for instance, "Winnipeg's 'western' grievances attracted support from both farmers and the local business communities hoping to prosper from a healthy wheat economy." (27) Conflicts over freight-rates, however, were and remained expressions of specific economic and political interests. The struggle to either entrench or abolish the Crow's Nest Pass Agreement in the 1920s provides a useful case study, however much the Prairie grain growers, Winnipeg merchants, and overlapping leader-

ship of the Progressive Party elevated their side of the battle to a higher moral plane.

John A. Macdonald first attempted to diffuse the pro-regulation forces by establishing a royal commission and a cabinet committee of appeals in the 1880s. But the growing complexity of the issue — by 1914, price lists for Canadian railway services had nearly half a million different items! — together with new intellectual currents paved the way for the creation of the modern regulatory agency in 1903. Cruikshank paints a convincing picture of Board of Railway Commissioners as an exemplar of Progressive economic thought, the institution's mandate owing much to the theories of professional transportation economist Simon James McLean. If the Grand Trunk management denounced the commission as an 'agitator,' the CPR's Thomas Shaughnessy, for example, welcomed the possibility of a 'non-partisan' body of adjustment. (66) Perhaps the most interesting part of the study relates to the problem of driving the round peg of scientific and bureaucratic expertise into the square hole of actual railway operations. Only most notably, the cost of specific railway services could never be objectively determined, since all were part of a seamless financial web. What is more, the Progressive theory of state regulation was premised on the assumption that private capital had permanently resolved the problem of profits and productivity. In Canada, however, the industrial machinery itself had to be rescued by public ownership, leading inevitably to conflicts of interests within the state machinery. The Union Government, Cruikshank argues, permanently damaged the credibility of the Board of Railway Commissioners as an impartial umpire by forcing excessive 'horizontal' increases without even the formalities of public hearings in the era of World War I. During the 1920s, the Board was too distracted by conflicting sectional demands to address its post-war mandate of 'equalization,' and by the 1930s, the ap-

pearance of intermodal competition had rendered that agenda moot in any case. "The history of freight-rate regulation," the author soberly concludes, "does not prove that all ... reform proposals are misguided and doomed to failure." (207) On the other hand, the evidence presented suggests that there was really no solution to the freight-rates controversy this side of socialism.

Given the breadth of the subject matter, there are of course a few errors of omission in Cruikshank's study. He has steered largely clear of the important coal-rates controversy of the 1920s, which added the commodity-based subsidy, or 'subvention,' to the arsenal of reform panaceas. Given the book's subtitle, more needed to be said about the day-to-day activities of the Board of Railway Commissioners, the great majority of whose deliberations were *not* about freight rates. Its mandate included the regulation of the passenger service, an especially melancholy story that too many railway historians prefer to forget, and a panopoly of work-related issues. Labour as such receives a meagre treatment. Wage increases are cited as one of the causes of financial unrest on the railways during the war, without mentioning later wage concessions as a major factor in the temporary stabilization of the industry during the 1920s. Likewise, Cruikshank does not identify one of the less predictable members of Board of Railway Commissioners in the 1920s, Calvin Lawrence, as a representative of the Brother of Locomotive Engineers. Judging from his voting record, railway workers were rightly wary of being ground into dust by the upper and nether millstones of the freight-rates controversy.

Allen Seager
Simon Fraser University

Gerry van Houten, *Corporate Canada: An Historical Outline* (Toronto: Progress Books 1991).

GERRY VAN HOUTEN'S book has the unpretentious subtitle 'An Historical Outline,' which accurately reflects its 'thinness.' There is little at the heart of this book to give it direction and meaning. Since the book's purpose is not clear, it is difficult to see an audience. It is never clear for whom the author writes, except perhaps himself as a personal reading of Canadian history.

This book makes no major 'claims' and has no explicit thesis. Consequently, the author simply tells a story covering the whole of Canadian economic history without either reporting on original research or locating his argument within the vast social science literature. There is nothing novel or innovative in the approach, interpretation or data, resulting in a descriptive account unstructured by a clear analytical motivation.

The first three chapters are historical background covering mercantilism, its decline, and the rise of monopoly capitalism. The next two chapters reproduce CALURA data which is neither very exciting nor critically examined. He does not deal with the numerous methodological issues central to the study of corporations and concentration, including difficulties using enterprise-level data and definitions of 'foreign' control. The final four chapters are difficult to understand because they are not integrated into a whole. There is a chapter on state ownership, another on government revenues and expenditures, then one on technology. The conclusion focuses on wages and profits. Each subject has tremendous potential but lacks guidance within a clear logic. Much of the material has a familiar ring to it but too little is original enough to interest Canadian researchers.

Wallace Clement
Carleton University

Alan Whitehorn, *Canadian Socialism: Essays on the CCF-NDP* (Toronto: Oxford University Press 1992).

DOES CANADA NEED another book about the Canadian left? With this very worthwhile study of the CCF-NDP, Professor Alan Whitehorn of Royal Military College makes us believe that it does. What he has written is not a more or less conventional political history of the democratic left, however, but a series of essays about the CCF as a national party and about its successor, the national NDP. Taken together, these essays stress the continuity between the two parties, arguing that in spite of changes the party of Audrey McLaughlin is the legitimate heir of the party of J.S. Woodsworth.

Professor Whitehorn's chapters provide in order an overview of the history of the CCF-NDP, a survey of the historical literature on the two parties, a discussion of party programs, an electoral history, a study of party conventions, biographies of T.C. Douglas, David Lewis and Ed Broadbent, an analysis of the NDP in the 1988 election, and an assessment of the party's future prospects. The first two are more basic than the others and should prove useful to those with little knowledge about the CCF and NDP. However, even the best-informed readers will find things in this book that they did not know before.

Among Whitehorn's achievements is a lucid account of the debate about the extent to which the CCF was, first, a party and, second, a movement. Presenting the case "for better balance in the historiography on the CCF-NDP," he is rightly sceptical of the line of argument adopted by Walter Young and his followers. He concludes: "Although the 'protest movement becalmed' framework can be useful, it should not be belaboured [sic]. The 'iron law of oligarchy' should not become a fetish." (29)

In chapter three, on 'Party blueprints,' Whitehorn offers a fascinating analysis of the usage of key terms in

six manifestos, from the League for Social Reconstruction's in 1932 and the Regina Manifesto in 1933 to the document adopted by the NDP in 1983, the so-called New Regina Manifesto. Contrary to what one might have guessed, there was more use of the term 'socialism' in the last of these documents than in the first two. This runs counter to a line of analysis that sees the CCF-NDP moving gradually towards the political centre over the decades. But in this as in other instances Whitehorn manages to show that the 'received view' is not necessarily the clear view. His chapter on party conventions demonstrates among other things that NDP members are more ambivalent on the subject of civil liberties and freedom of expression than one would have supposed. The libertarianism of a Frank Scott, for example, does not appeal to all party activists.

The chapter on the election of 1988 is perhaps the most interesting in the book, as Whitehorn skilfully recaptures those dramatic weeks. The famous debate, the role of the media, the vast sums of money spent to bring swing voters back into the Tory camp: Whitehorn tells the story well. The perspective is sympathetic to the NDP but by no means uncritical. Ed Broadbent, for example, is depicted as being rather lacklustre, and the NDP's strategy of trying to make major gains in Québec is shown as being based on a misapprehension. Whitehorn does not, however, challenge the party's Québec strategy as an outsider to the party might.

The concluding chapter is necessarily tentative: it is not given to social scientists (or anyone else) to look into the future. On at least one point Whitehorn seems surprisingly naive. "Why can a baseball player earn millions of dollars per year but a nurse labouring long hours caring for the sick and elderly earn only between \$35,000 and \$50,000? How is it that utility hockey players can be paid more than many family doctors?" (258) It is unlikely that Whitehorn really knows as little about the workings of the

economy as these two questions suggest. If skilled nurses could pull 50,000 paid admissions into SkyDome and family doctors could pull 18,000 into Maple Leaf Gardens (with many thousands more watching them on commercial TV) they, too, would earn what baseball stars and hockey players do. Social utility as understood by socialists determines the income of few if any people.

On a point of personal privilege: Whitehorn cites me as having said that the initial draft of the Regina Manifesto was written by Frank Underhill and Frank Scott. I have said nothing of the kind. The closest I came to doing so was in a 1973 article in which I wrote that, to the extent that the *Regia Manifesto* was based on the LSR manifesto, Montréal LSR members Eugene Forsey, King Gordon, David Lewis, and Frank Scott (not just Scott alone) were among the co-drafters of a document that was actually prepared by Underhill, Harry Cassidy and one or two others in Toronto. And speaking of Scott: with the exception of *Make this YOUR Canada* (written with Lewis in 1943) Whitehorn lists none of his writings in an otherwise ample bibliography. If Underhill's *In Search of Canadian Liberalism* rates inclusion so does Scott's *A New Endeavour*.

My main complaint about this book concerns a system of identification of sources that was surely born in hell, combining references to a bibliography located at the end of the book with numerous notes located after each chapter. This makes *Canadian Socialism* unnecessarily hard to use. All the same, Whitehorn has written an important book that not only links the history of the CCF to that of the NDP but also is the closest thing we have to a historical study of the latter party at the national level. Whitehorn's analysis is clear and usually persuasive. Students of the left in Canada owe him a significant debt.

Michiel Horn
York University

Ester Reiter, *Making Fast Food: From the Frying Pan into the Fryer* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1991).

WHEN ESTER REITER approached McDonald's president George Cohon for fifteen minutes of his time, he accepted. With her eye on the clock, she asked him if she could work at a McDonald's and attend Hamburger University in Chicago. He said he'd think about it. Since Reiter admitted she was a doctoral candidate in sociology and not a business school student, he was wary. Sure enough, Cohon refused her request. When she wrote him back with a new proposal, he flipped his burger. As Reiter recounts: "The reply was more than I bargained for. Mr. Cohon sent a letter to the university where I was studying informing my adviser and the chair of department that I was to cease and desist from all efforts to enter McDonald's."

Discouraged, but not defeated, Reiter later got permission to work — without pay — as a crewperson in a Burger King outlet in a suburban Toronto mall. *Making Fast Food* is the result. While primarily a study of work in the fast food industry, there is much in this excellent, accessible and well-written account that will interest scholars of the family, domestic labour, youth, and consumption.

The first four chapters outline the sociological and historical conditions for the expansion of the fast food industry, and describe the structure and operations of the contemporary North American food service giants. Reiter locates the origins of the fast food business in the roadside takeout joints catering to the growing post-WWII teenage consumer market and the automobile culture of the 1950s. However, the brief historical sketch left me with some unanswered questions. What, for example, is the history of the fast food menu? How did the hamburger/fries/Coke combo become the holy trinity of the leading fast food companies? What role did infatuation with

American youth culture play in the growth of the industry? Reiter's account of the key changes in food preparation and restaurant service in this century is valuable but leaves out the cafeteria, a California invention which — anticipating today's fast food outlet — both cut labour costs and catered to a clientele short on time.

Rejecting the artificial separation between "the family" and "the market," Reiter links the making of the fast food market with the changes in the family since World War II. The increased labour force participation of women, especially those with young children, has created a crushing double day with little time and energy remaining for elaborate meals. Many women also find that eating out is easier than struggling with a man about sharing responsibility for cooking and housework. As Reiter argues, "In part, fast food is a capitalist mediation of the battle between the sexes over the domestic division of labour." In addition, the traditional strategy of making ends meet through more time spent in domestic labour is no longer so effective, thereby making the occasional visit to McDonald's an affordable option.

The three subsequent chapters on work in the fast food industry form the real core of the book. The recent expansion of the fast food industry into huge new markets such as China and the former Soviet Union is familiar to many from newspaper accounts. Less well known is the story of what is happening to workers in fast food outlets as the industry strives to maintain profits in the face of a saturated North American market. Reiter details how a deadly combination of the old Taylorism and the new computer technology has resulted in a highly-controlled work setting in which workers are under constant pressure to produce as much as possible according to a highly-regimented system. A process that began much earlier in manufacturing is now being introduced into the fast food restaurant industry. The open kitchen design

favoured by most fast food outlets is a further incentive to high productivity since the work crew is constantly on view to both customers and management.

The goal is to produce interchangeable machine tenders capable of working any job or station in a fast food outlet. Significantly, the pervasiveness of age and gender discrimination means that local management frequently undermines that objective by, for example, stationing young and pretty women workers at the cash register. Indeed, Reiter is careful not to argue that the fast foods industry's organization of production produces absolute control. Using her own first-hand experience, Reiter compares a "good" day and a "bad" day at Burger King to show the screw-ups that can occur through poor management even in highly routinized work settings.

At the same time, as *Making Fast Food* makes abundantly clear, working in a fast food outlet leaves very little room for agency and creativity. The unpredictability of scheduling and the fact that shifts are never more than three or four hours long mean that workers rarely have a chance to get to know one another and develop a work culture, much less organize. Sexism, racism and age discrimination further weaken this poorly-paid group of workers. The tremendously high turnover rate is testimony to the fact that quitting is often the only option for fed-up workers. The restaurant sector is notoriously difficult to unionize and the franchise structure of the fast food industry poses particular problems for organizers. Reiter provides some examples of organizing drives, suggesting that the most successful campaigns have involved forging community-wide coalitions.

Especially interesting are Reiter's observations of the dynamics of the "teenage factor" in the fast food industry workforce. Angry parents frequently upbraid Burger King management on behalf of their children. Adult women workers resent being bossed around by teenaged male managers and co-workers.

Young workers are discouraged from staying longer than half an hour after their shifts so that Burger King can maintain its image as a "family restaurant" and not a teen hangout — despite the fact that teenagers are the company's most frequent customers.

While *Making Fast Food* has much to contribute on the neglected subject of young workers, the book's discussion of teenagers as fast food consumers is weaker. In part, this is because Reiter sometimes falls into the trap of constructing "the family" as a consumer unit, ignoring the reality that household members may have different patterns of consumption. She is primarily interested in the overburdened working women with children who eat in the fast food joints as an occasional alternative to cooking at home. But this group, while important, does not represent the majority of fast food customers, according to the Burger King figures supplied by Reiter. Surely the many teenagers and seniors who eat fast food on a frequent basis have different reasons for doing so than do women trying to cope with the demands of a double day, and these need to be analyzed on their own terms.

Taken as a whole, however, *Making Fast Food* is a fine study of an industry that has become one of the few sources of new job opportunities for already marginalized workers: teenagers, adult women with children, people of colour, retirees and persons with disabilities. Illustrated throughout with Richard Slye's clever photomontages, Reiter's book is an important contribution to the sociological literature and raises pressing questions about the future of work and the organization of domestic labour in contemporary capitalist society.

Cynthia Wright
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Julie White, *Mail and Female: Women and the Canadian Union of Postal Workers* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing 1990).

JULIE WHITE KNOWS quite a lot about what unions have meant for Canadian women. In her *Women and Unions*, she pointed out that women union members enjoy greater job security and, in many cases, higher wages and better benefits than do the unorganized. But in her study of part-time workers, a group who are mainly women, she also drew attention to many unions' exclusion of part-time staff from membership. In both of these studies, White was concerned with explaining the barriers to women's union involvement, whether as members or as activists. White is well aware of the ways unions have failed women workers, but she remains an advocate of women's great participation in the labour movement.

Such participation might be encouraged by the story of women's treatment by and participation in the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), the subject of *Mail and Female*. Although, in the early 1960s, organized postal workers had opposed the employment of women in the post office, in 1967 this sexist policy changed. Thereafter, the CUPW began to look like a good union for women. For instance, in the CUPW's 1970s contract negotiations, at a time when the hotly-contested automation of mail sorting was bringing an influx of women workers, the union bargained vigorously and successfully to equalize these new employees' wages and benefits with those of the full-time manual mail sorters, even when protection of men's full-time jobs was not directly at stake. Part-timers' wages and benefits, too, were advanced, even while the union bargained for the restriction of part-time work. And, in 1981, the CUPW became the first national union to win paid maternity leave for its women members. If unions had always served women workers' interests

so well, perhaps women workers would be easier to organize.

But the CUPW story, while showing how women can benefit from union membership, may not offer especially compelling reasons for women to become movement activists. After all, White's explanation for the CUPW's enviable record suggests that CUPW women gained equality in the contract without themselves taking an active leadership role in the union. White shows that, at least in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the CUPW advanced the interests of women inside postal workers while women were still only a small minority of membership and absent from the leadership. Nor were feminist voices, whether male or female, heard in the development of union strategies on part-time work or automation. Occasionally, part-timers complained when they felt their interests were being ignored. But, generally, in White's analysis, the causes of the CUPW record (at least before 1980) had little to do with the activism of women members.

Instead, what produced the results the CUPW achieved was solidarity, founded in the bitter strikes of the 1960s. In the 1970s, post office management's clumsy, unilateral handling of automation only confirmed the beliefs embedded in what White calls the CUPW's "culture of struggle": that management has no interest in workers' welfare, wants to divide unionists' loyalties, and responds only to force. From this union culture came the policy of maintaining solidarity through opposing wage and benefit differentials among inside postal workers. In leftist unionism's time-honoured blend of tactical thinking and socialist principle, inside postal workers rejected management's line that some "classes" of workers deserved less.

Solidarity, thus founded in the CUPW's culture of struggle, depended on and helped develop a "culture of equality." The bargaining strategies based in this culture ultimately changed the gender division of labour in the mail

handling labour process. Although both coders and part-timers were at first mainly female groups, the defense of their working conditions and wages meant that men became willing to take those jobs. And women also moved into the heavy work of heaving mail bags in the transfer area, although sometimes meeting resistance from men already working there. The tensions around women in the transfer area are not insignificant. But, in general, there is a lot of sense to White's argument that the CUPW's bargaining for gender equality has built among its members a solid base of shared shopfloor experience.

White's main conclusion from the CUPW case is that class consciousness may produce a union that serves equally well its women and men members. But White also notes that gender equality is far from having been achieved in the CUPW's internal functioning. White (and most of the 52 women postal workers she interviewed) wish women were more proportionately represented in CUPW leadership positions. While CUPW has been a good service organization (at least in some respects) for its women members, it has done no better than many other male-dominated social institutions in engaging women's active participation at all its levels. Drawing out implications of the CUPW case, White suggests that there may not be any link between contract results and the quality of internal union democracy. (212)

If this were so, women's relative absence from union officialdom would be easy to understand. Why not be a (more-or-less) free rider if your union does a fine job without your undertaking the responsibilities of leadership? Why not just enjoy the benefits of membership and take your turn on the picket line, if what counts as "real" involvement, the kind of involvement that gives you some power in the organization, would take up every minute of your spare time (if you had any left after doing the laundry)?

