

## Reviews / Comptes Rendus

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Volume 17, 1986

URI : <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/llt17rv01>

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Éditeur(s)

Canadian Committee on Labour History

ISSN

0700-3862 (imprimé)

1911-4842 (numérique)

[Découvrir la revue](#)

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Citer ce compte rendu

(1986). Compte rendu de [Reviews / Comptes Rendus]. *Labour/Le Travailleur*, 17, 273–365.

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## REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Jerry Lembcke and William Tattum, *One Union in Wood: A Political History of the International Woodworkers of America* (Madeira Park, B.C.: Harbour Publishing 1984).

IN HIS FOREWORD to this study, Harold Pritchett, first International president of the International Woodworkers of America writes that the authors have "provided a new starting point for research and writing on the IWA." Clearly the authors think so. They begin by offering us a version of Vernon Jensen's widely-known industrial relations study, *Lumber and Labor* (1945), and its later Canadian supplement, Irving Abella's IWA chapter in his *Nationalism, Communism and Canadian Labour* (1973). Political divisions within the IWA are not to be explained by the simple rank-and-file anti-communism expounded in these previous works, but by an analysis of the conjuncture of North America's uneven capitalist development, immigration patterns, and the segmented working class rooted therein, with the determined anti-communist activities of CIO/CCL-backed White Bloc aspirants to the IWA International's leadership. We are offered a "first step" towards a "new conceptual framework." (VIII-IX) Unfortunately, the revisionist claim and structural interpretation do not stand up under close reading. We are left, though, with an interesting empirical account of a coalescence of forces that, in the late

1940s and 1950s, supposedly transformed the IWA from a militant industrial union movement into a narrowly based business union.

Though direct references to Jensen and Abella are scarce, their alleged conclusions provide focus to much of this book's argumentation. These are misstated, however, so as to give added historiographical importance to Lembcke and Tattum's finding that IWA lumber workers were predominantly and persistently supportive of their Communist leaders. A rank and file which, in Jensen's book, "has normally rejected communism but has not been susceptible to red-baiting," and which, in Abella's book are non-communist but generally loyal to their Communist leaders, are, by the authors' reading of these works, thorough going anti-communists. Lembcke and Tattum view the political history of the IWA mainly as a struggle between Communist and White Bloc factions. While this may be a valid perspective, it is not correct to present the historiography in equally polarized terms.

Lembcke and Tattum's revisionist claims collapse, then, first, because the main historiographical thesis they wish to revise is largely their own invention. Secondly, their claims falter because the structural interpretation they offer as revision is poorly substantiated on an empirical level, and contradicted by their own conclusions.

Briefly, the structural argument is based on a comparison of significant periods of settlement, workers' countries of origin, and the structure of the industry

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and of trade unionism in British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon. The Columbia and Willamette river valleys of Oregon were settled in the mid to late nineteenth century, primarily by German farmers with little industrial or socialist experience, who worked part-time in small-scale lumber mills into which the AFL made early inroads. This early German settlement, coming prior to concentration of capital in the industry, was the foundation upon which the Portland area labour movement was built. Northern Washington and British Columbia were settled at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, predominantly by English and Scandinavian immigrants with industrial union or socialist experience, who entered directly into large-scale units of production. Their early union experience was within the IWW and the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union. Subsequent political struggles for control of the IWA International leadership were rooted in these real divisions among workers, which, in turn, were based on uneven capitalist development. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the Communists had a firm political base in British Columbia and northern Washington, while the White Bloc opposition was rooted in the historically conservative Columbia and Willamette river valleys.

Whether this theoretical model is true or not is impossible to know from the evidence provided. Mills were smaller in Oregon than in Washington in 1880, but there is no statistical information on how capital concentration changed over the ensuing two decades. If American Federation of Labor craft unionism had gained a foothold in the lower Columbia River area around Portland in the 1880s as the authors contend, there is no evidence provided of inroads into the lumber industry, in Oregon or elsewhere, prior to the 1930s. In fact, the authors note that in 1914 the Carpenters, into whose jurisdiction they fell, established a policy of deliberately ignoring the *unskilled* tim-

ber workers. Moreover, according to Lembeke and Tatum's account, after the AFL had altered its policy, amidst the industrial turmoil of the mid-1930s, its hegemony among Portland area lumber workers was brief. By 1937, no AFL lumber worker remained in Portland; they had all joined IWA Local 3. After a period of intense battle with the AFL, the lumber workers and the NLRB lining up against the new unionism, the IWA still held on to six of eleven Portland mills in 1939 with two-thirds of the workers enrolled in its ranks.

If the industry in British Columbia was built up during the era of monopoly capitalism, it is nevertheless misleading to conclude that "industrial unionism was established there without a contest." Craft forms of organization were simply non-existent in the province's forestry sector. British Columbia's organized timber workers followed their Communist leadership into the AFL at about the same time as workers in Oregon affiliated. If the subsequent struggle in the British Columbia industry between the AFL and CIO was less bitter and prolonged, the difference is more probably to be found in the control the Communist Party had developed within the lumber workers' union movement over the previous decade than in the comparative lack of craft union tradition in the woods. It ought also to be remembered that it took fifteen years of organizing work and the eventual assistance of wartime labour legislation before industrial unionism firmly established itself in the British Columbia coast industry – almost half a century after the initial influx of radical immigrant lumber workers.

Finally, with respect to the immigration argument, even if one accepts the hypothetical importance of country of origin, the comparative numbers presented for Oregon and Washington (B.C. is not investigated in this respect) do not support such a broad theoretical proposition. In Oregon after 1900, German-born workers

numbered between one-third and one-half of the combined total of British-and Scandinavian-born. In Washington, the comparative ratio was one-fifth. What is more, there is no evidence that these general population proportions were replicated amongst timber workers.

The central narrative of the book, allegedly based upon this revisionist structural interpretation, actually belies its significance. Rather much is made in this story of the anti-communist Al Hartung's long quest for the International presidency. Hartung's career advancement within the union movement serves the authors as an index of the relative strength of red and white factions in the IWA. *Although favoured in this Portland District Council among its "Pocket of conservative lumber workers,"* Hartung was unable to move beyond the district level without the assistance of trade union professionals who had preceded him to positions of influence in the CIO national office. They conclude, "In class terms, then, the political base of White Bloc leaders like Hartung was less working class than it was bureaucratic or petty bourgeois." (177) So much for the new structural interpretation as it applies to one of the two major political factions in the story. And if it proves irrelevant with respect to the White Bloc, the structural interpretation exists only as a disconnected substrata for the narrative of early Communist Party organizing successes and later resistance to the anti-communist coalition.

The actual, and more conventionally sociological reasons that Lembecke and Tatum provide for persistent rank-and-file support for the Communists, and the lack of it for Hartung's group, appear explicitly for the first time in their conclusion and flow more directly out of the narrative. The Communists provided superior leadership; indeed, they were the only ones interested in taking the initiative to organize during the early years of the Depression when there was such des-

perate need. Moreover, they were indigenous to the towns and camp areas in which they organized, and shared family, social and work experience with the rank and file. This background of "strong primary group bond" and solidarity was translated into electoral strength. Upwardly mobile White Bloc leaders, aspiring to be trade union professionals at the expense of their fellow workers, lacked such a primary bond. It was this ambiguity in the interests and class identity of the White Bloc leaders, moreover, upon which the capitalist class seized to penetrate the IWA and other working-class organizations. The book's real thesis then falls into place: "It is this intricate alignment of class forces at a time when the American-Canadian political economy was being restructured by post-World War II developments that explains the abrupt change of course taken by the North American industrial unions in the late 1940s and 1950s." (viii)

Chapters two and three explore the historical background of this alignment in the 1930s organizing period in Washington and Oregon, when the AFL, the lumber companies, local community leaders, business groups, and the state joined hands to thwart the rise of Communist-led industrial unionism in the timber industry. This struggle culminates in chapter four in the deportation from the United States of International President Pritchett, which in turn paves the way for the CIO's reactionary intervention into IWA organizing activity and its subsequent capture of the International executive. The focus of the book then shifts to British Columbia in chapter five, where the retreating Left, led by Pritchett, is systematically attacked by a coalition of officers of the International, and CIO, CCL, and CCF officials. The Communist faction is finally defeated in chapter six. Out of Cold War hysteria, the Taft-Hartley Act, and the Smith Act trials of key Communist leaders, flows the restructuring of the IWA district level into a regional system that submerges the

remaining Communist strongholds within already captured White constituencies. Chapter seven explores the legacy of this triumph of business unionism by looking at the IWA's more recent failure to develop the potential for industrial unionism in Newfoundland and Laurel, Mississippi.

Lembecke and Tattum's interesting and valuable account of the "demise" of militant unionism in the timber industry travels ground covered by Vernon Jensen and extends his treatment into the post-war period. It departs from Jensen's industrial relations approach by placing the IWA's political history squarely within the framework of a much broader North American Left-Right political battle. With respect to British Columbia, their story is essentially the same as that told by Abella, notwithstanding their revisionist claims *vis-à-vis* rank-and-file attitudes to communism. The perspective and emphasis, however, are different. In Abella's study, the undoing of the British Columbia District Council Executive is seen largely as the work of the Canadian social democrats, with some help from leadership blunders. Lembecke and Tattum appreciated more the role of the International and CIO officials. The demise of the IWA's Communist leadership in British Columbia is placed squarely within the history of the "post-war disintegration" of the North American industrial labour movement. From this broader point of view, Abella's argument that tactical mistakes by district leaders played a large part in their own downfall is much too overstated. The authors' disagreement on this count is thus understandable, though perhaps not entirely correct.

A few comments, then, are in order on this alleged post-war disintegration as it relates to the IWA, particularly in British Columbia. Lembecke and Tattum, armed with their structural analysis, operate as if they have a clear line on the consciousness of the average lumber worker. In

fact, their analysis of its evolution from the 1930s to the 1950s is deduced largely from an account of factional struggles within the labour bureaucracy, and from the broader political history of the Depression-to-Cold War period. For example, they write that in June 1954, with the minds of the rank and file allegedly "frozen with fear" in the aftermath of the Seattle Smith Act trials, and the House UnAmerican Activities Committee hearings, the largest strike in the Northwest's history, involving 135,000 IWA and AFL lumber workers was lost. Despite outside union help and a favourable NLRB decision, "fear and intimidation" in the union ranks defeated the strike. (147) The reader would like to know more about this event. A thorough investigation might reveal a higher level of militancy and commitment to industrial unionism among local leaders and members than the authors' curt dismissal of the region's largest ever shutdown allows. Instead, we are simply told that after two decades of red-baiting and witch-hunting, the fear of the radical label kept rank-and-file members from challenging conservative policies and blunted "point-of-production militancy" so that "by the end of the 1950s, labour radicalism was dead in the wood products industry." (154)

Yet, in October 1959, a militant and bitter strike (unmentioned in this book) for a 20 per cent wage increase and other important point-of-production demands, occurred in the British Columbia coast industry. This walkout was in part a direct challenge to the Social Credit government's recently-passed Trade Union Act (Bill 43) which outlawed sympathetic strikes, boycotts, and secondary picketing, and made unions liable for prosecution. Despite several court injunctions for rank-and-file violations of Bill 43, the strike was settled after 67 days, and resulted in a considerable victory for the IWA. CCF-IWA cooperation during the strike helped cement a labour-CCF alliance that narrowly missed ousting the

conservative Social Credit regime in the 1960 election.

Assessing advances or setbacks in workers' class consciousness is admittedly a tricky business for the historian. But any such assessment ought not to ignore or gloss over strikes like these (1952, 1953, and in 1959 in B.C., 1954 in the American northwest). It may in fact not be correct to slap the epithet "business unionism" across the entire post-1950 experience. Yet it clearly serves Lembecke and Tatum's purpose to do so, as it does in their final chapter to select particularly miserable organizing failures in Newfoundland and Mississippi to characterize IWA activities in the 1960s and 1970s.

The authors have polarized their history, just as they improperly polarized their historiographical discussion. The post-war period they view as "counter-revolutionary in the same sense that the period 1930-37 had been revolutionary." (153) While this may be an accurate depiction of periodization at the level of IWA-CIO bureaucracy, the relation of these historical periods to the social reality and consciousness of the rank and file remains only slightly less hidden within the dark recesses of untapped working-class history than when Vernon Jensen put pen to paper.

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Warren Magnusson *et al.*, ed., *The New Reality: The Politics of Restraint in British Columbia* (Vancouver, B.C.: New Star Books 1984).

IN MARCH 1984, Premier Bill Bennett announced, in one of his episodic television addresses to British Columbia viewers, the existence of a "new economic reality," a new reality in which victory would only go to those who had been made strong enough to compete in a tough world market. His viewers could be excused for concluding that the rerun sea-

son was upon them. For, as the editors and contributors to this collection demonstrate, the "new reality" (under various names) has been the reality for British Columbians dating back at least to Bennett's "restraint" show of 18 February 1982.

February 1982 marked the introduction of the Social Credit attack on "the twin evils of high inflation and high interest rates," an attack which (as Norman Ruff shows) took the form of public sector spending limits and a wage control programme (the Compensation Stabilization Program) for all public sector employees. Several months later, as Warren Magnusson and Monika Langer indicate, the government proceeded to strip local school boards of their powers to determine the size of their budgets, and to levy taxes on non-residential property. John Malcolmson also calls attention to the announced intention during this period to cut public sector employment by 25 per cent. While these measures revealed the anti-labour, anti-social service, and centralizing perspective of the Socreds, they were piecemeal and particular measures — and so too was the opposition.

Following their re-election in May 1983 (an election fought vaguely on the theme of restraint), however, the Socreds dramatically altered their strategic approach. Twenty-six bills accompanying the July 1983 budget initiated a global attack on existing rights in British Columbia (under the guidance of the Fraser Institute, the local New Right idea shop). The right to negotiate seniority, job reclassification, job transfer, work hours, and other working conditions was to be removed from public sector workers (including, among others, civic workers, teachers, and university faculty); public sector workers were to be subject to dismissal without cause upon the expiry of a collective agreement; the Human Rights Code was to be repealed and the Human Rights Branch and Commission abolished; the Rentalsman's Office and rent



controls abolished; local representation on community college boards abolished and course control shifted to the Ministry of Education; the power of regional districts to establish regional plans removed; and the controls over public sector wages and local school boards tightened. (At the same time, Marilyn Callahan notes, the Ministry of Human Resources fired 599 of its full-time staff, 90 per cent of whom worked directly with children.) "It was remarkable," the editors comment, "how many different groups the government managed to offend at once." (12)

It is the nature of those measures of 1983 and the character of the opposition which emerged, which is the principal focus of *The New Reality*. The editors, who have organized as the Committee on Alternatives for British Columbia, (CABC), and the twenty contributors, provide an excellent account of what the new reality means: increased discrimination by employers and landlords, deregulation in terms of employment standards and consumer services, reduced services to children, privatization in health-care, reduced quality of public education, centralization of political decision-making, restrictions on welfare eligibility and welfare rate reductions, a particularly negative effect upon women both in terms of employment and also available services, and the creation of a weakened labour movement.

Many of the measures introduced, of course, had little to do as such with budget considerations; the projected savings were minimal, and spending on megaprojects revealed that the issue was not one of the size of the budget but was, rather, one of priorities. Indeed, as Gideon Rosenbluth and William Schworm (of the B.C. Economic Policy Institute, formed by economists at the University of British Columbia) demonstrate, "the financial condition of the B.C. government is one of the best in Canada" and offers no good fiscal reason for the Socred "restraint" policy. (59) Rather, John

Schofield argues in his discussion of the budgets of 1983 and 1984, the policy is based simply on New Right ideology with respect to government, and represents an "act of faith" that the private sector, unburdened and unleashed, will generate ultimate prosperity for all. (43) Thus, the tenuous connection of this global assault to "restraint" became quickly apparent and, as Murray Rankin indicates in his discussion of human rights, the effect was to broaden the emerging protest movement beyond the trade unions.

Yet, as the editors and William K. Carroll (in his discussion of the Solidarity Coalition) stress, it was the labour movement which was always at the core of the opposition. The NDP parliamentary opposition proved ineffective once the Socreds, in accordance with the New Right view of democratic forms, proceeded, as Jeremy Wilson shows, to treat legislative traditions with contempt — as part of what the editors describe as a "political *coup d'état*." (92) Responding to the attack not only upon trade union rights but also upon an entire vision of social rights and entitlements, trade union members answered the call of their leaders in unprecedented numbers and joined others in demonstrations of 20,000 and 25,000 in July, culminating in a march of over 60,000 past the Socred convention in October. The progress, as Carroll notes, was not, however, continuous: in an attempt to channel the protest to the parliamentary arena, the Solidarity leadership initiated a petition campaign, which effectively demobilized people. (The movement was re-ignited only by an exemplary act of occupation of Bennett's office in September, planned by several unions and groups for this very purpose. The story of this critical occupation and its relations to the trade union leadership remains to be told.) Ultimately, the high point of the Solidarity Coalition came in November with the escalating general strike planned in accordance with the strike of the B.C. Government Employees

Union — an action which was called to a halt with the signing of a BCGEU contract and the withdrawal and effective gutting of its specific anti-labour bills by the government.

The victory was, however, only partial and temporary. The other government bills — those attacking rights and entitlements — were either passed as is or subsequently re-introduced essentially unchanged. And, as the contributors indicate, the Social Credit government has since continued to introduce restrictive budgets, continues its attack on education, continues the privatization of government, and has significantly amended the Labour Code to strengthen non-union employers and weaken trade unions. But, it has done so now on a piecemeal basis, dividing and conquering rather than unifying, and the opposition itself has been only sporadic. (The chronology included in the volume shows that only 2,000 rallied to protest the 1984 budget.) Was the mobilized opposition of 1983, then, only an aberration produced by the Sacred desire to enact its programme sufficiently in advance of its next trip to the polls and by its underestimation of extra-parliamentary opposition?

The editors express the hope that some residuum was left by the mobilization of 1983 — that the links established on local levels by extra-parliamentary groups, the continued existence (and regional restructuring) of the Solidarity Coalition, the recently completed People's Commission on Policy Alternatives (and, we may add, groups such as the B.C. Economic Policy Institute and the Committee on Alternatives for British Columbia itself) can be the basis for the development of a democratic alternative to the Sacred "policy of restructuring economic, social and political life with the view to enhancing private investment and maximizing corporate profits." (150) (The CABC is currently planning a second book on alternatives for B.C., scheduled for release in 1986.) Certainly, recent polls indicating the over-

whelming unpopularity of the Social Credit government suggest that significant inroads have been made on the intellectual hegemony of the New Right.

And, yet, one important question is begged — is there indeed a "new reality" (one outside of the specific actions of the Social Credit government)? Has a restructuring of international capitalism occurred which has made a return to the old social compacts and compromises (including Keynesianism and the welfare state) unfeasible? There is an interesting schizophrenia represented in this book. The economists suggest that the problem (aside from mistaken policies) is cyclical rather than structural and that a measured application of Keynesian policies would be appropriate until such time as a world recession comes to an end. (This is the consistent theme, too, of publications of the B.C. Economic Policy Institute and has been accepted in the Report of the People's Commission.) The non-economists (including the editors), however, stress the existence of a global crisis of capitalism underlying New Right policies in B.C. (and elsewhere). Patricia Marchak, for example, argues that the new economic reality (which "will fundamentally alter the way we work and live") has been particularly severe for B.C. because of its extreme structural dependence on the export of raw materials; several contributors identify the attack on labour as an attempt to restructure the B.C. economy in the image of South Korea and the Philippines. "Social Credit and governments of its kind," the editors propose, "have certainly grasped one essential truth: the 'new reality' of economic crisis and capitalist restructuring is indeed *global*." (276) To acknowledge this, however, is to entertain the thought that Sacred policies make "a sort of sense" in terms of the requirements of capitalism. (13)

What the *New Reality* represents, then, is a compromise — a compromise between those who see the crisis as the

result of the failure to follow common-sense policies and those who acknowledge the existence of a global crisis of capitalism but reject the Sacred Solutions in favour of an alternative, a democratically restructured society. What unites the contributors is the belief in the necessity to oust the Sacred, the belief "that there is a better way." (279) (This same compromise marks other current efforts at building and strengthening a coalition.) Whether the better way is a new way, and whether there is, indeed, a "new reality" in international capitalism are questions that may remain begged until the networks announce the defeat of the Social Credit government to a viewing public.

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Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pardo, eds., *Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays On The History of Women's Work In British Columbia* (Victoria, B.C.: Camosun College 1984).

THIS COLLECTION IS a remarkable testament to women's work in British Columbia. The papers published in this volume were presented at the first Women's History in British Columbia Conference, held in April 1984 at Camosun College in Victoria. It is intended to supplement, and to continue, the work begun in the 1980 publication, *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C.*, edited by the apparently tireless Latham and Cathy Kess.

The definition of work used by the editors includes women's paid and unpaid work. There are also several essays included which do not directly deal with women's work, but shed light on some facet of women's working lives. Women's domestic labour, volunteer work, and waged labour are explored from several angles. In addition there are several articles taking native women, Asian women, and middle-class "gentlewomen" as their subjects in consider-

ations of life, culture, and work in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Essays on social reform legislation affecting girls and women, and issues of women's health, as well as a number of political biographies are also included.

While it is impossible, given limitations of space, to review the contents of all the essays in the volume, a brief account of one of the sections will give a sense of the kind of material included. I found the section on Asian women to be the most interesting because the three articles present information I have not seen in other places. Tamara Adilman's "A Preliminary Sketch of Chinese Women and Work in British Columbia 1858-1950" provides an examination of the restrictions applied to Chinese women's immigration to Canada as well as a useful discussion of political and social reaction to this immigration. In "The Response of the W[omen's] M[issionary] S[ociety] to the Immigration of Asian Women 1888-1942," Karen van Dieren describes the efforts of a volunteer women's organization to respond to the needs of Chinese and Japanese women. Many women and girls sought shelter at the Rescue Home for Chinese Girls, a refuge for those who had been bound into domestic work or prostitution. In addition the WMS was interested in recruiting women for missionary work in Canada and overseas and found some recruits among the girls who lived in the home. The inclusion of Mahinder Kaur Doman's "A Note on Asian Indian Women in British Columbia 1900-1935" points out the importance of our capturing observations of women through the collection of oral histories. Many of the early Asian Indian women immigrants are already dead, and there are very few sources to which we can turn for an understanding of these women's lives. There is already a considerable body of historical writing concerning the hostility of white British Columbians of all classes to Asian immigration. These three essays point to some of the short-

comings of that literature, and pose avenues of research which will result in a history taking into account the domestic, or hidden, sphere of Asian immigrant life and culture in British Columbia.

This volume will be useful, too, to those who are interested in the issues confronting the contemporary women's movement in British Columbia. We can learn here of Asian battered women who sought shelter at the WMS Home for Rescued Chinese Girls in Victoria, preceding by some 40 years the establishment of transition houses for battered women. The struggle of women to control reproduction is considered in essays about birth control reform work and maternal health care. There are also clues here for further work on prostitution in B.C., both the experience of prostitutes themselves and the reaction of the community of women to prostitution.

This collection will undoubtedly inspire scholars of women's history, proving most useful as a guide to areas of research and analysis historians of women in British Columbia may take up and develop more fully. The book is, however, like any volume of this sort, decidedly uneven in both style and level of analysis. It would be unfair to demand from this book that it provide *the* definitive feminist historical analysis of the experience of women in British Columbia. It will be important, though, for those who take up work which proceeds from these articles to consider their subjects more critically. For example, there are several papers which discuss the institutionalization of women's employment. These papers, on the whole, do not offer any critique of what such institutionalization or professionalization cost women then and now.

This is a volume suffused with an obvious commitment to ending the silence of women in British Columbia. There are examinations of some of the methodological implications for uncovering the history

of women who have been perceived to be silent, particularly Native Indian women and Asian women, which will instruct further work. Life histories, oral histories, examinations of private papers, archival work, and simply looking for women's voices in unlikely places have enabled the presentation of important insights in to women's experience in B.C.

Taken as a whole, these essays are an important addition to the study of Canadian social history. We would be well served by similar volumes from other regions of Canada. It is also important that the publication of volumes of this kind be encouraged and supported, for they provide a way to participate in the historical discourse for those whose work is very often seen only by those who teach and mark papers in undergraduate history courses. *Not Just Pin Money* proves that the work of historians of women is being done at many different levels, and in many different ways. We must not limit our attention and respect to that which is accepted for publication in more traditional collections or journals if we are to work together for a history which empowers women, and does not perpetuate our silence.

Frances Wasserlein  
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Bruno Ramirez, *Les Premiers Italiens de Montréal. L'Origine de la Petite Italie du Québec* (Montréal: Boréal Express 1984).

CE TEXTE TIRE son origine d'une communication faite au colloque «Little Italies of North America,» tenu à Toronto en 1979 et publiée en anglais sous le titre «The Italians of Montreal: From Sojourning to Settlement.» L'auteur a remanié et augmenté son texte en tenant compte des recherches nouvelles et aussi en y intégrant des témoignages recueillis auprès des survivants de la vague d'immigration du début du siècle.

L'ouvrage comporte deux parties: une première, analytique, examine le développement de la communauté italienne de Montréal en mettant l'accent sur la croissance qu'elle connaît dans les vingt premières années du siècle et une seconde reproduit une série de huit témoignages d'immigrants italiens de cette époque.

La première partie est divisée en trois chapitres. Le premier, intitulé «Les précurseurs,» tente de cerner les contours des Montréalais d'origine italienne avant 1900. L'auteur signale la rareté et les difficultés des sources et procède surtout à une analyse sociale basée sur les listes nominatives des recensements de 1871 et 1881. Il conclut en notant la prépondérance des artisans et des commerçants dans ce groupe et en y voyant la source du leadership de la collectivité. Le second chapitre, intitulé «La période de transition,» analyse le mouvement migratoire des années 1900-13 principalement. Il s'organise autour de deux pôles: un examen des conditions socio-économiques prévalant dans une des principales régions de départ et une description de la situation montréalaise durant la première décennie du siècle. Cette dernière partie analyse l'action des agents d'emploi italiens et les conflits avec les notables établis. Le chapitre se termine sur des considérations touchant le recul des types de leadership observés depuis 1900. Le troisième chapitre est intitulé «L'implantation» et montre le rôle joué par la famille comme élément économique, social, et culturel de la survie et de la reproduction du groupe. Il tente d'évaluer aussi le rôle joué par d'autres institutions comme l'Église et celui joué par les réseaux commerciaux.

La deuxième partie se présente comme une suite d'entrevues réalisées récemment auprès de survivants. Les témoignages sont présentés à la suite; ils ont fait l'objet d'une transcription, d'une restructuration, et d'une traduction.

C'est un ouvrage qui comble une lacune de notre historiographie et qui se fit

très bien. Ils nous fait pénétrer à l'intérieur du groupe des immigrants et nous montre les différentes forces qui ont modelé la collectivité. En particulier il nous donne des aperçus sur les rapports de force à l'intérieur de celle-ci ainsi que sur leur évolution. Soulignons aussi que ce livre représente un exemple d'utilisation de l'histoire orale.

Il y a cependant un certain nombre de points qui méritent d'être soulevés. Le premier concerne l'organisation même de l'ouvrage. Il s'articule très (trop?) fortement autour des trois sources documentaires: les listes nominatives, l'enquête autour de l'immigration des journaliers italiens de 1904-5, les témoignages. J'ai l'impression que l'auteur a établi toute sa problématique exclusivement autour de ces sources, ce qui peut l'amener à négliger d'autres phénomènes importants en particulier au niveau des différents rapports de force qui sillonnent le groupe.

L'auteur a procédé à un examen des conditions socio-économiques prévalant de la principale région de départ, le Molise. Cet examen, qui est au demeurant fort intéressant et qui témoigne du souci de l'auteur d'aller le plus loin possible, se réduit peut-être trop à la seule question de la propriété foncière. En particulier le lien entre l'arrêt des migrations temporaires et la hausse du prix des terres dans le Molise est peut-être surestimé; dans l'étude des forces à l'origine des migrations, il faut toujours faire sa part aux forces d'attraction et à celles de répulsion, c'est la notion bien connue du «push/pull.» L'Italie est une vieille terre d'émigration et les facteurs sont probablement plus complexes. Par ailleurs, la structure des emplois dans le pays d'accueil, ainsi que l'évolution de la conjoncture sont sans doute tout aussi fondamentales. Ceci dit, il faut souligner tout l'intérêt de cette démarche: elle est d'autant plus pertinente qu'une majorité des Italiens provient de cette région.

L'examen du leadership, qui se fait

par le biais de la lutte entre les notables et les padroni comme Cordasco, laisse trop d'éléments dans l'ombre: on ignore son origine, ses bases sociales, comme on ignore aussi l'importance socio-économique de la représentation officielle italienne à Montréal. Par ailleurs, la constitution d'une collectivité nouvelle et surtout plus nombreuse que l'ancienne a bien dû avoir comme effet de noyer l'ancienne et de donner lieu à l'émergence d'un autre leadership. Ces changements vont rarement sans que de vives tensions secouent le groupe. Sur ce point, le lecteur doit demeurer sur sa faim et se contenter de l'impression qu'il y avait une poignée de notables, quelques aventuriers entrepreneurs et une masse d'immigrants sans organisation; pourtant, les témoignages semblent indiquer qu'il y avait des formes de solidarité et d'organisation.

Enfin, soulignons la façon dont le rôle de l'Église est évoqué. On a l'impression que son influence est très discrète sinon carrément nulle. Il me semble que les pays de tradition catholique entretiennent un autre type de rapports, plutôt étroits d'ailleurs, et qui ne sont pas exclusivement liés à la notion de contrôle social. D'un autre côté, il se peut fort bien que l'Église ait été une des bénéficiaires de la «sédentarisation» de l'immigration italienne: ceci se répercutant, éventuellement, au niveau de la distribution du leadership.

Ces quelques critiques n'amoindrisent pas l'intérêt de l'ouvrage et se veulent plutôt comme des réflexions pour la poursuite de la recherche. Soulignons l'iconographie soignée du livre, qui ajoute une dimension de vécu au texte. Avec *Les Premiers Italiens de Montréal*, Bruno Ramirez nous permet de jeter un regard neuf sur une des facettes de la constitution de la classe ouvrière montréalaise du début du vingtième siècle. Il comble ainsi une lacune qui n'intéresse pas uniquement l'histoire des groupes ethniques, mais également l'histoire d'une classe toute entière et il faut espérer que les autres

groupes la constituant fassent l'objet d'une même recherche.

Jean-Claude Robert  
Université du Québec  
à Montréal

Donald Harmon Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study of Rural History* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1984).