If women unionists' own activity was not necessary to safeguard their own interests, these arguments would make sense. But, as White notes, some CUPW women believe that the union cannot adequately serve its women members unless women are actively involved in developing union policy. They point out that CUPW has done well in securing the *same* treatment for women and men workers, but when an issue calls for different treatment *and* puts women and men in conflict, the union has coped less well.

The issue that demonstrates this point is sexual harassment. Harassment of women working in the transfer area has acted as a restriction of their equality of opportunity, and, in some locals, sexual harassment has deterred women's involvement in union business. Attempts in 1983 to have CUPW deal with sexual harassment through its constitution and its educational program did not succeed. The authors of those attempts, both women and men, were saddened and angered by this failure of CUPW's commitment to social justice. And, while in some locals, initiatives on harassment have been supported, others have met with indifference or more harassment. The solidarity that, according to White, has produced equal service apparently requires gender-blindness to maintain its stability.

The CUPW's aggressive defense of maternity leave (not parental leave) in 1981 showed that the union has been able to bargain for equality-with-difference. What made this possible was CUPW's leaders' sense that, on this issue, external allies in women's movement organizations would provide a valuable source of public support. Weighed against the issue's strength in this respect was the fact that within the union some were opposed to making maternity leave a strike issue. But leaders within the CUPW's locals worked hard (and successfully) to convince dissenting members that "fair" treatment for the minority of members affected was at least one reason, though

not the only one, they should persist in their strike. The difference between the leadership's role here and on the sexual harassment issue was that, even though the maternity leave issue required bargaining for "special" treatment for women, the issue was consistent with the CUPW's culture of struggle. The enemy remained an external one: management.

The CUPW's difficulty, then, in dealing with sexual harassment (as well as with the use of women's caucuses) is that, in these matters, the enemy is within. Or rather, the enemy is *in* the union but not *of* the union. For, as White points out, the divisive resistance to progressive action on sexual harassment is not particular to the CUPW, but is part of the larger cultural world unionists live in. While an internal culture of equality has allowed CUPW members to set aside certain social divisions, White doubts the union's ability completely to overcome sexist ideology. "It remains to be seen," she suggests, "to what extent societal limitations imposed outside the union might be compensated for, and thereby overcome, within the union itself." (200)

In response to such mildly gloomy speculation, it is worth remembering that social forces outside the union have also helped the CUPW overcome its internal gender divisions. The most significant instance of this was not the 1981 maternity leave issue, but rather the role of the Public Service Staff Relations Board in 1967. Board chairman Jacob Finkelman made CUPW's certification contingent on converting the part-time postal workers from associate to full-member status. He also ruled that the part-timers had to have a separate bargaining unit to ensure their interests were properly considered. White duly enumerates this incident as part of the legal context that shaped CUPW's policy on women workers. What bears further emphasis is that "society" not only imposes limitations on unionists' consciousness, but also gives unions resources for education, and sometimes, the stimulus to change.

White's inspiration for *Mail and Female* was to look at a union that has done well for its women members. The CUPW is indisputably such a union, and White's analysis carefully avoids reducing the explanation for this fact to "class covers gender". That is to say, she is not playing the "scissors-paper-stone" game. Nor does she summon "working-class solidarity" as a walk-on god, but describes the historical conditions that prompted it to develop in CUPW and enabled it to be maintained. And she argues convincingly that, for women workers in CUPW between 1968 and 1982, class solidarity was the route to gender equality. However, in what remains to be accomplished towards that goal, in the CUPW as elsewhere, a gender-blind solidarity will serve only (but importantly) as the basis of good will in working towards solutions. In the definition of problems or the conception of remedies, gender-blindness won't do.

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Jerry White, *Hospital Strike: Women, Unions and Public Sector Conflict* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Press 1990).

IN JANUARY OF 1981 CUPE workers in Ontario hospitals rejected their negotiating team's tentative agreement, defied provincial compulsory arbitration legislation, and went on strike. Jerry White explores the conditions which prompted rank-and-file members of this public sector union, the majority of whom were women, to engage in illegal job action. White presents a convincing and thought-provoking argument that the strike must be understood in terms of three critical variables.

The first was the labour relations climate of the 1960s and 1970s. Federal and provincial governments, trying to impose fiscal restraint in the public sector,

instituted wage controls and staff cuts. In the context of the 1965 Hospital Labour Disputes Arbitration Act (HLDA), which prohibited strikes and lockouts and mandated compulsory arbitration, state fiscal policy resulted in poor wage settlements and unstable labour relations in the hospital sector.

The second influence identified by White was the gendered response to labour process changes. Male workers often considered patient care as an impediment to improved working conditions, believing that "service and care giving are used against the workers to get more work or prevent protest." Women workers, whether in Nursing, Housekeeping, Laboratories or the Kitchen, viewed care-giving as "the 'glue' that held them to the job." (45) Thus when changes, such as making housekeepers responsible for more than one ward, were implemented, female staff insisted that quality of service, and therefore the quality of their jobs, was being degraded. In these circumstances, then, commitment to service increased worker resistance, rather than dampened it.

At the same time, White argues, the structure and priorities of the union marginalized the female membership, increasing the gap between the rank-and-file and the union's upper level leadership. Divisions within the union constitute White's third key variable. Tension between CUPE officials and locals accounted for the membership's decision to strike, but also for the limited support strikers received from CUPE leadership. Within two weeks the strike had collapsed. In Chapter Five, "The Aftermath," the author presents an incisive analysis of the strike's negative consequences, such as management reprisals and an inferior settlement, but also of the positive changes within the union itself, including a more democratic structure and greater sensitivity to women's issues.

White consulted a range of union records, government papers and inter-

views both with union leaders and with rank and file members from the Hamilton/Burlington area. Indeed, the most compelling sections of White's study are those which document the feelings and actions of union members themselves. For example, White uses excellent excerpts from interviews with women unionists to document that participating in the strike boosted their self confidence, and in some cases had even garnered them more respect from their spouses and families.

This kind of primary documentation is so rich that in places the analysis does not suffice. For instance, White's discussions of resistance to labour process changes demands a more complete description of the labour process itself and how cost-cutting measures affected daily work routines. When Registered Nursing Assistants (RNAs) were replaced by Registered Nurses what *specific* bedside tasks could RNAs no longer perform? Did management dictate which patient services would be omitted, or did employees adjust their work routines to make up for staff cuts? Of course, the elimination of particular tasks was especially important to those levels of workers who informally assume patient care services, but do not enjoy formal recognition for them. Housekeepers, for example, complained that the intensified work routines left them little time for "chatting up" the patients, or for seeing the patients recover. Yet was this kind of patient care recognized as part of their job description? In most institutions it is not. While a good argument could be made for the therapeutic value of such personal contact, and while one suspects that the patient experience and therefore hospital reputations often rest upon the daily attentions that "non-therapeutic" personnel offer, housekeeping is not formally defined as patient care. How do service sector unions defend work practices which are not officially acknowledged, but which administrators implicitly ex-

pect, in part, because of societal expectations of feminine care-giving?

While *Hospital Strike* suggests some exciting areas of further study, other aspects of this book are decidedly frustrating. Most obtrusive is the author's effort to "test" the 1981 conflict against the theoretical propositions of Braverman's *Labor and Monopoly Capital*. White devotes most of Chapter One to establishing his model, and identifying three critiques of Braverman which relate to the 1981 conflict: that Braverman has underplayed working class resistance to labour process change, has ignored women's link between home and work, and finally has not considered the importance of the state as a powerful force in the lives of public sector workers. The detailed critique of one author appears somewhat forced, especially since many scholars could be found guilty of ignoring the roles of the state and of women. Moreover, a failed strike is perhaps a poor vehicle to prove that Braverman should have taken worker resistance more seriously. A tighter theoretical discussion would better introduce the reader into the more engaging parts of the book.

Equally frustrating is the book's internal structure. There are far too many subheadings, and it is often difficult to know which sections belong within which. As well, in places the chronology is confusing. In Chapter Two, for example, a straight narrative would provide greater clarity than the author's thematic approach. The net result is a book that is somewhat fragmented and takes several chapters to gain momentum. Those limitations aside, *Hospital Strike* will be of value to readers interested in health services, women workers, or public sector unions. Jerry White successfully demonstrates that, in the modern economy, the state and gender are two forces with which labour organizers and scholars alike will have to contend.

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Louis Fournier, *Solidarité inc. Un nouveau syndicalisme créateur d'emplois* (Montréal: Québec/Amérique 1991).

DANS SON LIVRE, Louis Fournier propose de nous faire revivre les huit premières années d'existence du Fonds de solidarité des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec, une institution financière fondée en 1983 par la Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec (FTQ) et son président d'alors, Louis Laberge. Se voulant une réponse stratégique, positive et originale d'une organisation aux prises avec la récession, le chômage, la baisse des effectifs et le ternissement de l'image publique du mouvement syndical, le Fonds de solidarité FTQ est mis sur pied afin de constituer un capital d'investissement dans des petites et moyennes entreprises (PME), en vue de maintenir et de relancer l'emploi au Québec, à partir principalement de contributions volontaires des membres de la centrale mais aussi de tous les épargnants en général. En l'espace de quelques années, le Fonds est devenu la plus grande entreprise privée de capital de risque au Québec, regroupant au début de 1991, «[...] au-delà de 100 000 actionnaires, un actif de plus de 400 millions de dollars et, surtout, une centaine d'investissement dans des entreprises québécoises totalisant quelque 20 000 emplois.» (254) Peut-être plus significatif encore, l'institution financière syndicale, ce «cocktail capitalo-socialiste,» (133) représenterait un virage majeur pour le syndicalisme au Québec en faveur d'une plus grande concertation avec le monde des affaires et l'État, constituant du même coup un outil important dans la démocratisation de l'économie, et au-delà, dans l'établissement d'une société sociale-démocrate dans un Québec souverain.

Réalisé surtout à partir d'une revue de presse et de quelques témoignages recueillis par l'auteur, qui a lui-même vécu de l'intérieur l'expérience du Fonds en tant que vice-président aux com-

munications, l'ouvrage se veut une reconstitution chronologique des principaux faits et gestes qui ont marqué la jeune histoire de l'institution financière au cours de la décennie précédente. On y retrouve une récapitulation des différents investissements et placements boursiers effectués par le Fonds, dont plusieurs d'entre eux lui furent profitables, quelques autres un peu moins, mais dont les succès les plus retentissants sur le plan médiatique furent sa participation dans IAF-BioChem (la célèbre «saga» de l'Institut Armand-Frappier), les Nordiques de Québec et les Expos de Montréal. L'auteur s'attache aussi à décrire l'évolution et la croissance des actifs du Fonds, du nombre d'actionnaires et de la composition du personnel de direction et d'administration à travers cette chronique qui semble par moments se réclamer de l'épopée, quoique plusieurs chapitres s'apparentent davantage au contenu d'un rapport annuel d'entreprise, l'auteur fait ressortir la double mission du Fonds de solidarité: relancer les entreprises en difficulté ou encore investir dans la création de nouvelles, tout en défendant une réconciliation de la logique de la rentabilité et du profit avec les objectifs du plein emploi; puis, jouer un rôle d'éducateur économique auprès des travailleurs et de conseiller gestionnaire auprès des entrepreneurs, dans le but de favoriser un climat de confiance et une meilleure compréhension mutuelle entre ces deux «partenaires» voués à la même cause: la viabilité et le succès de l'entreprise, gages de progrès économique et social. Par ailleurs, Fournier évoque certains des débats opposant à l'occasion la FTQ à l'équipe d'experts et de professionnels dirigeant les destinées du fonds, débats reflétant la situation ambiguë d'une institution financière proche des milieux d'affaires et patronaux mais contrôlée en bout de ligne par un syndicat représentant les intérêts des travailleurs membres.

Soulignons cependant qu'il ne s'agit aucunement d'une étude critique du

Fonds de solidarité FTQ; au contraire, Louis Fournier exprime clairement son appui et ses sympathies envers le mouvement, notamment en rendant hommage aux hommes et aux femmes qui ont oeuvré à la création et au succès de l'institution. Tout en soulignant l'apport indispensable de nombreux syndiqués bénévoles et responsables locaux dans le recrutement d'adhérents et dans la promotion des objectifs et du mode de fonctionnement du Fonds, l'auteur consacre néanmoins l'essentiel de sa verve à louer le mérite, la détermination, le pragmatisme, le dynamisme, bref l'entrepreneurship des principaux cadres dirigeants, dont le pdg, Claude Blanchet, ce «banquier de gauche» (24) et bien sûr Louis Laberge, «ce père bien-aimé.» (214) Le parti-pris de l'auteur se manifeste également sous la forme de fréquentes diatribes lancées contre les partisans d'un syndicalisme de «combat,» identifié surtout ici à la Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN), qui abrite cette «gauche orthodoxe, traditionaliste,» (59) «archaïque,» (122) «en proie à un radicalisme virulent» (20) et qui fait preuve de «nombriisme et [de] gauchisme primaire» (74) en se livrant «à la dénonciation rituelle et magique de l'ennemi de classe.» (60)

En fait, la CSN se voit reprocher le maintien de stratégies revendicatives et d'un discours radical alors que la conjoncture économique et le contexte social ne le permettent plus; bref de ne pas avoir amorcé, à l'instar de la FTQ, une conversion idéologique mieux en accord avec les temps. Ainsi, si le Fonds de solidarité est présenté comme un pas de plus vers la démocratie économique, en permettant une plus grande participation des travailleurs aux prises de décision au sein de l'entreprise, il ne vise aucunement à renverser les rapports de pouvoir sur les lieux de travail, comme semblait le craindre à l'origine une fraction du patronat québécois. Les dirigeants du Fonds se sont d'ailleurs faits un devoir de rassurer ceux qui voyaient dans l'intervention

d'un syndicat au niveau de la capitalisation et du financement une tentative pour instaurer la cogestion dans l'entreprise. Comme l'affirmait Louis Laberge devant la Chambre de commerce de Montréal en 1986: «le fonds ne veut pas prendre la place des entrepreneurs, mais il veut que les travailleurs prennent la place qu'ils doivent avoir dans l'entreprise. [...] Pour nous à la FTQ, [la notion de profit] ce n'est pas un mot sale, un mot tabou. Les gens qui investissent leur argent et font des efforts ont le droit d'espérer un profit, pourvu qu'ils n'exploitent personne.» (99) Chose certaine, le Fonds ne doit pas paraître trop subversif pour avoir obtenu l'appui de l'État sous forme de subventions, de prêts de démarrage et de privilèges fiscaux, et d'avoir fait l'objet de commentaires élogieux de la part d'hommes comme Robert Bourassa (saluant le «signe de lucidité et de maturité de la part de la FTQ,» 40) et Brian Mulroney («cette initiative originale et cet exemple remarquable,» 87), deux personnages politiques qui ne sont pas reconnus pour leur penchant social-démocrate.

Malgré ces ambiguïtés dans la position de la centrale, et en dépit du fait que l'auteur ne montre pas à partir de cas concrets comment la participation financière du Fonds a réussi à modifier à l'avantage des travailleurs le rapport de force au sein des entreprises, voire dans la société québécoise en général, ni ne nous explique pourquoi la FTQ se refuse tant à parler de cogestion, Fournier affirme néanmoins que le Fonds de solidarité FTQ s'avère «l'événement syndical marquant de la fin du vingtième siècle au Québec,» (186, 252) car il témoigne, selon lui, d'un point tournant historique au niveau de la stratégie d'action du syndicalisme. Le nouveau mot d'ordre pour l'avenir? La concertation. Concertation entre patronat et syndicat dans un nouveau partenariat au sein de l'entreprise; concertation entre les partenaires sociaux au sein de la «grande famille québécoise,» pour le développement d'une stratégie in-

dustrielle conduisant au plein emploi, à la compétitivité et à la rentabilité, et reposant sur une main-d'oeuvre productive et compétente, ainsi que sur une pratique «réaliste» des relations de travail: «Les organisations syndicales doivent dépasser leurs revendications traditionnelles et participer à des structures permanentes de concertation avec le patronat et l'État. [...] «Vouloir renforcer la viabilité et la rentabilité des entreprises, améliorer leur productivité et leur compétitivité, ce n'est pas affaiblir le mouvement syndical mais le renforcer.» (59, 61) Recourant à la notion de «coopération conflictuelle» pour définir l'état des relations patronales-syndicales, Louis Fournier n'en insiste pas moins davantage sur l'aspect coopératif de cette relation dans son apologie du réformisme dont semble être animé le Fonds de solidarité FTQ.

D'une manière générale, l'ouvrage se présente comme un vibrant plaidoyer en faveur de la participation pleine et entière des organisations syndicales aux côtés du patronat et de l'État dans l'élaboration et la mise sur pied d'un projet concerté de relance de l'économie québécoise dans le contexte particulier de la mondialisation des échanges et des marchés. Dans cette perspective, si le Fonds de solidarité favorise une participation accrue des travailleurs au marché boursier et financier par l'entremise de leurs épargnes, et donc, en somme, au procès d'accumulation et de circulation du capital, il témoignerait aussi du même coup d'une alliance de la centrale FTQ avec une fraction à tout le moins de la bourgeoisie professionnelle et d'affaires francophone dans la défense d'un projet de société qui ferait d'un Québec souverain, une «affaire» rentable.

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Nicole Laurin, Danielle Juteau, Lorraine Duchesne, *À la recherche d'un monde oublié. Les communautés religieuses de femmes au Québec, de 1900 à 1970* (Montréal: Jour 1991).

LONGTEMPS ATTENDU, cet ouvrage est le fruit d'une importante recherche collective entreprise en 1983 sur le travail des religieuses. Le travail des religieuses demeure une réalité inconnue à la fois des statistiques officielles (les religieuses sont longtemps classées sous la catégorie «personnes improductives» dans les recensements) ou par l'historiographie du travail des femmes. Il constitue pourtant, dans la société québécoise, un élément fondamental de l'organisation sociale et économique. S'inscrivant dans le cadre d'une sociologie politique féministe du travail, les auteurs ont su utiliser avec pertinence les concepts de classes de sexe et d'appropriation collective des femmes et ont réussi, de ce fait, à intégrer la réalité des religieuses dans une analyse globale de la situation des femmes. Cette problématique leur a permis de saisir leur objet dans le contexte du pouvoir entre les hommes et les femmes, et des manifestations de ce pouvoir dans les institutions socio-religieuses. Cette étude se trouve donc à dépasser les cadres utilisés jusqu'ici pour aborder la question des congrégations religieuses féminines, celui des structures canoniques et juridiques, (Marguerite Jean, *Evaluation des communautés religieuses de femmes au Canada* [Fides 1977]) celui des aspirations personnelles des femmes, (Marta Danylewycz, *Profession: religieuse. Un choix pour les Québécoises 1840-1910* [Boréal 1988]) celui de l'insertion socio-historique des congrégations religieuses dans le contexte québécois, (Bernard Denault, *Sociographie générale des communautés religieuses au Québec, 1837-1870* [PUM et PUS 1975]) ou celui de la crise suscitée par la révolution tranquille (Micheline D'Allaire, *Vingt ans de crise chez les religieuses du Québec 1960-1980* [Bergeron 1983]).

A vrai dire, l'objet même de la recherche initiale, le travail des religieuses, n'a pas encore été abordé dans sa globalité dans le présent volume et fera vraisemblablement l'objet de publications subséquentes. (35) Le premier chapitre expose les objectifs, le cadre théorique, les volets de la recherche entreprise et précise quels sont les résultats partiels qui sont présentés dans l'ouvrage. C'est que le caractère inédit du projet a obligé les auteurs à constituer d'abord le corpus même de leur enquête qui ne figurait dans aucune statistique. À la recherche d'un monde oublié nous convie à la fois au récit de la constitution de ce corpus (Ch. 2 à 4) et à son analyse descriptive (Ch. 5 à 13). L'ouvrage se termine abruptement, sans conclusion, nous laissant au seuil d'une démonstration qu'on pressent colossale.

Ce récit de la démarche, étendu sur 165 pages, en a étonné plus d'une et plus d'un. On est loin des indigestes chapitres des thèses universitaires. En effet, on suit l'équipe de recherche à travers les étapes de son cheminement, les rôles de chacune étant dramatisés dans une métaphore, celle d'un couvent où la «sainte fondatrice,» la «supérieure générale,» distribue le travail entre les sœurs, les professes et les novices. (68) Nous avons même droit aux extraits des *Chroniques* où sont rapportés quelques faits marquants de l'entreprise. Il semble qu'on aime ou qu'on n'aime pas. Personnellement j'ai été passionnée par cette lecture. Loin de se situer dans l'anecdote, ce récit permet au contraire d'appréhender les détours théoriques et pratiques qui ont été vécus, excellente initiation à la recherche socio-historique. Surtout, il permet de saisir l'interaction subtile des chercheuses avec les personnes-mêmes qu'elles veulent observer dans leur «socio-scope,» révélant les entreprises de séduction, les détours émotifs des préjugés favorables ou défavorables des unes (les religieuses) et des autres (les chercheuses), illustration exemplaire de l'abîme qui sépare deux univers, les deux moments d'une société passée brusque-

ment de l'hégémonie religieuse à la sécularisation triomphante.

La recherche scientifique aime se parer de l'aura de l'objectivité et ce n'est sans doute pas cette image qui se dégage de cette «Saison chez les sœurs.» Pourtant le résultat est devant nous: un fichier gigantesque qui contient pas moins de 3700 biographies de religieuses venues de 24 communautés. Index stratifié selon 3 variables: la grosseur de la communauté, son activité principale, et huit cohortes d'entrée. En définitive, la rigueur est demeurée constante tout au long de cette opération. Certes, les membres de la corporation historique vont soulever un sourcil devant la foi un peu aveugle que les auteurs ont vouée au *Canada Ecclésiastique*, dont la réputation est médiocre sur le plan de l'exactitude historique. Mais elles s'en sont servi comme d'un «guide Michelin» plutôt que comme base documentaire.

L'anonymat des congrégations est officiellement respecté: chacune a reçu un numéro et les noms de lieux ont été modifiés. Mais les spécialistes n'auront pas de mal à jouer les détectives, familiers qu'ils et qu'elles sont avec les paysages, les couloirs et les conditions de travail dans les différentes maisons mères.

L'analyse elle-même aborde plusieurs questions. La structure interne et l'évolution de la main-d'oeuvre religieuse (Ch. 5) expose les mouvements historiques qui ont affecté les congrégations, quant à la grandeur et au type d'activité, durant un siècle. Le mouvement de la population religieuse féminine au XXe siècle (Ch. 6) décrit la croissance exemplaire du processus et son effondrement rapide. Le Chapitre 7, l'un des plus original du volume, situe l'activité des religieuses dans la main-d'oeuvre féminine et se trouve à illustrer l'un des mécanismes les plus occultés de la discrimination du travail des femmes. Les religieuses sont avant tout des travailleuses dans la mosaïque éclatée de leurs multiples activités, et leur «carrière» est remarquablement longue.

Deux chapitres s'intéressent à la vocation religieuse dans son rattachement au «destin» féminin. Le Chapitre 8 démontre que la vocation religieuse constitue une alternative intéressante face au marché matrimonial et le Chapitre 9 illustre que le phénomène des départs «serait moins fonction de l'insatisfaction des religieuses quant à leur état de vie présent que de la satisfaction entrevue dans d'autres.» (290) Trois chapitres abordent la question de l'origine des religieuses: celle de l'origine ethnique et familiale (Ch. 10), celle de l'origine de classe (Ch. 11), et celle de l'origine géographique (Ch. 12). Ces analyses viennent mettre des chiffres, confirmer ou infirmer beaucoup d'impressions: les religieuses sont d'origine canadienne française: 94,8 pour cent, et issues de familles nombreuses (plus de 6 enfants): 82 pour cent. L'analyse de l'origine de classe révèle un univers social ambigu qui semble correspondre au concept de *folk society*. L'origine sociale des religieuses diffère-t-elle selon le type de communauté? Il semble que non. C'est néanmoins la question que les auteurs ont eu le plus de mal à cerner rigoureusement, par manque vraisemblablement, d'instrument de mesure adéquat. L'origine socio-géographique des religieuses est certainement le chapitre présentant les informations les plus nouvelles puisque «cette étude permet (...) de comprendre la manière dont s'est organisé le vaste déplacement de main-d'oeuvre féminine que l'Église a mise au travail par l'intermédiaire des communautés: du village vers la ville, de la campagne vers le milieu urbain, de la périphérie vers les centres, et cela, malgré son refus affirmé de l'émigration rurale et de l'urbanisation.» (362) Démonstration lumineuse bien illustrée par une série de graphiques.

Le dernier chapitre aborde la question de la scolarisation des futures religieuses. «Il y a des emplois en communautés pour tout le monde; de toute nature, de tous genres, à tous niveaux dans toutes sortes

d'institutions.» (390) Le cadre d'analyse suggéré par Marta Danylewycz trouve ici une autre illustration exemplaire.

Les auteures nous conduisent ainsi au seuil de leur analyse du travail des religieuses en nous présentant une synthèse globale d'un «monde oublié.» On ne peut qu'attendre la suite avec impatience.

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Anita Caron (collectif sous la direction d'), *Femmes et pouvoir dans l'Église* (Montréal: VLB, Études québécoises 1991).

LA QUESTION du pouvoir des femmes dans l'Église catholique au Québec n'avait pas encore été réellement circonscrite. Cette étude s'imposait; Anita Caron l'a entreprise avec un collectif de chercheuses bien qualifiées pour cette tâche. Déjà Sarah Bélanger avait compilé et analysé minutieusement des statistiques sur les femmes engagées en pastorale au Québec dans son ouvrage, *Les soutanes roses*. (Sarah Bélanger, *Les soutanes roses. Portrait du personnel pastoral féminin au Québec* [Montréal: Bellarmin 1988]). Il fallait maintenant discerner si toutes ces femmes engagées dans l'institution ecclésiale pouvaient y exercer un certain pouvoir.

Le point de départ de la recherche s'énonce ainsi: l'Église continue toujours d'exclure des fonctions hiérarchiques du pouvoir les femmes, malgré leur présence très active dans plusieurs tâches institutionnelles. (9) Les différentes contributions apportées par les femmes dans deux paroisses de la région de Montréal, durant la période 1945-85, ont servi de base à l'analyse. Un dépouillement d'archives des paroisses, des entrevues avec une vingtaine de femmes et avec les pasteurs de ces deux paroisses, l'étude de l'impact des regroupements de femmes sur la vie ecclésiale ont permis une prise

de conscience de la situation. De plus, soulignons le caractère engagé de l'ouvrage: il veut être un apport aux revendications plus ou moins clairement exprimées par les femmes interrogées.

La première partie de l'ouvrage fait connaître les données socio-historiques sur la situation des femmes dans l'Église. Dans le chapitre premier, Flore Dupriez brosse un tableau historique des faits importants pour les femmes dans le domaine religieux. Les communautés religieuses, les formes nouvelles d'Action catholique, le début du féminisme, les associations pieuses marquent la première partie du XXe siècle. Après 1960, les mouvements de laïcisation des institutions, le concile Vatican II, la commission d'étude sur les laïcs et la parution d'*Humanae vitae* sont des moments qui interpellent le vécu religieux des femmes et qui s'inscrivent dans les demandes des femmes aux évêques pour une égalité de droits, de privilèges et de responsabilités avec les hommes.

Nicole Laurin-Frenette et Nadia Fahmy-Eid tentent à la suite une interprétation socio-historique. Elles ne peuvent manquer de constater la mobilisation en masse des femmes à la base de l'appareil religieux dans l'Église catholique en même temps que leur absence de pouvoir. Les femmes constituent un relais privilégié dans l'Église: «La femme et le prêtre sont et font l'Église.» (40) L'Église s'appuie sur une idéologie de la féminité pour reconnaître aux femmes la maternité naturelle et spirituelle et pour les maintenir dans les limites de cette fonction.

La deuxième partie présente les données factuelles sur la situation des femmes dans l'Église. Nous y trouvons les aspects concrets des contributions des femmes dans les deux paroisses désignées sous le nom de Marthe et Marie. Anita Caron, Agathe Lafortune et Elisabeth Branly notent l'évolution intervenue pendant la période étudiée. Alors que les femmes se retrouvent dans les années 50 dans une multitude d'associations, elles pren-

nent définitivement leur place au cours des années 70 dans les conseils d'administration des fabriques et dans les conseils de pastorale créés à la suite de Vatican II. Même si la situation des femmes dans l'Église semble s'être améliorée, la plupart d'entre elles sont toujours tenues à l'écart des postes de commande et des fonctions dites sacrées. La question de l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes est, pour un bon nombre de femmes interrogées, un point sensible. Toutefois, elles ne sont pas favorables au sacerdoce des femmes et deux répondantes s'y opposent carrément. Les clercs interrogés affirment que si on ne peut se dispenser de la participation des femmes, la raison principale en est la pénurie de prêtres. Les hommes, prêtres et laïcs, apprécient la contribution des femmes, mais ils tiennent à ce que leur rôle soit «humble,» «caché,» «pas spectaculaire.» Les chercheuses concluent même que «c'est à travers le prisme de la différence et même plus précisément de l'inégalité qu'on définit la situation des femmes dans l'Église et dans la société.» (87) Et toutes les femmes interrogées expriment, par ailleurs, leur satisfaction de travailler en milieu paroissial.

Lise Campeau et Normande Simard se sont intéressées à saisir l'impact exercé par des groupes concernant la place des femmes dans l'Église. Les trois groupes étudiés, L'autre Parole, le Mouvement des femmes chrétiennes et les épouses des diacres, leur ont fait découvrir notamment qu'ils se situent de façon différente devant le pouvoir dans l'Église. Alors que les femmes de L'autre Parole tiennent un discours critique vis-à-vis l'institution ecclésiale, celle du Mouvement des femmes chrétiennes entretient des liens avec elle et lui rend compte de leur fonctionnement, et les épouses des diacres n'ont pas une position connue au sujet de leur sensibilisation sur leur situation dans l'Église.

La troisième partie nous donne de façon substantielle des bases théoriques pour scruter le rapport des femmes au

pouvoir. Tout d'abord, Marie-Andrée Roy présente des éléments de la théorie de Max Weber qui permettent de saisir ce qui est vécu entre les femmes laïques et les hommes clercs en milieu paroissial. Selon cette théorie, le pouvoir est associé à la domination, à l'autorité. Dans l'Église catholique, la structure de pouvoir est intériorisée par les femmes qui s'y soumettent, même si quelques répondantes semblent capables de relativiser le pouvoir du clergé. Ainsi, les femmes assument des fonctions de sous-cadres de cette direction administrative cléricale, alors que le clergé maintient son hégémonie dans l'institution, malgré la baisse drastique de ses membres. Conséquemment, en appliquant les trois types de domination légitime identifiés par Weber, nous retrouvons les femmes du côté du pouvoir de type charismatique, et le clergé du côté de la domination légale et de la domination traditionnelle.

Flore Dupriez a analysé par la suite comment le discours de la différence est ambigu et contribue à maintenir une distance entre les femmes et le pouvoir. Une étude historique des conduites féminines fait voir une mise en valeur de la notion de complémentarité du féminin par rapport au masculin, une persistance des stéréotypes relatifs aux rôles des sexes, une hiérarchisation de ces rôles. L'Église a particulièrement articulé son discours au sujet des femmes autour du concept de la différence: le pape Jean-Paul II parlait des «caractères spécifiques de la féminité et de la masculinité.» lors de son discours aux jeunes, le 31 mai 1980 au Parc des Princes à Paris. Ainsi, les femmes ne peuvent jouir dans le milieu paroissial que de pouvoirs délégués, le véritable détenteur du pouvoir étant le prêtre.

Agathe Lafortune s'inspire de la théorie féministe matérialiste pour identifier les rapports sociaux de sexe et questionner le fonctionnement d'une institution dans laquelle s'enracine le sexisme. Elle constate une division du travail selon le sexe: «le secrétariat, les travaux d'entretien des lieux proches du culte,

l'accueil, l'animation liturgique, le support émotif aux personnes (...), la pastorale, sont les domaines privilégiés de l'intervention des femmes dans l'Église.» (165) Plusieurs de ces activités se font sans rémunération, le bénévolat féminin étant très répandu dans l'Église. L'implication des femmes est jugée essentielle, mais elle est gardée à un niveau d'exécution, les remises en question que les femmes peuvent faire sont difficiles, trop souvent individuelles sans réelle stratégie collective.

Nusia Matura a exploré des théologies féministes, celles des Mary Daly, Rosemary Radford Ruether, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, afin de montrer le rapport que les femmes peuvent avoir à l'Église institutionnelle. «Que faire du christianisme et de ses traditions historiques quand on cherche à établir une participation plus égale des femmes à l'autorité et à la responsabilité dans l'Église?» (183) Les trois théologues utilisent des cadres d'analyse différents: l'analyse historique comparative des mouvements parallèles non orthodoxes pour Rosemary Radford Ruether, l'exégèse néo-testamentaire et la critique libérationniste pour Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, une approche philosophique marquée par l'existentialisme de l'authenticité pour Mary Daly. Toutefois, toutes les trois jugent que le christianisme est une religion patriarcale qui a contribué à la subordination des femmes. Les répondantes des paroisses Marthe et Marie confirment à leurs manières les préoccupations des théologues américaines.

La dernière théorie étudiée est celle de Colette Guillaumin qui «établit comment, dans nos cultures patriarcales, toutes les femmes sont aux prises avec des rapports d'oppression, d'exploitation et d'appropriation par l'ensemble des hommes.» (211) Marie-Andrée Roy a appliqué de façon systématique la grille d'analyse de la sociologue, ce qui fait voir comment s'exerce l'appropriation des femmes dans l'institution ecclésiale: ap-

propriation de leur temps, de leur production, de leur personne, charge physique et affective des plus démunis et des hommes, occultation des femmes. Les moyens d'appropriation apparaissent dans le confinement dans l'espace, les contraintes morales et juridiques tant aux niveaux familial que paroissial. Ainsi, les répondantes adoptent deux attitudes au sujet de l'avenir de la situation des femmes dans l'Église: pour les unes, l'usure, le découragement, pour les autres, un optimisme à toute épreuve. Même si des paroissiennes montrent un intérêt pour des perspectives de changement, il semble que «la révolution féministe ne puisse se faire par la voie paroissiale.» (241)

Trois constatations se dégagent de cette étude: une constance de la participation des femmes, une transformation des relations clercs-laïcs, un statut revendiqué et à venir? Ces trois observations nous laissent réellement en attente de perspectives plus stimulantes, elles signalent le peu d'impact du mouvement des femmes dans l'Église catholique. Les chercheuses pensent que les femmes «ne pourront accéder à un réel statut d'égalité dans l'Église que dans la mesure où elles pourront se regrouper entre elles et en communion avec l'ensemble des femmes» pour former une «ekklésia des femmes,» selon le voeu d'Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza. (250)

Cet ouvrage a voulu mettre en rapport des données empiriques avec des aspects théoriques. Ceux-ci ont résolument pris de l'importance dans la troisième partie qui occupe plus de la moitié du livre, les réponses des personnes interviewées viennent comme sanctionner les propositions spéculatives. Ce processus scientifique est certes intéressant, mais il donne plus de lumière aux théories sur le pouvoir et sur le féminisme et laisse en veilleuse des constatations factuelles. Les éléments de la conclusion auraient pu, à cet égard, être plus élaborés. Cet ouvrage n'en demeure pas moins une étude sérieuse, bien écrite, importante pour une

connaissance approfondie de la situation des femmes dans l'Église catholique au Québec.

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Simone Monet-Chartrand, *Pionnières québécoises et regroupement de femmes d'hier à aujourd'hui* (Montréal: Éditions du remue-ménage 1991).

INTERROMPANT POUR un temps son autobiographie, Simone Monet-Chartrand a voulu nous livrer un tableau impressionniste du mouvement des femmes au Québec. Nulle prétention à l'exhaustivité dans ce texte; il s'agit plutôt d'indiquer par touches successives le rôle important de certaines femmes et de certains regroupements de femmes dans le façonnement de l'histoire. L'auteure s'est fortement inspirée de l'ouvrage du collectif Clio auquel elle emprunte abondamment.

Cependant, l'ouvrage de Simon Monet-Chartrand se distingue de *L'histoire des femmes au Québec* en ce que la subjectivité de l'auteure détermine dans une large mesure le choix des thèmes abordés. Si l'on devait absolument qualifier l'ouvrage de Simone Monet-Chartrand, on pourrait parler d'«essai de mémoire,» façon de retrouver dans le passé les racines et les pionnières de ses propres engagements.

Le premier chapitre porte sur les premières habitantes du pays. Il s'ouvre sur un extrait d'un manuel d'histoire du secondaire consacré aux Amérindiens et à la division des rôles sociaux entre les sexes dans les sociétés amérindiennes. Cependant l'essentiel du chapitre porte sur les femmes venues de France comme Marie Rollet ou les «filles du Roy» pour ensuite déboucher sur une évaluation du statut juridique des femmes sous le régime français.

Le deuxième chapitre est consacré aux communautés religieuses puisque

celles-ci ont permis une visibilité sociale aux femmes mais surtout parce qu'elles «ont été des innovatrices en service social et en action communautaire.» (37) deux domaines qui tiennent beaucoup de place dans l'esprit de l'auteure. C'est probablement ce qui explique le peu d'attention accordé aux ordres contemplatifs de même que le fait qu'on retrouve aux côtés des noms des religieuses qui ont été actives dans le domaine de l'éducation comme Marie Guyart ou Ghislaine Roquet, dans le domaine hospitalier comme Marie Morin ou dans celui du service social comme Rosalie Jetté ou Marie Gérin-Lajoie fille, les noms des laïques qui ont été pionnières dans les mêmes domaines comme Agathe Lacerte, première femme professeuse à l'université Laval, Irma Levasseur, première médecin ou encore Lucie Bruneau.