*THE IRISH IN ONTARIO* is a carefully crafted, innovative, and revisionist contribution to Canadian social history. A wide impact is assured because the work implicitly challenges the entrenched interpretation of the Irish in America. The Irish American literature is massive, and Akenson's own work the more fascinating because it undermines the most elementary premises of the basic historical model, which says that the cultural predispositions and lack of farming skill of the Irish immigrants made them unsuitable for American rural life. Akenson has already fired another volley in this intellectual battle (*Labour/Le Travail*, 14), confronting directly the "elegant ignorance enshrined in the existing historical literature on the Irish in America."

The five middle chapters of *The Irish in Ontario* comprise a local, analytic study of a single community, Leeds and Lansdowne township(s), located at the far eastern end of Lake Ontario. They are sandwiched between two more general chapters.

Chapter one is a revised version of an earlier, important essay (*Canadian Papers in Rural History*, 3, 1982), which sets the critical tone of this work. Using a variety of sources, but relying mainly on creative recalculations from census manuscript data, Akenson reconstructs the demography of the Ontario Irish. The chapter systematically dismantles the Canadian version of the American model: the Irish were the largest group of migrants to Upper Canada; Irish Catholics

were a large and nearly stable minority before and after the Great Famine; and, of all things, both Protestant and Catholic Irish were overwhelmingly rural settlers: "... by and large, the Irish immigrants and their children in nineteenth-century Ontario were farmers, agricultural labourers, rural craftsmen and tradesmen, merchants and workers in small towns and hamlets. The Irish were not a city people." (47) So much for established historical wisdom.

Chapter two provides an account of the early settlement of the township between 1787 and 1816. The process is traced through land registry records and illustrated by reference to three cases of loyalist settlers. In this context the central interpretive theme of the work is introduced: the basic economic resource was, of course, land. Around its acquisition grew a distinctly atomistic and competitive normative order. The entrepreneurial individualism extended to the civic sphere, as well. Akenson finds local government to be nothing more than a set of short-term, pragmatic contracts. Chapter three explores a "natural experiment" of this interpretation in the behaviour of settlers during the War of 1812. In evidence of disloyalty, desertion, and the like, Akenson finds resentment to the war, since it interfered with the pursuit of economic gain. He also traces the emergence of the patriotic mythology of the Loyalist community, enlisted, ironically, to justify the privileges of the pre-1815 settlers. A further chapter on the Irish "revolution" of the locality rejects the familiar idea that immigrants to Upper Canada after mid-century faced serious restrictions on good farm land. Systematically assessing the consequences of land speculators, land policy, clergy, and Crown reserves, Akenson finds no such barriers. Lands were routinely purchased by settlers, including the many Irish immigrants. The evidence is quite significant for a larger thesis as well. The growth of Ontario's urban, industrial proletariat has almost

always been taken to lie in the limitations imposed on the growth of the landed *petite bourgeoisie* before mid-century. Akenson's work raises nagging questions for the larger thesis, which, I suspect, cannot long stand unrevised.

Akenson traces the political career of the flamboyant Ogle Gowan, which reflected the transformation to respectability of the Irish community. He clinches the case for their ascendancy by using census data to overturn the conventional view that the Irish were inadequate farmers and tended to be unskilled labourers. In the rural setting, both views are simply wrong.

Chapter five shows in detail how the "tough, concrete, self-protecting" community of the early years gave way to increased demographic and institutional density. He follows the evolution of three institutional orders of particular relevance to the Irish community: the church, the school system, and the Orange Order. Again narrative and systematic analysis are joined to reverse conventional views. Indeed, Leeds and Lansdowne is, apparently, a world turned upside down. Commercial farm land was readily available (through purchase) from 1850 through 1870! Irish immigrants, not the native-born, most readily acquired land and were commercially successful! Catholic Irish did better than Protestant Irish! Akenson explores alternative interpretations of the "fifths" that might have generated the advantage. The hypotheses are provocative; none can be established with available evidence.

The sixth chapter takes up the local history of the major town of the region, Gananoque, from mid-century to 1871, focusing on the emergence of "proto-industrialization" and on the question of the emergence of class divisions and conflict. In this usage, "proto-industrial" means industrial production was based on small firms and skilled workers, rather than referring to rural, capitalist, domes-

lic production, as European historians have come to use the term. As for the question of class, Akenson's answer is that an industrial, capitalist, town economy had emerged, but class as class-consciousness evidently did not appear until after the 1870s, with the Knights of Labor.

The last of the chapters draws implications from the local study for Canadian social history, for the history of the Irish in Ontario, and for the revision of the history of the Irish in North America.

This work is written on yet another plane. Throughout the text there is scattered but trenchant commentary on the practice of social history itself. Akenson instructs us on the limitations of current historical practice in this country. He demonstrates, for example, our common ignorance of the demographic basis of social processes. He points to frequent conceptual confusion with respect to terms like the Family Compact and to the reification of popular ideology. He gives rich lessons on the uses of nominal records of all sorts (land patents, settlement documents, tax assessments, censuses) and on the inconspicuous integration of narrative and systematic, quantitative analyses. I assume that the work will provide one of the richest available repositories in the teaching of historiography.

Two related points of interpretation left me unsatisfied. First, Akenson is insistent that until mid-century the community was a nearly pure case of an "unabashedly atomistic and selfish" system of simple, landed commodity production. (125) A pure system of free petty producers is a rare and unstable social formation. Akenson shows it soon evolved into a more complex society. But the evidence for the purity of the economic formation in the first place is drawn heavily from the careers of a few families who were commercially and politically prominent. Akenson elsewhere notes that "the one thing we know for sure about people

who publish their views is that they are atypical." (97) So too for the behaviour of the socially prominent. Too little is known or reported about ordinary farming families to be fully convincing. One wonders about the implications of Henretta's argument that among early American farmers it was not mobility and profit that mattered, so much as security, dignity and a sense of competency. I have no quarrel with Akenson's emphasis on interpreting behaviour and action, as well as written claims and formal accounts, but I am left uncertain of the breadth of the practices that he encodes.

Second, with respect to the treatment of social class, though characteristically precise, Akenson takes a narrow view that class is a phenomenon of expressed consciousness. He is tentative in asserting the absence of class consciousness and action, but he does not engage the conceptual possibility of unexpressed class antagonism, of inarticulate class awareness or of "class struggle without class," to lift E.P. Thompson's phrase. The question remains important beyond this one community. Did life in Ontario in general still have more to do with locality than with class, several decades after mid-century? We do not now have a firm answer, despite recent contributions and contentions. We can hope that the question may intrigue Akenson enough to lead him one day to turn his attention to it.

*The Irish in Ontario* is a fine and rewarding book. In all likelihood it is the best local history yet written in Canada, and, better still, makes a local study count decisively in larger matters of historical interpretation and practice.

Gordon Darroch  
York University

Donald Harmon Akenson, *Being Had: Historians, Evidence and the Irish in North America* (Toronto: P.D. Meany 1985).



DONALD AKENSON is a prolific historian of Ireland, particularly of religion and education. In recent years he has made two signal contributions to improving our understanding of the Canadian past. The first was his decision to encourage the study of Canadian rural history. Here was an area not only neglected but one which seemed completely out of fashion at a time when urban working-class history was all the rage. In 1978 Akenson published the first of what has grown to four volumes of *Canadian Papers in Rural History*. While essays from various hands are understandably uneven, it cannot be doubted that together they represent a major development in recent Canadian historiography.

Akenson's second achievement is his own study in rural and ethnic history, the deservedly praised *The Irish in Ontario*. In that volume Akenson brought his mature understanding of Irish history and his statistical talents to bear on some of the most hoary myths that have grown up about the history of the Irish in North America. Almost single-handedly — John Mannion, Gordon Darroch, and Michael Ornstein had begun the work — Akenson, in an exhaustive study of Leeds and Lansdowne townships in Ontario, demonstrated that Irish settlers were neither mainly urban, clannish in settlement habits, nor incapable of succeeding at North American pioneer farming. He has also reminded us — it should be unnecessary at last in Canada — that "Irish" is not code for "Roman Catholic." While the book was somewhat overwritten (a good editor would have purged a few unnecessary mini-lectures and pruned the overly elaborate metaphors), his *The Irish in Ontario* is certainly a work of impressive analytical scholarship with implications reaching far beyond Leeds and Lansdowne. It will undoubtedly be a major influence on future studies of ethnic and rural history in Canada and should compel Irish-American historians to re-

assess many of their standard interpretations.

Along the way to writing *The Irish in Ontario* Akenson, quite naturally, wrote a number of exploratory papers touching directly or tangentially on his principal study. These papers have now been gathered together in a book with an amusing dustjacket and a silly title, published by Canada's leading, and only, Irish publisher. A quick glance at the table of contents, and the first chapter, explains the title: it is intended to disguise the lack of anything new in the volume for familiar material is just tarted up and presented as a lesson in historical fallacies. Here is Bishop Akenson, *en chair*, preaching against the venial, occasionally even mortal, sins that beset historians. And as every bishop, professor, and member of the lower clergy knows, old material can always be recycled to fit a new text unless, of course, you have foolishly committed your material to print! Alas, with only one important exception, the chapters in this sermon are already familiar stuff, some used on more than one Sunday morning.

The book opens with an account of potential historical sins set out as a tale about Dublin's Protestant Bishop Whatley (the subject of an Akenson biography) and the perils of phrenology. Then comes a devastating assault on the standard estimates of the ethnic composition of the United States in 1790. Originally published in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, this rather technical piece will be valued by specialists and perhaps by graduate students learning the trade. A good library and a photocopy machine would have served that audience effectively. As part of this book, it introduces a problem endemic to the entire collection: it presents certain propositions and conclusions that will be repeated again and again, often in nearly identical language. Chapter three, reprinted from this journal (Fall 1984), delivers a thrashing to Irish Ameri-

can historians, partly by the use of Canadian census data that give the lie to the claim that the Irish in North America could not rough it in the bush. Readers of Mrs. Moodie will be less astonished than William Shannon and Laurence McCaffrey.

This theme, accompanied by additional statistical evidence, is hammered home again in chapter four, versions of which appeared first in *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, III, and as the opening chapter in *The Irish in Ontario*. Now I admit to a certain intellectual retardation when it comes to statistics, but I had certainly absorbed these points before reading *Being Had*. *Déjà vu*, or its Erse equivalent, drove many a prospective adherent from phrenology.

Of course these chapters have undergone some modifications, or at least rearrangement. For example, the attack on the late Clare Pentland that appeared in the original version of chapter four has been excised only to reappear as a full-blown, 30-page section in this collection. Where Pentland was once excoriated by his Orange-tinged views of the capacities of Catholic Irish immigrants, in the new demolition derby, his work is categorized with *Mein Kampf*, which we are all advised to re-read every decade or so. Now watching the destruction of icons is sometimes an enjoyable and even a profitable pastime. But Akenson, who sometimes gives evidence of close contact with the Blarney Stone (or perhaps it was a Minnesota Rune Stone), simply can not control his howitzer. Does he really expect us to accept this phony parallel between Pentland's use of the once-popular "national character" stereotyping (a concept which still underpins so-called "Canadian Studies") with Hitler's biological racism? This is pure *passé-passé*. Akenson has a powerful point to make against Pentland and his disciples, though he is much less effective than Allen Greer's recent discussion in this journal (Spring 1985). But the Hitler stuff is just showbiz, low vaudeville

in fact, which draws laughs and shocked gasps by confusing the wrong-headed with the demonic. Phrenology at its worst.

Fortunately, Akenson recovers his balance in a fine, if lengthy, discussion of Irish (in fact English) influence on Eger-ton Ryerson's educational ideas (not, I think, on English Canadian popular culture as the inflated title suggests). This is a valuable, new essay which, with some revision, might have adorned the pages of a respectable journal of educational history or *Ontario History*.

*Being Had* ends where it began, with Bishop Whatley and the warnings to historians. It is entertaining stuff but it does have the odour of a slightly self-indulgent first year lecture on historical methodology. It is essentially filler, like much else in this repetitive collection. If you need a "prophylaxis against the misguided will of Canadian social historians" (now there's a piece of rune stone writing!) you will find a good summary of Akenson's most important conclusions on pages 77-90. Otherwise, don't be had. But you should certainly read *The Irish in Ontario*. Now that is a good book.

Ramsay Cook  
York University

William D. Coleman, *The Independence Movement in Quebec 1945-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1984).

LE SUJET N'EST PAS nouveau. Il a déjà été étudié de long en large. Plutôt surprenant pour un sujet de thèse de doctorat! Alors la perspective, la démarche apporte-t-elle un éclairage nouveau? Non, pas vraiment. L'auteur aborde le sujet très classiquement en suivant une perspective à la fois historique et thématique. Exception faite du dernier chapitre, le livre devrait plutôt s'intituler: «Histoire contemporaine du Québec.» Nième version.

Soyons positif et reconnaissons que l'auteur a fait une très bonne synthèse du sujet. Mais sans vraiment plus. Il demeure

néanmoins surprenant qu'il n'y ait aucune bibliographie et qu'il faille scruter les notes à la fin du livre. Encore là, la documentation consultée n'apporte pas l'originalité souhaitée.

L'histoire du Québec de Brunet à Bourque, vous la connaissez. Pas besoin d'insister et de récapituler sur le contenu de 75 pour cent du livre. Non pas que l'auteur ait tort. Le mouvement indépendantiste a des racines qu'il faut fouiller de façon non superficielle. Ce que l'auteur fait très bien. Mais c'est toujours la même sauce.

D'abord un mot sur la loi 101 qui, selon l'auteur, ne constituerait qu'une amorcée positive au processus d'indépendance. Il y aurait eu là une piste intéressante à développer puisque le sujet reste à explorer. L'auteur a choisi la piste la plus facile qui consiste à dire qu'il s'agit là d'une étape vers l'indépendance. En réalité, il faut se rendre à l'évidence que la loi 101 bien, qu'elle fut nécessaire, a constitué le point tournant de la stagnation puis du déclin du nationalisme québécois. En effet, le fait de sécuriser les Québécoises enlève par le fait même aux gens un des éléments moteurs du nationalisme indépendantiste: la notion de survie d'un peuple. La loi 101 constitue de fait un couteau à double tranchant: sécurisant et démobilisateur. C'est l'arme qui a porté le PQ au pouvoir et qui paradoxalement a meurtri fortement le processus d'indépendance.

Quant au mouvement politique, le rôle de la classe moyenne est réellement surévalué. Cette classe a été fragmentée sur cette question et elle n'a jamais constitué un bloc homogène qui soutint le PQ. Il est plus facile d'endosser l'alliance de la classe ouvrière, de l'intelligentsia et des employés du secteur public.

Je n'endosse par ailleurs pas la thèse qui consiste à dire que les Québécoises sont devenus indépendantistes à cause de la perte du pouvoir économique de Montréal au profit de Toronto. Allez en parler aux gens du Lac St-Jean! Qui ne se

souvient pas au contraire qu'une des principales motivations consistait à expliquer que, plus riches que la plupart des autres, nous payions pour les autoroutes de la Nouvelle-Écosse!

Finalement l'auteur s'en tient au rôle de la classe capitaliste anglophone et francophone pour expliquer l'opposition ou la coalition contre le PQ.

Les anglophones, de toutes les classes, ont fait front commun sur cette question. Et pourquoi éviter de parler des minorités qui se sont opposées presque unanimement à l'indépendance et dont on ne peut dire qu'elles font partie de l'élite économique.

Finalement l'auteur a négligé l'aspect conjoncturel, notamment la déconfiture du régime Bourassa, la question des Gens de l'air, etc. Le peuple québécois est nationaliste. Sa ferveur nationaliste prend de l'ampleur lorsqu'il se sent menacé comme dans les années 1970. Nous ne pouvons d'ailleurs expliquer la défaite libérale aux élections de 1981 que, outre le manque de charisme de Ryan, par l'abandon du nationalisme du PQ trop confiant des résultats du référendum.

En résumé, j'ai été déçu du livre sachant qu'il s'agissait d'une thèse de doctorat, parainnée par de gros noms comme David Easton et Michael Stein. Ne tenant pas compte de ce fait, il s'agit d'une très bonne synthèse de l'histoire contemporaine du Québec avec certaines réserves quant à l'analyse des questions les plus récentes.

Michael Pratt  
CEGEP de Saint-Hyacinthe

Milly Charon, ed., *Between Two Worlds: The Canadian Immigrant Experience* (Montreal: Quadrant Edition 1983).

CEUX ET CELLES d'entre nous qui sommes familiers de l'histoire orale savent combien elle peut enrichir la vision de l'historien, stimuler sa recherche, ouvrir de nouvelles pistes. Elle constitue de plus un moyen privilégié de rejoindre un

public que les ouvrages universitaires ennuiet ou effraient. Pourtant, au-delà de cette facilité apparente, ses richesses mêmes et les possibilités qu'elle offre en font un terrain plein d'embûches: le recueil édité par Milly Charon n'y a pas échappé. Il ne s'agit pas d'un ouvrage historique à proprement parler. Madame Charon, qui elle-même a grandi dans le «ghetto» immigrant montréalais des années 1930 et 1940, interpelle en fait un public plus large, qu'elle cherche à sensibiliser à la condition immigrante, afin de briser, nous dit-elle, le cycle douloureux et sans cesse renouvelé de l'adaptation. C'est que les préjugés sont coriaces. Bien d'autres avant elle se sont fixé ce but. Parmi eux, dans la communauté historique, Oscar Handlin en est sans doute le plus fameux exemple.<sup>1</sup> Mais si la cause est noble, la démarche comporte plus d'un écueil: Handlin lui-même n'a pas su éviter la tentation du misérabilisme.

Ce recueil ne s'adresse donc pas spécifiquement à des historiens ou à des universitaires. Il reste que ces récits de vie, issus de tous les horizons et de milieux divers, sont autant de flashes du passé, de l'histoire de pays étranger et de celle du Canada: ils ramènent à des épisodes dont certains sont désormais bien connus — l'occupation et les camps de concentration nazis durant la dernière guerre, par exemple — d'autres beaucoup moins, voire pas du tout. Ainsi, ce témoignage émouvant, et pourtant relaté dans un style on ne peut plus direct, d'un Britannique arrivé ici jeune orphelin pour servir de manoeuvre chez des familles de fermiers canadiens. Quelques ouvrages, en particulier au cours des années récentes, ont mis en lumière cette pratique par laquelle l'Angleterre envoyait travailler au Canada des petits vagabonds, des enfants de familles démunies ou de l'Assistance publique. Je

songe en particulier à l'ouvrage de Joy Parr sur le sujet.<sup>2</sup>

Plus de 25 textes sont réunis dans ce livre, offrant une matière très diversifiée et des réflexions de portée inégale sur l'expérience immigrante. Certains sont extraits d'entrevues avec ceux des immigrants consultés qui n'avaient pas l'habileté de produire eux-mêmes un texte. Plusieurs ne parlent d'ailleurs qu'à peine le français ou l'anglais. Mme Charon ne précise toutefois pas la technique d'entrevue utilisée, non plus que les principes qui ont guidé leur mise en forme — ce qui, dans le cas d'un ouvrage du genre, est une omission un peu embarrassante. D'autres immigrants, par contre, ont écrit ces récits en réponse à des annonces parues dans les journaux à travers le pays. Encore une fois, le choix de ces derniers n'est pas expliqué. Pourquoi, par exemple, aucun journal francophone ne figure-t-il sur la liste? Estimait-on que le français rejoindrait moins facilement la population immigrante? En fait, aucun journal montréalais ou québécois, fut-il anglophone, n'y est mentionné.

L'idée de faire appel à la presse canadienne, ethnique ou non, me paraît a priori excellente. D'autant que les réponses semblent avoir été nombreuses. Par contre, demander à des informateurs de soumettre un texte sur un thème donné — on ignore au juste comment celui-ci était formulé — fausse à mon avis l'expérience. D'abord, parce que l'on perd nécessairement ainsi l'élément de spontanéité qui est si précieux à l'entrevue, qu'elle soit de nature journalistique ou historique. Cela n'enlève pas toute valeur à ces textes, mais explique sans doute que beaucoup d'entre eux aient par moment le ton du devoir d'école, tant l'application à prouver qu'on est «bien heureux de vivre au Canada» est évidente. Hélas, dans la plupart des

<sup>1</sup> Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migration that Made the American People* (Boston 1951).

<sup>2</sup> Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentice to Canada, 1869-1924* (Montréal 1980).

entrevues, la recherche d'un mot de la fin qui mette le Canada à l'honneur est également trop flagrante.

Il ne s'agit pas de mettre en cause la sincérité de ces témoignages. Mais faut-il écrire et lire ces professions de foi pour que l'on comprenne ce que le Canada représente aux yeux des gens qui ont choisi d'y vivre, pour qu'on les considère comme de bons et de vrais Canadiens? Assez ironiquement, n'est-ce pas le genre de déclaration que les « nativistes » (au sens américain du terme) ont toujours exigé de ceux qu'ils considéraient comme des étrangers?

Le texte de Rolph Christensen s'inscrit lui aussi en partie dans cette veine: à travers le récit de son itinéraire d'immigrant, l'auteur trace en effet son profil de carrière, le profil d'une génération montante ou nouvellement établie de leaders de communautés ethniques – dans ce cas, de la communauté danoise. Pour conclure (en fin politique, est-on tenté de dire), Christensen reprend à son compte la vision officielle et désincarnée de la société canadienne qu'est l'image de la « mosaïque multiculturelle. » Par bonheur, d'autres témoignages apportent une contribution plus originale et nous amènent à des réflexions plus profondes.

Ainsi, celui de Meera Shastri, qui a quitté l'Inde il y a quelques années pour suivre son mari au Canada. L'émigration leur a assuré la sécurité, voire l'aisance matérielle; mais la société canadienne les confronte également aux préjugés et au racisme occidentaux, aux ghettos d'emploi et au double ghetto des femmes immigrantes. Que répondre aux craintes qu'elle exprime face à son avenir et à celui de son fils? Il y a aussi ce texte de *Un-Young Lim, une jeune Coréenne* qui explore avec beaucoup de nuance les émotions et l'impression de dédoublement qu'elle vit entre ses deux mondes. D'autres enfin apportent une perception intéressante parfois, mais pas toujours flatteuse de la société dans laquelle nous

vivons et de ses multiples solitudes.

Ce qui fait ici cruellement défaut, ce sont d'abord quelques commentaires permettant de situer chaque contribution, faisant valoir les contrastes ou les similitudes des perceptions et des expériences selon que l'on est immigrant dans les années 1950, blanc et qualifié, Italien de la deuxième génération ou Salvadorienne et fardée à l'oeil par la GRC. Rien n'est fait dans ce sens, pas plus que l'effort d'une analyse qui lirait ces textes autour de thèmes communs. Craignait-on d'affecter l'authenticité des témoignages? On peut fort bien guider le lecteur tout en les laissant intacts. *Between Two Worlds* propose des éléments de réflexion intéressants et peut être un outil de référence valable pour ceux et celles qui s'interrogent et travaillent autour des questions touchant à l'ethnicité et à l'immigration. Cependant, dans la mesure où il s'adresse également à un public non averti, cet ouvrage risque fort de manquer l'essentiel de son but

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Nadia Fahmy-Eid et Micheline Dumont, éd., *Maitresses de maison, maitresses d'école: Femmes, famille et éducation dans l'histoire du Québec* (Montréal: Boréal Express 1983).

LINKED BY THE themes of family and education, the fourteen essays in this collection represent a variety of approaches to different questions about the lives of women and girls in the history of Quebec. An introductory essay on methodology and historiography provides a useful perspective from which to begin. Some of the essays are new, some are reprints of papers presented elsewhere, and several are excerpts from MA theses. All of the articles add important information to our knowledge of the history of women and girls in Quebec; a number offer new

insights into old historical questions and lay waste to some myths about the social history of Quebec in the process.

Two themes dominate this collection. In Quebec, as in nineteenth- and twentieth-century English-speaking Canada, there existed a generalized view about the "feminine nature" of women rooted in assumptions about the inevitable maternity of all women. Suppositions about the nurturing and moral prescriptions for women's place in society led in turn to a certainty of the basic inferiority of women which required their subordination in society to male authority in the family, in education, in religion, and in society at large. In Quebec, as elsewhere, this view of women was articulated, shaped, disseminated, and enforced by a new bourgeoisie emerging in the wake of rapid industrialization and urbanization. As the essays in this collection show, the impact of industrialization in intellectual and social terms, not to forget economic consequences, was no less devastating for women in Quebec than elsewhere.

Nadia Fahmy-Eid reminds us at the outset that from the time of the French regime, education has been a device to stratify society, offering different forms and quality of learning for different social strata, and, in particular, as a tool to prepare girls for their "natural" adult roles as wives and mothers. In this respect her observations on "L'éducation des filles chez les Ursulines de Québec" offers a pertinent introduction to the nature of education for females in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As Fahmy-Eid and Nicole Thivierge show when comparing "L'éducation des filles au Québec et en France 1880-1930," the striking differences implicit in clerical control of education in Quebec and state control in France pale next to the similarities. In both, the purpose of education for females was to prepare them for limited, narrowly-defined social roles designed to serve the interests of bourgeois groups of clerics or republican politicians, as the case may be.

The result in both societies was to produce special curricula for females that were of limited academic value, resulting in diplomas that offered few employment or educational opportunities. Education for females was to "les informer un peu, mais de les former beaucoup." (220) The force of their argument is accentuated by Fahmy-Eid and Nicole Laurin-Frenette's study of "Théories de famille... au Québec et en France 1850-1960." The consequences were significant and long-lasting for the women of the province.

Nicole Thivierge's study of "L'enseignement ménager 1880-1970" elucidates how the bourgeois view of women as the agents of the status quo, and in the case of Quebec national survival as well, justified stressing "domestic" education for females. Much like the "domestic science" movement of English-speaking Canada at the same time, "domestic training" was a device to control the emerging working class by emphasizing a narrow view of the true "feminine nature" as part of a strategy of inculcating an essentially bourgeois model of family life, material expectations, proprieties, and place in society. Significant in Thivierge's study is the fact that only a small percentage of female students in fact pursued this educational path and that opposition to this type of education existed and grew in the face of fierce clerical and nationalist (i.e., bourgeois) insistence on maintaining the *écoles ménagères*.

Other educational institutions offered a different curriculum but no different ideas and assumptions to Quebec women. Marie-Paule Malouin's study of "Les rapports entre l'école privée et l'école publique" demonstrates the stratification of education on the basis of social class in two schools run by the *Sœurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et de Marie*. While the nuns might suggest an alternative to marriage and maternity they gave their students no alternate set of *ideas* about the place of women in Quebec society:

instead they perpetuated and reinforced traditional values and definitions for their charges.

Significantly, the limited education offered by the *couvent* or *école paroissiale* was replicated for those few female students who went on to advanced studies at the *collège classique*. Michèle Jean's "L'enseignement supérieur des filles et son ambiguïté" reveals that while the *Soeurs de Sainte-Anne* were tenacious in their struggle to provide higher education for women in the twentieth century, their objectives in no way challenged traditional assumptions. They sought to prepare women to be only an educated auxiliary of the Church and their husbands, to engage in social activism through Catholic organizations, and to be the guardians of traditional values in the home and in the larger society. Unintentionally they did teach women to be dissatisfied with the limited roles society accorded them, but the sisters provided them few tools with which to move from dissatisfaction to full participation. The struggles of the nuns to found and nurture their college were never understood by them as symptomatic of the restricted place of women stressed by both clerical and secular authority in the province.

A consequence of conceptualizing so narrowly the role of women in Quebec society can be found in the transfer of those attitudes from education to employment practices. In examining "Sexes et classes sociales dans l'enseignement," the late Maria Danylewycz amply demonstrates the extent to which female teachers were regarded as transitory workers and essentially "caregivers," not professionals. As a result they were deprived of working conditions and wages that were the equivalent of their male colleagues. Just as education for women was a low public priority, so was equal treatment in the workplace: Danylewycz shows clearly how sex rather than age or experience was the most significant factor in determining wages for teachers. Marise Thivierge's

examination of "Syndicalisation des institutrices catholiques" underscores Danylewycz's findings. A poor education and iniquitable employment practices left female teachers not only underpaid but isolated; not surprisingly, teaching held few attractions for women as a profession. Equally understandable is the way in which the organization of female teachers in professional groups proved of limited success until after World War II.

*From a variety of perspectives, the historians represented here show how these assumptions about "Feminine nature" shaped so many facets of the lives of girls and women in the last two centuries in Quebec. Domestic service among women was an ill-defined means of social assistance, while "service" was for men an opportunity for settling and establishing recent immigrants. As for the "Socialisation des filles dans la famille," Denise Lemieux exposes the susceptibility of the nineteenth-century Quebec bourgeoisie to popular preferences for male children and the conviction that the lot of women in life was to suffer; she goes on to explain how industrialization, especially mechanization, removed women from the world of work and isolated them in their homes where their domestic responsibilities were transformed from chores into moral imperatives defined by a male bourgeoisie.*

Bettina Bradbury and Micheline Dumont, in now familiar studies reprinted in this collection, outline the consequences of both industrialization and those prevailing attitudes about "feminine nature" in their fine studies of "L'économie familiale et le travail" and "Des garderies au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle." Together their findings accentuate the nineteenth-century bourgeois occupation with redefining work as an activity carried on by men outside the home, while the women who needed to earn wages to support themselves and their families were faced with the insoluble dilemma, then as now, of

living in a society that demanded their labour at pitifully low wages with little or no provision for the adequate and safe care of their children.

How women in Quebec responded to this barrage about "feminine nature" is considered in a significant piece by Marie Lavigne: "Réflexions féministes autour de la fertilité des Québécoises." Examining the patterns of child bearing for three generations of women, Lavigne shows how the Québécoise of interminable pregnancies is a mythical creature. In fact, the uncontrolled fertility of a tiny minority had an immense statistical impact; evidently contraception was widely practised despite Catholic teaching and bourgeois exhortations to save the nation through the cradle.

Lavigne's essay underscores the direction in which more research is needed. We know what the Québécoises were being urged to do with their lives; now we must determine what in fact they were doing. Micheline Dumont's call to "Découvrir la mémoire des femmes" outlines the problems in attempting to learn the history of women from the point of view of women. The time to begin, however, is long past.

A collection of this type cannot provide all the answers but can, and this one does, suggest important questions yet to be asked by historians. As a summary of current research in a number of special areas, the book is important. It suffers from the typical problems of a collection: differences of approach, method, and style, uneven developments of argument, disparate topics and time periods. The text is flawed in a number of places by inadequate proofreading of English-language references. The placement of footnotes at the bottom of the page in the introductory essay is a sensible scholarly format that would have enhanced the rest of the book compared to the endnotes used for the bulk of the text. In sum, this book represents a significant collection of research that adds to our knowledge of the

social and intellectual history of Quebec and of the place of women in that history. The contributors, individually and collectively, point in the directions where much research remains to be done. An enterprising translator and press are needed to bring most of this book to a larger audience.