Le troisième chapitre est encore plus composite. Voulant indiquer des rapprochements entre l'action des dames patronesses et le militantisme tel qu'on le conçoit aujourd'hui, il traite dans un premier temps de ces femmes du début du siècle qui ont joué un rôle déterminant dans la mise sur pied de la Fédération nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste, mais il bifurque assez rapidement sur les femmes qui ont marqué les arts et les lettres pour revenir ensuite aux regroupements féminins comme le YWCA ou le Montreal Local Council of Women. Ce qui préside à un tel amalgame, c'est l'attitude innovatrice de ces femmes en qui Simone Monet-Chartrand voit «les initiatrices des institutions et des mesures sociales, économiques et politiques prônées beaucoup plus tard lors de la Révolution tranquille.» (97)

Le chapitre suivant est consacré à la lutte épique des femmes pour le droit de vote et d'éligibilité. Se démarquant de l'abondante production de l'année 90 sur ce sujet, l'auteure fait appel à ses souvenirs personnels et familiaux pour traiter de la question. Elle insiste également sur le lien entre la lutte pour le

droit de vote et celle pour l'égalité juridique. Il est suivi d'un court chapitre consacré à la fondation des Cercles des fermières qui repose sur des extraits du livre d'Yvonne Rialland-Morissette sur cet organisme.

Le chapitre traitant du travail des femmes est beaucoup plus étoffé. Il aborde essentiellement le militantisme féminin dans les syndicats, tout en mentionnant l'action de regroupements non-syndicaux de femmes dans le milieu du travail. Il y a donc des portraits des pionnières du syndicalisme féminin de même que le rappel de certaines luttes cruciales pour la syndicalisation des femmes comme la grève des midinettes en 37 ou celle de la guénille en 46.

Par la suite, nous avons droit à un portrait chaleureux de plusieurs femmes, de la même génération — ou plus jeunes — que Simone Monet-Chartrand, qui ont marqué le monde par le biais des arts et de la communication. Ainsi voyons-nous défiler les pionnières du journalisme, du théâtre, de la chanson ou de l'écriture dont certaines influencent encore le Québec contemporain.

L'ouvrage se termine par une analyse de l'action des femmes durant la révolution tranquille, la formation des grandes associations féminines comme la Fédération des femmes du Québec ou l'Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale, les luttes des femmes pour l'égalité, sans oublier les femmes autochtones et l'apparition du féminisme radical.

On voit clairement que le projet est très vaste, ce qui excuse quelque peu son éclectisme. Il est cependant assez difficile d'en faire une évaluation. Si l'on se place du point de vue académique, l'ouvrage est assez décevant: il ne comporte rien de neuf, l'essentiel du propos étant la reprise d'ouvrages antérieurs qui constituent la majeure partie du texte. Rien à voir donc avec la grande synthèse historique. D'autant plus que l'essentiel de l'ouvrage est consacré au XXe siècle.

Par contre, si l'on essaie de comprendre l'évolution sociale à partir de la subjectivité des actrices et acteurs sociaux, ce texte a une certaine pertinence. Dépasant le cadre autobiographique, il donne des assises historiques à l'action d'une femme, nous livrant un répertoire d'héroïnes dans lesquelles elle se reconnaît un passé. Se définissant elle-même comme une femme impliquée dans l'action communautaire et sociale, Simone Monet-Chartrand essaie d'en déceler les traces dans l'histoire du Québec.

Conçu sur le mode du collage, c'est un ouvrage auquel on chercherait en vain un plan bien défini. Mais qu'importe! Il nous est toujours possible de le lire de façon impressionniste, en fonction de nos propres intérêts. Ce n'est pas un travail d'analyse, mais il met en lumière des aspects importants de l'histoire sociale. Et l'auteure nous promet de récidiver avec un deuxième tome qui traitera de l'évolution du mouvement des femmes depuis 1975.

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Harold A. Innis, *The Bias of Communications* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1991).

THE NINTH PRINTING of this provocative and puzzling 1951 Canadian classic features a new introduction by Paul Heyer and David Crowley, professors of communications at Simon Fraser and McGill Universities respectively. They begin with a sensible warning, that to read the book "in its entirety, as a sustained argument, invites frustration," and then suggest that it be approached like that wondrous potpourri *The Idea File of Harold Adams Innis* (1980). Despite stated intentions, the introduction becomes a very reverent sketch of the learned man who unwittingly founded media studies. Innis' dense, fractured,

and opaque writing is praised for being nonlinear, the inspiration for Marshal McLuhan, Jack Goody, and numerous others. Within a few pages Innis himself seems to retort from the dead, endorsing Albert Guérard's attack on schools of thought "as bodies founded for the painless extinction of ideas of their founders." (4)

Those who can remember the baffled reactions of conventional historians to "Minerva's Owl," and those of us who have written history exploring issues that interested Innis, will have great difficulty believing that "*The Bias of Communications* has played a major part in reshaping our understanding of what constitutes history." (dustjacket) It is possible that the industrious Innis of the cod fisheries, the fur trade, and the staple theory was only the larval stage of that dazzling butterfly who flitted on extremely thin wings across eons in *The Bias of Communications*. If so, he never took the heavily-empirical historical profession of North America with him; historians, by definition, are resistant to torrents of "potentially verifiable" insight. Renowned Canadian historians Donald Creighton, J.M.S. Careless, and W.J. Eccles are among those who have rightly emphasized the importance of communications. Indeed, fascination with communications is recognized elsewhere as something of a Canadian academic trait. However, the Innis of the historians has remained the younger Innis.

The splitting of the young Innis from and the old, staple trades vs. communications theory, was natural, but is both exaggerated and revealing. Innis' brilliant staple theory has survived despite its poor supporting research, and not simply because his economic determinism had special appeal to both traditional Marxists and Canadian economic nationalists. Today neither group would be as hasty as they once were to dismiss the later Innis. His last work, which postulates a determinism linked to the means of communications, was suspect as too revolutionary, too cryptic, too diffuse, and too

quickly linked to the much-too-fashionable media guru, Marshall McLuhan. Graeme Patterson's *History and Communications: Harold Innis, Marshall McLuhan, the Interpretation of History* (1990) is one of the few attempts to reclaim the entire Innis corpus as history. As long as intellectual historians place more value on consistency than on the willingness to learn, Harold Innis cannot be put back together again.

After forty years, what is there to draw us back to this collection of Innis essays, aside from its role as a mind-bending initiation rite and Canadian icon for those entering media studies? The title essay survives best, being a somewhat more accessible sketch of his final themes than the accompanying "Minerva's Owl." The vast range of Innis' reading in ancient and medieval history may appear daunting, even pedantic, to readers seeking to grasp his barrage of unsubstantiated notions, claims, and connections. The Nile and the Tigris are not metaphors for the St. Lawrence, *pace* Patterson, but the latter might have served better on occasion.

Numerous of Innis' notions have subsequently been confirmed and developed by others, obscuring his prophetic originality from current readers. Other hasty and clever juxtapositions now seem entirely simplistic or impossible. The biases of Harold Innis do not distance him from our time, except perhaps the virulence of his bias against religion in general and Catholicism in particular.

Other insights, like Innis' repeated observation that improving communications make understanding more difficult, may have occurred to many, but still deserve fuller attention in our global village of disintegrating polities. This remark, made repeatedly concerning the Reformation but useful in considering the recent collapse of empires and nations, illustrates both his insightfulness and its limits. Printing served both to unite Latin Christendom as never before and to provoke and foster vernacular resistance movements. In trying to explode the en-

during and especially Canadian belief that improving communications unite, Innis overlooked the powerful ambivalence of the forces involved.

The other papers are now worth reading primarily to throw light on Innis. Essays on time and space repeat ideas and detail from his other essays, as E.R. Adair's ferocious review of the first edition made clear, though some of the rewording affords opportunities to decode additional meanings. It is certainly hoped that students of communications use more recent work than the rather undigested factual mounds that are Innis' essays on *English publishing in the 18th century* and *American newspapers later*.

Marshall McLuhan was enthralled by this book, brought poetry-reading skills to it, and regarded the tortured writing as "a stammer in his mind and in his prose to protect the sensibilities of his audience." Ironically, Innis' own problems with communication have only enhanced and sustained his reputation. Academics now relish his difficult "intellectual shorthand" as a text that supports careers of critical deciphering, and as stirring poetry which can lure the careful empiricist towards more daring liberty.

In places this remains an exciting and prophetic work for historians and acolytes of media studies. Despite their weighty limitations, the best of these essays offer glimpses of the spirit of a dying scholar hinting at what he would do with an additional lifetime of research. To write even a few things that remain prophetic a lifetime of related research beyond one's own is truly remarkable.

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Martin Tétreault, *L'État de santé des Montréalais 1880-1914* (Montréal: Collection RCHTQ, Études et Documents, numéro 5, 1991).

L'ANALYSE de M. Tétreault vise à rendre compte de la géographie sanitaire et de la mortalité à Montréal pour la période comprise entre les années 1880 et 1914. Privilégiant une approche essentiellement socio-épidémiologique au détriment d'une approche institutionnelle ou d'une approche étiologique, cette étude, effectuée dans le cadre d'un mémoire thèse de maîtrise, rend compte succinctement des représentations de la santé publique à la fin du XIXe siècle, de l'état des sources susceptibles de préciser les décès à Montréal, de l'évolution des principales causes de mortalité à Montréal, des conditions sanitaires qui y prévalaient et des mesures prophylactiques mises en oeuvre par le bureau de santé de Montréal.

Mais alors que les sections consacrées aux représentations de la santé publique sont assez peu étayées et souffrent de certains lieux communs discutables, l'intérêt de cette étude réside surtout dans la constitution et l'analyse des données épidémiologiques qui permettent au lecteur d'être introduit au coeur même de l'inégalité devant la mort tant en terme de groupes d'âge qu'en terme de classes sociales et de groupes ethniques. Après nous avoir présenté les différentes sources utilisées et mis en valeur les composantes sociodémographiques de Montréal entre 1880 et 1914 — population et origine ethnique de la population par quartier, accroissement de la main-d'oeuvre, principaux quartiers industrialisés — l'auteur nous brosse un très intéressant et significatif tableau de la mortalité à Montréal au tournant du XXe siècle.

Rappelons que cette période fut particulièrement sombre puisque, comme le souligne l'auteur, Montréal connaissait alors un des plus haut taux de mortalité infantile en Amérique. Tétreault met par ailleurs en évidence le phénomène de

l'inégalité sociale des Montréalais et Montréalaises devant la maladie et la mort. Les quartiers les plus durement touchés étaient les plus défavorisés économiquement. Les taux de mortalité infantile dans les quartiers ouvriers de l'est de Montréal dépassaient de beaucoup ceux des quartiers favorisés. En 1907, le taux de mortalité des enfants de 6 mois et moins est de 1 562/100 000 dans le quartier Saint-Denis et de 263/100 000 dans le quartier résidentiel Saint-Laurent. Il semble par ailleurs, d'après les analyses de l'auteur, que «les Canadiens français pauvres pa[yaient] un tribut à la mort considérablement plus élevé que les autres groupes ethniques.» Celui-ci montre «qu'entre 1884 et 1914, 6 Canadiens français sur 10 trépassaient avant l'âge de 5 ans révolus.» Ceux-ci étaient par ailleurs en tête de liste en ce qui regarde le pourcentage annuel de décès par groupes ethniques et bon dernier en ce qui regarde le taux de survivance à l'âge d'un an. Sont aussi présentées certaines statistiques de mortalité causée par la variole, la tuberculose, la diphtérie, la fièvre typhoïde, les maladies diarrhéiques, etc. Les tableaux statistiques sont nombreux, généralement bien structurés et certainement susceptibles d'intéresser le lecteur. Un reproche cependant: certaines données fournies par l'auteur sont parfois vagues et confuses. Ainsi, après avoir mentionné que le taux global de mortalité infantile variait «aux alentours de» 260/1000 entre 1896 et 1914, le tableau de mortalité infantile pour les plus grandes villes des États-Unis indique que «la ville de Montréal» (sic) possède un taux de 181/1000. Or, l'auteur ne nous présente aucun tableau indiquant les fluctuations de cette mortalité à Montréal. Autre reproche mais qui, cette fois-ci, concerne l'éditeur: les tableaux situés en annexe auraient gagné à être mieux reproduits. Certains sont difficiles à déchiffrer.

Le dernier chapitre de l'ouvrage rend compte des principaux facteurs socio-sanitaires responsables de telles inciden-

ces de la mortalité à Montréal: logements insalubres, déficience des systèmes d'adduction d'eau, déféctuosité des égouts, habitudes alimentaires déficientes et aliments de mauvaise qualité, contamination du lait, etc. Encore une fois de nombreux tableaux illustrent l'argumentation de l'auteur quant à l'insuffisance des moyens sanitaires mis à la disposition des populations démunies de Montréal. De telles considérations socio-sanitaires demeurent justes et pertinentes pour expliquer en grande partie les incidences de mortalité présentées dans cet ouvrage.

Mais si les recherches statistiques sont fort intéressantes et comblent une lacune de l'historiographie en matière de santé, il demeure néanmoins que dans l'ensemble, l'analyse des aspects cognitifs et idéologiques de la santé publique à Montréal est plutôt mince, manque de perspective et est parfois constituée de jugements de valeur maladroits qui n'ajoutent rien à la compréhension du sujet ou qui encore, orientent le lecteur vers une interprétation peu nuancée. Ainsi en est-il lorsque l'auteur affirme que le discours des hygiénistes est «essentiellement bourgeois.» Certes, les liens étroits, soulignés par l'auteur, qui unissent d'une part, la religion, la morale, le nationalisme, la valorisation de la production et d'autre part, le discours hygiéniste sur la santé de la population sont-ils, comme partout ailleurs dans les sociétés industrielles, teintés d'un certain mercantilisme nationaliste, mais il y a ouïtrance à considérer les principaux hygiénistes de l'époque comme de simples défenseurs de l'ordre économique ambiant qui ne s'alimenteraient qu'à une idéologie «bourgeoise.» C'est situer le débat sur la santé publique selon une perspective statique alors que, bien au contraire, entre 1880 et 1914, les positions des intervenants évolueront considérablement. C'est faire fi par ailleurs des préoccupations socio-médicales des nombreux médecins qui se modifieront sensiblement en fonction des nouvelles thèses étiologiques bactériologiques alors en

plein développement. C'est aussi prendre ce discours de persuasion pour ce qu'il n'est pas: une volonté première de favoriser la production et les échanges marchands. Or, bien au contraire, de nombreux intervenants dans le domaine de la santé publique critiqueront sévèrement les conditions déplorablement des ouvriers et des familles défavorisées en arguant avec conviction, grâce à la légitimité des nouvelles découvertes bactériologiques et donc à une meilleure connaissance des causes de certaines maladies, de leurs vecteurs et donc de leur prévention, la responsabilité directe des propriétaires peu scrupuleux des laiteries, des employeurs qui ne daignent pas accorder à leurs employés des conditions d'hygiène décentes ou encore des autorités municipales qui hésitent à corriger les déféctuosités du système d'adduction d'eau et d'égout. Il n'était pas rare non plus que l'on dirige les critiques en matière d'hygiène vers une diminution des heures de travail ou l'interdiction de l'embauche des enfants. Du reste, à la recherche d'appuis politiques et financiers pour améliorer les conditions sanitaires de la ville, on ne peut s'étonner que les hygiénistes utilisaient les arguments — religieux, moraux ou nationalistes — les plus susceptibles de persuader et de convaincre leur auditoire. C'est un procédé encore utilisé aujourd'hui. Sans nier les déviations idéologiques et les enjeux socio-politiques qui teintent souvent le discours hygiéniste, il demeure important d'en analyser plus précisément la teneur, le contexte et les enjeux.

Néanmoins, la pertinence de cet ouvrage et son originalité au Québec ne font aucun doute. Il faut par ailleurs espérer que le travail de M. Tétrault sera bientôt suivi par une étude plus approfondie sur l'histoire des maladies et sur «les inégalités devant la mort» au Québec.

Denis Goulet
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Robert Gagnon (avec la collaboration spéciale d'Armand J. Ross), *Histoire de l'École Polytechnique de Montréal, 1873-1990: La Montée des Ingénieurs Francophones* (Montréal: Editions du Boréal 1991).

STARTING FROM inauspicious beginnings as an adjunct of a Catholic secondary commercial school in Montréal in 1873, the École Polytechnique of Montréal is now the largest engineering school in Canada. Fully accredited and integrated in the North American system of engineering education, it has an active program of research, collaboration with industry, and a leadership determined to make it the "MIT of Canada." The book reviewed here was commissioned by the school, but at the outset it should be stated that this is not the simple chronology and hagiography that is still too often the case for this genre of historiography.

Influenced by Pierre Bourdieu and his student Luc Boltanski's *Les Cadres*, Gagnon has written a fine socio-historical work. It is backed up with statistics on social and scholastic origins of students and sectors of employment of graduates, and will be a major contribution not only to the history of higher technical education in Canada but also to the history of an influential social group in Québec — the community of francophone engineers — whose rise to influence and even dominance he traces in clear and fluid prose. While not forgetting the essential elements of a history of an institution of higher learning (course outlines, the human element in the form of faculty and student life, growth of research, and administrative and institutional changes), he always keeps in mind the larger sociocultural and economic context as well as the most recent changes in Québec society, which are illuminated by his work.

The rather crude dichotomy of a Catholic, agrarian, and traditionalist francophone Québec, uninterested and even hostile to science and technology versus

a secular, industrial, and modern anglophone Québec is not entirely without merit in explaining the differing fortunes of Polytechnique and the Faculty of Engineering at McGill. But one advantage of Gagnon's analysis lies precisely in his questioning of simplistic models and his documentation of the richness and complexity of the milieu in which Polytechnique was born. The attitude of French-Canadians and even the Catholic clergy was ambiguous but by no means uniformly hostile to science and technology; indeed, technical education was seen by some as a salutary channel to relieve the pressure on the increasingly overpopulated liberal professions (doctors and lawyers) recruited from the *collège classique*. Chauveau, a former provincial Minister of Public Instruction and Premier who ensured the first financial support for Polytechnique, was very sympathetic to the establishment and growth of a modern system of technical education and was keenly aware of its necessity for industrial development. Yet the munificence of wealthy anglophone patrons in building up world-class research and teaching facilities, as well as access to the continental anglophone world of engineering for its graduates, should be kept in mind, along with merely cultural attitudes, in any explanation of McGill's success.

When Polytechnique opened its doors, it had more teachers than students, and none of these teachers was either an engineer or a holder of a higher diploma in science or technology. Industrialization in Québec, with the exception of transport, was just beginning. The ideal of the *honnête homme*, a leader of men by virtue of rhetoric, social grace, and the cultural capital of a classical education rather than technical competence and managerial expertise, was dominant among French-Canadian elites. Polytechnique's students were mostly recruited from those social classes for whom such an education was beyond reach. Yet from the beginning, Polytech-

nique set out consciously and ambitiously — its very name borrowed from its immeasurably more eminent Parisian namesake seems to be a spectacular affirmation of this ambition — not only to train francophone engineers but to conquer social space in a society it would help to modernize. A number of far-sighted teachers and administrators, such as Urgel-Eugène Archambault and Augustin Frigon successfully lobbied governments and worked hard at placing their students. They were joined much later by researchers such as Georges Welter, who established a genuine presence for research in the school, and they kept the school going and growing until its take-off to its present position after World War II.

Also key to Polytechnique's survival and eventual success was the exceptionally strong *esprit de corps* of its students and their attachment to their *alma mater*. Their sense of community was fostered not only by their small numbers but their beleaguered and originally marginal position both in francophone and anglophone society. Strong bonds of mutual dependence were built up between the school and its graduates. The school was interested in advantageous placement of its graduates, for this would ensure future openings and prestige in the eyes of the community, and this in turn would maintain recruitment and its own viability. Graduates were equally interested in the valorization of their diplomas and new generations of graduates as reinforcements in a lonely and sometimes unsympathetic milieu. It is not surprising, then, that it was francophone engineers in Québec, spearheaded by Polytechnique graduates, who were the most active and successful among Canadian engineers in getting legal definition and protection of their status at the turn of the century.

Initially, graduates of Polytechnique gravitated towards public administration, at all levels of government (federal, provincial, and municipal), and this trend persisted until very recently. This was in

marked contrast to anglophone engineering graduates from McGill, who preferred careers in industry. Here Gagnon raises questions that will no doubt be seminal for future work. Was this phenomenon a result of exclusion in industries essentially controlled by anglophone Canadian or American capital? It was only after World War II and the onset of the Quiet Revolution, with the massive intervention of the Québec government in industry on one hand and, on the other, the gradual establishment of bridgeheads in industry by francophone engineers before the war, that led to a significant jump in their presence in industry. Was it the quality of Polytechnique's training? Up until 1941 Polytechnique resolutely rejected specialization and offered a general course of study that was essentially a course in civil engineering, and it was only in 1958 that truly specialized branches of engineering were consolidated in the school's teaching. It was also only after World War II that the school began to demand competence in research as well as teaching from its faculty. Or was it a cultural preference (also strong in France) for state service rather than for private industry?

This predilection for public administration had some interesting consequences. Polytechnique graduates did not suffer nearly as much as their anglophone colleagues during the Depression because of their insulation (forced or voluntary) from industry between the wars. Nor do they appear to have been torn by the tension between loyalty to engineering professionalism and to business that was apparent among American engineers and is such a prominent theme of Edwin Layton's *The Revolt of the Engineers*. Polytechnique's world view was always connected with a modern Québec nationalism that only came into its own with nationalization of electrical power and the growth of Hydro-Québec in the 1960s. Gagnon convincingly shows that the displacement of the priest and the notary from the roles of national hero by

the technocrat at Hydro-Québec and consulting engineer at SNC did not come out of the blue, and a well-established ideology articulated at Polytechnique that goes back to its creation has much to do with this.

This book whetted my appetite for more information about the Faculty of Engineering at Laval, a francophone institution in the capital of the province. Gagnon looks closely at McGill, an anglophone and Montréal institution, and quite rightly, for this is the more important axis of comparison with Polytechnique. Although Laval, a well-established university dominated for a long time by the clergy, is not neglected, more on the engineering faculty there would have enhanced rather than detracted from this work. For the great distinction and value of this book is not only that it is about Polytechnique, but about the rise of francophone engineers. Proud *anciens élèves* of Polytechnique would retort — and Gagnon's book provides them with excellent evidence — that there is really not much difference between the two phenomena. Their case is strong, but it would be good to hear more about Laval's engineering and science faculties. Unionization among engineers, a trend much stronger in French Canada than English Canada, is another subject that a longer book could have addressed.

The final section of the book by Armand J. Ross (chapter nine onwards) gives an overview of Polytechnique's activities and structure during the period of explosive growth of the last twenty years. During this period undergraduate enrolment almost tripled and graduate enrolment went up more than thirtyfold. He describes the growth and structure of research at Polytechnique, the transformation of teaching programs, and Polytechnique's contribution to Canada's foreign aid programs, especially in the establishment of the École Polytechnique at Thiès in Sénégal in the 1970s.

The publishers have done a creditable job in producing a handsome edition of

this book. However, I would have liked to see a list of tables and acronyms. There is a good bibliography with few omissions of key works and an index of names, places, and institutions, but the book deserves a subject index, which would reflect the thematic richness of Gagnon's excellent work.

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Renée Dupuis, *La question indienne au Canada* (Montréal: Ed. du Boréal 1991).

POUR QUI TENTE de démêler l'imbroglie juridique de la question autochtone au Canada, l'ouvrage de Renée Dupuis arrive à point. Que revendiquent les premières nations? Quels droits leur reconnaissent les gouvernements ou les tribunaux? Forte de son expérience d'avocate et de conseillère juridique, Renée Dupuis nous présente une interprétation éclairante.

Les conflits actuels entre autochtones et Blancs ont de profondes racines. Aussi l'auteure remonte-t-elle au régime français pour constater que les dirigeants de la Nouvelle-France ne reconnaissaient aucun titre foncier aux Amérindiens: on distribua quantité de terres sans se soucier d'une possible occupation antérieure des autochtones du Canada. C'est au début du régime anglais que ceux-ci obtiennent une première reconnaissance de leurs droits fonciers: un document crucial, la Proclamation royale de 1763, concède aux Amérindiens tout territoire auquel ils n'auraient pas renoncé par le biais d'un traité entériné par la Couronne. En alléguant l'absence d'un traité, plusieurs nations invoquent aujourd'hui la Proclamation de 1763 pour appuyer leurs revendications territoriales.

La situation actuelle des autochtones du Canada ne préoccupe pas moins l'auteure. Elle souligne d'abord leur diversité ethnique: environ 500 000 individus répartis en 600 bandes et dix

familles linguistiques; de ce nombre, 65 pour cent vivent sur une réserve. L'essor démographique des autochtones (plus de la moitié de leur population a moins de 25 ans) n'a d'égal que leur sous-développement économique. En effet, 57 pour cent des Amérindiens aptes à travailler ne cherchent pas d'emploi. Quant aux travailleurs, ils oeuvrent surtout dans le secteur primaire, moins rentable (foresterie, piégeage, etc.). Bien sûr, la localisation périphérique de la plupart des réserves renforce le sous-développement économique.

Ce problème ira s'aggravant en raison de la grande proportion de jeunes autochtones qui chercheront demain des emplois. Le tableau de la santé n'est guère plus souriant. A titre d'indice, Renée Dupuis souligne que l'espérance de vie des autochtones a un retard de neuf ans sur la moyenne canadienne.

Les difficultés des premières nations s'inscrivent dans le cadre d'un paternalisme gouvernemental de plus en plus contesté: la Loi sur les Indiens de 1876 consacre le gouvernement fédéral comme tuteur des autochtones du Canada. Relégués au rang de mineurs, ces derniers ne pouvaient acheter une propriété, contracter un prêt dans une institution financière ou voter aux élections. Des amendements, introduits à compter de 1960, ont effacé les injustices les plus flagrantes de la Loi sans toutefois abolir le régime de tutelle.

Comme l'indique Renée Dupuis, l'abolition de ce régime ne fait pas l'unanimité parmi les Amérindiens. Si certains estiment qu'un gouvernement autochtone et local permettrait enfin d'assurer le développement des réserves, d'autres hésitent à se départir de sitôt des avantages de la tutelle fédérale, dont l'exemption fiscale.

En attendant de trancher ce dilemme, les autochtones tentent d'obtenir des gouvernements les outils (administratifs, culturels ou territoriaux) nécessaires à leur développement. D'abord, ils réclament des correctifs pour les traités

non-respectés par les gouvernements. Par exemple, les Cris du Québec estiment que la partie gouvernementale n'a pas investi dans leurs communautés le montant prévu par la Convention de Baie James. Ensuite, les autochtones exigent réparation pour les terres qu'ils ont dû céder sans traité, c'est-à-dire en violation de la Proclamation royale de 1763. Enfin, les premières nations du pays réclament le droit à l'autodétermination que l'O.N.U. reconnaît à toutes les nations.

En traitant tour à tour d'histoire, de problèmes sociaux et de négociations, Renée Dupuis réussit admirablement à faire comprendre la situation politique des autochtones. On le sent bien, elle sympathise avec ces derniers, mais son oeuvre demeure imprégnée de détachement et de nuances: elle présente le point de vue de chacun, évite les interprétations simplistes tout en faisant preuve d'une extrême concision. Si la crise d'Oka de 1990 a suscité maintes frustrations et interrogations, l'ouvrage de Renée Dupuis est tout indiqué pour un portrait éclairant et global de la question amérindienne.

Marc Jetten
Université Laval

Robert J. Steinfeld, *The Invention of Free Labor: The Employment Relation in English and American Law and Culture, 1350-1870* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press 1991).

ROBERT J. STEINFELD's book is a probing, well-researched study of an interesting phenomenon: the normative and legal repudiation of indentured servitude in the United States (particularly outside the South) during the early and mid-19th century. This cultural repudiation paralleled and followed the actual, virtual disappearance of indentured servants after decades, Steinfeld emphasizes, in which they had played a prominent role in the American economy. During the 19th cen-

tury, the author finds, Americans gradually but decisively moved to embrace the "modern" tenet that adult wage-earners should be the juridical, autonomous equals of the employers with whom they contracted; and they correspondingly rejected as illegitimate a defining feature of indentured servitude: that employers could invoke the state to legally or physically compel discontented servants to complete the terms of their service. In sanctioning the right of wage-earners to "prematurely" depart from their contracted tenure, 19th century America thus saw the "invention" and ascendancy of a doctrine of legal "free labor" that characterized and rejected indentured servitude as "involuntary servitude," virtually a form of slavery. The new free labour doctrine represented a sharp departure from "master-servant" laws and traditions that had dominated the prevailing view of indentured servitude and contractual labour in 17th and 18th century America and England (and in England through most of the 19th as well). The older, contrasting view had accepted and legitimated indentured servitude as a "normal" form of consensual, contractual labour on the grounds that the labourer "voluntarily" entered into the relationship with his employer. That the state could legally compel prematurely departing servants to complete the terms of their service — and could indeed punish servants' noncompliance with criminal incarceration — did not, in the traditional view, render indentured servitude genuinely involuntary, in any meaningful sense objectionable. In the 17th century particularly, Steinfeld finds, English and colonial labour laws failed to "unambiguously recognize" any "form of free labor in the modern sense of the term."

In describing the gradual shift in cultural attitudes and legal practices in the field of employer-wage earner relations from the 17th to the 19th century, Steinfeld makes a number of important contributions. Most arresting is his treatment of the doctrine of possessive in-

dividualism that emerged in England during the 17th century — specifically his finding that possessive individualism did not itself prove inevitably incompatible with long-standing master-servant relations. "Early modern" possessive individualism "broke sharply with the past in imagining a social universe made up of autonomous individuals whose private relationships with one another primarily involved trading goods back and forth." Yet "the logic" of possessive individualism nonetheless "actually gave unfree labor [including indentured servitude] new life" by suggesting that "as a result of this voluntary transaction between two autonomous individuals, the hirer of labor had the legal right to control, use, and enjoy the other person's energies for the term or purposes specified in the agreement."

It was not, then, in Steinfeld's view, the inexorable logic of developing market relations — as reflected in possessive individualism — that itself accounted for the gradual redefinition and repudiation of indentured servitude as unfree labour, but rather a complex of factors, including the post-Revolutionary ethos of republicanism and egalitarianism and reaction against the attempts of slaveholders in free states and territories to get around new antislavery statutes by placing blacks in still-legal indentures. While not all scholars will agree with the weight Steinfeld assigns such factors in the discrediting and decline of contractually "unfree" labour in America, one of the great strengths of the author's analysis remains its subtlety — its demonstration that the normative and legal support for contractually unfree labour always contained within it a variety of ideological and economic "tensions," and that these tensions did not grow to determine the institution's general repudiation until developments in the late 18th and 19th centuries added to the mix. Particularly sophisticated is Steinfeld's interpretation of the manner in which formally autonomous wage labour did emerge as

more economically viable and "efficient" than indentured labour.

Steinfeld goes on to maintain that the new 19th century free labour doctrine that defined indentured servitude as unfree represented a considerable gain for labourers seeking more attractive working conditions; they were no longer locked into their existing contracts. Yet the author also acknowledges that a majority of workers in 19th century America were merely exchanging one form of subordination for another. If the state no longer "directly" endorsed the authority of employers by treating the premature departures of employees as criminal acts, legislative statutes and court ruling at all levels hardly acted to offset the superior extra-legal economic power that employers continued to commonly enjoy. On the contrary, Steinfeld claims, the legal structure now acted in a variety of "indirect" ways to complement the employer's superior position — to render hollow, in some measure, the formal juridical equality that the ascendant free labour doctrine was bestowing upon wage-earners.

Steinfeld might have done more to illuminate these indirect legal means of reinforcing labour's weaker position, although he does, to be sure, discuss the tendency of courts to vindicate the employer practice of withholding wages as a way of penalizing and discouraging premature departures. More significantly, in his insistence that 19th century legal rulings represented the birth of our "modern employment relation," Steinfeld somewhat overstates the decisiveness and absoluteness with which these rulings enshrined even the formal juridical autonomy and equality of American wage-earners. The author notes the system of legal involuntary servitude that southern states imposed on freedmen in the postbellum period. But he makes no real mention of a perhaps even more fundamental 19th century exception or qualification to strict legal equality for all adult American wage-earners: the degree

to which the state continued to recognize the force of the marriage contract and to deny or at least undermine the legal title of wage-earning wives to the fruits of their labour. Steinfeld's study would have profited here by incorporating the findings of Amy Dru Stanley and other scholars. One also regrets that the author did not more directly enter into the lively debate regarding the role that forms of unfree labour — from the indentured servitude of yesterday to the contract migrant labour of today — have played in the development of western capitalist economies. That Steinfeld's own particular focus suggests this role to have been neither a simple nor a uniform one is one measure of his book's significant value.

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Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 1992).

PROFESSOR BRUCE LEVINE of the University of Cincinnati has written the best account yet of the German-American democratic left during the political crisis of the 1850s. He draws on extensive research in both German and English language sources, profiting considerably from German scholarship on the Revolution of 1848.

Three interconnected themes preoccupy Levine — the experience and influence of German immigrants, the American political revolution of the 1850s, and class formation during the early phase of the American industrial revolution. He is strongest interrelating German immigration and the transformation of American politics, weaker on how class formation affected these processes.

The core of the book is a political history of the German democratic left in

America from the late 1840s into the beginning of the Civil War. Radical craftsmen occupy center stage in his political drama. Levine distinguishes this more numerous and "plebeian" group from the educated middle-class Forty-Eighters who are familiar figures in most scholarship on German-Americans in this era.

The Forty-Eighters, both middle-class and plebeian, transplanted their culture and politics into American cities, where craftsmen, the largest group among employed Germans, provided a ready constituency for the institutions of a liberal subculture, such as the Turners and Free Men's associations. A scourge to pious Germans of all faiths, this liberal and typically free-thinking subculture was a recruiting ground for left politics. These same craftsmen and tradesmen found economic trends here that reminded them of Germany. The relevance of their experience helped German craftsmen play a prominent role in the labour movement that emerged in American cities in the 1850s. Political radicals appealed to this wider constituency of skilled workers and small proprietors, helping create a German-American version of what Levine, drawing on Eric Hobsbawm, calls the "radical democracy."

The political crisis of the 1850s, particularly the Kansas-Nebraska Act, mobilized the Forty-Eighters of all political persuasions and made them leaders of the anti-Nebraska movement. Radicals linked free soil and the fight against landed aristocrats in Europe. The radical democratic constituency provided the core of the German element of the anti-Nebraska movement, and subsequently of the Republican party: among Germans they were cross-class movements with a strong center of gravity in the craftsmen and small proprietors. As the Republican party grew between 1856 and 1860 its German base increased, the size of it depending on the extent to which local

and state Republican parties had rid themselves of nativism.

Levine's history of the German-American left in the 1850s is well researched and convincing, and his case for the large contribution of German radical democrats to the antislavery movement and to the formation of the Republican party is a significant contribution to the history of the era. The problems in his account pertain to how he relates his story to larger dimensions of American history — class formation, ethnicity, and the American democratic tradition.

Ironically, he is best analyzing class formation in Germany as he accounts for the substantial role of journeymen in the politics of the Revolution of 1848. Although he is dependent on German scholarship, he uses it well. When his immigrants arrive in the United States, his story loses much of the interplay between politics and class formation, becoming instead a more traditional political narrative, although with a significant and rewarding stress on the social history of immigrants. Even though the decline of the theme of class formation in the book probably reflects the state of American scholarship on the subject, the decline strikes the reader nonetheless.

The book would also have profited from more attention to the formation of German-American ethnic culture in the 1850s. All the Forty-Eighters, including the moderates suspicious of the radical democrats, derived great prestige among all Germans from defining German-American ethnic culture in opposition to the nativists. The prestige which moderates derived from their role in community building helped them as much as the radical democrats lead German craftsmen and tradesmen into the Republican party, and even to claim leadership of the German labour constituency after the Panic of 1857.

The most serious interpretive issue raised by Levine's book concerns the import of the Jacksonian Democratic tradition for his subject. The American

democratic political revolution took place successfully a generation before the European revolutions of 1848. German political exiles entered a democratic political system that conformed in its values, although not in all of its practice, to the ideals they had fought for in Germany. Thus their political program offered little that was new here, although there were significant changes of emphasis, especially on the positive state and defense of the rights of immigrants. What radicalized them in the United States was not so much the content of their social vision but rather the American democratic political environment and the contemporary political revolution caused by the slavery issue. In this context German radical democrats proved to be significant players because of their political skills in mobilizing a democratic movement and because of their sense of moral urgency in the defence of liberty, both of which they brought from Europe. Although the American political revolution of the 1850s led them into the Republican party, their basic political orientation toward equalitarian democracy for the little man made them, in my opinion, much more ambivalent toward the heirs of Jacksonian Democracy than Levine's account indicates. Once the slavery issue subsided this ambivalence would make them, and their constituency, much more sympathetic to the Democracy, or to labour reform parties further to the left.