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Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, *A Working Majority: What Women Must Do for Pay* (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women 1983).

WOMEN'S OPPRESSION in Canada, as elsewhere, is rooted in a variety of realms, from the household through the legal and political system to religion. One realm of women's oppression which is of increasing importance is that of the labour force. As Armstrong and Armstrong have documented in their earlier study, *The Double Ghetto*, since the 1950s women have been flooding into the labour force. This transformation in their relationship to the labour market has been the result of a combination of expanding economic need associated with low wages and high rates of inflation and increased demand for workers in employment sectors which recruit female workers. More women are working but they continue to be confined to only a limited number of jobs which they share with other women.

By 1980, a majority of Canadian women worked for pay. Armstrong and Armstrong's *A Working Majority* is about these women. Funded by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, this report is, in some sense, a sequel to *The Double Ghetto*. Based on a combination of statistical and research findings and the results of 65 in-depth interviews with working women in Canada, *A Working Majority* allows the authors to flesh out their earlier statistical and theoretical discussion with data on women's actual experience not only on



the job but also with employment-related legislation and government institutions in Canada.

A central theme in the book is the commonality of women's work-related experience despite substantial variations in their personal backgrounds, regional location, and in the type of job that they do. Women with children and without; who are married, divorced, or widowed; who live in Nova Scotia, Quebec, or British Columbia; and who are secretaries, domestics, waitresses, hairdressers, or do piecework in their own homes, find their paid work shaped by similar structures and experiences.

*A Working Majority* is divided into two sections. In the first part, findings from the interviews are used to illustrate the results of statistical and other research results concerning the structure of women's paid labour. Here, the analysis illustrates some of the findings documented in *The Double Ghetto* but also goes beyond these to include information on women's unemployment and underemployment; job tenure; the impact on women of legislation relating to paid work; job hunting practices and dealings with the unemployment insurance bureaucracy. The evidence presented demonstrates, among other things, the extent to which present legislation all too often increases the disadvantages which women confront in the labour force and the disproportionately large increase in unemployment and underemployment which women have experienced in the past few years.

In the second section of the report, the focus of the analysis shifts to the level of the labour process. Results from the interviews are used to document the monotony that is typical of women's paid labour and their attempts to reduce that monotony. High levels of supervision, low skill levels, and a lack of on-the-job training are also identified as common features of women's paid work. Employers tend to assume that simply as a result of being a

woman, women already have the skills necessary for the jobs which they receive in the labour force. Other characteristics of the labour process typical of women's paid work include a lack of consultation between management and workers before changes are introduced; lack of job security; ambiguous and often unfair evaluation procedures; common and substantial health risks; poor working conditions; and a work process in which women are concentrated at the bottom in terms of power, skills, wages, and control.

The transformation that has occurred in women's relationship to paid labour over the past few decades, not only in Canada but throughout the world, means that deepening our understanding of women's oppression in this realm is both intellectually interesting and of critical political importance to the women's movement. For those of us who are members of that movement and who are responsible both for research and for teaching in the area of women's studies and women and work, *A Working Majority* is a useful tool that should facilitate our efforts in all of these activities. While from a stylistic point of view the report is dense and makes for a laborious read, it does contain a wealth of significant and interesting findings. The tantalizing but brief discussion on women and resistance is heartening and particularly significant in light of the obvious structural factors which militate against such resistance by making it dangerous and difficult to sustain. Finally, the recommendations of the researchers are useful. The need for legislative changes in the areas of unemployment insurance and pensions; for better enforcement of legislation relating to sexual harassment, sexual discrimination, and health and safety, are amply documented by the research findings. Similarly, government legislation which facilitates unionization and sets minimum standards for not only minimum wage but also sick pay and parental leave are of particular importance to the women who

work for pay. As the authors clearly recognize, such legislative changes will not end the debilitating and discriminatory aspects which colour women's participation in the labour force in Canada today, but they will facilitate the struggle to achieve that end.

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Paul Phillips and Erin Phillips, *Women and Work: Inequality in the Labour Market* (Toronto: Lorimer 1983).

DESPITE THE DRAMATIC increases in the number of women entering the labour force, women's economic position has not shown any significant progress. Women's wages continue to be just under 60 per cent of men's wages and women are still found in certain low-wage sectors of the economy designated as "women's work." In their book Phillips and Phillips set out to discover why this is the case by providing an economic history of women's work in Canada, an analysis of the contemporary market situation, a projection about the impact of new technology on women's future work patterns, and an understanding of women's partial participation in the labour movement.

They warn early in the book that they are not concerned with women's double work load "in terms of content or double burden on women;" (ix) rather, they are concerned with women's paid work, especially the impact of the double ghetto on women in the labour market. Notwithstanding these initial qualifications, the main thesis of the book traces women's labour market participation, wage and occupational structure, and lack of career opportunities directly to women's domestic responsibilities. The authors claim that they are not following any one school of thought, but rather they are combining a number of theoretical frameworks "from orthodox economic

analyses to feminist and radical analyses." (xii)

An historical chapter provides a descriptive secondary account of women's work in Canada. It examines women's pre-industrial work on the farm, in the fur trade, and in fishing, as well as women's work following industrialization. Two arguments are put forward: 1) women's participation in the labour force mirrored women's domestic labour, and 2) women as secondary wage earners were a cheap labour pool.

A demographic profile of women's participation in the work force notes the marked increase of married women between the ages of 24 and 55, and the high percentage of female heads of households. The most striking statistic concerns the large number of single-parent mothers who live below the poverty line. Limited occupational choice at low pay and an increase in part-time work characterizes the expansion of female labour market opportunities.

Phillips and Phillips account for women's disadvantaged position by referring to the "overcrowding thesis" which suggests that the supply of labour relative to demand is greater in female-dominated occupations compared to male-dominated occupations, resulting in lower wages for women. Downward pressure on women's wages is further extenuated by the reserve army of unemployed women in the household, and of underemployed women available for part-time and low-wage work. Women are victims of statistical discrimination because family responsibilities interrupt their labour force participation. Vulnerable as workers with less training and less continuous work experience, they are only suitable for employment in marginal industries.

Not satisfied with what they consider "partial explanations" attributed to orthodox economic theories, Phillips and Phillips examine dual or segmented labour market theories to explain the existence of

female job ghettos. They note that white males who are usually unionized predominate in the primary labour market characterized by relatively higher wages, secure employment, reasonable working conditions, opportunities for advancement, and management practices circumscribed by rules and customs. On the other hand, women, youth, and racial or ethnic minorities are found in the secondary labour market characterized by weak unions, poor wages, insecure employment, poor working conditions, minimal advancement, and arbitrary management practices. The authors question not only the origins, but also the persistence of employment dualism even when women demonstrate a primary commitment to work. Equally puzzling is the failure of clerical work in large corporations to develop internal labour markets comparable to production workers.

In providing an historical examination of ghetto jobs in manufacturing and services, they argue that certain jobs "were identified as women's work, most frequently that were an extension into the market of their traditional work in the home." (92) In describing the application of scientific management techniques to the office, especially the separation of conception and execution and the subsequent deskilling of clerical work, they suggest that women were hired as cheap, less-skilled labour with low management aspirations. Similarly, women were hired to teach in elementary schools because they were a less costly work force. Women accepted their wages and low status out of economic necessity and as a result of their subservient role learned in the patriarchal family. Men, on the other hand, fought back and maintained their economic position.

In analyzing women's limited participation in the labour movement, the Phillips' reject both traditional and feminist arguments. They present an historical overview of women's participation in unions and conclude that fragmentation in

isolated workplaces, the expectation of marriage, and lack of continuous work experience, as well as less bargaining power in the unskilled trades, hindered women from first organizing into unions, and from having much strength once they did.

The question remains as to why women continue to be employed in industries and occupations that are poorly organized and where resistance to unionization prevails. They point to the historic resistance of male craft trade unionists to organize women, to fight for equal wages, and to support women's independent initiatives to organize; nevertheless the efforts of the CIO in the 1930s and the more recent successes in unionizing public sector employees have greatly benefited the unionization of women. Concomitantly, the strong opposition of employers and their relative market strength has been crucial in hindering women's unionization attempts.

The low participation of women in union administration is related to women's double workload and the role of unions in downplaying issues critical to women. In suggesting proposals for change the authors note that men must begin to share domestic labour. They admonish the women's movement to broaden its base to attract working-class women and men by focusing on economic demands and not just demands concerning political and sexual rights. Legislative change must include wages for housework; equal pay legislation must be coupled with affirmative action and contract compliance; family law reform should view pensions as family assets; and day-care should be legislated as a community based concern.

Finally, Phillips and Phillips suggest that the failure of unions to represent the interests of women is simply a reflection of "the same economic and social forces that produced the inferior economic position of women in the first place." (180)

Indeed, some unions (especially the public sector unions) have been in the forefront of winning recognition for women's demands. The authors conclude that continued political pressure, education, legislation, and union action can potentially lessen the economic inequality experienced by women in the work force.

The authors have thus provided a popularly written and inexpensive paperback to account for women's disadvantaged economic position in the labour force. Their ideas are expressed clearly and difficult economic concepts are explained in a non-jargonized and easily understood language. The attempt to provide an *understanding of women's work* by combining an economic analysis with an historical account is a worthwhile endeavour. The statistics on women's poverty, the insights into the harmful aspects of technological change on women's work, and the documentation of recent feminist strides in trade unionism are well presented.

On the other hand, the fatal flaw of this monograph is the early warning of the authors that they will not systematically deal with the question of domestic labour *although much of their economic analysis* can be traced to women's position in the family and indeed their stated intention is a conscious attempt to make this link. They draw somewhat eclectically from two problematic economic theories, the reserve army of labour thesis and labour segmentation theory, that do not adequately explain the specificity of women's unequal position in the labour force. The failure to develop a coherent theoretical framework based on an analysis of the gender division of labour as it affects women's role in reproduction has serious implications for the arguments made in *Women and Work*.

First, in accounting for the origins of labour segmentation, it is erroneous to assume that the work that women do in the labour force is necessarily an extension of their domestic labour. It is not entirely

clear that the labour process involved in clerical work and telephone operation are similar to tasks done in the home. Even if the tasks were the same, crucial distinctions characterizing the labour processes in the home from the labour process outside the home are not systematically explored. The point is that women's paid labour is very different from domestic labour because the former involves the payment of a wage and the production of surplus labour, whereby the employee has a direct relationship to the employer. No such direct relationship characterizes domestic labour. To describe simplistically similarities in tasks is to ignore this fundamental relationship between wage labour and capital.

Secondly, the authors do not explain why it is that women *as women* are found in certain low-paying sectors designated as women's work. The reserve army of labour thesis is inadequate because unemployed men are also a reserve army, as are unemployed youth and immigrant workers who work for low wages. The existence of all of these sectors exert downward pressure on wages. The specificity of female wage labour, especially women's position in the family, is only a partial explanation since this refined version of the reserve army of labour thesis does not account for the ideological designation of "women's work." Similar arguments concerning dual labour markets are descriptive and as the authors recognize do not explain the origins of segmentation, leading to the problematic explanation based on the duplication of tasks.

The major difficulty stems from the authors' emphasis on labour markets without recognizing the crucial link between women's position in production and reproduction. While the authors state that women's role in the family accounts for their disadvantaged position, their starting point is not the gender division of labour within social reproduction. Their starting point is labour markets. As a result, they fail to develop an overall historical under-

standing of the transformation of domestic labour during the transition to industrial capitalism and the subsequent shift in the gender division of labour both as it is circumscribed economically and ideologically. In other words, a new level of analysis beyond the economism of Phillips and Phillips is required. This new analysis would root the gender division of labour historically within modes of production, not in the duplication of tasks, and would account for the ideological oppression of women *as women*.

To view the gender division of labour as integrally bound up with capitalist social relations would produce a somewhat different set of strategic proposals than those presented by Phillips and Phillips. Women would not be admonished to take up economic issues at the expense of women's issues but rather both would be seen as priorities. Wages for housework would not be on the list of recommended changes precisely because this demand perpetuates a gender division of labour (which Phillips and Phillips claim to recognize). Legislative change, while important, would be acknowledged as a method for reforming the system, not transforming it.

While the authors state there is no necessary correlation between sex and unionization they run the risk of biological determinism by partially attributing women's inability to organize into unions to the historical resistance of male unionists. Rather than systematically understanding the structural limitations of business unionism and the concomitant interests of the trade union bureaucracy to benefit from the gender divisions between workers, the authors implicitly suggest a commonality of interest between rank-and-file workers and the trade union leadership. It is not clear however, given their view that unions are reflective of social and economic forces, what organizational vehicle women in unions should use to mediate gender divisions.

While critical of dual labour market theory, the authors continue to operate

within this questionable framework. The ideal types of so-called primary and secondary labour markets break down if the reality of each industry and even each workplace is examined in detail. The garment and textile industry, for example, is often referred to as a peripheral industry even though it has been unionized since the 1930s, is the third largest manufacturing sector in Canada, is the major industrial employer of women, and is characterized by uneven technological development. Detailed case studies of various workplaces in different industries will demonstrate that methods of control usually entail a combination of both bureaucratic rules and arbitrary management practices. Dual systems theory cannot adequately accommodate within its categories public sector employment where the majority of women are unionized. What is needed is an in-depth industry-by-industry analysis. Phillips and Phillips do not provide this. Dual segmentation theory is problematic because it does not explain the origins of segmentation but more importantly its initial categorizations of primary and secondary do not reveal the complexities of workplace experience.

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Linda Briskin and Lynda Yanz, eds., *Union Sisters: Women in the Labour Movement* (Toronto: Women's Press 1983).

*UNION SISTERS* is about the struggles and victories of union women. Intended for a non-academic audience and written by activists, it provides strategic direction through "actual experiences of organizing." (9) In reaction to overly determinist accounts of women's work, this book attempts to document how women are beginning to take control of their lives.

An overview of women's work in Canada includes a feminist analysis of

microtechnology, a statistical profile of women's position in unions, and an historical picture of women's involvement in unions from 1830 to 1940. What is interesting about the latter is the recounting of equal pay victories that resulted in the firing of women, the ideology of domesticity used to restrict female labour, and the need for women activists to choose between a career and a family compared to male activists who did not.

Among the union issues addressed is affirmative action. Jackie Larkin's article distinguishes between voluntary, government-enforced, and union-won affirmative action. She addresses the controversial issues of quotas, double seniority lists, and the need to link the question of affirmative action with the demand for equal pay for equal value. Helene David examines the role of legislative change in initiating "action positive" for women in Quebec where affirmative action programmes may be imposed on employers who are proven guilty of discrimination by the Human Rights Commission.

The article on microtechnology written by a CUPW activist outlines most of the pitfalls associated with technological change including deskilling, health problems, increases in part-time and shift work, contracting out to home workers, electronic scabbing, and monitoring the pace of work. She concludes that the issue is not whether technology is good or bad but rather one of control. Her article includes sample contract clauses on technological change. Julie White's essay suggests that part-time work may be a realistic response to the lack of adequate childcare and long hours associated with women's double day of labour. Unionists should oppose the exploitation of part-time workers, not part-time work.

The contributions on sexual harassment pose interesting dilemmas for trade unionists. Are co-worker initiated harassment and employer initiated harassment different and do they require different strategies? Based on her first hand experi-

ence in the coke ovens at Stelco, Debbie Fields tells her story of male culture on the shopfloor and how she and her sister unionists coped — a well written and sensitive piece sprinkled with humorous anecdotes! Field concludes that the most serious conflict in the workplace is not with male co-workers. The second essay by Susan Attenborough provides contract language for unionists. Susan George's article claims that gays and lesbians pose a threat to the conservative views of the family as a place for learning respect for authority, law, and order. She makes a convincing argument that anti-gay forces have much in common with the racist, sexist, and anti-union organizations of the far right. She points to the role of the gay movement, the women's movement, and the labour movement in defending the democratic rights of gays and lesbians.

There are also articles on the right to strike in the public sector, with a special emphasis on the Ontario hospital strike, and the process of collective bargaining, written by CUPE representatives. The latter essay clarifies terms and definitions used in negotiations, explains the bargaining process, provides sample clauses for women's issues, and generally attempts to demystify the whole process. Emphasis is placed on the need for pressure outside bargaining to enforce demands.

The challenge posed by the unorganized addresses a sector that the women's movement has until very recently tended to ignore: immigrant women workers. Rachel Epstein's article on domestic workers in B.C. is based on interviews with immigrants from the Caribbean who tell their experiences in their own words. Jane Springer and Joanne Kates talk about the history of organizing in the arts, culminating in a Women's Cultural Building, a collective of 30 women artists in Toronto who are consciously using the potential of feminist culture to politicize.

Most importantly, a critique of the structure and politics of business union-

ism is presented. Linda Briskin argues that women's modes of organizing, learned within the women's movement and based on accountability, participatory democracy, and grassroots organizing, not only will transform traditional conceptions of what constitutes a union issue but also will restructure unions into vehicles for social change. Nancy Guberman points to a study done by the CNTU on women activists who tended to be younger, to have a higher income, and to be single with no children, compared to rank-and-file women. Her conclusion poses questions for trade union activists: what is a feminist alternative to negotiations sometimes lasting as long as six months and involving gruelling, last minute, no-holds-barred bargaining? How can unions hold biannual conventions of 2,000 people for one week and guarantee the maximum participation of women members? Françoise David discusses the problems of co-optation facing "token women" on negotiating committees and Debbie Field points out the advantages and disadvantages of rank-and-file caucuses compared to bureaucratically-appointed women's committees.

A concluding discussion of strategic alliances traces the history of the daycare movement in Ontario and its alliance with the OFL. The question of the NDP and the relationship of the labour movement to the women's movement are considered. Two excellent essays on wives' support committees pose important questions about the relationship of the family to trade unions. One article by Arja Lane tells of her politicizing experience participating in the Inco Wives Support Committee. Meg Luxton provides an historical perspective by examining the transition from the service function of ladies auxiliaries to wives' support committees that demand control of their own funds.

The articles in this anthology have in common a critique of business unionism that tends to be highly centralized, male

dominated, and narrowly restricted to bargaining over bread and butter issues. Critical of economism, they share the view that women's issues and struggles should not be relinquished even during times of crisis and should encompass all levels of women's experience. Indeed, most of the authors recognize implicitly that real social change will not come about unless women workers are in the forefront.

Although intended as a manual for activists in the labour and women's movement, this book is useful to labour researchers who wish to keep abreast of feminist developments in the labour movement and as a resource for further research. The book contains a cineography, a list of trade union publications on women, and a selected bibliography, all of which are helpful to teachers and students of labour studies.

Like all anthologies this one is uneven. Articles that draw on the actual experiences of the workers in the workplace, and/or tend to be autobiographical, historical, or in some way qualitative, are easy and enjoyable to read. Guberman's article, based on survey research that examines the double day of female union activists, provides useful and important findings. Nevertheless, the tendency of some articles to begin with grandiose statistical claims about the importance of their union and women's position in it are jarring and unnecessary. Certain authors tend to overemphasize the historic importance of reported events in a jargonized way. In an attempt to present a popular book, the editors have developed a resistance to the proper use of footnotes. This is not only patronizing to the reader but also is a misuse of secondary material. A few articles read like a long laundry list of grievances that sound more like a leaflet than an autobiographical account of organizing on the shop floor. Much of the credibility, importance, and, indeed, quality of the essays stem from the recounting in women workers' own words the dilem-

mas, the contradictions, the mistakes and small gains, as well as the big victories in the workplace.

While the book provides a comprehensive overview of issues of concern to women, an article dealing with the effects of the economic crisis on women would further enhance this collection. Many of the authors allude to the economic crisis but do not systematically analyze its impact on women or adequately deal with strategies to fight back. Presently, the Canadian Labour Congress has set as its goal the achievement of shorter working time with no loss in pay. A shorter working day with an emphasis on shared household labour would link this traditional demand to feminist issues of leisure and domestic labour.

Despite the attempts to provide regionally diversified experiences by including articles written by women from British Columbia and Quebec, the anthology is very Toronto-focused. This stems in part from an elitist conception of organizing. In a frank and honest self criticism, Linda Yanz and Carolyn Egan admit that the major shortcoming of socialist feminist organizing in Toronto has been the tendency to orient to women in the leadership of unions rather than adopting a methodology for reaching out to rank-and-file women. This book is a reflection of that strategy. Nevertheless, the women who have written in this book, some of whom are rank-and-file leaders in their unions, share the belief that women's caucuses can mobilize the female membership. Making links with women's caucuses at the local level would be a way of mediating the two strategies.

Such a perspective was at work in the nine-day Montreal garment strike in August 1983. This was the first strike in 40 years. Inspired by a rank-and-file leadership that coalesced around an informal women's committee, these women were on strike against an employer who wanted

to increase hours and decrease wages, against a business union leadership that wished to maintain the status quo and against patriarchal attitudes which defined women's place in the home and not on the picket line. A childcare centre was set up especially for the strike by the women's committee in the union headquarters under the somewhat suspicious eye of the trade union leadership. While assisting in the centre, I observed its hourly transformation: first, as a safe and reassuring place for children to play and be cared for, to sleep and be fed, to participate in a young people's picket line; as a headquarters for militants (both women and men) to listen to radio reports and to compare notes; at the end of a long day a place for twenty women from the women's committee to gather, relax, sit in a circle, and share experiences of the day - all the time revising and analyzing their strategies for the next day and for future struggles. And while we sat there conversation was interspersed with loving gestures, affectionate pats, and playful noises directed at the infant daughter of one of the strike leaders. This was feminism at work!

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Mark Thompson and Gene Swimmer, eds., *Conflict or Compromise? The Future of Public Sector Industrial Relations* (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy 1984).

THOMPSON AND SWIMMER'S edited collection is an important new book which defines for itself a threefold task: to study the function of collective bargaining in Canada's public sector; to analyze the process itself; and to predict whether the 1980s will turn out to be, as the title indicates, a period of conflict or of compromise in the newest area of unionization. While the editors' success in ful-



filling the three objectives is far from even, the book gathers together a great deal of valuable information on public sector industrial relations, much of it new or newly-synthesized, and all of it useful.

The book is structured around twelve commissioned articles, a theoretical capstone piece by the editors, and a bewildering and somewhat repetitive array of foreword, preface, glossary, and summary. The thirteen papers cover seven topics: the controversy concerning public sector compensation (Gunderson, Fisher); growth patterns in public sector unionism (Rose); worker militancy (Swimmer, Smith); Quebec (Hébert, Thwaites); management structures in hospital sector bargaining (Wetzel and Gallagher); legal and legislative issues (Swan, Swinton, Downie); and historical and theoretical interpretations (Panitch and Swartz, Thompson and Swimmer). There are no articles on the impact of technological change on the organization of work and job security; women workers are only marginally treated; and only one paper, by Leo Panitch and Donald Swartz, deals with questions of public policy, the economic crisis, and the political context within which public sector labour relations operate.

Like most compilations of essays, the quality varies from piece to piece. Some, such as the one by Joseph Rose on union growth patterns, please by their sober and creative handling of data, by their careful synthesizing of information heretofore scattered, by the originality with which they explain the trends they have sketched. Others — most notably Panitch and Swartz's "Towards Permanent Exceptionalism" — delight by the richness of their multidisciplinary perspective and the elegance of their analysis. But there are some articles which irritate by their superficiality, by their substitution of method for analysis, by the vagueness of their definitions, and by their lack of imagination. The sections on Quebec, on

strikes, and on worker militancy are not the best parts of the book.

By far the most controversial aspect of the book is its conceptual framework. Thompson and Swimmer set this out in the last paper, "The Future of Public Sector Industrial Relations" and, more summarily, in the preface. What is their thesis? They argue that public sector collective bargaining has gone through several stages. The 1960s was a period of transition (largely with the support of the relevant levels of government) from staff associations to unions, from consultation to collective bargaining. The 1970s saw the rooting and institutionalization of collective bargaining throughout most of the public sector. Nineteen eighty-two represents a "watershed," the shunting aside of collective bargaining and its replacement by legislative fiat. For the editors, this alone does not destroy the smooth fabric of evolution: "the introduction of the restraint policies [in 1983] was caused by the existence of serious economic problems. Thus, the bargaining rights of public sector employees will be restored when the state of the economy permits, though not necessarily in the same favourable economic circumstances which have prevailed in the previous decade." (443) Moreover the rise of special legislation to take away collective bargaining rights from specific groups of workers will not lastingly deform the function or the processes of public sector industrial relations: "the institutions of public sector industrial relations will be seen as being sufficiently developed to respond successfully to incremental changes in their environment." (465)

So far, an internally consistent argument — if a mite Pollyanna-ish. But the second major tenet of Thompson and Swimmer's analysis is in contradiction with the first. On the impact of the introduction of the restraint programmes they write: "Historians may one day regard the year 1982 as a watershed in Canadian

public sector industrial relations. For the previous fifteen years, both employment and compensation in the public sector had grown. Legislatures had encouraged the shift to collective bargaining. . . . That pattern was broken abruptly in 1982. . . ." And elsewhere, "the early growth of public sector labour relations occurred in a hothouse environment. . . . Since 1980, public sector unions and their employers have moved increasingly on a collision course." (441)

The two tenets are contradictory. Either the introduction of the restraint programmes and the cutbacks in the 1980s represent a break with the past, or they do not. If they do, then we must either assume that the processes and functions of public sector industrial relations are going to change in important ways, or that the restraints and cutbacks are not important. If they do not represent a break with the past, why label 1982 a watershed and focus so much of the book's conceptual energies around it? The authors cannot have it both ways.

Either position must be proven, and a detailed analysis of the changes in state policy towards unions, and of the increasing pressures capital has exerted on the welfare state to impose upon it a private sector model of cost-effectiveness, are essential ingredients of that proof. Yet the only piece in the book which does address these issues is the Panitch and Swartz essay. Far from building on it, Thompson and Swimmer set themselves in opposition to it, setting their "optimistic hypothesis" against what they name "the doomsday hypothesis." Their piece is not deepened by that explicit rejection of these fundamental questions.

Oddly, however, Thompson and Swimmer seem at certain points to recognize the priority of policy and ideological issues over institutional ones in ushering in the new era of conflict, stating that, "The rationale for these [government] actions rested in broad economic and political policies rather than on any reac-

tion to labour relations." (442) But they are equally unwilling to follow this logic where it leads, retreating to safer terrain: "Analysis of industrial relations alone is most helpful for prediction when one assumes that changes in the legal framework of bargaining will consist of refinements on the existing system, rather than efforts to undermine the regime of bargaining." (444) Well probably, but wishing won't make it so. If ever an assumption needed to be proven rather than taken on faith, this one is it. Perhaps, though, a critique of Thompson and Swimmer's conceptual framework is no more than a litany of the already familiar shortcomings of the institutional approach. Politics and policy become invisible, the economic crisis and its impact on state policy, transparent. In quieter times, summarizing the public sector industrial relations system by its nuts and bolts might wash. In this period of restructuring, dismantling of the welfare state, and union decline, the system is in volatile evolution, and the institutional approach carries with it an air of quaint unreality.

Carla Lipsig-Mummé  
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James Laxer, *Rethinking the Economy* (Toronto: NC Press 1984).

GIVEN LAXER'S fervent Canadian nationalism he would wince, but his argument in this essay is close to that of American neoliberals, such as the writers around *Washington Monthly*. Like them, his roots are in the politics of the left, in the Canadian equivalent of the New Deal coalition of organized labour, welfare state advocates, and urban ethnic minorities. Like them, he finds that coalition mired in the politics of redistribution, unable to address the issues of productivity. Like them, he advocates a corporatist industrial strategy as part of the solution.

Jim Laxer wrote this essay just before resigning as research director of the federal NDP caucus, and published it immediately after resigning. Allegedly he intended it as an internal critique by a *loyal party functionary*, but it reads like any of Laxer's many published political essays. Most NDP leaders jumped on Laxer's poor etiquette — penning a public assault on the party's economic policies while in the party employ — as a convenient means to avoid the issues he raises. While I think some of Laxer's argument wrong, I fundamentally agree with him that "the NDP's analysis of economic and social evolution remains locked in the 1950s and 1960s where it had its origins" and that "[t]here has been an oddly unsatisfying quality about social democratic pronouncements in Canada in recent years."

The essay's central thesis is that "[t]he touchstone of NDP economic thought has been the encouragement of consumption rather than production" at a time when social democrats ought to be concerned about the latter. (2) NDP spokespersons, Laxer charges, think in terms of introductory textbook Keynesian models in which demand creates its own supply. As solutions to depression and unemployment they *simply argue for more fiscal stimulus*, biased towards low-income earners.

In Laxer's enthusiasm to attack the NDP's emphasis on consumer-led stimulus he claims it to be a logical impossibility if investment does not simultaneously rise. Here he is wrong. Whatever the limitations of NDP economics, it is consistent with a simple Keynesian model that fiscal stimulus increases national income and employment while investment remains fixed. How? Consider a closed economy without foreign trade. Equilibrium occurs when the level of demand arising from a given level of national income is neither greater nor less than that given level of income, but equal to it. Another way of saying the same

thing: the amount of income saved and not spent — by both the private and public sectors — will equal the amount of spending that arises independently of income, that is, the fixed level of investment. If the *government now engages in fiscal stimulus* by, say, lowering taxes while maintaining expenditures and hence incurring a deficit, the public sector is "dissaving." On the assumption that private savings rise as disposable income rises, equilibrium of investment (which is unchanged) and total saving (private plus public) will now occur at a higher level of national income where the level of private saving has increased sufficiently to offset the decrease in public saving.

For those in the NDP and elsewhere who portray fiscal stimulus as the simple solution to unemployment, Laxer poses the following question: *why have more politicians not followed this prescription? Politicians may be perverse, but they want re-election and can read poll results which consistently place full employment at or near the top of popular economic demands on government*. Laxer gives two reasons. One is inflation, a subject Laxer justly accuses the NDP of ignoring. These same polls have consistently shown public anxiety about inflation and undeniably some form of inverse relation exists between the level of aggregate demand (relative to supply) and inflation. A second reason is that if a small country like Canada stimulates its economy independently of other countries, it will result in a worsening balance of payments, devaluation of the currency, increased price of imports, nominal wage increases, and inflation.

In summary, Laxer overdoes his critique of Keynesian demand management. As Reagan had inadvertently proved by his "military Keynesianism," a massive infusion of government spending will stimulate an economy operating below capacity. Demand management is a necessary, if far from sufficient, tool of economic policy.

No, argues Laxer, fiscal stimulus will achieve *nothing* unless productivity is simultaneously improved, and the principal barrier to that is excessive foreign ownership. Foreign-owned firms import too much, export too many jobs, and undertake too little research and development. The solution: an "industrial strategy." Laxer's version involves a "national rebuilding fund" whereby individual savers can invest in new Canadian-owned high technology enterprises. He invokes Herschel Hardin's argument about the existence of a Canadian public enterprise culture, and insists there is no necessary antagonism between the public and private sector. If the foreign multinational can be tamed, Laxer wants, in effect, tripartite sectoral planning among representatives of government, labour, and *Canadian-owned* business.

Laxer is a little unfair to accuse the NDP of complete disinterest in the idea of an industrial strategy. Party leaders have advocated it, due in part to Laxer's own influence. I would have liked from him more discussion of the problems posed by any industrial strategy. Those on the right argue it will merely give more scope for special interests to lobby to prevent market forces from reallocating resources from lower to higher productivity uses. Those on the left perceive corporate power as inevitably prevailing within tripartite councils and that, by its participation, labour will be *co-opted and weakened*.

Finally, Laxer does a service in emphasizing the rise of neoconservatism as a major element of political culture, in Canada as in other western industrial societies. Too many social democrats insist on treating the Conservatives and Liberals as "Tweedledum, Tweedledee." Brian Mulroney may have played to the political centre during the 1984 federal election campaign. That in no way diminishes the rise in support for neoconservative goals among many within the Conservative ranks. So long as social democrats fail to

address the neoconservative arguments that have found popular resonance, they will remain marginal.

While any modern capitalist economy is complex, it is useful to search, as has Laxer, for simplifying themes. Where Laxer perceives foreign ownership as the crucial problem to overcome, I offer an alternative: collective bargaining legislation (Canadian copies of the American Wagner Act) has enmeshed organized labour in redistributive issues, and prevented it from evolving to assume a major share of the entrepreneurial role. That role remains the prerogative of those who invest in finance as opposed to labour. In a non-revolutionary society, labour must "collaborate" with capital, not only in collective bargaining, but in managing. As important as any industrial strategy for the improvement of Canadian economic performance is introduction of codetermination in major firms. The alternative is not pleasant. If organized labour does not change, neoconservatives will attempt in Canada to marginalize it as in Reagan's America and Thatcher's Britain.

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Abraham Rotstein, *Rebuilding From Within: Remedies for Canada's Ailing Economy* (Toronto: Canadian Institute For Economic Policy, 1984).

THE FINAL VOLUME of the series of studies done by the Canadian Institute for Economic Policy, written by its vice-chairman and director of research for submission to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, this little book can serve several purposes. It is to some degree a résumé of many of the main themes to come out of the research done under the auspices of the CIEP. But it can also serve as a vehicle for public debate on the entire experiment. Furthermore the book's reception by the Royal Commission will

also be some indication of how effective non-sectarian think tanks can actually be in influencing the course of economic policy debate in Canada.

Some of the studies published by the CIEP were striking; others were humdrum. There were some serious omissions – there was no study exclusively devoted to the underground economy, and only one dealing with the central issue of the structure and functioning of the Canadian capital market. But the important point is not the numbers on either side; rather it is the fact that the institute existed and did the job. It now falls to others to evaluate, and to emulate, should that evaluation prove positive, as in most cases it probably will.

Rotstein summarizes three basic premises of orthodox Canadian economic policy – facilitating the movement towards liberalization of trade on a global basis; the maintenance of a modest role for the state in the execution of economic policy; and the integration of the Canadian economy into a North American context through the free flow of capital, technology, and cultural values. All three of these basic premises have been recently thrown into serious question. The establishment response has been to try to defend and reinforce them; Rotstein and the CIEP seek alternatives.

More specifically the book queries the logic of increasing integration through the so-called free market mechanism; calls for a more active role of the state in industrial restructuring while rebutting the neo-conservative attack on the welfare state; and repudiates the establishment kneejerk response to economic crisis which almost inevitably takes the form of yet further submission to the dictates of the American capital and money markets.

The actual contents vary in quality, and there is some awkwardness to the logical flow. It begins with a useful dissection of and epitaph to monetarism, drawing on some of the strongest studies done under the CIEP's auspices. It proceeds to a

rather superficial examination of the logic of United States-Canada economic relations. A stronger chapter on industrial policy, and on CIEP-proposed alternatives to the status quo follows. Then comes a good repudiation of neoconservative myths about the welfare state.

However the book ends on a curious note, an examination of the "informal" economy and some prescriptions for putting it to better use in resolving the problems of a modern, industrial society. Since this last chapter is highly speculative, and draws much more heavily than the others on Rotstein's own Karl Polanyi-inspired approach to political economy, it is not clear whether it should actually be included in the book that summarizes the work of the CIEP, rather than being the subject matter of a separate and in-depth study. There is also something *nostalgically 1960s-ish* about it. And it may well be inconsistent with the implicit, rather statist, orientation of much of the prescription found in CIEP studies.

But in summary, it is a useful and interesting, if unbalanced, work. That of course could also be said of the output of the CIEP in general. It is also a distinctly second order consideration. The critical thing is that the CIEP existed, and did its work, presenting not just an abundance of material on which to draw to further policy debate, but also as an example worthy of emulation.

R. T. Naylor  
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Susan Levine, *Labor's True Woman: Carpet Weavers, Industrialization and Labor Reform in the Gilded Age* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1984).

THIS STUDY IS a significant contribution to North American women's labour history on two levels. As a detailed examination of women's work force activity in the nineteenth century, Levine's book at least

partially fills a gap in our understanding of the political economy of women's work. As an investigation of the "feminist" ideology of the late nineteenth century's most important labour organization, the Knights of Labor, this work is long overdue.

The book turns on two interrelated studies. The first concerns women's involvement in a particular section of nineteenth-century American industry, the carpet trade. Levine has examined two important geographic centres of carpet manufacture, the city of Philadelphia and New York state, and in each instance provides a wealth of detail about the background of the women workers involved, as well as an indication of how changes in technology and the labour process were reflected in changes in the work force. Levine's second subject is female activism in late nineteenth-century labour reform politics. She examines a lengthy and bitter strike of carpet weavers in Philadelphia and New York state in 1885, and sets the strike more generally against the backdrop of women's activism in the Knights of Labor throughout the 1880s.

The carpet weavers' strike was itself remarkable. Levine carefully documents how the workers - most of them women - organized an impressive array of community support to withstand wage cuts and union busting by carpet factory owners. According to Levine, the strike had tremendous significance for the future of the carpet trade: one mill owner declared that he would close shop before he agreed to negotiate with a union, since unions "have no business interfering with the running of manufacturer's affairs." What was remarkable about the strike was not simply its longevity (eight months) or the militancy of the women workers, but that this militancy was encouraged, to a very large extent, by the support of male workers. In Philadelphia, male crafts workers declared a sympathy strike and vowed "none of us will run a single loom." Male scabs imported to Philadel-

phia to replace the striking women returned home when they learned of the strike.

The carpet weavers' strike thus did not conform to what we have come to see as the pattern of nineteenth-century trade union sexual politics. Male carpet weavers did not regard women workers as a threat and attempt to exclude them from their unions and the labour force. Women carpet weavers did not stare meekly out from behind the protective arms of their husbands or fathers. And women represented themselves during negotiations, on picket lines, and in support campaigns. What made the carpet weavers so different?

Part of the answer lies in the fact that the carpet weavers - male and female - were Knights of Labor, and schooled in the "labour feminism" it extolled. Most historians of the Knights have at least commented on the feminist programme of the Knights of Labor, but few have attempted to explore it in detail. Why was it that the Knights endorsed *all* major nineteenth-century feminist demands, from suffrage to equal pay to temperance? Why did the Knights sponsor a "relatively autonomous" women's committee and hire a women's organizer for three years? Why did the Knights repudiate the more common trade union strategy of special protective legislation for women, usually with the more nefarious objective of removing women from the labour force?

Levine's attempt to provide answers to these and other questions regarding Knights of Labor feminism is her most valuable and interesting contribution. She has examined the various strands of Knights of Labor feminism in detail. Weaving them together she provides a fairly complete analysis of "labour's true woman," and establishes that the Knights *were* different from other unions. Their fervent respect for the moral value of work *as work*, combined with their opposition to the degradation of humanity by the factory system, led them to support women workers in quite unprecedented ways.

Yet the Knights were also a male-dominated union; and they played out their politics in the midst of suffocating and repressive Victorian sexual ideology. This found its way into their feminist platform, and set certain limits on what "labour's true woman" might aspire to. Levine concludes that the ultimate vision of the Knights offered no revolution in the sexual division of labour, and had working-class women safely tucked away in happy working-class homes. Yet this vision, despite its similarity to the bourgeois ideology of separate spheres, was apparently distinctly working-class. Says Levine: "the home that labor's true woman would reclaim was itself reshaped by her experience in an egalitarian movement and her citizenship in the cooperative society."

It is unlikely that Levine herself supports this contention as a "correct" sexual strategy for the nineteenth-century working class. One hesitates to embrace enthusiastically the idea that a proletarian version of women at home could so easily wish away the essentially oppressive aspects of separate spheres. Yet the Knights' "ultimate vision" in one sense matters very little: the cooperative society was never achieved. What is important is how the Knights tried to get there, and how this vision at once encouraged and limited labour feminism. Levine's work displays a good sense of these tensions.

Levine thus challenges women's and labour historians to rethink previous ideas about unending and absolute male domination and female submission within working-class politics. The past is often more complex than we allow it to be.

Karen Dubinsky  
Queen's University

Francis G. Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City* (Albany: SUNY Press 1984).

IN THE LAST fifteen years, labour historians have made the emergence of capitalism and the rise of a working class central to nineteenth-century North American history. No longer can anyone claim that capitalism got off the boats with the first English settlers, or that workers of the New World never developed a sense of themselves as a class. The nineteenth century now appears as a time of widespread class conflict as workers and farmers resisted the imposition of capitalist social relations on their society. Drawing on the republican heritage of the American Revolution, many critiqued wage labour as a dependent and therefore unrepublican form of labour and judged it a grave menace to the virtuous citizenry so vital to the health of the republic. A radical opposition appeared first in the 1830s among the shoemakers of Lynn and the "Working Men" of New York and Philadelphia, and achieved national dimensions in the Knights of Labor and Populists of the 1880s. The community-wide support enjoyed by workers in strikes like the railway confrontations of 1877 showed how deeply opposed Americans remained to capitalist institutions. Not until the triple defeat of the steel workers, railway workers, and Populists in the 1890s could industrialists like Andrew Carnegie, J.P. Morgan, and John D. Rockefeller rest assured that capitalism had triumphed.

While the story of capitalism's emergence and working-class formation has indelibly stamped nineteenth-century history, the manner in which a triumphant capitalism and a defeated working class struggled to shape twentieth-century society remains an inadequately understood historical process. Plenty has been written on the decline of the crafts worker, on the rise of a largely immigrant working class, on the development of three quite different vehicles of working-class protest — the AFL, the IWW, and the socialists — and on the efforts of capitalists to use

the political process to assure the stability of their economic and social order. More recently, a number of historians have revived 1950s notions of mass culture to explain the apparent decline of working-class radicalism and the evisceration of autonomous working-class culture. But we still lack a sense of how these aspects of twentieth-century life together shaped the experience of class and culture. How, for example, are we to understand the relationship between the rise of mass culture and the rise of the CIO? Or of ethnic culture, Americanization, and working-class consciousness? And what, finally, distinguishes the process of class formation in modern America from that of the nineteenth century?

These questions inform Francis Couvares' rich study of Pittsburgh from 1877 to 1919. His choice of Pittsburgh as a case study is apt, for there a society of rough equality shaped by crafts workers and their plebeian culture in the 1870s gave way in the 1890s to a modern metropolis dominated by immensely powerful steel magnates and their elite, cosmopolitan culture. Couvares shows how capitalists used technological innovation and federal troops to undermine the power that the working class enjoyed at work and in local politics while professional machine politicians and a new middle class enervated the vital institutions — political parties, volunteer fire companies, theatre stock companies — of the city's plebeian culture. The sheer "enormity and pace of economic and social change" in Pittsburgh, which beyond technological revolution and work reorganization included "massive immigration and the restructuring of urban space," further contributed to "the shattering of those bonds of class and community which had undergirded the social balance of power in the Iron City." (83) As a result, the social balance of power in Pittsburgh shifted decisively away from its workers and toward its employers; and a city that had embraced the train workers who struck

against the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1877 repudiated the steel workers who struck against U.S. Steel in 1919.

There is nothing particularly new about this story — its outlines have long been clear from the work of Herbert Gutman, David Montgomery, David Brody, and Sam Bass Warner — but Couvares has assembled its components into a brief and eloquent tale. His incisive discussion of how the temperance issue drove a wedge between the trade unionists and the plebeian culture and his intriguing (though less satisfactory) probe into the desultory effect of machine politics on labour's efforts at reform add new dimensions to the story without changing its larger contours. The book's real contribution lies in its effort to depict the remaking of the working class after its decisive defeat at Homestead in 1892 and during an age thoroughly dominated by "Big Steel."

Couvares describes the post-1890s working class as fragmented, defensive, and inward-looking. After harsh days and nights at the mills, where few unions and crafts workers remained to check the power of capital, the workers — now largely drawn from eastern and southern Europe — withdrew to their separate ethnic ghettos where they found solace in their churches, developed rudimentary forms of social welfare in their ethnic lodges, and drew strength from neighbourhood ties. Occasionally they overcame ethnic differences and their shared fear of the steelmasters and mounted bold initiatives at work and in local politics. But their efforts barely dented steelmaster rule.

The steelmasters, however, were not content with their mastery of the workplace. As their power and self-consciousness increased, they transformed themselves into a cosmopolitan ruling and leisure class. Not only did they build mansions in New York and create a lavishly rich lifestyle in their East End suburbs; they also sought to bring civiliza-



tion to the alien masses who inhabited Pittsburgh. They established the Carnegie Institute to offer music, books, and art to the public, and enthusiastically endorsed municipal plans for an extensive metropolitan park system. Middle-class reformers, desirous of developing a physical environment and cultural resources that would instill in the masses a spirit of self-improvement and an appreciation for American citizenship, aided these efforts by recruiting workers to their park, playground, and library programmes. Couvares sees all these activities as "publicly sponsored form[s] of welfare capitalism" whose aim it was to divert workers from the drudgery of their lives and instill in them a proper regard for a Protestant moral and capitalist social order.

What Couvares finds most striking about these activities, however, is their failure to produce a properly civilized and compliant working class. "Working people viewed Carnegie's philanthropies in the way they viewed most forms of welfare capitalism, i.e., as company public relations and as attempts to appease and distract them." (116) They responded to most paternalist efforts with a "proletarian version of laissez-faire, an instinctive demand simply to be left alone." (118) Occasionally they declared their intention of organizing their own cultural space, as when a group of unemployed workers took a tiny piece of U.S. Steel property and built their own park. But mostly their resistance to leisure reform simply accelerated their flight into the "arms of merchants of leisure who were fashioning a new mass culture." (120) In the alluring world of movies, amusement parks, boxing, and baseball, workers hoped to escape the arbiters of civilization and enjoy a brief respite from the daily grind.

The inspiration for Couvares' view of mass culture and working-class life comes from Gareth Stedman Jones' seminal piece, "Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London, 1870-1900: Notes on the Remaking of a

Working Class," first published in the *Journal of Social History* in 1973. But Couvares, to his credit, cannot fully accept what now appears to be a fairly simplistic formulation — that English workers gave up the effort to change the real world and poured out their sorrows and joys in the music halls. If mass culture gave "release to suppressed urges for liberation and channel[led] them into relatively harmless paths," Couvares writes, it also "create[d] opportunities for working class mobilization." (125) Workers showed a willingness to fight in the political arena for their right to drink and to watch baseball on Sunday; and the very fact of mass participation in the events of mass culture generated a commonality of experience and interests among ethnically diverse workers that would one day make possible broadly-based labour organizations. Industrial unionism, Couvares suggests, was made possible by the homogenizing and Americanizing effects of mass culture.

Couvares' account of the remaking of Pittsburgh's working class is one of the boldest and most provocative efforts to comprehend the process of class formation in twentieth-century America. But ultimately it delivers less than it promises. It is unaccountably brief, totalling only 131 pages of text. The climactic chapter on the triumph of mass culture is only seven pages long and offers only two paragraphs on the movies, one on amusement parks, one on boxing, and five on baseball. Brevity is not itself a vice — but in Couvares' book it prevents a full exploration of historical process. Thus, for example, he never really takes us inside the ethnic ghettos. He does not consider the possibility that the new immigrants may have brought new forms of plebeian culture to the city, or that divisions of class, generation, and gender within the ethnic communities may have powerfully shaped working-class life. Also, his hurried examination of the institutions of mass culture leads him to exaggerate the

gulf separating them from the institutions of leisure reform. As Roy Rosenzweig has so clearly demonstrated in his study of working-class leisure in Worcester, movies only temporarily escaped the scrutiny of the leisure reformers. The middle class became interested in the movies in the years before World War I and began insisting that the actors on the screen and the patrons in the audience conform to middle-class notions of respectability, order, and uplift. The same pressures were probably brought to bear on the movie experience in Pittsburgh. Did the working class react with the same "instinctive demand to be left alone" that characterized their response to other middle-class efforts to control their leisure? Or, if they continued to attend movies in large numbers, how are we to understand the influence of censored movies and enforced decorum on their lives?

In a longer book, Couvares might have been able to prove the importance of distinguishing leisure reform from mass culture. But in this short treatise, Couvares' efforts to establish a questionable distinction serve mainly to distract him from the most intriguing part of his story: the manner in which a defeated working class fashioned a new consciousness from the disparate materials — ethnic culture, American political traditions, and the images of mass media — available to it. He might have offered us an illuminating comparison of volunteer fire companies of the 1870s and the ethnic lodges of the 1910s, of the Knights of Labor and the CIO; of nineteenth-century republicanism and twentieth-century Americanism. The result would have been a truly pathbreaking work on capitalism and democracy in modern America. As it is, his work can only point the way.

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Victor B. Howard, *Black Liberation in Kentucky: Emancipation and Freedom, 1862-1884* (Louisville, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press 1983).

PROFESSOR HOWARD wanted to "record the experience of blacks in Kentucky during the Civil War and Reconstruction" and blend it with information about whites to produce "an integrated history." (1) The resulting monograph, unfortunately, is an inadequate execution of the author's ambitious intention.

Howard gets high marks for courage. The magnitude and confusions of the social, political, and military upheavals of this period are daunting, and Howard has chosen a state whose course during the war and Reconstruction was peculiar and particularly complex. Although home to a quarter million slaves and tens of thousands of whites who fought for the Confederacy, Kentucky remained within the Union and contributed about an equal number of white soldiers to the federal armies. Not only did sibling fight against sibling, but when the Lincoln government proclaimed emancipation as a war aim, many loyal slave owners understandably felt betrayed, and the state's unionist forces divided among themselves. Kentucky's refusal to join the Confederacy also had profound consequences for her black population. The Emancipation Proclamation freed not a single Kentucky slave. Instead thousands gained freedom for themselves and their families by joining the army. Not until the nation ratified the thirteenth amendment was slavery abolished completely in Kentucky. Furthermore, blacks there did not win the franchise until the passage of the fifteenth amendment five years later. Thus Kentucky blacks had no political voice between 1867 and 1870, years when black voters propelled the Republican Party to victory in many former Confederate states and inaugurated many of the political and constitutional changes that comprise so much of Reconstruction.

The strength of Howard's work lies in the discussion of the army's pivotal role in freeing slaves and robbing the institution of its viability. He closely examines the politics of black conscription and the rush of slaves to join the colours to gain freedom thereby. Even in these, the most valuable chapters, glaring weaknesses surface. Howard gets so bogged down in correspondence among white generals and politicians that the narrative falters, confusion abounds, and larger patterns are obscured. The only individuals one learns about, their identities, aspirations, and actions, are whites. Blacks largely remain nameless and faceless, despite Howard's frequent assertions that they authored their own freedom and played central roles in post-war Kentucky.

This is not to say that Howard neglects the black population and issues of paramount importance to them. He offers chapters on the black family, free labour, and black demands for schools, franchise, and justice. The approach, however, is scattershot, and more often than not, suggestive correlations and connections are overlooked. A few examples should suffice. The 30,000 Kentucky blacks who joined the army must have been shaped by that experience, and it stands to reason that the presence of so large a number of black veterans must have had important consequences for the post-war black community and the post-war history of the state, but Howard drops the subject after June 1865. Another identifiable group, Confederate Kentuckians, simply disappears at war's end, and the author makes no effort to sort out the connections between wartime and post-war political formations among white voters. He notes that Republicans worked diligently organizing the black vote for the 1870 election, the first time black men could vote, but forgets to give the results of the election. He claims that the Republican monopoly over the black vote ended in 1870, which, if true, suggests the monopoly never existed. The major themes explored for the post-war

period vanish inexplicably at different times. The chapter on families carries the story no further than 1867, work, politics, and the courts beyond 1872, and only the chapter on education ventures as far as the closing date of 1884.

Howard's study of black liberation and black life in freedom lacks a sense of social and political process which very good social history provides. His treatment of whites is in many ways inferior to those found in the state studies of Reconstruction done half a century ago. He, of course, does not share those authors' racist views nor their perception of emancipated blacks as constituting a social problem for whites to solve. For all their obvious failings, those scholars paid attention to government and politics in the county and state levels as well as regional demographic and economic characteristics, and they attempted to extract coherence from the political confusions and tumults of the period. By taking blacks seriously, Howard set himself a more challenging task, but in his hands this complex and exciting story has been rendered frustratingly disjointed and remarkably dull.

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Robert H. Zieger, *Rebuilding the Pulp and Paper Workers' Union, 1933-1941* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press 1984).

THE FLINT sit-down strike, the bloody battles on San Francisco's waterfront, the meteoric rise of the CIO — dramatic events like these have long captured the attention of students of the United States labour scene during the Great Depression. Yet in the short period from 1933 until the American entry into World War II, the ranks of dozens of unions were swollen by the entry of countless American workers who did not participate in the famous sit-down strikes or engage in violent clashes that captured front-page headlines. While

national figures like John L. Lewis and Walter Reuther gave inspiration to a generation of American working people, it took the hard work of squads of union organizers, toiling at the local level, to sign up new recruits and help them negotiate their first contracts.

In *Rebuilding the Pulp and Paper Workers' Union*, Robert Zieger directs our attention away from the drama at centre stage and invites us to explore how the officers and organizers of a relatively small, semi-industrial union within the American Federation of Labor succeeded in taking advantage of the more favourable organizing atmosphere in the period that followed the passage of the New Deal legislation of 1933. According to Zieger, the cautious policy of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers enabled its organizers to recruit tens of thousands of pulp and paper workers, not only in the union's traditional strongholds in the northeast and Canada, but also in the South, the Pacific northwest and in converted paper plants in centres such as New York city, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Boston. In the period from 1933 to 1941 an overwhelmingly white, male membership of some 4,000 Anglo-Americans and French Canadians expanded to include more than 60,000 men and women, many of whom were blacks, Jews, or Italians.

In a level-headed style reminiscent of the union's depression-era organizers, Zieger describes these transitions mainly as they appeared from the vantage point of the union's tiny headquarters in Fort Edwards, New York. By drawing on a wide range of sources, but especially the considerable correspondence between the union's field organizers and head office, the author paints a clear and evocative picture of the staff's substantial, if undramatic, accomplishments.

On the basis of its AFL charter, the union held jurisdictional rights over depression-era workers who performed an enormous variety of tasks deemed

unskilled or semi-skilled in plants that ranged from Wisconsin's giant mills, in which men operating semi-automated machinery produced millions of tissues a month, to tiny lofts in New York city, where small groups of immigrant women assembled boxes by hand. In a remarkably succinct chapter, Zieger examines the varied structure of the industry, the components of its labour force, its wage rate patterns, and its industrial relations prior to 1933. The union, formed in 1909, had had its earliest successes in the pulp and paper plants of the northeast and Canada. During the open-shop campaign of the 1920s, employers had succeeded in driving the union from most of these mills. Only cordial relations with some employers operating big, high-technology plants had kept the union alive in the late 1920s and the early 1930s.

Zieger points to three key factors to explain the union's revitalization, which began in 1933. First, after long months of depression, pulp and paper workers were restless and dissatisfied. Fed up with wage cuts and short-time, they surged into the union in the hope that it could win them the economic relief they so desperately needed. Second, Zieger contends that many patriotic Americans were inspired to join the union because they believed that was what President Roosevelt and his National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 had asked them to do. Thus, "[p]atriotism fused with self interest." Third, the very fact that the union had managed to survive the disasters of the 1920s and early 1930s insured that there was an organization on the scene ready to pick up the pieces as soon as conditions improved, as they did in the heady months of 1933.

Zieger also attributes the union's continuing growth to the moderate, cautious leadership provided by the staff and above all by its dedicated chief executive officer, John Burke, who served as president from 1918 until his retirement in 1965. Though far from flamboyant, Burke appears to

have been an interesting character. On the one hand he does not conform to the stereotypes of the AFL leader; he called himself a socialist, fought for industrial unionism within the AFL, and rejected a narrow economic role for trade unions. On the other hand, he was the very model of the pragmatic trade unionist. He affirmed no-strike pledges in contracts. He restrained "strike happy" rank-and-file unionists. He insisted on the executive's right to discipline members. He opposed granting the membership too much power since rank-and-file members did not know what was best for themselves. And frequently he colluded with employers in an effort to strike an agreement and bar the CIO from the industry. Nonetheless, although there were occasional grumblings from the oft-neglected locals in the distant northwest, and from leftists in New York city, Burke's leadership was never seriously challenged during his 48-year administration. He also held a tight rein on his small staff of organizers.

In one of the most interesting chapters of the book, Zieger examines the qualifications, outlook, and experiences of the organizers, who numbered about 25 or 30 at any given time in the late 1930s. When Burke was building his staff, he did not look for charismatic working-class heroes, but instead sought individuals like himself — unionists who were capable of calming excited workers, and effecting strategic retreats as well as advances. Most importantly, an organizer had to be a good salesperson with "a 'line' the same as an insurance agent . . . or some of these fellows on the road selling Dill's pickles." Field representatives had to persuade employers that the union would in fact improve productivity and profits. *Skeptical, uncommitted workers had to be convinced that the investment of a few dollars in initiation fees and dues would eventually pay off. These could be difficult tasks, as the field organizers repeatedly explained in their letters to union head-*

quarters. Organizers out on the road also made it clear that their jobs were exhausting and lonely. Since most of the representatives were white American men from small mill towns, they felt especially out of place when organizing women, blacks, and workers of diverse ethnic backgrounds, particularly in unfamiliar urban centres.

While admitting that organizers were not always effective among these new constituencies, Zieger shares Burke's belief that in the 1930s the union's cautious, even collaborationist, policies paid off. In a long chapter entitled "Moving Ahead on All Fronts," the author examines the reorganization of the old north-eastern locals, and the union's expansion in the Lake States, the northwest, and the South, as well as in the converted paper sector. *Zieger argues that the union's variety of industrial unionism continued to flourish in the late 1930s, not only because workers were restless and eager to unionize, but also because employers, apprehensive about the turbulence triggered by the NRA and the later rise of the CIO, preferred their safe and sane approach. Burke and his staff succeeded in persuading many employers that the union could constrain restive workers. And in exchange for contracts and the union shop, the union went easy during collective bargaining. In a subsequent chapter Zieger details the Pulp and Paper Workers' troubled relations with craft affiliates in the AFL, and the union's conflicts with its counterparts in the rival CIO. Although the Pulp and Paper Workers had to allocate resources to the task of fending off the CIO, on balance it benefited from the appearance of the new movement which inspired workers and encouraged recalcitrant employers to sign agreements with Burke's less threatening organization.*

It is hard to quibble with Zieger's argument that the union's strategy was effective in winning new recruits and new collective agreements. The success of the

Pulp and Paper Workers' programme, however, largely depended on the restlessness of its rank-and-file members and the militance of other American workers — a point that needs more emphasis than the author gives it. Indeed, the most disappointing feature of the book is its almost total neglect of the rank-and-file point of view. Zieger never asks whether the union was an effective organization from the perspective of its varied membership. To be sure, in the final chapter the author does list some of the criticisms CIO opponents made of the union: its obsession with caution, its obtuse policies towards blacks and others, its creaking hierarchical structure, and its distrust of local unionists. Although Zieger doesn't dismiss these charges, he answers them in the way John Burke used to do: when the more vigorous CIO tried to organize pulp and paper workers in the 1940s, it made only mediocre gains; the Pulp and Paper Workers' steady, if unspectacular, growth was a significant enough achievement. Of course, such a reply sidesteps the question. Students of Canadian labour history will not only be disappointed by the lack of coverage of a shop floor perspective; they will also regret that Zieger chose to ignore developments in the union's Canadian locals, which provided nearly one-quarter of its strength in the early 1930s. Nevertheless, this is a finely crafted study that will long stand as the definitive treatment of the rebuilding of the Pulp and Paper Workers in the United States, as seen from union headquarters. Though not the most inspiring chapter in the labour history of Depression America, *Rebuilding* is a sobering account of that tumultuous period.

Ian Radforth

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John Barnard, *Walter Reuther and the Rise of the Autoworkers* (Boston: Little, Brown 1983).

IN HIS 1942 SURVEY of American labour, R.H. Tawney wrote: "It may fairly be said that the CIO represents a departure, not only from the less desirable practices of

business trade unionism, but from its depressing propensity to mental stagnation." Considering the failure of the official labour movement to convince more than a bare majority of its own members to support the presidential candidate it endorsed in the recent election, foreign observers have sought for the causes of the new "mental stagnation." Some of those causes are apparent in John Barnard's recent biography of Walter P. Reuther, longtime UAW president.

Walter Reuther has always divided his biographers. Some have simply worshipped at the altar, while others heaped scorn on the Devil. Barnard remains in the former camp, but he is willing to show us the occasional evil. He also includes valuable summaries on the social, political and industrial background of the American UAW.

He is best in the earlier chapters, describing the conditions which led to the auto workers' revolt. In particular, he shows how the auto workers' individual human dignity was constantly assaulted by the industry's rampant favouritism. He spends some time on black workers, but none on women. This is primarily an institutional study, with little of the insights of the new social history. We occasionally see workers on the job, but rarely off it.

For Canadian readers, the book is a mixed blessing. The author provides sufficient material to trace the strange course of American social democracy through its entry into the Democratic Party and its final semi-progressive Keynesianism. Walter Reuther was one of the key architects of post-war American liberalism. In particular, he helped channel union funds into the newly-formed Americans for Democratic Action to oppose the 1948 communist-supported Wallace campaign. Such actions helped develop the strategy of an anti-communist Left. (Not simply a non-communist Left, as Barnard states.) Reuther's later efforts to get civil rights legislation, as well as his inability to work

out an independent course on the Vietnam war, nicely delimit how the "vital center" ended up as a captive of the Democratic Party.