Bruce Levine's book has made a significant contribution to the history of politics and immigration in the 1840s and 1850s, and his use of German scholarship is admirable in a time when the internationalization of American history is a topic in the profession. He has also made a contribution toward giving political narrative a base in social history. Historians of the civil war era should be familiar with his work.

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Price V. Fishback, *Soft Coal, Hard Choices: The Economic Welfare of Bituminous Coal Miners 1890-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press 1992).

THE FAMILIAR PICTURE of coal miners at the turn of the century is one of severe exploitation — low wages, dangerous working conditions, unsanitary living conditions in company towns, and high prices at company stores. Price Fishback's carefully researched book does not challenge the basic outline of this picture, but it does portray it in a markedly different light.

Fishback is an economist, and he uses an economist's statistical tools. He starts with the premise that, in a competitive labour market, the value of "employment packages" (wages, working conditions, and living conditions) offered by different employers should be nearly equal in value. Any employer or group of employers who offer substandard employment packages will not be able to attract workers. Fishback does not deny that the miner's lot was a hard one. He just doubts that it was a significantly different one from that of other industrial workers.

Miners had two means of maintaining or improving their standard of living. Most previous studies have focused on the activities of the miner's union, the UMWA. Mobility was also very effective. Labour turnover in non-union southern West Virginia exceeded 200 per cent some years, and turnover rates were greater than 60 per cent even in many union areas. Because miners were not forced to remain in mining, wages paid for comparable work elsewhere had a big influence on the wages paid miners. Fishback's analysis indicates that the 66 per cent of the near-doubling in miner's pay between 1890 and 1929 can be attributed to increases in the average wage in manufacturing. Much of the remainder is attributable to the presence of the UMWA.

For much of the period under study, miners' annual incomes were slightly less than other workers. They worked fewer hours, however, and so their hourly rates were higher. Even within mining, pay varied by job type. Tonnage men normally had the highest hourly earnings, but it varied widely. The day men had lower pay, but fixed pay scales and steadier work. Fishback doubts that cheating by means of screens, short weighting, and other devious methods was a major factor. Miners would have left an operator who consistently paid his workers less by any method, open or underhanded.

Mining has been a dangerous profession, and never more so than in the early part of the century. It appears that miners did place some value on safety, by requiring a premium for working in the most unsafe states. Neither state laws nor the US Bureau of Mines appear to have significantly lowered accident rates, however, though the incidence of certain types of accidents was reduced. The relative lack of concern for safety shown by the UMWA has been widely noted, and the data does not show that the degree of unionization had a significant effect on a state's accident rate. Surprisingly, the analysis did not show that states that had enacted workman's compensation legislation tended to have *higher* accident rates. Possibly the reduced consequences of having an accident encouraged miners to take more risks on the job.

Perhaps the most iconoclastic sections of the book are those devoted to company towns and stores. Folklore describes these as institutions through which the coal operators exercised tyrannical control over the day-to-day lives of the miners. Fishback again argues that the invisible hand must have tempered excesses, and the data marshalled in the text offers compelling evidence for the theory. Company store prices generally were within 10 per cent of prices at independent stores, and sanitary conditions were generally similar to those of other working-class communities. Coal

operators who provided lower quality towns did have to pay higher wages. In many cases, company ownership of housing might even be considered a service. After all, why would a miner want to own a house in an isolated area, when his livelihood depended on his own mobility?

Many coal miners' narratives have described the difference between being unionized and not as that between freedom and slavery. Fishback's analysis tends to imply that unionism's effect may not have been so great. Where union mines coexisted with non-union mines in the same state, hourly earnings were only slightly higher at union mines. Annual incomes were less for union miners, partly because of time lost during strikes. Indeed, Fishback concludes that the principal beneficiaries of strikes may have been non-striking workers in neighbouring states.

Why, then, were coal miners so passionately devoted to their union? One primary source of sharpened union sentiment may have been primarily social. As Fishback points out, workers in urban settings conflicted with employers, landlords, shopkeepers and politicians. In isolated coal towns, these entities were all one and the same — the coal operator.

Economic arguments for unionization may also have been stronger than Fishback suggests, however. Coal is a bulky commodity, which means that freight costs are often as important as production costs to the delivered price. The result is that geographically separated coalfields serve different markets, and are at least partially insulated from competition. Throughout the first decades of the century, miners in the fully-unionized Central Competitive Field of Illinois and Indiana maintained the highest hourly wages. Miners elsewhere could understand that union employers could not substantially raise wages while competing with non-union firms, but they could also see the potential benefits of full unionization. Their faith was justified when the entire industry was organized during the

1930s and 1940s, and miners became the highest-paid industrial workers in the country.

If a criticism can be made of Fishback's work, it is that he does not devote enough attention to those aspects of the coal industry that deviated from the competitive economic model. The presence of regional markets is one example. Major market distortions also developed during the spectacular coal boom at the end of World War I, and during the equally dramatic crash that followed. Observing the tremendous overcapacity and underemployment in the 1920s, Carnegie Institute economists Hamilton and Wright wrote that "the case of bituminous coal presents a strange contrast between the simplicity of the doctrine of the invisible hand and the spotted actuality of the visible industry."

Still, this book is a major contribution to an important area of labour history. The data presented in it provides a welcome context for the many narrative histories of the period, and Fishback's quantitative approach has resulted in a number of refreshing new insights. The text is also highly readable and thoroughly referenced.

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David Thoreau Wieck, *Women from Spillertown: A Memoir of Agnes Burns Wieck* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press 1992).

THE LABOUR HISTORY shelves are heavy with memoirs of the men of the coalfields and their unions, so it is good to welcome at last a substantial biography of a woman activist of the coal country. Born into a coal-mining family in 1892, Agnes Burns grew up on Easter Row in Spillertown, one of the coal camps of Little Egypt in Southern Illinois controlled by the Peabody Coal Company. On the death of her mother, she became a

surrogate mother and housekeeper for her brothers at the age of ten; at 16 she distinguished herself by earning a teacher's licence, an unusual accomplishment among miners' daughters in the district. But at 22, the year of the Ludlow Massacre, Burns quit teaching, vowing never again to teach children the pledge of allegiance to the flag. Still keeping house for the family, she was putting down old newspapers under a carpet on the floor when she spotted an advertisement for a "School for Women Organizers" in the *United Mine Workers' Journal*. While waiting for admission to the training program run by the National Women's Trade Union League of America, Burns went to work for a local labour newspaper. One of her assignments was to interview Eugene Debs; she was mightily impressed by the socialist leader and came away from that encounter with her personal hopes strengthened by political conviction.

That is just the beginning of the remarkable life story of a woman who became known as "the Mother Jones of Illinois." As an itinerant organizer in a dozen towns and cities she helped bring women workers into the labour movement. In the coalfields she supported the miners' union, but unlike the original Mother Jones, Burns was also determined to address the needs of the women of the coal country. Already at the UMW District 12 convention in 1916, Burns was making the case for recognition and organization of the women in the coalfields: "the woman in the home performs a function in our economic life that is not the least important, nor the least difficult." While she did not question the division of labour in the industry or demand membership for the miners' wives in the union, Burns challenged the coal miners to accept women as full partners in the struggles of their class: "I don't believe union men, and especially coal miners, believe an autocracy is good for any division of society, and certainly not for the home." Although the *UMW Journal* (by this time rapidly becoming a house organ for John

L. Lewis) did not accept her request to publish a woman's page, during the 1920s she edited a woman's page in Oscar Ameringer's *Illinois Miner* and wrote a column of her own under the by-line "Mrs. Lotta Work." She knew what she was talking about, for she had married the coal miner Edward Wieck and was raising a son. While dispensing practical advice of all kinds for wives and mothers, Burns continued to promote the idea of an organization for miners' wives.

The opportunity finally arrived in 1932 with the establishment in Illinois of the Progressive Miners of America, another of those desperate local attempts to break away from the UMW machine of the early Lewis era. The result was a time of bitter conflict in the coalfields as the companies took advantage of the union rivalry and the economic depression to break contracts and bring in scabs. It was as if West Virginia conditions had suddenly arrived in the union stronghold of Illinois. From an isolated farmhouse where she and her coal-miner husband were scraping out a difficult living on the edges of the industry selling eggs at ten cents a dozen, Burns was catapulted into the leadership of the PMA's Illinois Women's Auxiliary. After the founding meetings she was particularly proud that this was not a *Ladies'* auxiliary — "One after another got up in the convention and said there was no reason why we couldn't be ladies just because we were miners' wives. The argument about parasites, etc., influenced a minority but to get it over I had to use the Bible, wherein, I reminded them, the word *lady* is never used!" The Women's Auxiliary provided practical forms of sisterhood: "setting up strikers' soup kitchens, making quilts to raffle for relief, producing labor plays, singing labor songs, conducting labor educational classes...." They also assembled on picket lines at the pitheads and marched in face of mine guards, police, clubs and tear gas; one of their number, Emma Cummerlato, was killed when company police riddled the miners' homes with bullets. Within a

few months the Women's Auxiliary had organized more than 50 chapters and in January 1933 they marched 10,000 strong, in white uniforms and red scarves, on the state capitol at Springfield to demand the restoration of civil rights in the coalfields. It was all too much for John L. Lewis, who went before UMW meetings and lampooned the Progressive miners for hiding behind the skirts of women. Burns had her revenge on Lewis when they both appeared before a state hearing a few months later and she may well have been one of his few opponents to leave John L. speechless. After Lewis had delivered his grandiloquent rhetoric for two hours, Burns briefly described the hunger and death in the homes of miners betrayed by the UMW; the last words of a dying miner's wife in Christian County, she reported, were curses for John L. Lewis. Lewis rarely allowed himself to be riled by his critics, but this time he lunged at her with clenched fists and had to be restrained.

These pioneering years came to a sudden end in 1933, when Burns stepped down as leader of the Women's Auxiliary, apparently a victim of internal union politics who placed more faith in mobilization of the membership than in waiting for favourable intervention by the courts and the state. The following year she and her son moved to New York to join her husband, who was now black-listed from the coal mines and taking up a position at the Russell Sage Foundation as an authority on the coal industry. It was a natural decision for her to make, for her feminism was not only one of individual autonomy but also of family and class solidarity. The opportunity met their needs. In New York Agnes remained "in the struggle," celebrated by liberals such as Edmund Wilson and lending her support to united front causes, but out of the coal country her contributions were less distinctive.

The story of Agnes Burns Wieck is not the typical biography of a miner's wife. Her unusual talents as an organizer

and agitator and her determination to exert control over the conditions of her life took her down unfamiliar roads. Her decisions were made early in life, and although she became a miner's wife herself in 1921, her marriage to Edward Wieck provided her with a supportive partnership with another working-class intellectual. These hardworking unpretentious radicals were the kind of people who helped provide what the author calls the "ethical capital" for American radicalism in the 20th century. In this book their son, whom they named for Thoreau, has written a thoughtful appreciation of his mother and a very useful study which helps focus our attention on the women of the coal country.

David Frank
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Ralph E. Luker, *The Social Gospel in Black and White: American Racial Reform, 1885-1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1991)

THIS IS A BOLD, ambitious and, at its core, a fundamentally flawed book dealing with the American Social Gospel movement and so-called "Racial Reform" during the 1885 and 1912 period. Ralph E. Luker contends that the Social Gospel's "primary mode of interest" in the late 19th century was to be found in the realm of missionary education to the Southern Blacks. A second influential tradition stressed the importance of African redemption and a third focused on the civil rights of the recently emancipated Afro-Americans. During the first two decades of the 20th century, Luker sees Protestant personalism not only neutralizing racism in American thought but also preparing the way for the influential Black and White Social Gospel preaching which helped to shape the thought of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Luker spends far too little time in trying to define the Social Gospel within

its American context. His definition is so broadly conceived that virtually any social concern is equated with the Social Gospel. Little attempt has been made to come to grips with the various traditions making up the American Social Gospel movement and their links to a dynamic Protestantism during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Social Gospel was very much a changing spectrum of belief — stretching from conservative on one extreme to very radical on the other. And, of course, the Social Gospel significantly evolved during the 1885 to 1912 period and there were, moreover, very important regional and denominational differences within the movement.

Luker has tended to generalize from too few sources to produce too many sweeping statements about the American Social Gospel movement and the race question. Special emphasis is placed on the views of Lyman Abbott, George Washington Cable, Joseph Cook, W.E.B. DuBois, Washington Gladden, Athicus Haygood, C.H. Parkhurst, Josiah Strong, A.W. Tourgée, and Booker T. Washington. But inadequate attention has been devoted to their religious views and how these explicitly and implicitly might have impinged on their views of race. Though Luker, early in his book, emphasizes the importance of Christian post-millennialism, he fails to integrate this theme of religious and secular progress adequately into his account. And, of greater importance, he seems to avoid the crucial question — why so many white Social Gospel leaders found it so difficult to accept Afro-Americans as equals? Why was their Christianity so easily influenced by prevailing racist views and stereotypes other than by the essential Christian gospel?

It is noteworthy that Luker has not discussed at greater length the race views of Social Gospel leaders such as John E. White, the Atlantic Baptist minister, M. Ashby Jones, the Georgia preacher, Lily Hardy Hammond, the wife of the President of Paine College and S.C. Mitchell

the vociferous Virginian Baptist critic of lynching. Perhaps this is asking far too much of an already overly wide-ranging and sprawling book. Luker may have attempted too much in this book; this weakness, however, may be a strength especially for other scholars working in the field.

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Dorothy Sue Cobble, *Dishing It Out: Waitresses and Their Unions in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 1991)

UNTIL RECENTLY SYSTEMATIC discussions of service work have been notably absent from labour and women's history. Fortunately, with the appearance of important contributions by such scholars as Dorothy Cobble this is changing. *Dishing it Out*, the winner of the 1992 Herbert G. Gutman Award, makes a substantial, and highly readable, contribution to the study of women's work and culture in the service sector. It refines and deepens understanding of both working-class feminism and the complexity of craft unionism. Cobble succeeds admirably in bringing to life thousands of women who previously have won no more than a casual reference, at best, from historians.

Like many contemporary North American women, I waited on tables to put myself through school. I enjoyed the jobs and what seemed at the time like very good money. My mother who had waitressed for many years, and served as a shop steward, before becoming a school teacher, provided a ready source of advice on the culture of skills of the restaurant trade. Yet, for all the very large numbers of women who, at one time or another in their lives, shared our experience, academics have been remarkably slow in acknowledging the strength and vitality of that diverse community of labourers. Cobble, an associate professor at a

Rutgers' Labour Education Centre, who comes from a working-class family and who spent her own time waitressing, gathers together an impressive range of union sources, government publications, newspapers, interviews, and secondary material to uncover the rich world of America's female servers. It is a complex and instructive story which she tells with sympathy and passion.

Dishing It Out is delivered in four parts. Part I deals with "The Occupational Community of Waitressing," with chapter one describing "The Rise of Waitressing: Feminization, Expansion, and Respectability: and chapter two reviewing "Work Conditions and Work Culture." Part II, "Waitresses Turn to Economic and Political Organizations" sees chapter three examining "The Emergence and Survival of Waitress Unionism, 1900-1930" and chapter four exploring "The Flush of Victory, 1930-55." Part III takes up the question of "The Waitress as Craft Unionist," with chapter five devoted to "the accomplishments of waitress labour organizations" and chapter six analyzing "the organizational dilemmas waitresses faced in structuring an institution suited for their particular workplace and industry." Part IV, "Controversies over Gender" has chapter seven examine how "men and women themselves constructed the gendered labour force" and chapter eight document women's effort to control their union and their ultimate failure to win power within the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE). The Epilogue chronicles the decline of waitress unionism, especially from the 1960s to the 1980s. Unions fell victim to the rise of chain 'eateries,' the decline of a sororal culture, the growth in part-timers, and the appearance of intergenerational conflict between veterans who prized same-sex locals and newcomers who were determined to break traditions which they believed enshrined inequality. Useful tables and notes follow.

The feminization and expansion of food services in the 20th century brought millions of American customers together with a respectable, largely full-time and white, female labour force. The truck stop, the lunch counter, the hotel restaurant, and the dinner club saw female wage-earners playing a multitude of roles for their clients — “scolding wife, doting mother, sexy mistress, or sweet, admiring daughter.” Like the personae they assumed waitress were single and married, childless and mothers. They included youngsters and grandmothers, who regularly moved from one setting to another as looks, physical stamina, skill, and job opportunities dictated. Few waitresses permanently escaped waged labour with marriage. For many, like the women my mother worked alongside, working tables became a decades-long career.

In the course of seeking enough in wages and tips to support themselves and their families, waitresses developed skills and traditions, which distinguished the generation of women who by World War I increasingly dominated restaurant work, especially at its lower paid and less prestigious levels. Taking great pride in their ability to serve food quickly and courteously, waitresses also understood that their craft demanded the ability to read and, if possible, manipulate the customer, in the process improving appetites, tempers, and gratuities. While their respectability was compromised, in some observers' eyes by their close interaction with a wide variety of strangers, waitresses grew used to insisting on being treated respectfully by both public and employer. When they met rudeness and unfairness, a variety of informal practices were put in place, passed down from oldtimers to newcomers. I remember well how liquids and foods ended up in harassing clients' laps. Troublesome bosses found themselves short food and eventually help. Except in the worst of times, good waitresses were almost always in demand. Like other obstreperous tradespeople they might

well tramp in search of new horizons and a better deal.

Strong personal ties and a forceful group culture underpinned powerful activist traditions, unmatched in women's trades except perhaps in the garment industry, which flourished among waitresses. Beginning in 1900 waitresses formed all-female unions, first in Seattle, and then across much of the American west, midwest, and northeast in particular. Women were also highly active in mixed locals of waiters, cooks, and bartenders, notably with HERE. Whatever their affiliation, largely autonomous locals gave women ample opportunity to elect their own officers and develop their own traditions of meeting and protest. Outspoken leaders were regularly groomed from the occupation's rank-and-file. Cobble's discussion of regional variations is especially fascinating, and all too unusual in much US scholarship.

Female activists were not reluctant to contest craftsmen's claim to a monopoly of the family wage. They spoke with experience about families whose most basic welfare depended on their earnings. Few could afford to be romantic or naive about the economic security offered by husbands. When they campaigned for repeal of protective legislation, including night work, waitress unionists broke again with male colleagues attempting to protect their turf, and almost as importantly, with historic allies in the Women's Trade Union League and the US Women's Bureau. The latter were both long-time supporters of restrictive laws governing female employment. In the course of battles with bosses and male unionists which were as hard-fought and as heroic as any steel-worker or logger might have desired, waitresses asserted their right to a decent wage and equal treatment. Until well after World War II victories were commonplace but, as the Epilogue painfully describes, old traditions proved finally unable to meet the challenge of a changing industry and workforce. Unions

stumbled hurt badly and as yet have failed to recover.