The extensive treatment of Reuther's relations with AFL-CIO president George Meany reminds readers that Reuther was a leader of the federation's left wing. The fact that, by world union standards, this was not much of a "Left," says more about American conditions than it does about Reuther. Yet Reuther had helped, in part, to pave the way for a conservative victory within the labour movement by his virulent anti-communism. His success in driving radicals out of the UAW, and then expelling numerous CIO affiliates for being "the Communist Party masquerading as a trade union," had inevitably shifted the union ideological balance of power to the Right.

However, the work does not contain a single reference to Canada. Of course, any sort of rounded treatment of the Canadian UAW would require a much larger book. But some consideration of the differences would have helped even an American audience better to understand Reuther.

We read, for instance, of the many real gains made by auto workers in the "bargaining landmarks" of the 1950s, but never a word of the revolt within the Canadian district. Why, for instance, was the American UAW so insistent on staying inside the Democratic Party, at the same time the Canadians were helping form the NDP? Does class politics stop at the Detroit River? Was this the Reuther who was denounced at Canadian district meetings as a "colonial dictator?" Similarly, the post-1947 convention purge of leftists is adequately, though too sympathetically, described. But what of Regional Director George Burt's passive refusal to go along in Canada?

Reuther was probably indifferent to Burt because he saw no threat. Since Burt never directly challenged Reuther, nor openly supported any international oppo-

sition group, then he was not worth taming. One of the keys to Reuther was a powerful personal ambition. Whatever his actual relation was to the Communist Party after his return from the Soviet Union, an eventual break with a disciplined party was inevitable. Beginning with his own brothers, he built a faction based on personal loyalty. He was willing to forgive past opponents when they came over to his side, but he really had no taste for sharing power. His inability to learn teamwork blocked his efforts to remould the AFL-CIO. All the evidence for this point, though not the conclusion, is clearly set forth in Barnard's work.

We still need to know more about Reuther's overall 1945-65 bargaining strategy. In particular, his efforts to win social responsibility in corporate decision-making were obviously more and more limited. At a more immediate level, the actual change in shopfloor conditions remains very unclear, as does the social position of increasingly well-paid autoworkers.

Barnard's work does not offer any new Reuther interpretation, but it contains the basis for many lively classroom sessions. Although not footnoted, there is a good bibliographic note. For instance, in the text Barnard obviously remains unconvinced on Reuther's early relations with the Communist Party, but he dutifully notes Glaberman's findings.

This biography is an adequate, modern, moderate, readable work. Barnard has filled well the limited space provided by his publishers. Future studies will have to incorporate the real gains made by American workers through their unions. But they will also have to establish the conditions of post-World War II America and the effect of those conditions on both the union rank and file and the union leadership. Then we will better know the relation between material gains and Tawney's "mental stagnation."

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Michael W. Sedlak and Harold F. Williamson. *The Evolution of Management Education: A History of the Northwestern University J.L. Kellogg Graduate School of Management, 1908-1983* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press 1983).

PROFESSORS SEDLAK and Williamson have written a succinct and lucid history of the Northwestern University business college. Tracing the school from its origins as a small undergraduate college of commerce, through a much longer period when it offered a full-time undergraduate programme on the Evanston campus and a part-time evening programme in Chicago, to its more exalted present-day role as a prestigious graduate school, they are informative, occasionally illuminating, and always conventional. Like most university histories, this is "top down" history with a vengeance. One dean inexorably follows another at twenty-page intervals. Buildings are planned, funds are raised, administrators battle tooth and nail. A faculty member infrequently comes into focus but the students remain a blur. Sedlak and Williamson have also acquired the bad habit, common to university historians, of concluding every discussion on a positive note. No matter how incompetent the dean or how bleak the outlook, Northwestern was a fine school with an outstanding faculty and a rosy future.

Despite such problems the book has value because Northwestern was an important school and because the authors have pulled no punches in reporting the contents of the university archives. They explain, for example, that the dean in the 1920s accepted large sums from Samuel Insull and other utility executives, supposedly for research but really for scholarly propaganda. The school also frowned on women students, except in a short-lived secretarial programme, and, after World War II, systematically excluded them. Such revelations aside, careful

readers will detect many similarities between Northwestern's commerce school and the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, which Stephen Sass has described recently in *The Pragmatic Imagination*, a much fuller and more imaginative work. For most of its history, the Northwestern business school, like Wharton, was a low-status stepchild whose major function, as far as administrators and non-business faculty were concerned, was to keep the University of Illinois at arm's length from the Chicago business community and to serve as *de facto* fundraiser for the liberal arts college, which spent the surpluses the commerce college accumulated. Like Wharton, the commerce college had a reasonably good faculty, though until recently most professors were preoccupied with the minutiae of accounting, marketing, and the like. Again, like Wharton, Northwestern changed dramatically in the 1960s. Spurred by new interests in "management," graduate study, and quantitative research techniques, administrators and faculty jettisoned the undergraduate business programme, adopted an interdisciplinary approach, and began to turn out generalist MBAs. By the 1970s the lowly business school had become the biggest, and perhaps the grandest, of the Northwestern graduate social science departments.

Sedlak and Williamson are less thorough on other, equally obvious, topics. What was taught at Northwestern? Did anyone learn anything, apart from the nuts and bolts of accounting or marketing? Did the professors instill values, spark new ideas, or stimulate creativity? Though the authors include several photos of professors in classrooms, they write virtually nothing about the intellectual climate at Northwestern. Deans, as any experienced observer will attest, know virtually nothing about the real work of a school.

And what about the students? My father was a student in the Northwestern night school in the late 1920s and 1930s.



So were his brother and many of his friends, scions of hardscrabble Chicago working-class families. For them, the Northwestern night school was a ticket out of the world of overalls, dirty hands, and pinched budgets. Its virtue was the defect that Sedlak and Williamson emphasize, its no-frills, utilitarian approach — though many of the evening students did participate in the dances and other social events that the school organized. My father attended classes sporadically for more than a decade, but graduated from clerk to bookkeeper long before he was ready for the CPA examination, and never received a university degree. Unlike the fraternity types at Evanston, who studied business because they lacked the brains or ambition to tackle pre-law or pre-medicine, night school students generally did not graduate. A degree was not necessary to get ahead in their jobs. Even fewer protested that their professors were part-timers like themselves and none of them objected, because they did not know, that they were subsidizing the liberal arts program at Evanston. When Northwestern abandoned these students in the 1960s to the new University of Illinois branch in Chicago, it ended an important but inadvertent commitment to social mobility. The point is not only that the Northwestern business school was a force for conservative reform, but that a five-minute conversation supplied more information about student life at Northwestern than does the school's history.

Sedlak and Williamson applaud the emergence of the Northwestern University business school as an elite institution and by most measures of academic progress they have, for once, ample reason for their enthusiasm. But if their description is accurate, the administrators and faculty of the new graduate school are principally interested in one type of modern manager, the big business bureaucrat. Presumably there will always be a demand for individuals, and Northwestern graduates will do well enough to keep the alumni fund in

the black. On the other hand, if the plethora of reports on small business growth, entrepreneurship, high technology, and related topics are not simply a journalistic fad, the opportunities for future business bureaucrats may be less abundant than the Northwestern administrators imagine. It would be ironic and interesting if the ablest and richest business leaders of the twenty-first century turned out to be the night school drudges at the plebeian University of Illinois business school.

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Roger Tulin, *A Machinist's Semi-Automated Life* (San Pedro, CA: Single Jack Books 1984).

AT LAST WE HAVE a window into the world of work in the modern micro-electronic machine shop. The best account to date has been David Noble's "*Social Choice in Machine Design*." Noble was focusing, however, on the design of modern machine tools. His data on shopfloor implementation were tantalizing, but left the reader hungry for more. The actual effect of NC and CNC technology upon the world of the practising machinist has been largely a matter of conjecture. If we are to believe the manufacturers and purveyors of these machines, they are so simple that they can be run by chimpanzees and the modern machine shop has become a kind of metallurgical McDonald's hamburger stand. Many of us have suspected that these claims were exaggerated, and it is gratifying to be given some hard evidence that indicates that our suspicions were justified.

Never since the days of Samuel Smiles has so much energy been expended in the mystification of technology. We are bombarded with books and articles bearing titles like "The Microelectronics Revolution" or "Revolution in Miniature," and sooner or later we all begin to think that modern technology is progressive,

dynamic, and irresistible. Once-powerful trade unions accept wage cuts and take-backs in order to enable giant corporations to compete against modern technology. Plant closures, high rates of unemployment, low wages, and all the other ills of modern industrial society are classified at one time or another as the effects of an indomitable, but vaguely defined, high technology that is sweeping through modern industry. At the same time, the very force which is causing so much trouble is also offered as our ultimate salvation. These global speculations and fits of linear causality obscure the real questions which are "does it work?" and "how does it work?" Tulin's guided tour of a modern machine shop, free from management interference, gives us the best available answer to these questions.

The first thing we notice is that "modern" does not necessarily mean clean and safe. We see the careless tangle of machinery, the floor sown with metal chips and strung with air hoses, the open buckets of naphtha, and the almost total neglect of safety glasses. "Modern" does not mean complex and sophisticated either. In spite of the potential for expanding the scope of the craft that is inherent in the new machinery, actual applications are limited to long production runs of standard parts. Every effort is made to minimize the need for skill, inhibit learning, and undermine the self esteem of the operator. The only effective use of high tech is in the area of lowering wages, or at least keeping them from getting any higher. Before we have proceeded very far into the shop, it has become clear that the defining feature of microelectronic technology is the underutilization and frustration of human labour power.

No system of production fails because it is inhuman. If that were true then human history would have been quite different than it has been. Why then spill so much ink on yet another chronicle of the subordination of the mind to the machine? The importance of Tulin's work is that it

shows quite clearly that the mind has not really been subordinated; nothing works according to plan. "End-mills walk. Machines creep. Seemingly rigid metal castings become elastic when clamped to be cut, and spring back when released so that a flat cut becomes curved, and holes bored precisely on location move somewhere else after they are made. Often parts, or every part, must be inspected right at the machine, so that the operator can know what adjustment to make to keep the dimensions right for the making of the next piece. The designers of the new technology don't like to acknowledge these necessities. They are not 'easily acquired knacks,' and are beyond the skills of a management monkey." (14-15) Tulin provides convincing evidence that the real chimpanzees are hiding in corporate board rooms.

Studies of the ways in which technology breaks down in practice are important for a variety of reasons. They provide a baseline for a realistic assessment of the exaggerated claims of traffickers in technology. They help to shake our faith in the identity between modernity and efficiency. *They breathe life into the hope* that there is a possibility of technologies that are both more productive and more humane. Most importantly, they show that high tech is more magic than science. In order for it to work, we must believe that the machine embodies all the skill and the operator has none. By the same token, any errors are due to the stupidity and incompetence of labour. As Tulin points out, this is one of those contradictions that point to a hidden fetish. If the machine has all the skill, then why blame the operator when things go wrong? Our ignorance about modern technology is one of the side effects of corporate secrecy. Under the pretext of protecting hypothetical competitive advantages, they have created a technological blackout. Accurate reporting, of the kind provided by Roger Tulin, is the only antidote.

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Margaret Jacob and James Jacob, eds., *The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism* (London: George Allen & Unwin 1984).

TWO IMPORTANT scholarly trends of the past twenty years have intersected to produce this exciting and valuable volume. On the one hand, historians have attempted to link the political, social, and economic histories of early America and Great Britain. On the other, they have devoted endless energy to the study of the "common folk" — workers, evangelicals, crowds — in both mother country and colonies. The result in this case is an impressive contribution to the social history of Anglo-American radicalism, the transatlantic movement of the peoples, practices, and ideas that helped to foster fundamental change. This overarching theme gives the collection coherence without suppressing diversity. And the essays themselves abound with insights and implications — so much so, in fact, that each deserves a brief summary.

In the first of two keynote addresses on "The English Tradition," Christopher Hill suggests that the West Indies in general and piracy in particular became refuges "for political radicals after the defeat of the Revolution" in 1660. In the second keynote, J.G.A. Pocock analyzes Tory radicalism between 1688 and 1776 and discerns in it a "progressive and modernist conservatism" that criticized the Whig order in the name of *land and commerce*. He hears an echo of this oppositional Toryism in the agrarian radicalism of Jefferson's movement after the American Revolution. Opening a section entitled "The Formation of the Radical Tradition — the English Revolution," T. Wilson Hayes subtly and sympathetically explores the life of John Everard, a leader among the radical sect called the "Family of Love" or Familists. Literacy, Everard believed, would help to "put the means of psychic salvation into the hands of working people," as well as to break the hold

of the High Church on the social and political life of the masses. Mark A. Kishlansky surveys the much-storied debate between Grandees and Levellers at Putney in 1647 and finds that a strong degree of consensus, unappreciated by previous historians, prevailed between the two groups, especially the need to maintain unity within the New Model Army. Corinne C. Weston claims that the theory of "coordination," shifting primary political sovereignty from the king to king and parliament, was the "fountain and the source of a mainstream radicalism within the political nation." (85) Coordination, much more than classical republicanism, was responsible for the ascent of law and representative institutions over divine right and monarchy in English history. Lois G. Schwoeper follows in a similar constitutional vein, showing that the Declaration of Rights consolidated this movement of sovereignty towards parliament in 1689. Drawn up largely by radical Whigs, the declaration cloaked this fundamental shift in comforting conservative language. David Underdown, commenting on these essays, takes Weston, Schwoeper, and (implicitly) Pocock to task with the sensible question, "can we really call these formidable aristocrats [of English high politics] radicals?" (126) He also criticizes Kishlansky for emphasizing the process of debate at Putney at the expense of its historically singular and earthshaking content.

Three essays compose a section entitled "Secular Associations and Radical Culture in the Eighteenth Century in England and America." Nicholas Rogers has studied the urban opposition to Whig oligarchy between 1720 and 1760, and finds a populist and libertarian Tory ideology "attuned to the interest of the small trader and the independent freeman." (136-7) This Toryism was a crucial part of the equilibrium of power in the age of oligarchy. Robert W. Malcolmson discusses "Workers' Combinations in Eighteenth-Century England." He dem-

onstrates that wage disputes, collective industrial actions, and permanent worker organizations were surprisingly widespread: the practices of autonomous workers' power were growing, slowly but surely, throughout the century. Gary B. Nash stresses the role of artisans in the making of a revolutionary mentality and movement in Philadelphia and throughout America. Notions of community and self-interest were fused in an artisan ideology that emphasized security and a "decent competency" over accumulation and a grasping upward mobility. The ideology gave both momentum and meaning to the American Revolution.

The investigation of "The American Tradition" is keyed by Alfred F. Young's remarkable study of "the transmission of English plebeian culture to America in the eighteenth century, its retention, transformation and function in popular movements in the era of the American Revolution." (185) In an extraordinary act of historical recovery, Young depicts tarring and feathering as a peculiarly plebeian form of revolutionary justice, the symbolic use of Oliver Cromwell as a popular avenger by American radicals, and artisan parades in 1788 as innovative political expressions of "producer consciousness." Four essays and one comment follow in "Religion and Radical Culture in England and America." Phyllis Mack offers a splendid account of women prophets during the English Revolution: the stereotype of women — that they were, in essence, emotional and irrational — made them well-suited to ecstatic behaviour and visions. But the same cultural image allowed easy slippage from vision to "fit," from prophet to witch, as the broader political and social climate changed. David S. Lovejoy sees the tendency toward religious enthusiasm, from Anne Hutchinson through Quakerism and on to George Whitefield and the "Great Awakening," as a "radical current" that spilled over into politics and civil society in the era of

the revolution. "Enthusiasm" itself, long detested and decried, even began to take on a positive connotation by the 1770s. Patricia U. Bonomi also views the Great Awakening as a "propulsive" source of radicalism, in fact a model for revolutionary change. Breaking with a strong Anglo-American political tradition that urged moderation, restraint, and an end to faction, the Awakened undertook an act of separation, built new institutions, and stressed individual and minority rights over and against community and majority controls, a sequence conceptually similar to that enacted in the revolution. Rhys Isaac probes the expressions of radicalism among Virginia's evangelicals, their cognitive, dramaturgical, structural, and political orientations and positions. He concludes that their radicalism lay primarily in a "contractual individualism" that was generally in harmony with larger cultural developments in the West, and in itself constituted only a moderate challenge. James A. Henretta comments on these essays by accenting the limits of religious radicalism, which was able to create only limited forms and amounts of political resistance, and therefore could reorder only certain aspects of English or American society.

The final section of the volume is called "The Radical Critique." Joyce Appleby argues that the elevation of the individual above and beyond the state, the church, and the family was "the most radical concept in eighteenth-century Anglo-American thought." (275) The rational, economic, self-interested individual lay at the heart of an early American mentality, perhaps best articulated by Jefferson, that combined materialism and moralism, economic progress, and individual rights. Richard J. Twomey explores the Anglo-American Jacobins of the 1790s and after, those middle-class and plebeian radicals who variously became liberal reformers, Jeffersonians, or, as in the case of Dr. James Reynolds, utopian socialists. Twomey suggests that their radical repub-

licanism, even though moderated by the forces of a market economy, contained many strands of thought, at least one of which (that of Reynolds) recalled the ideas of Winstanley in the English Revolution. In the last of the essays, Steven Rosswurm shows how the Philadelphia militia between 1775 and 1780 helped to politicize and express the concerns of the "lower sort," to pass Philadelphia's radical-democratic constitution of 1776, and ultimately to challenge the Whig élite over the course of the revolution. The lower sort pushed for property rights limited by social responsibility and a larger vision of the "public good" to counter the Whig advocacy of unlimited property rights and private self-interest. That the latter view eventually won out, Rosswurm emphasizes, should not be allowed to obscure the utterly necessary contribution of the former to the making of the revolution.

What are we to conclude about Anglo-American radicalism? First, and inescapably, that radicalism is an extremely slippery notion. Here we are treated to political, social, religious, economic, constitutional, cultural, and intellectual radicalism, in Whig, Tory, and a burst of independent forms, over a span of more than two centuries. Yet trends do emerge: the historians of England tend to analyze political forms of radicalism, while those of America often concentrate on cultural challenges. Curiously, no one apart from Malcolmson is much concerned with work, with the radicalism associated with the resistance to capitalist organization or techniques of production. Perhaps this disinterest accounts for the absence, save one paragraph by Isaac, of any discussion of slaves and free blacks in this volume. In any case, many of these historians seem to prefer to see class through the prisms of politics and culture rather than in terms of the social relations of production.

A major problem in this profusion of radicalism lies in the easy conflation of

fundamentally different types. The bourgeois radicalism that developed by way of Hobbes and Locke gets confused with the more proletarian radicalism of figures such as Winstanley. Not only must this distinction be made, but we ought to go further to suggest a third crucial form that stood between the two: the radicalism of petty commodity producers, of those artisans who, over time, divided to join the two great classes above and beneath them. Tom Paine was a fiery and eloquent proponent of this outlook, linking it to bourgeois radicalism and thereby helping to cement the class coalition that successfully waged the American struggle for independence.

A second conclusion: the sophisticated research in this collection amply demonstrates the vitality of the English Revolution and its memory in the Anglo-American radical tradition. Though much remains to be done on this subject, exceptional progress has been made in illuminating the transmission of radical ideas and practices across time and space. (Crucial on this score is Peter Linebaugh's "All the Atlantic Mountains Shook," published in this journal, 10 [1982].) This advance, along with the new appreciation of the complex relations between religion and politics, underlines the historiographical importance, indeed the monumentality, of Christopher Hill's *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (1972). The present volume is in many ways unthinkable apart from this seminal study.

A third conclusion: this set of studies decisively shows, once and for all, the centrality of non-Whig ideologies and forms of radicalism to the revolutionary process in America. It has taken many years of patient and diligent work to disentangle popular ideologies from that espoused by the Whig élite, which was long thought to have been the only ideology, the genuine article of consensus. This topic too, of course, requires further study, but the robust forms of challenge detailed in this book have

irreversibly turned the page on an older understanding of revolutionary ideology.

To conclude, there is one aspect of this collection of essays that is very frustrating: the lack of critical engagement among the contending interpretations. The book is full of tensions ignored, and the lack of contest between different theoretical approaches produces a seeming consensus of its own. Two interpretive trends seem to be emerging on the American side: Nash, Young, Twomey, and Rosswurm employ analyses that turn on the question of class, however differently they may define the term. Isaac, Appleby, and Bonomi, each in her or his own way, stress the corrosive and radical effects of a growing "individualism" in the movement towards revolution. Early American history could use a good controversy over the analytic power of these concepts as applied to the eighteenth century. And early American history could use a great many more books as rich and provocative as *The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism*.

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Michael W. Flinn (with the assistance of David Stoker), *The History of the British Coal Industry. Volume 2: 1700-1830, The Industrial Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1984).

**WITHOUT COAL** THE English economy might have undergone quite complete proto-industrialization, and maybe even some factory industrialization based on water power, but it could never have proceeded much further unless it broke its dependence on human labour. The presence of vast reserves of cheap coal distinguished the early modern English economy from that of its major competitor, the Dutch republic. There, too, the early modern period was marked by a thorough commercialization of all economic activities and a major expansion of tradi-

tional crafts in response to buoyant demand from its urban population and specialist agricultural producers. The Dutch industrial sector was part of an economic system which was not going to revolutionize production even if it did transform the character of consumption patterns and enhanced the size and complexity of commercial society. It was largely concerned with a highly complex form of barter in which the products of agricultural specialists and urban services were taken in trade for its handicrafts. Without the development of coal-based heavy industries, one can easily envisage a similar pattern of specialization of function without revolutionization of production occurring in early modern England. But, of course, England was built on an underground mountain of coal whose exploitation forms the lineage of modern industrial society.

Although there is a substantial teleological element in such an analysis, one cannot understand the emergence of industrial society in England without appreciating the absolute centrality of the coal industry. England was the first industrial society because it first exploited inanimate energy sources for powering machinery. Without a coal-based economy such an industrial revolution was unthinkable; without a coal-based economy the "involution" of the proto-industrial mode of production was inevitable. Here, then, is the crux of the issue. While one may overemphasize the role of mining in the early modern economy, such an overemphasis is both understandable and justifiable in the sense that without it one cannot delineate the forces distinguishing English economic history from that of other countries. The coal industry's importance to economic development extended far beyond its direct share in the statistics of economic growth. As Flinn and Stoker have argued so cogently, without its expanded supply at virtually constant prices, most other sectors of the economy would have been

hamstrung, and their progress would have been halting.

Coal mines at the time of Henry VIII were technologically primitive and quantitatively insignificant. Two hundred thousand tons of coal were produced in the mid-sixteenth century; 2,500,000 tons in 1700; 27,000,000 in 1830; and 287,000,000 in 1913. During much of England's industrial history, the north-eastern coalfield, in Northumberland and County Durham, dominated the national scene; it yielded something like 40 per cent of the total output in 1700, and even as late as 1830 it still accounted for about one-quarter of the market. As one puffed-up Newcastle patriot had it:

England's a perfect world!  
has Indies too!  
Correct your Maps!  
New Castle is Peru.

Allowing for poetic licence it is, in truth, the case that contemporaries thought that coal mining was the most striking aspect of the early modern economy in England:

... whereas when we are at London, and see the prodigious fleets of ships which come constantly in with coals for this increasing city, we are apt to wonder whence they come, and that they do not bring the whole country away; so, on the contrary, when in this country we see the prodigious heaps, I might say mountains of coals, which are dug up at every pit, and how many of these pits there are; we are filled with equal wonder to consider where the people should live that can consume them.

Daniel Defoe's wonder is almost palpable; this brilliant sentence captures the essential relationship between consumers and producers. The symbiotic complementarity between London and Tyneside is effectively underscored by the elegant structure and ornate balance of his writing.

For much of the early modern period coal was prized as a fuel for domestic heating, especially in the London market; its industrial utility was secondary. But the balance was continually shifting in favour of the latter use; four-fifths of all

coal in 1550 was used for domestic purposes but by 1700 the comparable figure was only two-thirds. It was used extensively in lime burning, smithying, and metalworking, salt and soap boiling, starch and candle making, brewing and malting, food processing and sugar refining, textile processing, smelting, brick and tile making, and glassworks, as well as in the manufacture of alum, copperas, saltpetre, and gunpowder. Coal from the northeast was of more lasting value to the English people than all the silver in the New World was to the Spanish. Coal provided the sinews and muscles of a nascent industrial economy while the silver mountain of Potosi was frittered away in the quixotic ambitions of the Spanish crown. Contemporaries were under no illusion that wealth derived from the coal mines, principally situated in the northeast, was a critical element in the strength of the English economy. "It cannot be doubted," said one of them, "but that it is the coal-mines which worked so many miracles. . . . There necessarily results from this multitude of workers, ceaselessly active, a mass of wealth, equally advantageous to the state and to individuals, who owe this condition of comfort to coal."

Industrial consumption had been next to nothing in the sixteenth century; it had risen to about 1,250,000 tons by 1700, and to around 10,300,000 tons in 1830. The age of iron and steel had a long lineage in the process of industrialization before the Industrial Revolution. It was one of the triumphs of England's industrial history that in a few generations, between 1700 and 1830, "the British economy had passed from dependence on human-, horse-, wind- and water-power for its energy needs to a high degree of dependence on coal." (455) There is no question that this change was economically advantageous; the fact that it derived from sheer necessity is immaterial in assessing its ultimate impact.

Flinn and Stoker's book is a major

event in the historiography of industrialization: it emphasizes the protracted nature of the transition from "pre-industrial" to industrial society. In so doing it fits well with the emerging viewpoint which stresses continuity rather than change, industrial evolution rather than industrial revolution. If this were the book's only accomplishment then it would stand up well as an obligatory text for those who are interested in the making of the first industrial society. But Flinn and Stoker have done much more. They have sought to analyze the organization of the labour force's reproduction alongside the quantitative and qualitative measurements of economic transformation. Indeed, their book's really exciting material concerns the social history of the miners, that most peculiar species of labourer. They recognize that the work of hacking the black stuff from its carboniferous bed required human power.

The miners, with some few exceptions, were quintessential breadwinners. It appears that colliers were bred to their station. Boys served an apprenticeship underground, during which time they acted as hauliers and assistants. With the development of substantial underground ventilation systems in the second half of the eighteenth century another sphere of employment for young boys opened up and the age of first employment seemed to drop accordingly. Adult males, in the prime of their lives, earned about double that of most other workers. But income was highly correlated to strength, and it would appear that the contributions which some made to the mining family's income could be substantial and in some senses crucial. Co-residing sons were likely to be contributing during the years when the father's earning capacity declined from its peak, around the age of 35 or 40. For a further twenty years, the father's strength and earnings might have declined in tandem but his diminishing piecerate wages would have been supplemented by the money his son or, if he was prolific, his

sons, brought home. The logic of a high level of reproduction was thus built into the mode of production and it was not surprising that miners were always at the top of the table in their fertility right into the twentieth century. Mining long remained a kind of underground "putting out" industry in which productivity was raised by increasing the numbers of miners rather than by intensifying their activity. Even in the early twentieth century most British mines were not worked by cutting machines but by human muscle power.

In a short review like this one it is hard to touch on this book's many virtues. Flinn and Stoker's research into some of the most difficult and recalcitrant sources in early modern economic and social history is a resounding success. What a great pity that Michael Flinn could not have lived to enjoy the kudos his work so richly deserves. It is a great culmination to a richly varied career; I hope that David Stoker carries on his "marras" stint.

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William Coleman, *Death is a Social Disease: Public Health and Political Economy in Early Industrial France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1982); and Anthony S. Wohl, *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons 1983).

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY of public health has traditionally brought a well-deserved shudder to generations of social historians. In large measure the genre has been a tedious account of subterranean hydraulics, laboratory bacteriology, and abstruse legislation, all suffused with a Whiggish enthusiasm for "the conquest of epidemic disease." Recently, however, this uninspired literature has been supplemented by a small corpus of more innovative scholarship. The work of F.B. Smith and John Elyer on, respectively, the health of



the nineteenth-century British working class and the ideological origins of Victorian public health advocacy, suggest that a once moribund field offers new scope for social history. The works under review make important contributions to this diminutive but stimulating body of scholarship.

The objective of Anthony Wohl's study is to describe the impact of the environment on the health of the Victorian working-class family. In this purpose he succeeds admirably, documenting in meticulous and gruesome detail the hazards of everyday life in nineteenth-century Britain. His horrific portrait begins in the homes of the working poor — oozing cellars, cramped garrets, and gerrybuilt tenements — into which were crowded an astonishing number of inhabitants. In 1881, for example, parts of central Glasgow housed 1,000 persons per square acre. The standard diet of these unfortunate individuals was carbohydrate-rich but protein and vitamin deficient, creating a populace all too familiar with nutritional diseases such as rickets. At particular risk were the infants of working mothers. Bottle fed on adulterated milk and often drugged with opium by callous "minders," working-class children, as late as World War I, died at a rate double that of middle- and upper-class offspring. Beyond the immediate confines of the home lay a bewildering array of domestic health hazards. In the absence of sewers, cesspools and privies collected waste and in the process became repositories for cholera and typhoid. Many neighbourhoods relied on canals or rivers to remove such material; during the 1850s in London alone some 250 tons of fecal matter daily found their way into the Thames. The workplace, for those debilitated individuals who survived the domestic milieu, offered its own lethal danger ranging from miner's lung to the very common arsenic, lead, and phosphorus poisoning. Finally, the broader community suffered from a variety of

environmental threats including rivers polluted by the textile industry and air hung heavy with industrial fumes and smog. Seen in the light of Wohl's horrendous scatological vision, it is a wonder a Victorian working class existed at all.

For a minority of informed nineteenth-century English, often local medical officers of health, the catastrophic state of the public's health was glaringly apparent. Wohl describes in two detailed chapters the concerns and activities of these dedicated investigators, focusing initially on national figures such as Edwin Chadwick and the General Board of Health, and then narrowing his perspective to describe health reformers in a number of specific communities. Despite the messianic zeal and impressive statistical studies of these individuals, efforts to improve the state of Victorian public health occurred in what, by present day standards, seems an inexplicably tardy fashion. Put another way, if the linkage between disease and poverty was clearly recognized and various ameliorative solutions proposed, why was so little done? To this critical question Wohl appears to offer an ambivalent response. On the one hand, he suggests that surprise should be reserved for the fact that so much, albeit *ad hoc* and sluggish, was actually achieved by the end of the century. On the other hand, he identifies a number of familiar factors — inexperience in dealing with health problems in the face of rapid demographic and industrial change, a *laissez-faire* perception of government, the reluctance of the relatively wealthy ratepayers to subsidize the health of the poor — which in aggregate conspired to retard improvements in the public's health. Unfortunately, these various themes appear piecemeal throughout the book and are never woven into a coherent analytic framework. A reluctance to confront firmly this essential question of inactivity, then, is a weakness of Wohl's study. His is a work of admirable descrip-

tive acuity, unique in the existing literature on public health. But it is not a book which attempts with enthusiasm to explain what it so clearly documents.

In sharp contrast stands William Coleman's excellent study of public health reformers in early industrial France. Though it lacks Wohl's intricate description of working-class health, the pivotal concern in Coleman's work is precisely the question largely ignored in the former volume: "the persistence of the discord between what one science, sociomedical investigation, presumed to teach and the action that another science, political economy, refused to countenance." (xix) To explicate the complex ideology of French public health in the period 1815 to 1848, Coleman, despite occasionally tiring deviations, focuses primarily on the example of Louis René Villermé. A physician with experience as a military surgeon, Villermé was both horrified and fascinated by the escalating poverty, morbidity, and mortality which accompanied the rapid industrial growth, urbanization, military strife, and political ferment of his generation. Like contemporary Paris clinicians, he believed that the use of a numerical method would lead to the discovery of otherwise covert causal relationships in the study of human health. In contrast to practising physicians, he directed his attention not to specific diseases or groups of patients, but to an attempt "to join number and social fact." (149) His initial investigations examined mortality in French prisons, clearly demonstrating that inmates fared far better in clean, well-funded institutions. But his main concern became the differential mortality between rich and poor in urban France.

In his unique investigation of Parisian demography, published in 1826, he rejected the traditional climatic and topographical explanations for differences in mortality among the various *arrondissements*. Instead, using taxation data, he demonstrated the stark correlation

between low income levels and high risk of disease and death. It was a conclusion further substantiated by both his investigation of cholera mortality and his study of the precarious and often lethal textile trade. Few could dispute his conclusions. In the textile survey, for example, he demonstrated that at birth the life expectancy of cotton spinners was a scant 1.25 years, while children of the entrepreneurial class could expect to attain 28 years of age. Villermé was forced to conclude, in Coleman's astute phrase, "Society itself, its economic organization, had become an etiological agent." (179)

Here, indeed, was a dilemma for Villermé and his colleagues. Despite all their radical methodological departures in the realm of medicine, they remained tenaciously wedded to the precepts of orthodox political economy. Free enterprise, untrammelled by government regulation, produced a vigorous factory system capable of providing both goods and employment to citizens willing to work. If the system failed, it was less due to the malignant conditions of factories than to inadequate wages paid by avaricious employers and squandered by profligate employees. The key to change lay not in social revolution, but moral regeneration. Hygienists elaborated a nostalgic vision of factories limited to a small and human scale, in which industrial paternalism combined with individual worker initiative to banish poverty and disease. The banality of this solution to a problem so eloquently described was sorry testimony to the inability of the public health enthusiasts to transcend the optimism of their own bourgeois origins. Despite their numerical innovations they became little more than disgruntled apologists for industrial capitalism.

The studies by Wohl and Coleman are, in effect, complementary. The former astutely depicts the condition of the nineteenth-century English working class, without analyzing why physicians,

uniquely aware of the problem, refused to champion changes. The latter, in contrast, lacks the empirical evidence marshalled by Wohl, but does address the central paradox of medical insight and ideological inertia. Together these studies clearly illustrate that public health historiography can no longer be deservedly ignored by social historians who wish to understand nineteenth-century working-class history.

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David Howell, *British Workers and the Independent Labour Party, 1888-1906*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1983).

**TWENTIETH-CENTURY** working-class politics in Britain clearly owes much of its character to the early Independent Labour Party. Not only was it central in forging links between socialists and trade unionists, a strategy which began to achieve electoral success in 1906, it also provided the future leadership of the Labour Party in such figures as Keir Hardie, Phillip Snowden, and Ramsay MacDonald. Much of this is a familiar story, as is the historiographical image of the ILP as pragmatic, moralistic, untheoretical, and, in its relationship with the Liberal Party, somewhat opportunist. Yet as David Howell competently demonstrates, there was no straight path from its formation to 1906. Instead, he argues, the ILP represented creative working-class responses to an array of opportunities and constraints. Along the way other options were considered — even tried — all within parameters which seemed to narrow inexorably as electoral politics became the party's dominant rationale.

There is an image created by historians' focus on particular national leaders that the ILP emerged from a movement which was not precisely working class in its character or composition. In the 1890s the activities of socialists often seemed to

reflect middle-class enthusiasms. But, as the "religion of socialism" began to appear a spent force, attention was turned to the construction of a labour alliance as a means of overcoming this isolation from the working class. Of course, the impact of the new unionist upsurge, or of individuals like Tom Mann within the "old" unions, is conceded, but Howell successfully casts the "conversion of the unions" in a somewhat different light. It is the struggle of groups of ILP activists attempting to win the unions for socialism that provides the key to understanding the trajectory the movement would take. Their engagement with the concerns, structures, and traditions of a wider labour movement fundamentally shaped the political character of the ILP, its vision of socialism, and its conception of political action.

Here, in the first of the book's four parts, Howell is at his best. The impressive breadth of his knowledge and comprehension of the labour movement is reflected in his analysis of these developments in a range of unions: the miners, cotton workers, railway workers, engineers, boot and shoe workers, as well as the new unions. Within each, a wide diversity of political traditions, economic constraints, and changes in the labour process and union structures combined to present different challenges to ILP organizers (and to historians). Howell moves deftly from examining the tenacity of Lib-Lab traditions among coal miners to the engineers' attempts to confront technological change to the ambiguities of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives' formal commitment to socialism. Given such diversity within and among unions, growing ILP entrenchment could lead in many directions, both for the unions (although Howell is careful not to exaggerate socialist influence) and for the ILP itself. This is most evident in its long and ambiguous confrontation with an ill-defined Lib-Labism.

This engagement with radical

liberalism is a central theme of the second and longest part of the book, dealing with the ILP in different communities. The identity of the party was formed within the local and regional worlds inhabited by its activists; the national ILP was constructed slowly and unevenly upon this base. Howell attentively studies the problems of "political space" created by local political traditions and alignments. These were years of crisis for the Liberal Party. The home rule issue had split the party, and heightened industrial conflict challenged Gladstonian assumptions. The author attempts to demonstrate that Labour made few, if any, clean breaks with Liberalism. Certainly some local trades councils moved decisively towards the ILP, as did Bradford in the wake of the new unionism and the Manningham Mills strike. But even in such centres as these, the ILP found itself awkwardly occupying space abandoned by Liberalism. Its hearing was often achieved by articulating a sense of frustration with the Liberals' unwillingness or inability to respond to Labour's demands. Working-class Liberals and ILPers shared similar backgrounds and common principles of self-reliance, temperance, support for home rule, and opposition to imperialism. As a consequence, despite early ILP hostility to the Liberal Party, their members shared a common idiom, adding to the ambiguity of the relationship and creating the potential for a future "Progressive" alliance. Local ILP branches therefore faced the same strategic alternatives that would soon confront the national ILP. Variations between branches were often the result of the strength and character of local Liberalism.

On the basis of this long and often excessively detailed discussion of the bases of ILP support, Howell turns to the emergence and evolution of the national party. The evolution of the National Administrative Council "from servant to oligarch" is analyzed as a product of an increasing concentration on electoral strategy and on an alliance with non-

socialist unionists. Individual ILPers' goal of "making socialists" clearly proved irrelevant at these heights. The functioning of the Labour Representation Committee and MacDonad's 1903 deal with the Liberals were both remote from local activities. Party members had learned to be flexible in their relationships with the unions and the Liberals. But they had not learned how to articulate an alternative course for the ILP, nor how to challenge effectively the actions of their national leaders.

Were there other courses the ILP could have followed? In the fourth and final part, Howell notes the defeat of "Tory socialism," represented in different forms by H.H. Champion and Robert Blatchford. More significant is the defeat of the alternate project of a United Socialist Party: the fusion of all those who considered themselves socialists rather than an alliance with non-socialist unionists. Essentially this implied unity with the explicitly, if peculiarly, Marxist Social Democratic Federation. When given the opportunity, ILP members expressed themselves as favouring this option; the manoeuvres of the ILP leadership, however, blocked it.

Why was "socialist unity" so popular? Here we encounter a weakness in Howell's analysis. One would like to ask the author what prevented a complete organizational rapprochement with Liberalism, perhaps along the lines of Fabian "permeation." Although Howell has demonstrated ideological continuities between ILP socialism and Radicalism, continuing ILP independence must be explained by their feeling that they had made a decisive break with the latter in favour of a qualitative transformation of society. They had crossed Morris' "river of fire" and found themselves sharing its banks with the SDF and other socialists.

Howell's fascination with the ILP's Radical lineage is certainly well founded, but fails at times to allow him to look in other directions. The ILP emerged in the

context of a widespread and dynamic interest in socialism in the 1880s and 1890s. While trade union and electoral politics reflected this upsurge, so too did labour churches, local labour clubs, and a panoply of *Clarion*-inspired activities. Obviously an examination of ILP branch life is the historian's window to the world of these women and men. Unfortunately, less than sixteen pages of this massive study address local branches, leaving some significant questions unanswered about the nature of their socialism.

Howell succeeds in portraying union and local electoral activity as central forces shaping the party's ideology and practice. But the theoretical and practical constraints it faced were clearly not only a product of the ambiguous attachment to Liberalism these forms of activity came to entail. As Bruce Glasier argued, the ILP expressly embodied the "religious, moral and aesthetic sentiments" which fueled the wider socialist movement. A case can certainly be made that such an "ethical socialism" was itself a poor guide with which to relate the party's daily activities to the attainment of socialism. One can look further than Howell does for explanations of the weakness of the ILP's theoretical challenge to Liberalism. Yet, the author has made an important and thoughtful contribution to an understanding of the relationship between socialism and trade union politics. The ILP clearly emerges in this study as an important product of workers own efforts, reflecting both their victories and defeats.

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James A. Schmiechen, *Sweated Industries and Sweated Labor: The London Clothing Trades, 1860-1914* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 1984).

OF ALL THE industries spawned by the technological changes of the mid-

nineteenth century, the clothing trades earned the worst reputation — and attracted the most public attention — for sweating their workers. Labouring in cramped, hot, unsanitary, and sometimes dangerous conditions, poor women and bewildered immigrants often could find no other means of employment than sewing together various kinds of clothing in crowded garrets or, more often, in their own homes. The modern clothing manufacturing industry emerged about 1860 on the basis of cheap labour and the availability of sewing machines and other innovations to become, in every western nation, a byword for immiseration and exploitation of its workers through a process of subdivision of labour and of contracting and subcontracting of various stages of production. As this method of manufacturing clothing by outworkers spread, the numbers of craft workers in bespoke tailoring (shops) declined and most skilled trades workers were either absorbed into the new productive processes or turned into contractors. These women and men were entrepreneurs who undertook to have the pieces of cloth which had been cut up in manufacturers' shops sewn into complete garments. Bundles of these pieces would be carried to workhouses and homes where women and immigrants toiled long hours sewing the pieces together for such poor wages that abject poverty and ill-health were endemic in the needle industries of western Europe, Britain, the United States, and Canada. In the 1880s and 1890s, government investigations revealed the extent of such squalid misery among needleworkers in all of these countries that there was a public outcry for reform.

In this superb study of London's clothing industries between 1860 and 1914, James Schmiechen meticulously explains the evolution of this system of production in London and of the response to it by the city's semi-skilled clothing workers — chiefly women and eastern European Jewish immigrants — as well as middle-

class reformers and the British governments. As early as the 1840s and 1850s, in fact, observers such as Kingsley and Mayhew noted that sweated labour conditions were so prevalent in the system of outwork in the London clothing trades that, as Schmiechen observes, "Sweating, . . . was as Victorian as the railroad and the music hall." After mid-century the tailors' and shoemakers' unions had lost their ability to control the labour market when apprenticeship laws were repealed and tariff protection withdrawn as the demand for cheap clothing rose sharply. Contractors and subcontractors increased productivity by switching from day to piecework and subdivided production to reduce the need for skilled labour, while moving almost entirely to outwork in the poorer areas of the city and utilizing cheap and portable sewing machines. As women and Jewish immigrants were increasingly drawn into the clothing trades, job displacement resulted and artisans constantly complained that Jewish workers were willing to work for less pay.

Schmiechen's description of outwork in the sweated trades is excellent. He points out that contractors were able to keep their investment low by requiring workers to provide their own machinery, needles, and thread, and that they reduced wages by subjecting workers to fines for incomplete or imperfect work. Moreover, close analysis of the data on women workers reveals that assumptions that working-class wives were able to escape from the labour market are not true for the large number of women working in the clothing trades in London or in northern cities. Their meagre wages were an important, sometimes indispensable, supplement to family income.

Instead of uniting workers in a battle against these conditions, the sweating system threw them against each other as artisans resented the incursion of semi-skilled Jewish immigrants, and as they and women exploited one another and

themselves mercilessly as contractors and subcontractors. Working-class solidarity was also inhibited by deep-seated prejudices against women among traditional artisans and by disputes among Jewish unionists. The women's union movements of the 1880s faltered partly because of apathy among women workers, while efforts by organized labour to include Jews broke down amidst intra-communal acrimony.

Part of the solution to the severe problems in this industry emerged from state intervention which followed in the wake of major parliamentary and other investigations into sweating in the 1880s and 1890s. Factory Acts were amended to provide for mandatory registration and better inspection of workshops by local authorities. Schmiechen argues that the early nineteenth-century Factory Acts, by excluding workshops under a certain size, accelerated the growth of outwork. One might conclude therefore that state intervention was a mixed blessing for workers unless accompanied by the enforcement of regulations and systematic closing of loopholes. Conditions in the sweated industries also gave rise to experiments like the Trade Boards Act of 1909 which established wage boards to fix minimum hourly wages; within five years wages increased by about 42 per cent for the lowest workers. By World War I, these measures dealt the sweatshop blows from which it never recovered.

For students of economic history, Schmiechen's work provides fascinating and important evidence that late nineteenth-century industrialization did not in every sector result in the centralization of "production and labour within the factory, which has been seen as representing the natural progression to greater and more sophisticated economic organization." The clothing industry's evolution demonstrates that the opposite was sometimes true and that there were also centrifugal forces which resulted in the

fragmentation of production and the decentralization of workers. Thus, an understanding of the plight of forgotten workers in the sweatshops highlights the fact that technological change and mechanization sometimes created substitutes for factories and that gender prejudice, apathy, and ethnic culture have sometimes acted as serious barriers to the achievement of working-class solidarity.

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Joseph Buckman, *Immigrants and the Class Struggle: The Jewish Immigrant in Leeds, 1880-1914* (Manchester: University Press 1983).

CHEAP LABOUR, particularly that of immigrants or conquered peoples, has been an important element in the expansion of capitalism. Scholarship on immigrant and ethnic groups, however, is notorious for the way it has ignored class divisions and class struggles within what it frequently regards as highly integrated and consensus-based communities, held together by common bonds of language, culture, and ethnic tradition. In Canada, for example, studies like that of Cassin on East Indians in Vancouver are the excep-

tion. Buckman's book examines the situation of exploited, impoverished, and recalcitrant Jewish workers in Leeds around the turn of the century. It is a welcome change from descriptions of the history, institutions, and practices of particular ethnic communities which view them primarily in terms of their unique and integrating features and how they differ from other ethnic communities or populations.

By considering conflicts between master and worker, and between landlord and tenant, Buckman demonstrates the value of dialectical analysis and the limitations of existing histories of the alien industries

of Leeds. Previous work has seriously neglected the separate existence of a Jewish proletariat. It submerged the role of worker organizations in the "socially undifferentiated ranks of Jewish communal institutions in general."

Early in his research, Buckman became inescapably convinced that "the economic struggle had utterly overridden [sic] ethnic and religious bonds, and that it presented the key to the very articulation of the various parts of the community. . . ." His method requires the placing of Jewish workers in the foreground of events by permitting them to speak for themselves. Evidence is obtained mainly from letters and articles in the press and from testimonies to investigating bodies.

After an initial chapter which points out the shortcomings of existing studies of Leeds Jewry, the book presents accounts of working conditions in the tailoring workshops, two chapters on class struggle in the tailoring industry, and a study of the alien slipper industry. The concluding chapter includes brief comments on the baking, brushmaking, and cabinetmaking trades, and on "rackrenting" by Jewish slum landlords.

Buckman's theoretical analysis of the period rests on Marx's perception that the class struggle in its totality is a function of the total opportunities for exploitation. Cheap immigrant Jewish labour was used after 1880 by Jewish capitalists intent on competing through lower prices in order to realize formerly high rates of profit. Reductions in profit had been due to English capitalists' greater ability to purchase machinery and move into factory production.

Jewish tailoring workplaces were frequently overcrowded, dirty, and foul smelling. Hours of work were long and pay was low. Sanitation provisions were often quite inadequate, necessitating the appointment of a special inspector for Jewish workshops. Most of them were "little more than the disused textile mills.

old workhouse premises, attics, dwelling houses and tenements — the decaying remnants of declining industries and erstwhile homes of the wealthy of Leeds." Work was also done under crowded conditions in the bedrooms of the owners.

Major strikes in 1885 and 1888 were the earliest manifestations of organized class conflict. Buckman points out that there was no steady progress in terms of unionization and improvements in working conditions; only tortuous struggle punctuated by spasmodic and temporary gains. By the turn of the century, for example, the use of modern machinery and cheaper female labour in the large English factories had disastrous results for Jewish intermediary employers. Many found themselves offered only subcontracting work. Piecework and the use of Jewish women as a means to reduce labour costs followed.

Socialism developed under the influence of eastern European strike movements and the deteriorating physical health of many workers. Conflict between social democrats and Zionists arose. The Leeds Jewish Tailors, Pressers and Machinists Union was eventually accepted by English labour. But gains in the first years of this century were meagre. Subcontracting, piecework, and irregular working hours became issues on which the union campaigned, leading to strikes and a lock-out in 1911. Under arbitration, the workers received a favourable settlement, including parity of hours with the English trade. A class response to harsh economic circumstances had proven successful.

A different picture is painted in Buckman's discussion of the slipper industry. For decades, severely exploited Jewish employees, working endless hours for starvation wages and under unsanitary conditions, had enabled their employers' firms to put English competitors out of business. Increased anti-Semitism within the unions was one result. Another was the introduction of machinery by the

stronger English firms, leading to even lower wages and poorer working conditions for alien workers. Union formation was more difficult than in the tailoring trades, but sporadic progress was made despite an uneasy relationship with the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives. In 1907 that union, after a period of intense wrangling with Jewish slipper workers, formed what was effectively an alliance with Jewish employers.

There is no analysis of the role of domestic labour in the situation — surely by now a necessity for Marxist studies? Nor are the dialectical aspects of state intervention and the use of legalistic strategies by employers adequately theorized. Yet this well-written book is a fine example of why we need research on the class relations within ethnic communities.

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Julia Bush, *Behind the Lines: East London Labour, 1914-1919* (London: Merlin Press 1984).

TWO MAJOR PROBLEMS tend to preoccupy those who study British history between 1900 and 1920. One is the decline of the Liberals and their replacement, as the "party of progress" and as the main opposition to the Conservatives, by Labour. The second is the impact of World War I on British society and politics. The two are obviously interrelated, if only because the most visible political impact of the war was to hasten the decline of the Liberals and the rise of Labour. Curiously, however, this preoccupation has not until now produced the sort of detailed local study of politics and social life in wartime that might allow us to resolve some of the debates that have arisen around these two problems.

With the publication of this study of East London labour, Julia Bush has finally provided us with such a study. It is a very fine piece of work, thoroughly



researched and written in a clear and compelling style. It is filled with extremely useful information on the changes and difficulties experienced by East Londoners during World War I and on how they responded to them industrially and politically. It makes good use of oral history interviews as well as traditional archival sources, and overall it displays an unusual mix of deep sympathy and critical judgement.

Bush begins her account with an admirably clear and concise account of the economic and social conditions prevalent in the different areas of East London before the war and of the state of industrial and political organization. She shows that both the unions and the Labour Party were weak in most sections of East London — strongest in West Ham, weakest in Whitechapel, but nowhere terribly good — and argues convincingly that the weakness of Labour politics derived primarily from the lack of union organization that, in turn, she sees as being hampered by the fragmented and often "sweated" character of the local economy and by the divisions which industrial fragmentation and ethnic antagonisms bred into the work force. However poor and "proletarianized" the working people of the East End were and however clearly their interests would seem to dictate the formation of unions and allegiance to Labour, they remained largely unorganized and effectively disenfranchised prior to 1914.

The war was to change all this, but not right away. At first it brought more hardship than anything else, as industry was disrupted and unemployment increased, while prices began to climb. Still worse, the war exacerbated various existing divisions between skilled and unskilled, male and female workers, and added to these new splits between supporters and opponents of British involvement. The war also stimulated a xenophobia that quickly spilled over into anti-Semitism.

Just how these divisions were overcome and how, by the end of the war,

Labour and the unions were able to turn the difficulties of the war into opportunities for growth constitute the core of Bush's book. The key, it seems, was the effect of the war upon organization. The war created problems that could only be dealt with through collective organization and it brought with it conditions highly conducive to putting together such organization. The disruptions of war mobilization created a wealth of social problems that could not be handled through normal channels and agencies, and thus led to the creation of numerous voluntary associations, quasi-official committees and so on. Early on, moreover, Labour and union leaders saw the need to participate actively in such endeavours, for it was their members and their conditions that were so clearly at risk. The tone was set, in fact, on 5 August 1914, when the War Emergency Workers National Committee was established to insure that the burdens of waging war did not fall disproportionately upon the working class. The WEWNC got involved in questions of prices, housing, and other aspects of social welfare, and prompted the setting up of local committees throughout the country. Soon the government, too, saw the value of working with organizations involving representatives of the labour movement and, despite much local resistance, encouraged labour representation on relief committees and even military tribunals. As the state got more and more deeply entangled in the running of industry, the participation of workers' representatives was sought there as well, again, of course, despite localized resistance from employers.

The courting of union representatives at various official levels was paralleled by an increase in the shopfloor clout of trade unionism. The tight labour market produced by war gave industrial leverage to many workers who had been powerless in the relatively slack economy of the pre-war years. Union membership advanced enormously, even in the fragmented and

small-scale industries of East London. And the greatest gains of all came among the unskilled and among women workers, who had long remained outside the orbit of union organization. Such achievements, moreover, gave to union leaders and to ordinary workers a vastly increased sense of their own worth and collective capacity, and made them forces to be reckoned with at the end of the war.

The expanded reach and enhanced power of the unions was surely the most important change in the organizational life of working people, but it was not the only change. All sorts of other formal groups — the cooperatives, for example — flourished during the war, alongside the informal networks of family and friends which, as Bush makes clear, were so central to working-class existence. Still more important, this waxing of organization spilled over into politics in several ways. The unions, for example, became more rather than less political as the war progressed, and by its end firmly recognized the need for political action to defend and further the gains of wartime. Through local trades councils, these increasingly politicized unions became the underpinnings of local Labour Party strength.

Indeed, the years at the end of the war marked the high point in the history of trades councils which, though based upon local unions and theoretically merely a projection of their individual interests, took on much broader social and political functions.

As Bush tells the story of East London labour, it was through such intensified organizational activity that the divisions among East London workers and among rival socialist groups were overcome. It was by no means an easy task, as Bush's brilliant and informative chapter on "The Jews and the War" demonstrates, but by 1919 it was clear enough to Labour's opponents that somehow it had been done. The result, appropriately, was a stunning string of electoral successes in the local elections of that year.

Overall, Bush has produced an excellent study on an important topic. If the book has any weakness, it is the excessive modesty Bush exhibits about what she has accomplished. She could have spent considerably more time drawing out the implications of her research and contrasting her vision of this era with that of other scholars. But maybe that is asking a bit much for a first book, and perhaps it will spur Bush on to write another. I certainly hope so.

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Kenneth O. Morgan, *Labour in Power, 1945-1951* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1984).

NO ONE IS better qualified to write an up-to-date, scholarly account of the Attlee government than Kenneth O. Morgan. As the biographer of Keir Hardie and a leading authority on Lloyd George, he is closely acquainted both with the dynamics of the "Labour alliance" and with problems of government trying to enact reform while managing the transition from war to peace. Moreover, Morgan's zest for dispelling myths and grappling with "the business of politics" lends weight to his purpose of rescuing the "heroic" Attlee years from "the half-world of legend and fantasy." (1) As an attempt to set the record straight, to apportion praise and blame where they are deserved, to see what was done in relation to what was desired and possible, this book must be rated a major achievement. Using the full range of public and private sources now available, Morgan considers Labour's performance against the interplay of ideals, pressures, and the constraints of power. He concludes that the record, while uneven and flawed in many respects, nonetheless comprises a landmark for party and nation alike.

This is a long book, possibly too

richly detailed for its own purposes. The structure represents a compromise between the demands of theme and chronology. This has the virtue of isolating certain topics, notably the welfare state and nationalization. However the price paid is a good deal of repetition and the fragmentation of other themes, especially in the area of economic policy. Morgan's greatest strength is his ability to be even-handed and to place events in the dual perspective of party and national tradition. He argues that in party terms these years were unique in the degree of unity and camaraderie achieved. Labour's institutions from the parliamentary party to the grassroots, from the trade union leadership to the annual conference, worked in greater harmony and with a stronger sense of common purpose than it had before or since. There were grumblings and minor revolts, especially over foreign policy, but they never threatened Attlee or his ministers. Disagreements within cabinet were kept within tolerable bounds until 1951.

Attlee was certainly shrewd and very effective in preserving his own dominance, as well as in overseeing foreign and particularly Indian affairs. However, he is shown as indecisive and unhelpful at times of ministerial stress, never more so than when questions of economic policy were involved. None of his team emerges without blemish, and none without credit. Bevin is given his due for creative, realistic foreign policy, though rapped sharply over the knuckles for his clumsiness and insensitivity over Palestine. Morrison was "indispensable" as a coordinator and even theoretician, but had a poor grasp of economic and foreign affairs. Dalton gets credit as a thinker and social reformer, but is shown to have been no planner and blind to the forces of international finance. If the book has a hero, it is Aneurin Bevan — "a visionary who was also an artist in the uses of power." (58) The analogy with Lloyd George is unavoidable. A good case is also made for Vis-

count Addison and party organizer Morgan Phillips as key players, while Stafford Cripps' labours at the treasury between 1947 and 1950 were responsible for holding the government together during an awkward time and enabling it to fight off the Conservative challenge at the subsequent general election.

Morgan has no patience for those who suggest that Labour was hamstrung by the forces of capitalist conspiracy. The actual terms of the American loan were not unduly harsh, and it provided (as left-wingers argued at the time) the means for building socialism. There was no attempt by the City, the stock exchange, the press, or the civil service to destroy Labour policies; indeed, far from being monoliths, each contained significant pockets of Labour support. Where cabinet could be persuaded to press beyond the limits of wartime consensus, as was the case with the National Health Service and nationalization, it was able to do so. If there was no socialist revolution, if the class structure remained intact, if educational change avoided any challenge to the traditional élite — and Morgan agrees with all these propositions — the reasons may be found chiefly in the complicated mix of aims, attitudes, and personalities within the labour movement itself. For example, the failure to institute worker participation in the public sector was due largely to the fact that trade union leaders "wished the adversarial character of labour-management relations to continue." (98)

The convertibility crisis of 1947 is seen here, as in other accounts, as a major turning point, the start of the retreat from socialist "advance" to "consolidation." The rhetoric of planning adopted by Cripps bore little relation to the actual practice of industrial partnership and demand management. What is less clear is Dalton's view of planning, especially the link between his "cheap money" policies and his use of the employment budget. The shift towards "consolidation" is

related as well to changes in public attitude and social structure, subjects treated with great skill in a chapter on the post-war mood. While the times were not so gloomy as previous accounts would have us believe, middle-class discontent and the fading of the "fair shares" outlook did cause growing concern in Labour circles. Morgan covers a lot of ground here, including a rightward trend in the arts, but there is one serious gap: political ideas. The meaning of the countless references to "socialist" aspirations is hard to determine without a clearer idea of what "socialism" had come to signify during this period. The treatment of foreign and colonial policy is sensible and fair-minded, with the author generally following Alan Bullock's strongly pro-Bevin interpretation. However, the estimate of Creech Jones' tenure of the Colonial Office is somewhat exaggerated. Here, no less than in domestic policy, the experience of the war years must be taken into account.

In some ways, Morgan leaves the best for last. His vivid, penetrating account of the critical rupture between Bevan and Gaitskell supports the view that Bevan was right and that the 1951 budget was "a political and economic disaster." (456) Yet the problems of the years following stemmed from much more than this. As the author points out at the end of this impressive work, the very real achievements of the Attlee government had not resolved Labour's longstanding, perhaps irreconcilable impulses of "popular protest" and "the urge for power." (501) It is a pertinent conclusion for all interested in the fate of social democracy in Britain.

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Andrew Taylor, *The Politics of the Yorkshire Miners* (London: Croom Helm 1984)

have fame thrust upon them because the accident of their date of publication gives them an irresistible relevance to coincidental political, economic, or cultural events. It is the ironic fate of Andrew Taylor's book, which shows evidence throughout its 332 pages of years of careful research and committed socialist scholarship, that it should have been published early in 1984 — shortly after the beginning — and months before the conclusion — of the momentous strike called by the National Union of Mineworkers against the pit closure programme announced by the National Coal Board. The book therefore contains no analysis of what has (properly) come to be called the "Great Strike" and therefore (through no fault of Taylor himself) is of limited use, for example, in analyzing the miners' defeat and/or the present conflicts within the national union (resulting as they have in the disaffiliation of the Nottinghamshire area) or in Yorkshire itself (between the so-called New Realists and the supporters of Arthur Scargill's hard-line vanguard approach). Many of these questions — including the inevitability of the strike itself, given the direction of government and union policy — are predicted, and a due caution exercised about the likely outcome of any such confrontation.