And yet Cobble closes, appropriately enough, with the observation that "the struggles, compromises, and victories of waitress unionists" offer valuable instruction to those who today seek ways to ensure equality and fairness for working women. In *Dishing It Out* the workers, and the women, of the past still have much to teach their successors, not to mention historians.

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Fraser M. Ottanelli, *The Communist Party of the United States from the Depression to World War II* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press 1991).

MOST HISTORIES of non-ruling Communist Parties fall into two categories: they either emphasize links with Moscow and dependence on Soviet funds, directives and organizational models, or they center on Communist efforts to create a militant mass movement capable of challenging the established order and various brands of reformism. Such an approach usually involves a description of the roots of radicalism in the society in which the CP emerged, downplaying the role that the Comintern, Cominform and other Soviet-led agencies played in cajoling or forcing CPs to follow certain policies, and much emphasis on the struggles that the Communists fought on the factory floor and elsewhere in an effort to mobilize public opinion. The result of this approach is that the CP in question emerges as just one of the numerous expressions of re-occurring defiance of capitalism.

Ottanelli's monograph falls into that category. It is based on a variety of sources that include pamphlets, newspapers, doctoral dissertations, interviews with Communist veterans and former members of the CPUSA, government documents

dealing with the surveillance of radicals, and research in archival collections such as the Earl Browder papers. The sixty pages of Ottanelli's notes place all students and would-be students of the CPUSA in his debt.

Like many other students of American Communism, Ottanelli has adopted the narrative approach. Chapters on the impact of the "Class against class" tactic precede those that concentrate on the Popular Front period. A mere fifteen pages cover the tribulations of the American Communists during World War II. In the process the author has put together a great deal of useful material, much of which was not easily available until recently. It also enables him to pinpoint with greater accuracy the strengths of the CPUSA at a given moment and its appeal in organizations of interest to liberals, left-wingers and non conformists. According to Ottanelli, the Party lost fewer members after the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact than other students of American Communism have maintained. Equally interesting is his claim that the American Communists were more innovative and less dependent on Soviet precepts and experience before 1935, let alone after the seventh congress of the Comintern, than most historians have assumed. His thesis would have profited from a perusal of the writings of Soviet experts writing on the United States in Russian in the 1930s. By following certain clues in Soviet publications and making a more determined effort to discover when and where certain initiatives were first suggested and taken, Ottanelli would have enhanced the value of his contribution and advanced our knowledge of the CPUSA well beyond the explanations put forward by Theodore Draper, Irving Howe and Harvey Klehr.

More disappointing is Ottanelli's failure to pull together the data he has gathered about the methods that the anti-Communists used to thwart or at least reduce Communist agitation among workers, intellectuals, blacks and those

ethnic groups in which the Communists had gained a foothold by the end of the 1920s. Instead, he explains in capsule form why the Communists had not won this or that strike, while the whole subject of Communism in East European communities in the United States is largely ignored. The time has come when no history of the CPUSA will be considered complete unless we learn something about the impact of the Catholic Church in the struggle against American Communists, the collaboration of police forces in the anti-Communist drive, the co-operation between police officials and employers, and the contacts the latter had with union bosses equally eager to ward off Communist inroads. The combination of such powerful forces goes far in explaining the constraints under which the American Communists laboured and what it felt to be a CPUSA activist in the 1930s.

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Sonya O. Rose, *Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press 1992).

THE WORD GENDER has become something of a buzz-word in recent years. It has replaced the word sex, sometimes for no apparent reason, sometimes as a euphemism and sometimes as a matter of fashion. There is a real danger of its becoming merely a slightly more open alternative to sex and so of losing some of the very important historical, sociological and philosophical insights contained in the distinction between the two words. Sonya Rose's book has a good claim to be the best historical examination of the concept which has yet appeared, and provides an insightful illustration of its particular value for enlarging our understanding of labour history.

It is of course not a new idea that many widely accepted differences between male and female are social rather than biological in construction. As Stendhal noted in an often-quoted passage — "A Paris idler who once took a walk in the Versailles Gardens concluded that, judging from all he saw, the trees grow ready trimmed." Ivan Illich's book on gender published ten years ago opened up many of the questions which are considered in more recent essays, including Rose's, and established the use of the term as a valuable one. To take the question beyond the old nature/nurture arguments and out of the polemical arena of contemporary politics we need work which demonstrates the importance for both sexes of the recognition of the influence of gender in specific historical contexts.

Sonya Rose looks at the light thrown by an examination of some of the effects of gender on the experience of working communities during the period of the mechanization and urbanization of industry in 19th century England. Her own research has been on specific industries in the second half of the century, and it is here that her work is most suggestive and illuminating. It is a short book of under two hundred pages of text, and is best read first as an essay since the extensive footnotes can easily distract from a fairly closely argued theme. The bibliography is in any case limited, and very little of the material she uses as illustration is controversial. The sections of more detailed research into the Kidderminster carpet weavers and the Lancashire textile trades can then be re-read both as valuable pieces of empirical research in their own right and as models for the sensitive posing of new questions to familiar categories of data. They serve both to illustrate the argument, and to demonstrate new insights into the extent to which the forms of paid labour and of family life in the districts being studied were affected by prejudices and notions of male and female as well as by class

relations and the exigencies of the market and the search for profit. The combination of theoretical discussion with the demonstration that the method involved in the theory can indeed shed important new light on received views of history make this a book that could be recommended unreservedly as a text book on the history of women in the period.

There are however, criticisms to be made in places both of the argument and the presentation. Three points in particular raise more general questions. One is the tendency to make or imply generalizations about all forms of employment of women from the experience of the textile areas. In agriculture and domestic service, both of which employed many more people than either carpet weaving or cotton manufacture, the situation of women exercising authority over men as well as over other women was by no means uncommon; indeed in the latter occupation it was general. Power relationships and gender relationships varied between industries and trades, and there were, even in the later years of the 19th century, trades like those of the chain and nail-makers of the Black Country in which older patterns of domestic industry persisted. If the dominating ideologies of domesticity and the "family wage" influenced these trades, the influence cannot be extrapolated from the gender relations of the textile industries. A second query is the limited treatment of sex. The household was indeed an economic unit and much of its rationale may be seen in terms of reproduction and survival; it was nevertheless also the location for most women of sexual activity. In the frontier conditions of some of the factory towns women needed protection against what would now be called sexual harassment, as Rose notes in passing, and this may well have reinforced the search for work in the home or small workshop rather than the mill. For most women of child-bearing age sex brought babies or miscarriages, and much of their lives in these years included not only the care of

children by pregnancy, breast-feeding, prolapse and a host of lesser gynaecological problems which made full-time work outside the home difficult or impossible. Dominating attitudes and teaching by the churches and medical authorities on birth control and family planning in general contributed as much as did the resistance of skilled unionists to labour dilution to the limitation of women's freedom to choose the sort of work they did. The third point is the underlying persistence of an ideal contrasting model to the family wage gained from a single well-paid earner.

A three-phase model of 19th-century family life has sometimes been proposed consisting of firstly the domestic system, under which productive work was home-based and women's reproductive and child-rearing work was combined with a contribution to the family income as productive workers (this was not, however, as Rose seems to imply at one stage, the same for the women as earning their own wage from work done outside the home); next the single provider system which was dominant as an ideal in the years under discussion, if not in fact achieved or achievable for the great majority; followed by the two wage system which becomes increasingly predominant in the present century. Hovering behind much of the discussion of work and wages in Rose's book, as in many other 19th century studies, is the platonic ideal of a two wage-family, with the implication that those husbands who strove to earn enough to support their wives and children were engaged in a male conspiracy to keep women tied to home and hearth against their will. In this connection, the idea that the Chartists deliberately trimmed their program to include only men in the franchise as part of a male design to drive women back into domesticity has surfaced in more than one place recently. The Chartists' aim of universal suffrage usually meant adult male suffrage, but there was plenty of talk about extending political rights to women

in the movement; some of the supporters of women's suffrage certainly restricted the aim to a vote for unmarried or widowed females, but others, including some of the women, looked forward to equal political rights. In the post-Chartist years when free traders and socialists were denigrating political reform in favour of arguments about the primacy of economics, the leaders of the skilled trade unions and the working-class political reformers trimmed their program to the realpolitik aim of household suffrage. Nevertheless, many of the ex-Chartist leaders, like Jones and Holyoake, continued to support the political rights of women during the 'fifties and were to be found in the 'sixties on the platforms of the earliest meetings of the modern movement.

The Chartists and most industrial and political reformers in the 19th century certainly supported the idea of a "family wage." The term can be confusing. In the pre-mechanized and early industrial periods it meant wage earned by the entire family; even where the unmarried daughters went into factory work they were paid on the assumption that their wage was added to that of the other wage-earners in the family, whose income had in the past derived from communal, if no less gender-specific, work in some kind of domestically-based system. Recent use of the expression, however, and Rose's use throughout, is as a wage earned by one full-time wage earner whose dependent wife and children were supported by his wage alone. As she rightly points out, this was rarely achieved in working-class households, indeed her suggestion of 20 per cent of such families achieving it is probably optimistic. But there is little evidence of married women with children opposing it as a concept. Married women looking for work in factories did so because their husband's wage did not provide for them, and the union battles for higher wages and shorter hours (which latter often meant higher wages in the form of overtime rather than an actual

reduction in the working day) were supported by wives in areas like the mining districts with tenacity and enthusiasm which equalled that of their husbands. Behind the discussion of the family wage appears to be a platonic ideal of a working family in which domestic duties (other, presumably, than actual childbearing) are equally shared and both partners work outside the home for equal wages. Even in the modern world of family planning, small families and state nursery provision, the assumption that women will all choose a higher income rather than the care of their own young children is not unchallenged. In the days when housework was far more physically onerous and time-consuming and when working hours were erratic for waged workmen and women, it was not only men who proposed that a man's wage should provide for his wife and young children. I have argued elsewhere that women did lose certain kinds of power and authority in the 19th century, and I agree with much of what Rose has to say on the subject. The work available to married women got lower in status and reward as the century went on, both comparatively and in the main absolutely. But this applied to the two-wage family in which the child was brought to the factory to be suckled by its working mother as much as to the family in which the women and children worked under the new "domestic system" at sweated and unpaid work. Rose's section on homework is one of the best parts of the book, but it demonstrates both the extent to which employers exploited the need of the great majority of women to add to the family income and the desire on the part of the women to remain in control, tenuous though that must often have been, of their homes and children, rather than to take better-paid work outside the home.

It is a strength of this book that it involves the reader in a series of running arguments as well as adding to the understanding of crucial questions about the nature of industrial society. On the whole

the tone is open and not didactic, the argument is clear and refreshingly free from jargon. I hope that it will appear in paperback soon and so become more accessible to students and general readers.

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Howard F. Gospel, *Markets, Firms, and the Management of Labour in Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992).

THE RISE OF THATCHERISM was fuelled by the weak relative performance of British labour productivity since the 1950s. The new right was quick to blame labour, its unions and government intervention for Britain's poor performance. Over the last decade, studies of the British economy have painted a very different picture of what went wrong in the 1960s and 1970s. While there is no doubt that labour unrest and restrictive labour practices negatively affected British productivity, these actions were in large part a response to decline rather than a cause of decline. A large body of research suggests that the relative decline of the British economy began in the last decades of the 19th century and had more to do with actions, or the lack of action, by employers, than with restrictions by labour.

Gospel, who has been working on the history of British labour management for some time, brings together much of this literature. Focusing on the process by which labour time is converted into effort, his work benefits from drawing on the different traditions of labour history and management history. He describes how and why 19th century British employers relied on market based labour management structures, how they externalized many aspects of the labour management function, and their inability to adapt this strategy to the new conditions of mass production in the 20th century.

At the core of the analysis is the distinction between a labour management strategy in which senior managers of a firm externalize functions such as hiring labour, training and the supervision of production versus a labour management strategy which internalizes these functions under the control of senior managers. An externalized strategy relies heavily on market mediated structures and in particular spot labour markets to provide a sufficient supply of motivated workers, with the appropriate skills at a reasonable wage. An internalized strategy relies more on internal coordination, long term employment relationships, firm specific training schemes and internal job ladders. A strategy of externalization is argued to be less suitable to large organizations engaged in mass production than the strategy of internalization.

Gospel suggests that the management strategy adopted is heavily influenced by the nature of labour and product markets. In Britain, the early abundance of skilled and unskilled labour, the diversity of products supplied by most firms, the fragmented nature of product markets and the slow growth of the economy from the late 19th century on encouraged employers to externalize the management of labour to maintain maximum flexibility. In the United States and Germany, the less abundant supply of labour and the earlier shift to standardized and mass consumer goods, encouraged managers to internalize more of the labour management function to gain greater control over it. The irony, from the perspective of the new right, is that Britain relied too heavily and for too long on market mediated structures and failed to move towards planning and internal coordination which propelled the United States and Germany to the top of the labour productivity league tables.

The historical narrative begins with a chapter on labour management in 19th century Britain, an era of small family managed firms. The abundant supply of labour and the need to maintain flexibility

in the face of constantly changing product demand encouraged and allowed British employers to take a *laissez-faire* approach to labour management and to treat workers as a commodity regulated in much the same way as another input into the production process. Managers were poorly trained and had limited organizational capacity and hence where possible externalized activities. Day to day management of activity on the shopfloor was delegated to sub-contractors, junior foremen and skilled workers. Training was delegated to skilled workers through the apprenticeship system. The employment relationship was short-run, with wages set by short-run market conditions and employment levels reflecting short run supply and demand considerations. Collective bargaining was delegated to employers associations which created mechanisms for resolving disputes at a national level external to the firm itself.

Much of the rest of the book is an account of the slow and uneven progress towards the internalization of labour management in Britain. As competitive pressures in product markets increased towards the end of the century, British employers tried to insulate themselves through trade associations and other collusive activities rather than raising productivity by internalizing labour management as was the case in Germany and the United States. It was not until the 1960s or 1970s, when competition in both product and labour markets became much tighter, that we begin to see better trained and more professional management in Britain, a reduced dependence on shopfloor workers to manage the production process, the shift to single employer contract negotiations, and the rise of internal labour markets.

But progress was piecemeal and slow. The British economy continued to be plagued by weak management structures and under investment in physical and human capital. The weak shift toward multi-divisional organizations, with strong central control of strategic

decisions and delegation of operational decisions to product divisions, limited the capacity to plan and co-ordinate large scale activity. British employers were forced to rely on labour intensification and reductions in wages to maintain competitiveness, a strategy which gave rise to much of the labour unrest of the 1960s and 1970s.

This is a solid structural analysis, showing little if any deference to post-structural critiques. Labour productivity is a function of labour management strategies and structures, which are themselves a response to conditions in labour and product markets. But one wonders if too much is being asked of labour and product markets in explaining the direction of the economy over the last century or more. Implicit to the analysis is the assumption that conditions in labour and product markets are fixed external to the strategies of employers. A close reading of the success of American automobile makers suggests that both labour and product markets were themselves the target of individual and collective strategies adopted by managers. Once one concedes that British managers could have altered the nature of some of the markets they faced, one needs to look somewhat further afield for explanations of the persistence of the British approach to managing labour. Here gender, cultural and ideological factors may have been important. Nonetheless, Gospel has provided a useful analysis, one which suggests that once the British economy adopted a certain approach to managing labour it was difficult to change directions. It is also one which moves us away from the simplistic labour bashing which is at the heart of much of the new right critique of post-World War II economies.

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Mark D. Steinberg, *Moral Communities: The Culture of Class Relations in the Russian Printing Industry, 1867-1906* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1992).

STUDIES OF THE WORKING CLASS dominate the Western historiography of late 19th and early 20th century Russia. There is a certain irony to this fact given that the Russian proletariat never accounted for more than three to four per cent of the population prior to the 1917 Revolution. Yet since the early 1970s, social historians frequently of an academic Marxist bent, have exerted a decisive influence on the direction of the field and, accordingly, have sought to revise our understanding of the Revolution. Their aim has been to illuminate the social nature of the Bolshevik Revolution and they have done so by examining its base, the working class. Although much of this work is extremely valuable and of the highest scholarly standards, studies of Russian workers now saturate the field to such an extent that the area has become static and unenlightening, not to mention boring. It is therefore an event when a new and exciting monograph on the working class appears which has the power to stimulate new ways of thinking about workers, class, and culture in early 20th century Russia.

Moral Communities is an innovative and original contribution to the literature. In this work, Mark Steinberg seeks to explore the evolution of social identities among printing workers and their employers. The author begins with an analysis of the world of printing prior to the 1905 Revolution. He then demonstrates that the social identities of both employers and employees derived from the ideal of a moral community. For employers, this community, often compared to the family, was intended to strengthen authority and discipline in the factory while at the same time serving as a "euphemization" and therefore legitimization of power relations for a

social group always ambivalent about capitalist entrepreneurship. For labour, the ideal of community helped workers to recognize their own identities separate from their employers. The concept of moral community gave "meaning, especially ethical meaning, to [workers' and employers'] economic and social lives." (2) In the second part of the book, Steinberg concludes that the 1905 Revolution served as a transformative event in the evolution of both workers' and employers' social identities. In the course of 1905, class identities, struggle, and separateness crystallized as workers and employers engaged in an intense economic and political struggle. Yet even in 1905, the ideal of a moral community lingered on. For workers, the new moral community became the idea of a united class. According to Steinberg, "[t]he events of 1905 ... marked less the ruin of a conflictless moral community than the continued evolution in the way in which conflict was structured and understood." (159)

Two related themes which dominate this book are the importance of ethical content in social identity and the idea of *kul'turnost'* in workers' lives. The centrality of ethics, of dignity, perhaps as much as conflict itself, shaped workers' identity of themselves as a class. The idea of *kul'turnost'*, an untranslatable term for good manners, material acquisitions, and a kind of bourgeois respectability, was stressed in the thinking of what Steinberg calls the "moral vanguard" of the printing workers — that is, the minority of highly literate, "conscious" workers. *Kul'turnost'* meant, in the everyday reality of most workers' lives, self-respect and dignity. Even after 1905, *kul'turnost'* remained a central concern for many printing workers. This idea is important not only for an understanding of prerevolutionary social identities, but also for the understanding of *postrevolutionary* social identities. While the political and social content of the idea of class shrunk away under Stalin, the concept of *kul'turnost'* became

central, as an incentive for workers to aspire to the "good life" and as a model of behaviour for those former workers who became part of the "the new class."