But labour historians interested in the conduct of the strike itself and the detailed outcomes of it will have to turn to the other literature which emerged either during the course of the strike or subsequently. Notable among the many books are Alex Callinicos' *The Great Strike* which expresses the analysis of the Socialist Workers Party (the organization in Britain which corresponds to the International Socialists in Canada), a collection of papers edited by Huw Beynon for Verso called *Digging Deeper: Issues in the Miners' Strike* and, rather less usefully from a socialist view, the Penguin Special *Scargill and the Miners* written by Michael Crick, a journalist working for Independent Television News (a "popu-

SCHOLARLY TEXTS have been known to

lar" monograph which rapidly went into three printings during the course of the dispute). But intending historians of the strike will also need to pay close attention to other sources, including the unions' own official and unofficial literature produced during the strike, and the extensive debates and conflicts in Britain's weekly and monthly socialist press. Particular interest will surely be focused on the role of the miners' wives (as discussed by Jean McCrindle and others in the *New Socialist* — a development not anticipated by Taylor; on the critique of the NUM strategy from the perspective of a notion of "common interest" offered by Canada's own Michael Ignatieff in the *New Statesman* (latterly subjected to critique by Raphael Samuel); and on the eventually rather indecisive round-table discussions on NUM strategy in the pages of the "Euro-Communist" *Marxism Today*.

This will all be rather unfair to Andrew Taylor, because he has written a good and careful history of the Yorkshire area union, which was so absolutely central to the 1984-5 strike, and it a history which has been relied upon, *inter alia*, by Crick in his more journalistic and populist account of the run-up to the strike itself. Andrew Taylor is well placed, of course, to have obtained access to the relevant records and individuals: he is the son of Jack Taylor, who replaced Arthur Scargill as president of the Yorkshire area NUM when Arthur Scargill moved on to the national presidency. But as lecturer in the excellent Department of Politics at Huddersfield Polytechnic, he has also produced a very scholarly piece of work, which will survive the passage of time.

Perhaps the strongest feature of Taylor's account is the emphasis he places on the rather precarious, and recent, position of dominance of the left in the Yorkshire area of the NUM. A careful chapter on the internal politics of the Yorkshire area from 1947 to 1968 shows how the union was ambiguously dominated by trade union careerists on the right of the Labour

Party, and how, in particular, the union was treated as a stepping stone into parliamentary careers by NUM insiders. It was in this period, indeed, that young Arthur Scargill suffered some of his never-to-be-forgotten humiliations at the hands of right-wing Labour trade unionists who dominated the Yorkshire area, as he embarked on campaigns, as an apprentice miner, to improve miners' training and safety in the Yorkshire area. Part of the task Taylor sets himself is to explain the demise of the careerist Right and the rise of the Left in the period after 1968: he offers an explanation in terms of the decline in the demand for coal (and the consequently unavoidable need to defend miners' jobs with vigour and commitment, a project for which the Labour Right is congenitally unsuited) and the growth in influence of socialist academics via extramural courses offered in local universities and colleges.

This careful awareness of the Left's relatively recently won position of influence is terribly important, and contrasts with the kind of wooden, inevitabilist, and one dimensional analysis of miners' "militancy" that is presented, for example, in Vic Allen's 1981 text on the British miners. It is an awareness that could usefully be extended to the analysis of the "turn to the Left" that has occurred generally in South Yorkshire, particularly in terms of municipal politics. Anyone brought up in that area, as I was myself, will know that the long domination of the City of Sheffield and its surrounding areas by the Labour Party is in no sense equivalent to what we would want to think of as the popular experience of "socialism." It was only in the early 1970s, as the Labour Party was "entered" by determined young products of the struggles of the 1960s, that the Labour Parties of the City of Sheffield and South Yorkshire began the political work that led to that area's designation, some ten years later, as the "Socialist Republic of South Yorkshire." Recent immigrants into that area, escap-

ing the vigorous blows of an unopposed Thatcherism elsewhere in the country, have sometimes tended, in a utopian vein, to attribute to the "republic" a lengthy socialist heritage it really does not have, for all the fact of the syndicalist shop stewards' movement in the steelworks during World War I.

Andrew Taylor is, however, no new arrival to his chosen subject matter and is prey to no such utopian generalizations. The result is a full and careful empirical examination of the Yorkshire miners' post-war history, organized around a skeptical awareness of the conditional and conjunctural (rather than inevitable and universal) domination of the Left in the area union. It is written in the proper tradition of serious, rather than wishful, socialist scholarship.

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Paul Thompson with Tony Wailey and Trevor Lummis, *Living the Fishing* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1983).

THE HISTORICAL development of both fishing and agriculture in advanced industrial countries has deviated from the typical trajectory associated with capitalist development. In contrast to most industries, owner-operated enterprises have shown an amazing resilience in both of these sectors of the economy, in some cases outlasting enterprise based on capitalist wage labouring relations. Paul Thompson's *Living the Fishing* is one part of a growing body of literature, most of it concentrating on agriculture, which attempts to address the question of why and how, in some contexts, petty producers have managed to survive and indeed thrive in the capitalist context. Writing with Trevor Lummis and Tony Wailey, he has produced a book which will be of interest to a range of researchers including those studying fishing and agriculture, labour historians, and women's studies specialists.

*Living the Fishing* isolates three different paths of historical socio-economic change within fishing communities. These three paths include the emergence of communities based on the rise and fall of capitalist wage labouring relations associated with the British trawler fishery; those associated with the rise and continued resilience of a fishery based on dynamic and innovative owner-operated enterprises and a share system of payment; and, communities which have been characterized by stagnation and decline. Why is it, the authors ask, that the trawler fishery in Britain today is moribund and unable to compete with boats owned and operated by their owners? What was the basis for the success of the owner-operated steam drifter herring fishery in communities like Buckie in the past and of the recent development and expansion of the inshore fishery in Shetland? Why, on the Island of Lewis and, by implication, in places like Bauline, Newfoundland, which are located close to rich harvesting grounds, do we find a fishery characterized by technological backwardness and stagnation?

The answers to these questions are complex and multifaceted. They include factors relating to government legislation; the class structure of different communities; transportation; markets; class struggle; supplies of credit; the character of a particular fishery and patterns of fish migration. Thompson quite clearly attributes substantial importance to those broad institutional factors which are typically associated with studies of the political economy of the fishery. However, he also turns his attention to other factors which have traditionally received little or no attention in research of this kind. Included in these other factors are ideology, family structure, and gender relations.

The comprehensiveness of Thompson's approach is not accidental, nor is it simply the result of thorough historical research. On the contrary, it is the direct

outcome of his belief that research which is ahistorical and which attempts to separate work from family and community, and men from women and children cannot account for social change. As he suggests, there has been much research on the impact of socio-economic change on the family and the community with relatively little systematic attention paid to the impact of the family (hence women) and community on the pattern of socio-economic change.

The analysis begins with an overview of the history of the development of the British fishery emphasizing its unevenness. It then goes on to document the labour history of the industry describing the separate but important roles played by both men and women in that history. The inadequacy of a simple model of labour-capital relations in terms of its ability to account for that labour history is highlighted. Thus, despite relatively high levels of concentration of ownership and control in the trawler fishery, dangerous working conditions, and extreme exploitation, collective organization and unionization within the industry were strikingly weak. A range of factors contributed to this situation including the organization of work and of trawling communities. However, a further important factor was the impact of the lag between economic change and socio-cultural change. Basically, trawlermen were recruited from the inshore fishery and brought with them attitudes and values which were suited to that fishery as well as the hope of returning to the inshore in the future. This affected the extent and goals of their collective action which in turn contributed to the long-term decline of the industry alongside the inshore. We return to Thompson's emphasis on family and ideology. In a context where inshoremen and capitalists are on relatively equal footing in terms of their access to technology, a situation created by government loans and subsidies since World War II, the inshore will outlast the capitalist wage

labouring fishery because in the case of Britain, the latter was organized in such a way as to destroy the creative initiative necessary for fishing successfully and also the family life necessary to reproduce future generations of trained and experienced trawler operators.

In contrast to the trawler fishery, some inshore communities, Thompson argues, have worked out a moral ethic based on egalitarian gender relations and non-authoritarian parenting which insures the production of future generations of fishermen and fishing families within which there is both a strong spirit of egalitarianism and space for creative innovation. This moral ethic, coupled with an emphasis on self-control, hard work, and the opportunity for creating one's own future, cultural notions which are consistent with but not necessarily directly derived from Protestantism, are the necessary but not sufficient ingredients required for the development and continued survival of a dynamic owner-operated fishery. Evidence to support this conclusion comes from the excellent case studies of Lewis and Shetland contained in the book. In Lewis, despite the presence of fish stocks, the inshore fishery has declined and stagnated rather than expanding and developing. The reasons again are complex, but include the existence of a moral ethic which although egalitarian in some senses, discourages innovation and creativity. Family and religious structures are authoritarian and patriarchal.

Thompson's emphasis on the family and ideology allows him to go beyond the simplistic structural analyses of women's contribution to the economy which focus on their participation in the labour force and work in the home. Women not only labour but are also responsible, in particular in a male-absent context such as that generated by the fishery, for socializing future generations. Given the significance attributed to ideology and cultural factors in shaping economic outcomes, women in their role as socializers and parents

achieve a new and central importance in this analysis. Of course, this is aside from the prominent role, documented in the book, that women played in the history of class struggle within the British industry.

The scope of *Living the Fishing*, the methodology, and the analytical and theoretical insights which it offers make this a significant and exciting contribution to studies of the fishing industry in the capitalist context. It does, however, leave some important questions unanswered. First, perhaps because of the emphasis on ideology, family, and the community, factors such as differences in terms of access to credit and also political factors do not always receive as much attention as they could. Also, although I find Thompson's discussion of women and gender relations exciting, this is an area which requires further study. Are women, in their role as socializers, merely passing on a moral ethic and ideology which are generated by men while fishing and/or by a male-dominated Protestant church? The women of Shetland quite clearly have their own organizations and independent sources of power and control which contribute to the equality of the sexes in that community. Do they not, perhaps, also have their own culture, and if they do, what role do their cultural institutions play in shaping the values, ideology, and ultimately attitudes characteristic of the next generation and hence, future economic change? What role did women play in the development of the temperance movement in Britain which, Thompson argues, was an important factor in the economic success of the herring fishery in Buckie? Finally, Thompson emphasizes the importance of egalitarian gender relations for producing economic structures which are egalitarian and yet innovative and dynamic, but does not really explore why or how they are important.

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Mary-Lynn Stewart-MacDougall. *The Artisan Republic-Revolution: Reaction and Resistance in Lyon, 1848-1851* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1984).

VOILÀ UN LIVRE qui, à juste titre, veut combler un vide: en effet, si l'on commence à bien connaître ce qui se passe dans les campagnes et à Paris pendant ces années décisives où se fonde en France la démocratie représentative, on ne sait rien sur les grandes villes de province et notamment sur Lyon, un peu occulté par ce qui s'y était passé avant, en 1831 et 1834. Le livre de F. Dutacq est ancien (1910) et tient plus de la chronique des événements que d'une analyse institutionnelle et sociale de cette période-clé. À travers une chronologie serrée de l'action et des positions politiques, une sociologie des organisations et des militants, l'auteur défend une thèse fortement motivée. On ne peut en effet qu'être frappé par la spécificité lyonnaise, si différente notamment des comportements parisiens. Dans la ville où a brutalement surgi, vingt ans plus tôt, la «question sociale», la Révolution flamboie moins fort, pour le meilleur, dans la mesure où les masses paraissent mieux préparées qu'ailleurs à la confrontation démocratique, tout à fait nouvelle, que constitue le suffrage universel.

Ceci s'expliquerait par la profondeur de l'ancrage de ces clubs, surgis au grand jour en février 1848 dans la masse ouvrière et artisanale de la ville. Ils ne font qu'être révéler une tradition d'action et d'organisation collectives anciennes, remontant parfois à l'Ancien Régime et simplement accentuée sous la Monarchie de Juillet: 40 pour cent des activistes du Club Démocratique Central ne sont-ils pas déjà des vétérans d'avant 1848? Un certain radicalisme politique populaire est bel et bien antérieur à la chute de la Monarchie et il explique la victoire précoce et plus large d'un courant «démocrate» qui, ailleurs, est plus tardif à émerger; à Lyon, le drapeau rouge ne choque



pas. Somme toute, il n'y a pas de rupture fiévreuse à la parisienne mais révélation et aboutissement — provisoire — d'une longue pédagogie politique; à l'évidence, une manière de modernité à la lyonnaise.

La seule note de violence irrationnelle, c'est en effet l'incendie des ateliers religieux qui accompagne février. Dans les mois qui suivent, l'événement est constamment maîtrisé: peu de démonstrations de rue, et toujours limitées et disciplinées; des clubs qui jouent l'apaisement, et qui traversent sans dommage les journées de juin; de bonnes relations avec une armée omniprésente, et elle-même apprivoisée, voire contaminée; le calme sur la question des ateliers nationaux, signe de force et de discipline; en toile de fond enfin, l'accompagnement par les nouvelles autorités et les sociétés populaires d'une reprise de l'économie locale. Si bien qu'au printemps 1849, le succès de la «Nouvelle Montagne» amplifié à Lyon l'audience qu'elle rencontre dans tout le Sud-Est, et ses tenants qui monopolisent la représentation de la ville sont d'authentiques porte-paroles des masses travailleuses, que ce soit Joseph Benoit, Doutré ou Greppo.

Sans doute l'ambiance a-t-elle changé depuis l'été 1849, symbolisée par l'arrivée, à la tête des troupes, de Bugeaud. Mais justement, le mouvement populaire entame aussitôt une retraite en bon ordre, de l'action ouverte vers une semi-clandestinité retrouvée à l'ombre de formes organisationnelles éprouvées: d'août à décembre 1848, les coopératives de consommation se multiplient de la grandissante discrétion des clubs. C'est une adaptation à la répression rampante, vers des réseaux semblables à ceux des sociétés secrètes de la Monarchie de Juillet, creusets des idéologies radicales. Sans doute l'insurrection de La Croix-Rousse, le 15 juin 1849, naît-elle d'un dérapage: son ampleur même, comparée à la médiocrité parisienne, est révélatrice de la force d'implantation des clubs, tout comme de leur enracinement populaire;

parmi les condamnés, nombre de militants des années 1840; parmi les insurgés du rang, une majorité d'ouvriers de la Fabrique de Soieries.

C'est justement en s'attaquant à ce maillage en profondeur que la répression qui accompagne un état de siège particulièrement rigoureux se révèle efficace. Pas de coup d'état, mais des arrestations fragmentées, des procès multiples, une pression constante qui aboutissent au lent étouffement des organisations corporatives. Et les rares coopératives qui survivent le doivent justement à l'abandon de tout projet politique. À tel point que la ville longtemps à l'unisson d'un plat-pays où la démocratie se fondait sur l'hostilité à la grande propriété absentéiste reste étrangère au si mal nommé «Complot de Lyon» monté par A. Gent, et qu'elle ne bouge pas en décembre 1851, au moment du Coup d'État. La vraie rupture est dans ces années 1849-51, et c'est sous d'autres espèces, avec d'autres gens, selon d'autres références que renaitra, dans les années 1860, le mouvement populaire et démocratique.

Telle quelle, la démonstration ne manque pas de force et au moins pour 1848, elle correspond sans doute à la réalité, appuyée qu'elle est sur une intelligente lecture de l'événement et sur une analyse, même rapide, du contexte social dans une ville où, pour un temps du moins, les élites traditionnelles ont fait retraite. C'est un livre qui, pourtant, laisse un sentiment d'insatisfaction. Et, d'abord, parce qu'on a l'impression qu'il repose sur le placage, après coup, d'une problématique plus générale sur un récit purement événementiel. La nourrit d'abord l'obsolescence relative de la bibliographie: il n'est guère qu'une douzaine de titres postérieurs à 1975, et les absences sont nombreuses d'ouvrages tout à fait fondamentaux ceux qui ont justement renouvelé la question. Aucune mention de R. Huard, des articles de Ch. Tilly-L. Lees, de P. Caspard; R. Aminzade et G. Sheridan évoqués par des papiers précurseurs, pas par leurs oeuvres

majeures, etc. Et une rupture évidente de ton entre introduction et conclusion, d'une part, fort bien venues, et le corps d'un texte qui n'y fait guère référence.

Du coup, il ne suffit pas d'évoquer Ch. Johnson pour prouver le rôle des ouvriers artisanaux; J. Scott pour montrer celui des migrants, etc. Montrer que le radicalisme populaire naît des faubourgs et des nouveaux venus n'a pas beaucoup de sens dans une ville où le tissu urbain est continu, étalé en nappe au fur et à mesure de la progression économique et démographique des décennies antérieures. L'analyse est banale des liens entre délinquance et contestation politique, surtout quand on paraît ignorer H. Zehr et — ce qui est moins explicable — J. Rougerie ou, plus récent, G. Désert. Il y aurait beaucoup à dire sur la version simpliste de quartiers ouvriers réduits à la séquence homogénéité sociale, donc activisme politique et conscience de classe! Comment parler si vite des sociétés ouvrières de la Monarchie de Juillet sans utiliser le travail fondamental de G. Sheridan, etc.

D'autres propos sont franchement contestables, qu'il n'est guère possible d'accepter après les travaux qui, depuis plus d'une décennie, permettent une meilleure connaissance des travailleurs lyonnais; ainsi sur les incendies de couvent en février 1848, qui ne constituent en aucune manière une manifestation de luddisme puisqu'on ne s'attaque pas aux mécaniques en tant que telles; dont au contraire la tonalité anti-religieuse attesté de cent autres années, est incontestable, alors même que l'auteur conclut à l'absence d'anticléricalisme; sur la soi-disant «rupture» des années 1850-1, dans l'organisation corporative: on ne peut balayer sans preuves l'idée d'une continuité souterraine, et il y a franchement contradiction d'affirmer que les coopératives lyonnaises présentent des traits typiquement syndicaux (100) mais qu'à l'inverse de Lille, elles ne jouent pas le rôle de société de résistance; enfin, parler des «anarchistes» (159) dans la section locale de l'ATI

relève de l'anachronisme. On ne peut que regretter d'avoir à faire ces réserves importantes, sur un livre dont la lecture du politique est imaginative et sensible; mais déjà fortement dépassé parce qu'ignorant, dans l'essentiel de son propos central, d'un renouvellement historiographique récent qui doit cependant tant, précisément, aux historiens nord-américains.

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Gary S. Cross, *Immigrant Workers in Industrial France: The Making of a New Laboring Class* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1983).

AS IS WELL KNOWN, The problem of immigration is a central theme in working-class history. This is especially true for North American labour historiography, where ethnic divisions are seen as a crucial factor in the perpetuation of working-class disunity and where the periodic ethnic recomposition of the proletariat through immigration is a unique phenomenon. In addition, no history of European labour since 1945 could be written without considering the role of thousands of immigrant workers in supplying cheap labour to the capitalists of northern Europe during the post-war boom and then in returning home as the economy fell apart in the early 1970s. What is less well known is that this peculiar phenomenon of post-war European history has a precursor in the interwar immigration policy pursued by France. It is this policy that Gary Cross' fine monograph describes and explains.

According to Cross, prior to World War I immigrant labour played only a minor role in French economic life. This changed during the war when the conscription of seven million French citizens necessitated the immigration of Chinese, North African, Italian, and Spanish labour. After the war, the devastating impact of wartime slaughter and the

results of the long-term population decline which had begun in the nineteenth century could not be ignored: both post-war reconstruction and the normal operation of the French economy required immigration on an unprecedented scale.

In the 1920s, a combination of government encouragement and private initiatives resulted in the importation of nearly two million immigrants, many of Italian and Polish origin. Cross describes how these immigrant workers were shunted into secondary jobs in mining, agriculture, and metallurgy where working conditions were poor, wages low, and French workers consequently difficult to attract. This strategy allowed native French workers increasingly to monopolize the more highly skilled, attractive, and better paid job slots. Furthermore, French capitalists were supplied with a pool of cheap labour which made possible both the survival of traditional labour-intensive enterprises and the expansion of more modern sectors such as chemicals and metallurgy where working conditions were miserable. As a result, employer competition for workers, which might have disrupted capitalist class unity, was avoided and traditional sectors of the economy like textiles were able to avoid expensive mechanization. Economic expansion and capitalist hegemony in the 1920s were therefore built on the backs of immigrant workers.

In Cross' view, the central feature of this immigration strategy was that immigrant workers were not encouraged to assimilate but were left without the political rights which would have come with full French citizenship. By depriving an entire section of the proletariat of political rights, the French state could turn these workers into "subjects" who could be regulated, restricted in their mobility, and expelled by administrative fiat. Such workers were forced to carry identity cards, restricted to certain job categories, frequently expelled for radical political or union activity, and repatriated during economic hard times. The latter strategy was

especially useful as the depression of the 1930s deepened, though as Cross points out, even in the worst years the French economy remained dependent on immigrant labour. Cross argues that this strategy of creating "a permanent class of sub-citizens whose movements were to be regulated to serve the exigencies of the French economy" made French policy the prototype of post-1945 policies in other European countries as well. (4)

As for the French labour movement, Cross describes how the socialist CGT basically went along with the government so long as immigrants were steered away from attractive jobs sought by the French. Until the mid-1930s the communists took a different position, arguing that class solidarity and unified action against employers required a dismantling of the administrative controls on immigrant workers. Neither the communist nor socialist unions seem to have had much success organizing immigrant workers. In the end, too, the Popular Front period saw the communists abandon their class solidarity line for a position agreeable to the socialists.

Cross has written an important and persuasive book. In addition to what it tells us about France, it reminds us how frequently working people have experienced the twentieth-century capitalist state as an undemocratic mechanism of coercion and repression — even where outwardly liberal democracy seems to prevail. One does wish that Cross had provided some comparative data and analysis with the North American situation: if immigration had a less negative impact on French working-class political organization than in North America, was this due to factors of sheer numbers or was it that French labour politics were consolidated prior to significant immigration? With respect to numbers, the book would have benefited from more systematic material on the ratio of immigrants to the French population as a whole as well as at least some comparative material on the situa-

tion in North America and other European countries during the same period. Finally, Cross implies that everyone benefited from immigration except the immigrants: French capitalists had their cheap labour while French workers avoided the worst work associated with economic growth and preserved their democratic rights. But it is doubtful that native workers can be said to have benefited in any fundamental way from a policy which increased employer flexibility, lowered wages, and undermined class political unity. A consideration of these broader questions might have added a more critical dimension to Cross' account. In the end, though, a monograph can only do so much, and Cross has done it here with care and intelligence.

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Edward Mortimer, *The Rise of the French Communist Party, 1920-1947* (London: Faber & Faber Limited 1984).

ENCORE UN OUVRAGE sur le Parti Communiste français! Il est vrai que les travaux concernant le Parti Communiste français (PCF), qu'ils viennent du monde universitaire ou d'ailleurs, commencent à s'accumuler sur les rayons des bibliothèques. Certes tout n'a pas encore été dit — tant s'en faut — sur l'histoire d'un des plus importants partis communistes de l'Europe occidentale. Edward Mortimer, journaliste chevronné du *Times* de Londres et ancien chercheur au All Souls College de Oxford, nous propose une synthèse de cette accumulation de travaux sur le PCF, qui — il faut bien l'admettre — ne sont pas toujours faciles d'accès. Il s'agit ici d'une véritable analyse en profondeur du PCF à partir d'un certain nombre de travaux fondamentaux de chercheurs aussi bien anglo-saxons que français. Mortimer fait le point sur le phénomène communiste en France d'une manière succincte et d'une plume élégante, mais ne prétend

pas faire une recherche. Cependant, pour le lecteur de langue anglaise cet ouvrage est une contribution de taille car les synthèses en anglais ne sont pas aussi abondantes que celles en français. Et pour cause! Le PCF reste, en France, d'une actualité brûlante! En effet, le poids de son histoire pèse sur le présent de toute la gauche française.

Mortimer nous présente un PCF profondément conservateur, une institution quadrillée depuis ses origines par la discipline et les conformismes. D'après l'auteur ce parti d'un caractère nouveau ne s'inscrit pas dans les traditions françaises où l'individualisme est privilégié et où les droits de l'homme sont à l'honneur. Bref, comment expliquer la «réussite» d'un tel parti dans une démocratie bourgeoise?

Ce sont des éléments d'explication que nous apporte Mortimer pour comprendre le poids politique et social énorme du PCF dans la France contemporaine, et tout particulièrement dans la culture politique de la gauche. C'est évidemment dans le passé que Mortimer va chercher les éléments de réponse, et surtout dans l'analyse de cette période, relativement courte, qui voit la construction d'un parti fort, implanté dans les entreprises, enraciné dans la classe ouvrière, et occupant un espace politique de premier plan. Ce récit, minutieux, souvent fascinant, jalonne les années 1920 à 1947, période pendant laquelle le PCF atteint la position dominante dans la gauche française qu'il devait maintenir jusqu'à un passé très récent. L'épilogue qui, en une trentaine de pages aborde «les années de frustration», ne rend pas hommage à l'histoire récente du PCF, période de «déclin» certes, qui va du début de la guerre froide à l'avènement au pouvoir des socialistes en 1981, mais qui aurait mérité de meilleurs développements.

D'après Mortimer l'histoire du PCF tourne autour de la contradiction entre deux vocations que s'est donné le parti: la vocation nationale et l'internationalisme.

Il s'agit bien, en effet, d'un parti enraciné dans la nation jouant un rôle déterminant dans la politique nationale. Cependant, à l'origine, le «parti» devait imposer aux traditions de la gauche française une solution extérieure au problème de l'émancipation de la classe ouvrière. Cette solution «importée» a eu comme conséquence, selon l'auteur, de soumettre le mouvement ouvrier français à la plus sévère des disciplines internationales. Cette opposition entre un parti «national» et un parti «international» — mais un parti qui se veut toujours «révolutionnaire» — peut se concevoir autrement. Pourquoi ne pas penser le parti communiste comme étant à la fois français et internationaliste? Un parti à la fois national, en autant qu'il doit être le représentant d'une classe elle-même faisant partie intégrale d'une société donnée, et international dans la mesure où l'émancipation de la classe ouvrière doit nécessairement dépasser le cadre national et se réaliser dans un mouvement international.

Dans la première moitié du livre Mortimer démontre admirablement les conditions d'apparition du PCF: l'impuissance de la gauche face à la guerre et surtout l'effet d'entraînement de la révolution bolchévique. Il nous conduit d'une main sûre à travers les méandres de la période dite de «bolchévisation» du parti français, pour ensuite faire l'histoire de ce parti discipliné qui évolue dans la mouvance de la Troisième Internationale. Le récit s'attarde, avec raison, aux moments significatifs des années 1930.

La stratégie «d'unité d'action» qui se concrétise dans les mois qui suivent la menace fasciste de février 1934 contre la Troisième République française, correspond à l'impératif de mener la lutte au niveau international contre le fascisme. Il fallait, en effet, élargir l'alliance de classes non seulement entre les ouvriers et les paysans, mais aussi avec certaines fractions de la bourgeoisie (fonctionnaires, artisans, commerçants), d'autant plus que ces derniers pouvaient devenir un support

social important au fascisme. Mortimer a raison de voir dans l'unité entre le PCF et la Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière (SFIO) — qui se réalise avec le pacte du 17 juillet 1934 — non seulement le fondement politique du Front Populaire, mais aussi le report d'une stratégie révolutionnaire à d'autres temps. La stratégie «classe contre classe» de l'Internationale Communiste paraissait bien révolue puisque le fascisme était le danger à l'ordre du jour et qu'il fallait le combattre par tous les moyens.

La plupart des historiens du PCF considèrent qu'à partir de 1934, et surtout pendant l'expérience du Front Populaire, le PCF émerge d'un profond isolement national. Mortimer met l'accent sur cette période charnière de l'histoire du PCF qui voit la transformation du PCF en parti vraiment national, et ceci malgré des retours ponctuels à une ligne politique plus sectaire, notamment en 1938-40 et 1947-52.

De même, Mortimer reconnaît que le Front Populaire, qui fut une réussite politique incontestable, a eu des ramifications déterminantes pour l'histoire du PCF. La direction du parti affirme une volonté de modération, surtout sur le plan social, afin de pouvoir réaliser un gouvernement populaire efficace. D'une façon générale, le PCF prend même une orientation nettement patriotique en prônant le renforcement de la défense nationale. Evidemment, cette nouvelle politique s'insère dans la lutte contre la menace de guerre et le fascisme.

Mortimer reprend la même analyse pour la période suivant la deuxième guerre mondiale. Le rôle joué par le PCF dans la résistance pendant l'occupation nazie et la conjoncture exceptionnelle d'après-guerre permettent aux communistes de participer pleinement au pouvoir. Le PCF est véritablement le parti de la classe ouvrière ainsi que le premier parti de gauche: il suffit pour s'en convaincre de jeter un regard sur sa puissance syndicale, sur l'opinion publique qui lui est largement favorable,

sur le poids de son électorat, et sur son implantation dans la société.

Comme dans les années 1930 le PCF assume réellement un rôle national. Entre 1944 et 1947 le PCF met l'accent sur la reconstruction économique d'une France ravagée par la guerre et l'occupation, ainsi que sur le «renouveau démocratique» après l'expérience de Vichy: il démontre à ses alliés politiques son sens des responsabilités nationales. À cette époque le parti est convaincu de sa capacité de prendre le pouvoir en investissant les institutions démocratiques. Mais la conquête d'une majorité parlementaire reste illusoire, et les tripartisme devient finalement insupportable pour le PCF. Son éclatement, en 1947, répondait à la volonté socialo-radical d'imposer une politique intérieure d'austérité (le blocage des salaires en particulier) et d'adhérer à l'un des deux blocs en formation. La doctrine Truman et la fondation du Kominform annonçèrent l'institutionnalisation de la guerre froide.

Mortimer est très convaincant dans son analyse des nouvelles orientations du parti, surtout pour 1934-6, période où il se transforme en parti national. Cependant le PCF, loin de renier sa dimension internationaliste et sa finalité révolutionnaire, avait su à l'époque adapter son schéma stratégique aux conditions nouvelles. C'est ce que J.J. Backer nomme la stratégie du double pouvoir.

L'ouvrage de Mortimer ne nous aide pas vraiment à saisir dans toute sa complexité la stratégie de la conquête du pouvoir. La voie indirecte menant à la prise du pouvoir est fondamentale dans la stratégie communiste. Cette stratégie du double pouvoir englobe à la fois une stratégie électorale et un mouvement extraparlémentaire ainsi qu'un mouvement de masse. Ce dernier constitue un contre-pouvoir puisqu'il implique aussi une hégémonie culturelle et idéologique. Ce contre-pouvoir, dans l'histoire du PCF, permet tous les espoirs — et toutes les illusions — car il construit un parti révolu-

tionnaire dans des situations qui, elles, n'ont pas été révolutionnaires.

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Santos Juliá, *Madrid, 1931-1934. De la Fiesta popular a la lucha de clases* (Madrid: Siglo XXI 1984).

WITH THIS BOOK Santos Juliá breaks new ground in the study of the Spanish working class. This is important but, to be honest, of little interest beyond the tiny group which concerns itself with such things. However, for a broader public his work heralds a new way of seeing the one event in the modern history of Spain which does creep into the general consciousness — and even, from time to time, into modern Europe survey courses — the Spanish Civil War.