Mark Steinberg's monograph is informed by the new methodologies of cultural history practised in other national areas. In his work, Steinberg is sensitive to issues of ritual, custom, language, and everyday life as he explores social identities, resistance, and work culture. His work is influenced by a broad range of scholarship, including the work of such seminal figures as E.P. Thompson, Natalie Zemon Davis, and James C. Scott. Steinberg's research into Russian sources is flawless, demonstrating the mark of a major scholar. The book is well-written and will be read by experts in Russian history as well as by scholars in the labour and cultural histories of other national areas. In short, *Moral Communities* is an extremely significant contribution to the literature by a major new scholar in the field.

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Tiziano Treu, ed., *Participation in Public Policy-Making: The Role of Trade Unions and Employers' Associations* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 1992).

THIS BOOK CONSISTS of a set of conference papers which were prepared for the International Industrial Relations Association study group on 'Tripartism and concerted actions and economic policies'. The contributions share one common theme, namely the current state and future prospects of what has variously been termed neo-corporatism, concertation, or tripartism.

This book shares many of the drawbacks, but only some of the advantages which are usually associated with published proceedings. A wide array of countries are surveyed, including Italy, Sweden, Ireland, the EEC as a whole,

Australia, Latin America, and Japan. Unfortunately, the studies appear to have been presented in a simple random order, with little or no editorial effort having been exercised in organizing the book into either regional or thematic subsections. This is not to say that such a presentation could not have been undertaken. Various contentious thematic issues do emerge from a reading of the contributions, but these are not highlighted in Treu's introduction or in his editing of the book. To my mind, he missed a real opportunity to present a more coherent volume.

I would like to suggest that the contributions can usefully be placed within three general categories. While most of the papers acknowledge that societal corporatism, (i.e., socio-economic decision-making through the coordinated interest group representation of unions, employers' associations and governments), has fallen out of favour, there is dissension on what is emerging to fill the vacuum created by the demise of neo-corporatism. One group of contributors argues for the re-emergence of corporatism in new guises. A second, although smaller number of analysts, to quote Streeck, view corporatism and the accompanying forms of tripartism, as very much "a matter of the past." Finally, various national and regional case studies are presented, updating the reader on developments in specific settings.

A number of papers draw attention to the emergence of neo-corporatism in the early 1970s. For Treu, (chapter one), this was an attempt by national polities to come to grips with the deficiencies of an increasingly unruly industrial relations' pluralism, as evidenced in growing levels of industrial conflict and wage-price spirals. Streeck, in the most thoughtful paper of the collection, (chapter five), takes this analysis further. Accordingly, neo-corporatism is best viewed as "national responses to the catastrophic de-institutionalization of the capitalist world economy." (106) In some settings, social

concertation worked relatively well, in others (eg., the UK), it was a disaster. This largely depended on how well the society in question was suited for the institutionalization of macro-corporatism.

This point is further elaborated in chapters two and eight. In the latter, Slomp notes the existence of Northern and Southern European as well as British models of industrial relations. Only the former was well suited for neo-corporatist regulation. In chapter two, three models are also presented, ranging from highly centralized forms of collective bargaining between strong union and employer federations to highly decentralized forms with weak collective organizations. It is those societies which are caught in-between, (i.e., decentralized systems, but with strong unions) that face a real dilemma. It is here, that the turn to market regulation was spearheaded.

Market regulated industrial relations spelt the death knell for societal concertation. In lieu of strong, highly centralized organizations co-ordinating their affairs under the auspices of a proactive state, decentralization, deunionization, and internationalization/regionalization became the operant conditions for the conduct of labour-capital relations. Oddly though, a number of authors in this volume suggest that this is giving rise to new forms of corporatism at the level of the firm, region, or industry. Treu refers to this as 'flexible re-regulation.' In his analysis, the unions which have fared the best over this period of readjustment are those which have broadened their mandate to take in participation with management in technological innovation, labour market policy, and economic stabilization. Others take Treu's model of 'supply-side decentralized corporatism' even further. According to Mitchell and Zaidi, (chapter three), the shift to market regulated economies allows for the development of a micro level corporatism at the level of the firm, to address new employee concerns. A similar position is adopted by Slomp, who argues that growing

decentralization and fragmentation demands greater levels of legislated standards and hence more co-ordination between business, labour and government. Finally Negrelli, (chapter four), in a rather confused paper, argues that new forms of corporatism which traverse the enterprise and regional levels are emerging in countries such as Italy. Furthermore, the seeds of a new form of social solidarity, (à la Durkheim), are to be found within them.

The argument that defunct forms of corporatist regulation are now reappearing at the level of the enterprise, in a new political-economy, is totally unconvincing. Why term various, often corporate-inspired, plans for employee representation, corporatism? The conditions for the latter, which include a noticeable state presence in social bargaining, as well as a strong union presence, are, as several of these authors suggest, not to be found. The new corporatism, which is being sought out appears to be premised more on wishful thinking and revision than on anything else!

The papers by Streeck (chapter five), and Pestoff (chapter thirteen, on Sweden), present a far more plausible scenario. Streeck is concerned with what future neo-corporatism has in a unified Europe. His answer is, very little. Europe 1992 is a commercial not a social union. Labour is simply too weak and regionalized to impose anything more progressive, while business doesn't require any form of supra-national concertation, given that it is already well represented in Brussels. Finally, the new European super-state it turns out, is, at most, a weak 'pre-New Deal liberal state,' incapable of levelling social conditions across the community in an upward direction. For Streeck the more likely alternative, then, are various, diminished labour movements, caught between the scylla of globalisation and the charybdis of regionalism. "It is not easy to see how the disabling effects on union movements of the erosion of institutional supports at national level should be

counterbalanced by unions turning to the regional level where such supports have never existed." (116) Observers of NAFTA take note!

Such tendencies are well documented in the case of Sweden by Pestoff. Here the retreat from the 'negotiated economy' is being led by the Swedish employers' federation, the SAF, and includes withdrawal from centralized collective bargaining, as well as from participation in agencies which regulate consumer prices and housing rents. The decline in social concertation in Sweden has coincided precisely with closer integration into the EEC, a trend that according to Streeck, is also likely to be witnessed in those societies that started out with a lower degree of tripartism than Sweden.

The other national studies included in the volume range considerably in quality. Generally, they are uncritical. Some, such as Brown's chapter on Australia or Shimada's on Japan are informative. Other chapters such as Cella, (chapter six), Zapata, (chapter seven) and Morgado, (chapter twelve), on Latin America are mainly apologetic.

Overall, potential readers of this volume are best advised to be selective. Streeck's chapter is highly worthwhile, as is Pestoff. Thereafter, it is a question of how much discretionary reading time the reader has.

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Roger I. Simon, Don Diplo, and Arleen Schenke, *Learning Work: A Critical Pedagogy of Work Education* (Toronto: OISE Press 1991).

ONE OF THE NEW labour history's most significant contributions to contemporary culture is an understanding of the historical contingency of the social relations of work, and an understanding, consequently, of the potential for change in those relations. *Learning Work* is a handbook

for teachers of work education who share and value those understandings.

Rooted in the discourse of critical pedagogy, *Learning Work* provides a rationale and outline for a course centred around critical reflection on work experiences. The authors are committed to enhancing "the ability of students to increase their effective participation in determining the practices that define their working lives." (8) To that end, they juggle the potentially contradictory aims of assisting students to master what is required to become competent workers, and to examine critically the "bases, consequences, and alternatives" of such requirements. Thus, they offer preparation for work, and preparation for collective struggle in the workplace. Particularly because students enrolled in work education courses are likely to be headed for jobs with relatively less control over workplace processes and social relations than those who are not, the authors' task is not an easy one.

Following an introductory section which explores the theoretical basis for the program, each of the chapters includes descriptions of classroom activities, teaching notes with guidance on handling problems in classroom dynamics, and questions to help stimulate discussion. All of the suggestions are predicated upon a work education program where students divide their time between the classroom, where they engage in these reflective activities, and workplaces which furnish the material on which students reflect.

The authors provide a vocabulary of "working knowledge" which problematizes the given of the workplace, and encourages reflection and criticism. Working knowledge consists, they posit, of "workplace materials, the language of work, workplace 'facts,' skills and techniques, a frame of reference for evaluating workplace events, and rules and meanings." (28) To utilize this vocabulary for understanding the structures of the workplace the authors suggest asking of specific workplaces, for example,

"What range of knowledges seem to make a person into a 'specialized' worker? Is work organized so that it is easy or difficult for other people to acquire such knowledge if they so wish? Are there any special consequences that people experience as a result of being 'specialized'?" (33)

The book is divided into sections on the technical relations of work, the social relations of work, and the exchange relations of work, although these divisions seem somewhat arbitrary. In the assembly of a series of practical topics to be covered in a course, the theoretical categories of technical, social and exchange relations in fact become thoroughly interwoven. In the section on technical relations is a chapter on working with employers to develop the learning potential of work sites; in the section on social relations is a chapter on occupational health and safety; in the section on exchange relations is a chapter on getting a job.

Throughout the book, however, the authors do consistently offer a "pedagogy of possibility," which questions the assumptions which undergird most traditional work education as preparation and accommodation of the individual to the demands of the workplace. How, they ask, can students "negotiate the contradictory demands of 'being adaptable' and 'taking risks' in ways that enable them to better participate in the determination of their working lives?" (76) To the extent that students have participated in an education about work which raises basic issues of social and economic justice, they will be better prepared.

Labour historians interested in issues of education might ask where labour history would fit in such a program: how fundamental is the study of history in providing students with an understanding of historical contingency? Simon, Dipbo, and Schenke offer more than a passing nod to the study of history, but not much more. In their chapter on skills and work design, they provide one lesson on

"rationalizing work" where students examine two passages describing the early 20th century innovations of Henry Ford in automobile manufacture and Henry Leffingwell in office organization. They provide questions to stimulate discussion about the benefits and problems associated with these innovations. The following lesson asks students to interview older workers at their worksites concerning their experience with changes in the organization of work.

In the chapter on unions, "Solving Problems by Sticking Together," the authors note that "it may be surprising to some that we have included historical study in an experientially oriented curriculum ... However, in our view such study is essential." (136) History, they state, raises both the question, "How did things get to be this way?" and "What would have to be done for things to be otherwise?" After signalling the importance of historical study for their goals, however, they offer only a minimum of guidance, not much more than "teachers should acquire some of a variety of readable materials that describe union history in Canada." (137) At the very least, a short, annotated bibliography would have helped.

Learning Work is a handbook for teachers of work education — and a good one. But it does not say so on the cover, and that omission points to its perhaps most serious flaw. The subtitle, "a critical pedagogy of work education," will not mean much to potential readers outside a relatively small circle of educators. Nor, I imagine, will the abstruse language of Henry Giroux' series introduction reach many beyond that small circle. What will teachers make of a sentence like this: "... critical pedagogy is important and potentially transformative to the degree that it re-invents theory as a practice rooted in self-reflection and as a critical awareness of its own historical and social formation?" (xv) There is considerable irony in language which is so obscure, and at the

same time so self-consciously concerned with its own lucidity.

A practical and theoretical handbook, unlike a history monograph, is assessed in the using, not the reading. Any comments which a reviewer ventures must be superseded by the judgments of those who struggle through (or skip) the introductory chapters and attempt to teach with it. And beyond those judgments, lies the question of how a course like that outlined in this volume affects students. The program is constructed on the fault-line between "developing forms of critical citizenship" and "helping students gain the knowledge and skills needed to participate in the social relations of the economy." (6) What happens to students in such a program? I hope that the authors, or their graduate students, follow up with a study of the work lives of those who are exposed to the programs they advocate.

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Michael Lebowitz, *Beyond Capital: Marx's Political Economy of the Working Class* (London: Macmillan 1992).

THIS IS A RELATIVELY slim volume that draws together ideas with which, and upon which, Michael Lebowitz has worked for almost twenty years. The result is an extremely accessible, thoroughly conceptualized, and tightly argued presentation whose modest size belies its significance. While the book's format may cause it to share the fate of Marx's *Zur Kritik* — the "German dogs" of 1859 are not the only ones who "estimate the value of books according to their cubic content" — the book deserves careful reading and reflection.

Lebowitz begins with a brief, no-holds-barred assessment of Marxism as a theory today. "Not only the absence of socialist revolution" he writes,

and the continued hegemony of capital over workers in advanced capitalist countries, but also the theoretical silence (and practical irrelevance) with respect to struggles for emancipation, struggles of women against patriarchy in all its manifestations, struggles over the quality of life and cultural identity ... point to a theory [that has not been] entirely successful. (6, italics removed from original)

But the solution to the theoretical shortcomings of Marxism, "is not advanced by grafting alien elements onto it in some eclectic effort to salvage it." (1-2)

Following Gramsci, Lebowitz believes that Marxism "contains within itself all the fundamental elements needed to construct a total and integral conception of the world." (1) The route to a more comprehensive Marxist theory is, however, blocked by the current understanding of *Capital* within Marx's total political project and Marx's apparent failure to rise above political economy.

Lebowitz's critique of contemporary Marxism begins with an examination of the status of the unwritten book on wage-labour whose absence lies "at the root of the one-sidedness in *Capital*." (14) Unlike Rosdolsky, Mandel and others, Lebowitz argues that the missing book on wage-labour was not incorporated into *Capital*. Moreover, the absence of the book on wage-labour has caused a significantly distorted understanding of Marx's entire critique of political economy.

To explore the relationship between *Capital* and the missing book on wage-labour, Lebowitz begins with Marx's statement that "in a given country at a given period, the average amount of the means of subsistence necessary for the worker is a known *datum*." Thus while implicitly affirming that the value of labour power is historically determined, Marx held that value constant in *Capital* so he could fully explore the production and extraction of surplus value — a decision necessitated by the object of Marx's critique: the political economy of capital. By carefully outlining the logic of

Marx's method and drawing upon textual material in *Capital*, and the *Grundrisse*, Lebowitz then demonstrates how the assumption of fixed needs in *Capital* is consistent with Marx's critique of the political economy of capital but necessarily leads beyond itself into the political economy of wage-labour. Capital's own logic, Lebowitz shows with reference to the *Grundrisse*, requires it to overcome barriers to the realization of surplus value by creating new needs and new consumers. The expansion of capitalist production and the overcoming of barriers to the realization of surplus value create conditions where the needs of workers must expand to meet the interests of capital but *Capital* does not address this problem at all — it falls outside of its logic of inquiry. "Thus, by Marx's own standards," Lebowitz writes,

capital as a whole is not the adequate totality in which all presuppositions, all premises, are shown to be results. Upon examination, it is shown not to exist on its own without a necessary relation to an Other. At the very point when we have an apparent totality in capital as a whole, in the concept of its reproduction, it turns out to contain a distinction — capital as a whole must posit the wage-labourer outside it in order to exist as such.... Capital as a whole, it develops, is not a stopping point but differentiates into capital, on the one hand, and wage-labour, on the other. We have considered initially the side of capital, and now we must examine that of wage-labour. (49, italics removed)

Lebowitz's examination of wage-labour (chapter four) develops and consolidates his position that wage-labour struggles against capital in two distinct, though dialectically related, spheres of production — the production of value and surplus value on the one hand and the production of wage-labourers as human beings on the other. More important, he demonstrates that in the former Marx necessarily presents wage-labour on-sidedly — that is in-itself, as a unique factor in the production of value and surplus value — whereas in the latter

wage-labour must be seen to be struggling for-itself in pursuit of its own interests. The struggle of wage-labour for-itself entails different considerations than those pertinent to *Capital*.

Chapters five, six and seven explore the implications that the absence of the book on wage-labour has had upon Marxism as a incomplete theory, the full understanding of wage-labour in and for itself, and the status of *Capital* within Marx's total political project. Each chapter builds nicely upon the foundation established in the first three chapters and makes interesting and compelling reading. In short, the book stands as a well crafted whole. This is its strength but perhaps also its weakness.

I have little argument with Lebowitz's assessment about the absence of a book on wage-labour, follow his logical and substantive arguments which outline the place such a book would take in Marx's entire project, and believe that he has made a major contribution to our understanding of the logic of Marx's entire critique of political economy — a critique of the political economy of capital and a critique of the political economy of wage-labour. But when one steps back from the vortex of Lebowitz's logic and asks what methodology, what material would inform the book on wage-labour as he has outlined it, there is room for an ironic answer. Marx's first reading of political economy led him to the conclusion that even bourgeois political economists had demonstrated that it was impossible for workers to realize their full human potential within capitalist society but they could not or did not explain why this was necessarily so. Marx then spent the next dozen or so years trying to grasp the key to the exploitation of wage-labour within the sphere of capitalist production and although he had insights into how the other moment of political economy — the political economy of wage labour — functioned, he did not, as Lebowitz has so amply demonstrated, ever pursue those ideas very far. From 1858 to 1867 Marx

deepened and refined his critique of the political economy of capital while leaving the political economy of wage-labour in the background.

Lebowitz's careful analysis establishing the logic of the relationship between the political economy of capital and the political economy of wage-labour is a major recovery project but it also places several questions into a clearer focus. Do we have within Marx's work the tools necessary to fully develop the critique of wage-labour or do we need to augment Marx's insights with theoretical developments made over the past 20 to 70 years? Is there a need for eclecticism now despite Lebowitz's efforts? Does Marx's work really contain "[with]in itself all the fundamental elements needed to construct a total and integral conception of the world" especially when Marx's comments on the political economy of wage-labour were so fragmentary and the scope of the undertaking, as Lebowitz indicates, so large?

Lebowitz seems to suggest that there is enough in Marx's work; that discovering the relationship of the book on wage-labour to *Capital* and grasping what issues the book on wage-labour would address is enough to begin the process of analysis, information collection and synthesis from within Marx's methodological framework. I am simply not sure. I am uncertain partly because I do not see in Lebowitz's book or his earlier essays how Marx's method would draw together the numerous issues that would dominate a book on wage-labour and class struggle into one whole — I think a good part of the reason that Marx never elaborated upon his political economy of wage-

labour is precisely because it would have drawn him into an entirely different project than the critique of the political economy of capital. At the same time I am not sure when an idea is drawn out of Marx's work, when one is integrated into his work and when it is merely an eclectic addition. Finally, when Marx noted in the preface to *Zur Kritik* — and the phrase takes on a new meaning in view of Lebowitz's work I think — "In the consideration of such revolutions [*Umwälzungen*] one must always distinguish between the material revolution in the economic conditions of production to be truly confirmed scientifically [*der materiellen naturwissenschaft — lich treu zu konstatierenden Umwälzung*] and the juristic, political, religious, artistic, or philosophic, in short ideological forms, in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out" (*MEW* 13, 10) he may not only have been setting forth a distinction similar to that of Lebowitz's between the political economy of capital and the political economy of wage-labour. He may have also been suggesting that an approach different to that found in *Zur Kritik* and subsequently *Das Kapital* would be needed to fully explore the class struggle of the political economy of wage-labour. Maybe not. In either case, Lebowitz now sees the further development of the ideas set out in *Beyond Capital* as part of a collective process and it is one that I think should be taken up by those sympathetic and resistant to his analysis.

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