This examination of Madrid in the early 1930s, and for an English-speaking audience the article based upon it which appears in the recent collection edited by Paul Preston — *Revolution and War in Spain, 1931-1939* (New York: Methuen 1984) — offers a highly suggestive way of reading the history of the Spanish Second Republic and understanding why its short life ended in civil war. In contrast to most previous studies of the republic, which have focused on high politics as the source of the conflicts which punctuated the years 1931-36, Juliá burrows below this level to reach the underlying social conflicts which informed the politics of the period and gave it its particular sharpness.

Juliá is concerned with the changing behaviour of the populace of Madrid, and in particular why the outburst of joy which united various classes in the streets of the capital when the republic was declared on 14 April 1931 had turned into a continual and escalating round of class conflict by the winter of 1933-34. Secondly, he is concerned to explain the emergence of

working-class support for the anarchosyndicalist CNT in what had historically been the stronghold of the socialist union federation, the UGT.

Both developments stem from a single cause: the failure of the governments of the republic, both centre-left and centre-right, to adequately address the economic grievances of either the working class or the employers. But behind this lay another, more fundamental development: changes in the city and its economy gave rise to a new working class geographically segregated in its own districts and to whose needs the established forms and mechanisms of labour relations did not respond.

In the 1920s the public works projects undertaken by the Primo de Rivera dictatorship transformed the construction industry, the most important employer in an eminently non-industrial city. Large firms, employing up to 2000 workers on a single site, came to displace the myriad small contractors who had previously dominated the industry. These firms drew their employees, overwhelmingly unskilled *peones*, from the approximately 420,000 people who had flocked to the city between 1910 and 1930. Prevented by housing shortages and high rents from living in the old inner city or the suburbs built in the late nineteenth century these recent immigrants clustered in outlying districts, which became the first exclusively working-class areas in the city.

With the depression came a crisis of the construction industry and massive unemployment. Republican governments, with their mania for "sound" budgetary behaviour, could do little to alleviate the resulting distress. The public works projects were undertaken by the large firms not the small contractors, thus completing the displacement of those small employers who had hired many of the skilled workers belonging to the socialist craft unions, precipitating an organizational crisis in the socialist unions.

At the same time, the CNT and its Sindicato Unico de Construcción offered a form of industrial unionism totally different from the highly organized, bureaucratic, and disciplined methods of the socialists. Their approach had been based largely on dealing with the employers through arbitration committees, the *jurados mixtos* created by socialist Labour Minister Francisco Largo Caballero. However, as the author shows, by the end of 1933 the employers' federations had come to see the *jurados* as a major cause of the crisis and increasingly declined to work through them.

The CNT, which considered the republic to be the moral equivalent of the monarchy, sought to mobilize the workers and bring them into the streets to engage the employers — and the state — in direct conflict. To do so it adopted a flexible organization based on strike committees at the work sites and frequent assemblies. It also demanded work for the unemployed, an issue which the socialists largely ignored. This combination of bellicosity and flexibility allowed the Sindicato Unico to take charge of strikes which emerged on the large work sites and to channel discontent with the results of the republic. The anarchosyndicalists also developed a new type of strike, one which lasted much longer, affecting thousands of workers across the industry and not limited to a single craft or work site. Such strikes made use of new spaces such as theatres and even bull rings, substituting assemblies open to all workers for *referenda* in which only those holding a union card could participate.

At the same time, the employers were strengthening their own organization and came to demand the abolition of the arbitration committees, which they saw as sectarian. By late 1933, then, both employers and many workers had rejected the channels of labour relations established by the socialists in favour of direct confrontation. This pattern had taken

shape before the election of November 1933, when the republican-socialist coalition was replaced in power by the radicals supported by the CEDA. Between December 1933 and March 1934 almost 80,000 people were on strike in the capital. The fact that the Right was in power was cold comfort for the employers, as the government ended up settling the strikes in the workers' favour. In Madrid, at least, the traditional chronological division of the republic into *bienios*: "progressive" from April 1931 to November 1933 and "black" from November 1933 to November 1935, will have to be rethought. As Juliá remarks, "For the workers of Madrid 1934 was not a black year at all: rather it was the year of the greatest conquests." (409)

I have given a brief and greatly simplified account of what is a detailed, multifaceted, and complex narrative. In addition to the evolution of the construction industry and the class relations to which it gave rise, Juliá deals with the other major sectors of the city's economy: printing, metalworking, and bars and restaurants. He has also recognized, and for this is to be congratulated, that an analysis of class conflict cannot be complete if it deals with the workers alone, and he therefore devotes considerable space to the development of employers' attitudes and organizations which were both conditioned by and in turn affected the conduct of the workers and their unions.

In the prologue, Santos Juliá announces that he hopes to follow *Madrid, 1931-1934* with a book covering 1935 and 1936. The importance of the present volume can best be expressed with the wish that his hopes are realized, and quickly.

Adrien Shubert  
York University

Caroline Humphrey, *Karl Marx Collective: Economy, Society and Religion in a Siberian Collective Farm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983).

THIS COMPLEX AND difficult book ably presents the historical and current ethnography of rural, northeastern Buryat-Mongol peoples in the analytical context of Soviet collective farm organization and management. It is an important contribution both to social anthropology and to political science. Carefully documented, judicious, and well argued, the book ranks with Merle Fainsod's *Smolensk Under Soviet Rule* as a seminal study of Soviet reality.

Several sources of information provide the factual and theoretical basis of this volume. About one-third of its content represents field data gathered by the author, who commands both Russian and Mongol, in two brief but intensive periods of research, the summer of 1967 and the winter of 1974-5. These primary materials are of two types. They include detailed, systematic information on topics such as population structure, marriage patterns, and migration; kinship and genealogies; Kolkhoz organization; key personnel, output, and projects on collective farms; family budgets and economic exchanges; Communist Party members; and ritual sites for present-day shamanism. They also include observations and interpretations scattered throughout the book.

Most of the study draws on about 160 published monographs, chapters, and papers on the Buryat. Many of these are in local publications almost unobtainable in the USSR as well as abroad, outside of the Buryat-Mongol ASSR. The pre-revolutionary as well as Soviet literature is well covered. Also, about a hundred pages are devoted to descriptive and analytical statements dealing with Soviet society, especially Kolkhoz organization and management, on a national level. Their interpretation rests upon the theoretical work of western students of the Soviet Union, notably Jerry Hough, and British social anthropologists, especially Max Gluckman.

Topically, this study is, apart from an introduction, a descriptive sketch of the



collective farms studied, and a conclusion, a progressive treatment of Buryat-Mongol society from the viewpoint of Soviet institutions and their impacts upon local culture. The sequence of chapters is as follows: the Buryats and their surroundings; ideology and instructions for collective farms; the hierarchy of rights held in practice; the collective farm economy; the division of labour; domestic production and changes in the Soviet Buryat family; politics in the collective farm; and ritual and identity. This organization facilitates a structural presentation of the ethnographic data but fragments many topics. The treatment of, say, family organization is scattered throughout the book. Much information is presented only in the extensive notes.

The contributions of this volume are both substantive and theoretical. Perhaps the most extensive and important data deal with kinship, under five general rubrics: marriage patterns and inter-ethnic relations; pre-revolutionary kinship; household functioning; marital alliances and Kolkhoz politics; and wedding rituals, reciprocal gifts, and the consolidation of kin relations. In each instance, the author has sought to analyze the descriptive materials presented. For example, she states that the following features characterize the Buryat population:

... a high rate of birth, a high age of marriage, the condoning of illegitimate children, but at the same time a low rate of divorce, very localized marriage among those who remain on the farm, a tendency toward virilocality, and a very low rate of mixed marriages. All of this is consistent with a population markedly immobile after the age of thirty or so. (47)

Excellent also is the description of the evolution of the two collective farms investigated, in terms of guiding policies, structure, and operations. The materials presented are exceptionally detailed and candid. They bring out the chronic crises of Soviet agriculture to a remarkable extent:

In 1971 to 1973, the Karl Marx lost its *entire* hay harvest. The Mandai area was permanently water-logged, and its drainage was another item on the list of construction projects still incomplete in 1975. Again the financing and repair were in the hands of two separate outside organizations. In 1975 hay was being imported from Mongolia to deal with the fodder situation (this hay itself created another problem — a kind of mouse, which arrived with the hay and multiplied extraordinarily requiring the Kolkhozniks in Barguzin to keep cats, which they had never done before; they, like other peoples of Mongolian culture, regard cats as unclean animals). By 1980 the fodder situation was desperate in the whole of the Barguzin valley. The main hay-fields of three collective farms were flooded, and the Soviet authorities were calling for "every inhabitant of the nation, every industrial enterprise... to cut small twigs, reeds, the grass on roadside verges, clearings in the forest and marshes..." In the first half of 1980 many animals had died: 945 cows, 7,411 sheep, and over 28,000 lambs. (206-07)

Finally, Dr. Humphrey has clearly handled several important theoretical issues. Her succinct statement on collective farm organization catches the essence of a complex politico-economic phenomenon. She has expertly linked status, gift-giving, and kinship in Buryat society. And she shows how shamanism and Lamaism have retained vitality to this day.

A number of weaknesses must be noted in this important work. A major problem is the complex organization of the volume, which requires a systematic effort on the part of the reader to trace the characteristics and development of the many institutions discussed, such as Lamaism. Associated with this failing is an incomplete treatment of many data presented in tabular form and deserving careful explication. Finally, while the author presents adequate materials to support alternate conclusions, she appears to overstate Soviet impacts: "Since collectivization Buryat society has undergone a complete transformation, even the structure of

the family reflecting socio-political changes at higher levels." (434)

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Teodor Shanin, ed., *Late Marx and the Russian Road: Marx and 'The Peripheries of Capitalism'* (New York: Monthly Review Press 1983).

"WAS HE [Marx] god or human?" (25) This question is tackled with earnestness in Teodor Shanin's introductory essay "Late Marx: Gods and Craftsmen." Marx must be recognized as human, the author implores, if we are to see "the greatest revolutionary scholar... as he was as against the caricatures and icons drawn by his enemies and his worshippers." (33)

Shanin's brand of iconoclasm has peculiar results: his human Marx towers far above ordinary gods. As Shanin describes them, "Gods remain unchanged by the process of creation and, it was said, can think only of themselves." Marx, however, suffered no such limitations: he belonged to that special breed of "master craftsmen" who "change matter while changing themselves in the process of creation." Unlike a self-centred deity, moreover, Marx was a "humanist" whose "scholarship was a chosen tool in the service of grand ethical design of liberation of human essence from its alienation..." (32) Indeed, the Marx that emerges here is not only free from godly restraints, but also lacking those foibles and flaws which characterize the rest of humankind. Shanin, of course, is not obliged to catalogue his subject's every weakness: yet, if he claims to portray Marx "as he was," at least some of his less admirable traits, such as his arrogance or jealousy, deserve mention.

This polemical book has one overriding theme: Karl Marx, unlike the Russian Marxists, was extremely capable of

learning. In the second essay, "Marx and Revolutionary Russia," Haruki Wada reveals that Russian populism exerted considerable influence on Marx's thought during the post-*Capital* period. After learning from the populists about the collectivist traditions of the Russian peasant commune, Marx modified his views on the peasantry and, consequently, on the nature of Russia's road to communism. Thus, the preface to the second Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto* (1882) asserted that, if the Russian revolution and proletarian revolution in the West "complement each other, then Russia's communal land-ownership may serve as the point of departure for a communist development." (139) Those who wish to pursue the relationship between Marx and the Russian populists, moreover, will not have to look far for source materials: a collection of translated documents, including the Marx-Zasulich correspondence and selected writings of Chernyshevskii and the People's Will, comprises more than one-third of this volume.

Interpretations of these documents by Wada and Shanin suggest that the late Marx's favourable comments on the peasant commune represented a radical departure from his earlier views. This suggestion bends "the stick too far" according to Derek Sayer and Philip Corrigan who contributed the third essay: "Late Marx: Continuity, Contradiction and Learning." Although they too insist that "Marx was supremely good at learning," they deny any significant rupture between his early and late works. Instead, Sayer and Corrigan emphasize a fundamental "continuity of concern:" Marx had always searched for "social forms... capable of advancing the emancipation of labour" and, as a result of his involvement in the political struggles of the 1870s and early 1880s, he recognized that, under certain conditions, the Russian peasant commune, as well as the Paris Commune, could serve as "appropriate forms for socialist transformation." (77, 90-91)

But the question remains: why did Russian Marxists pay so little attention to the late Marx's comments on the peasant commune? None of the contributors to this volume mention the most obvious reason: there is no systematic treatment of peasant institutions in Marx's writings. Because Marx's references to the peasantry were unrigorous, it is understandable that Russian revolutionary theorists, who had learned a great deal from the systematic empirical analysis of *Capital*, tended to disregard them. Shortly after Marx's death, moreover, they learned from the powerful German social democrats that Marxists who formulated peasant policies were branded as "opportunists." Any sympathetic understanding of Russian Marxists, however, is alien to this book.

Those who believe that the Bolsheviks gave Marxism a bad name have every right, of course, to criticize the founders of Bolshevism. But when such criticism is presented dogmatically and without acknowledgement of evidence to the contrary, it becomes unacceptable. For example, when referring to Marx's "new views" on Russian peasants, Shanin declares: "It took the 1905-7 Revolution for some of it to dawn on the brightest strategists among Marx's followers in Russia." (275) He has completely ignored Lenin's earlier efforts to incorporate the peasant into the Marxist revolutionary framework. "To the Rural Poor," written by Lenin in 1903, constituted a Marxist appeal for revolutionary peasant action; it attempted to make the peasant conscious of the fundamental causes of economic exploitation and the need for political struggle alongside the urban proletariat. Admittedly, Lenin did not place his faith in the peasant commune, but he had compelling reasons for not doing so. The commune, which populists extolled as a forum for collective economic decision-making, had frequently served as an arena for domination and exploitation by rich and ambitious peasants. Moreover, although

the commune provided a framework for collective unrest, such unrest, as it erupted in eighteenth-and nineteenth-century Russia, could hardly be considered conducive to social transformation: unorganized peasant rebellions, fuelled by blind rage, had always ended in brutal suppression by the authorities. It is no wonder, then, that Lenin refused to pin his hopes on the commune. Instead, he set for himself and other Russian social democrats the enormous task of bringing consciousness and organization to the peasant village.

Most distressing is the one-sidedly negative portrayal of Nikolai Bukharin in Shanin's concluding essay: "Marxism and the Vernacular Revolutionary Traditions." Just as Bukharin's admirers cannot deny that the young Bolshevik theorist, like the young Marx, formally insisted on excluding moral judgements from social analysis, so too must his critics admit that ethical considerations figured prominently in the domestic policies of the more mature Bukharin. During the Soviet economic debates of the 1920s, Bukharin's arguments against anti-peasant policies were moral, as well as economic. Failing to recognize this development in Bukharin's thinking, Shanin not only holds up the non-ethical approach of his early sociology as the immutable element in his thought, but also suggests a close linkage, if not a causal relationship, between Bukharin's so-called "retraction" from ethics and Stalin's purges. And trying his hand at cruel jokes, Shanin implies that there was some sort of grim justice in the execution of Bukharin: "When a forest is cut, splinters fly" — a suitable epitaph for Bukharin's grave, wherever that may be." (264) Stalin's anecdote is hardly amusing. When applied to a purge victim who opposed forced collectivization, moreover, it is grossly inappropriate.

What is most appropriate about this book is its motto: "Doubt everything."

This is not a joke, but a warning to readers.

Christine Johanson  
Queen's University

Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement, 1883-1919* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press 1982).

THE LABOUR HISTORY of Peru covered in this volume reads in many ways like that of its sister republics in Latin America. Urban artisans, industrial labourers, transport and maritime workers, most of whom were concentrated in the capital city (Lima) and the major port (Callao), founded mutual aid societies, engaged in strikes, suffered severe repression, and increasingly supported the militant anarchist leaders and tactics that brought this era to a climax in the immediate post-war period. Yet at the same time, this history reveals some extraordinary, even bizarre, developments as well. For example, according to Blanchard, Peruvian workers were primarily responsible for the election of the first Latin American "populist" president, Guillermo Billinghurst, in 1912. (They accomplished this feat by staging a general strike that prevented the required one-third of registered voters from casting their ballots, and then intimidated congress, which was charged with the election of the president.) From another president, in January 1919, they managed to win the eight-hour day. They reached this legal milestone long before most of their colleagues in other Latin American countries and even before many workers in the developed world itself.

Blanchard, who bases his account on a very wide reading of newspaper sources and secondary works, describes these and many other developments in considerable detail. He also hints at some of the structural factors that may help to explain the exceptional features of Peruvian labour

history, such as the magnified importance of relatively free coastal workers in the national life of a society where two-thirds of the population lived in relatively closed communities with pre-capitalist relations of production in the sierra, or the weakness of a domestic ruling class responsible for catastrophic economic failure and then military defeat during the War of the Pacific (1879-83).

A third factor may have been the relative importance of labour in export production — workers in the sugar and cotton plantations of the coastal valleys and the mining complexes of the sierra. These workers overcame incredible obstacles and truly savage levels of repression to mount some of the most important and influential strikes of the period. Conceptually, Blanchard's treatment of the workers involved in these largely foreign-owned export enclaves is confusing: he calls them "rural" and views them as more traditional than their urban counterparts. Nevertheless, in chapter 8 he documents not only their pivotal importance to the economic and fiscal life of the nation, but their great influence on the development of the labour movement and national politics as well.

Enhanced by statistical information on export production, strikes, wages, and prices, this volume is an important survey of the early history of the Peruvian labour movement.

Charles Bergquist  
Duke University

Barry Wilkinson, *The Shopfloor Politics of New Technology* (London: Heinemann 1984).

THE FASTEST growing spinoff industry in the microelectronics area is the publishing of books and studies related to new technology. For the most part, studies in this area can be divided into four categories. The least significant and most plentiful publications are the endless "how-to books" on computers, programming lan-

guages, and operating systems. The not-so-hidden agenda of these books promises that with a few hours of study you too can learn the mysteries that will allow you to ride out the rough times ahead.

The second group is the "megatrend" futurist group, who assures us with homilies worthy of a high school valedictorian that "all that is certain is change" and "some will lose and some will gain." For these pundits, the new technology signifies a new industrial revolution which is unfolding in an autonomous manner and represents progress.

The third cluster includes a small but growing number of studies and books on science, technology, and society which challenge the objectivity of science, the autonomous nature of technology, and look critically at the social biases and societal implications of the new technology. In short, these critics pose the question "progress for whom?"

The final category is the area of case studies in the labour process. There are surprisingly few empirical studies on the impact of new technology in the workplace. Rarer still are detailed studies of workers' attempts to influence design and work organization with the introduction of new technology. There is a growing interest within the labour movement in studies which might suggest successful strategies for defending and advancing worker control over the labour process.

Wilkinson's four case studies of technological innovation in batch manufacturing is a welcome addition to the literature on technological change and the labour process. The studies carried out between the autumn of 1979 and spring of 1981 examine British West Midlands manufacturing firms undergoing technological change. In all four cases, involving plating, optics, rubber moulding, and machine tool manufacturing, some form of electronic control technology was introduced into batch production plants. In spite of the similar manufacturing equipment and techniques used by these

firms, very different organizational forms, staffing levels, and payment systems were evolved. Wilkinson contends that these differences reflect the political struggle between managers, engineers, and workers in the workplace. It is this ongoing political contest on the shopfloor and "the ways interested individuals and groups attempt to impose their own designs at the various stages of the process" which is the focus of Wilkinson's study.

Wilkinson brings valuable insight into four major issues within the developing labour process: machine design, deskilling, control of production, and collective bargaining on technological change. Gleaning evidence from the case studies, Wilkinson rejects any notion of inevitability or technological determinism. Technology, he emphatically argues, has no logic of its own. While rejecting a global technological determinism, Wilkinson does allow that specific machines "may embody particular configurations of power and control." In the words of Langdon Winner, "technical things have political qualities." Wilkinson argues that in spite of the constraints of specific machine design, there is still significant latitude in choice of technology from available alternatives.

On the issue of deskilling, he argues that in batch processing the major issue is one of "transfer" of skills from work on the machine to work with programmes and process controls. There is nothing inherent in the technology to prevent the machine operator from becoming the new machine programmer. In fact, in the case studies, Wilkinson found examples of machine operators who were "in effect training themselves in programming and process control." Wilkinson argues favourably for the "computer-aided crafts worker," where "instead of designing and using new control systems to de-skill workers, they can be designed specifically as 'tools' to aid craftsmen just as comput-

ers may be used by doctors to aid their diagnoses."

Wilkinson notes that an important underlying political motivation of managers in introducing new technology "was to take control of production away from machine operators." While this is the ultimate goal, its justification is often hidden in an efficiency cloak. He notes that efficiency, product quality, and productivity, all generally unquestioned indicators of technological success, "are difficult to measure with any degree of accuracy, and in any case are rarely measured in sufficient detail to determine the exact economic advantages over any alternatives." Wilkinson concludes that "what our case studies show is that arguments about the efficiency of new production technologies can serve as scientific glosses which conceal or obscure the political considerations which have gone into decisions on technical change and work organization."

In bargaining on technological change, Wilkinson argues that in spite of the popularity among unions in Britain of special Technological Agreements, the "bargaining over skills and the organization of work remains at an unofficial, often covert level." Many of the most important issues in any technological change fall outside of the traditional realm of collective bargaining. Wilkinson recognizes that for unions to bargain effectively around technological change they need to become involved at the earliest possible moment, at the initial design stage, but this necessitates a direct challenge to management rights and prerogatives with regards to decision-making on technology.

If the book has a central weakness, it is Wilkinson's tendency to downplay management's intransigence with respect to significant worker involvement in decision-making around technological change. A case in point is Wilkinson's suggestion that "the single most useful, and easiest to implement, measure which

trade unions could take... would be to make frequent use of thorough research into the specific implications of all new technology introduced into plants." This rather flies in the face of his own contention that management tends to produce "scientific glosses which conceal or obscure the political considerations." As well, most unions find that one of the most difficult tasks is obtaining any information from management on possible technological changes. In spite of this weakness, the book still contains valuable lessons for workers and scholars interested in studying modern workers' attempts to control the work process.

Elaine Bernard  
Simon Fraser University

Gail Garfield Schwartz et William Neikirk, *The Work Revolution. The Future of Work in the Post-Industrial Society* (New York: Rawson Associates 1983).

À LA LECTURE de la jaquette naît le soupçon qu'il pourrait s'agir là du Nième ouvrage de vulgarisation sur les effets toudroyants de la microélectronique. Aurons-nous droit, de la part de auteurs

l'une économiste consultante, l'autre chroniqueur économique dans un grand quotidien américain - à une version réchauffée de l'utopie technologiste? Nous ferons-nous expliquer, à nouveau, qu'à bord du vaisseau mû par les puces électroniques, l'humanité vogue vers une ère où les besoins individuels seront plus facilement satisfaits? Et que si problèmes il y a, ce ne sont que des difficultés temporaires de décollage et d'arrimage?

Un coup d'œil sur la table des matières et l'introduction permet de croire que non et de décèler quelques indices: l'ouvrage de quelque deux cents pages est divisé en quatorze chapitres que complète une bibliographie. Les sept premiers correspondent à leur diagnostic: les traits saillants de la révolution du travail sont

présentés au cours des trois premiers chapitres alors que les suivants font état de problèmes spécifiques que cette transformation du travail et de l'emploi génère. Au cours de leurs sept derniers chapitres, Schwartz et Neikirk examinent les différentes modalités auxquelles il faut recourir, de leur point de vue, afin d'arriver à un équilibre harmonieux entre les exigences technologiques et les aspirations humaines.

L'amorce de quelques chapitres permet de constater que les auteurs ont décidé de tirer parti de leurs expertises réciproques et de contester certaines thèses économiques «orthodoxes» non seulement sur le terrain des faits, mais également sur celui du style, très concret. Ce qui donne un texte émaillé d'histoires de cas, plus proche de la tradition du reportage journalistique que de l'analyse économique.

C'est surtout l'optimisme grossier des conseillers de Reagan que les deux analystes prennent à parti, estimant que la reprise économique tant de fois annoncée ne saurait, à elle seule, endiguer les problèmes nouveaux que fait surgir la révolution électronique. Celle-ci doit être située dans le cadre d'autres forces puissantes qui en amplifient l'impact. Pour les deux auteurs, les principaux paramètres dont il faut tenir compte pour évaluer de manière réaliste l'avenir prochain du monde du travail et de l'emploi aux États-Unis sont, en plus des spécificités techniques de la microélectronique, la concurrence internationale, l'immigration illégale qui serait devenue incontrôlable, l'arrivée massive des femmes sur le marché du travail ainsi que la volonté d'une proportion de plus en plus importante de travailleurs âgés de demeurer plus longtemps sur le marché du travail. L'ensemble de ces facteurs ont pour effet conjugué de réduire le nombre d'emplois disponibles et d'augmenter le nombre de personnes cherchant du travail.

Dans un premier temps, Schwartz et Neikirk avouent donc proposer une vision

de l'avenir du monde du travail plutôt pessimiste. Mais à l'égard de qui et de quoi au juste? On croyait qu'il s'agissait des immigrants, des femmes et des travailleurs âgés, et même du travailleur américain «ordinaire» (c'est-à-dire blanc, de sexe masculin et d'âge moyen), mais les auteurs sont passés à un «nous» collectif qui renvoie à la nation américaine toute entière. Celle-ci ne serait plus dans la situation de suprématie économique qui lui a déjà assuré de beaux jours. Et elle souffrirait maintenant du nationalisme étroit de pays d'Europe de l'Ouest et du Japon qui lui font une concurrence déloyale en maintenant leurs politiques protectionnistes. On va jusqu'à évoquer — non sans un brin de xénophobie — le cas d'une usine Sony où ceux qui font de l'assemblage sont des travailleurs américains alors que les ingénieurs japonais se détendent à la cafétéria en mangeant des «hamburgers» à l'aide de baguettes!

Les auteurs partagent une vision de l'avenir de l'économie américaine qui repose sur les principes bien connus de l'analyse Keynésienne. Ainsi, après avoir déploré les tendances actuelles qui laissent prévoir que l'écart entre les riches et les pauvres s'accroîtra, ils s'inquiètent des divers mouvements de contestation qui ne manquent pas de fleurir dans un tel contexte. Ils proposent alors une variété de voies de solution sans s'interroger sur les mécanismes profonds qui régissent l'économie et qui ont transformé l'effacement du marché mondial tant sur le plan des échanges commerciaux que sur le plan monétaire.

La seconde partie du livre consiste en effet en une succession de chapitres qui visent à identifier quels sont les changements institutionnels nécessaires pour que la révolution du travail profite à tous et non seulement à une couche de privilégiés. De bonnes intentions mais, compte tenu des connaissances actuelles sur ces divers dossiers, les solutions proposées sont peu documentées et ne font aucune place aux conditions nécessaires pour que

de tels changements puissent se réaliser, ni sur leurs conséquences. Les auteurs évoquent tour à tour la désuétude du système d'éducation et de formation professionnelle, ainsi que celle des normes qui régissent le milieu de travail. Ils proposent un système d'éducation et de travail fondés davantage sur la souplesse que sur des normes rigides de rendement et de comportement. Quant à l'emploi, ils optent pour la semaine de travail réduite et le travail partagé. En ce qui a trait au marché de travail à l'échelle nationale, ils considèrent que les deux problèmes les plus cruciaux sont ceux d'une information adéquate qui permettrait un ajustement plus précis de l'offre et de la demande. Le second a trait au financement des activités de recyclage qui sont appelées à prendre beaucoup plus d'ampleur dans les années à venir. Schwartz et Neikirk préconisent un système de prêts-bourses de grande envergure qui maximise le recours à la motivation individuelle et réduit la taille de la bureaucratie étatique nécessaire pour gérer un tel programme.

Leur ouvrage se conclut sur la présentation de l'alternative à laquelle fait actuellement face la société américaine et sur la défense de leur propre option. Souhaitant que la révolution du travail profite à tous, les deux auteurs se prononcent clairement contre une politique économique d'austérité qui débouche sur la compression maximale des dépenses publiques accrues le moteur de la reprise économique. Considérant que cette politique est tout à fait réalisable, ils estiment toutefois qu'une refonte majeure du système de taxation est nécessaire pour que la redistribution des profits dus à une productivité accrue n'accroisse pas encore davantage l'écart entre les nantis et les sans-emplois.

Refermant l'ouvrage sur cette dernière proposition, on comprend qu'un certain malaise à la lecture des différents chapitres ne vient pas seulement du décalage entre la critique et les solutions proposées, ainsi qu'entre les bonnes intentions

et les propositions de changements, mais également du fait qu'on ne sait vraiment pas à quel lecteur ou lectrice il s'adresse: trop vulgarisé pour le ou la spécialiste, peu opérationnel pour les parties impliquées dans ces débats et trop technique pour le travailleur ou la travailleuse qui souhaiterait se situer un peu plus clairement face à un marché ou à un milieu de travail en rapide mutation.

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appliquée sur le travail

Walli F. Leff and Marilyn G. Haft, *Time Without Work* (Boston: South End Press 1983).

I HAVE BEEN unemployed in British Columbia for almost a year now. So I speak with authority from the bottom of the barrel when I recommend these "73 stories about one experience:" not working.

Leff and Haft have compiled a diversified collection of personal narratives by Americans between jobs. And Walli F. Leff has written a useful introduction and history of the problems of unemployment and the dangers of the work ethic. She has also written a postlude of summation and speculation in which she concludes that "the quality of life without work hinges on how a person relates to time and money."

Previous to reading *Time Without Work*, I had read *Working* by Studs Terkel (which Leff and Haft cite as a model and precursor along with the Mexican family studies of Oscar Lewis), and had seen in some feminist periodicals, like *Kinesis*, less ambitious attempts to interview unemployed women, as well as being aware of Harry Maurer's *Not Working. An Oral History of the Unemployed* (1979). *Time Without Work* is distinguished from all these by its emphasis on alternative choices to paid work. Many people who speak in the book have



explored self-employment, freelance, part-time, and/or career changes. Many of the voices have found ways to cope. Not all are optimistic: "I watch television when it's playing, but it done conked out. *Everything conked out. Morning, noon, evening and the day is over. That's about it.*" But most are eagerly seeking solutions: "I'm looking to make a compromise between the most remunerative and the least disgusting work I can do."

The authors characterize those who are "at ease and at peace with their free time" as people with "ripe curiosity, the willingness to test new ideas, and the belief that through their own acts they could influence their own lives." What I also notice is the humour ("My daughter once said, 'Mommy, it would be nice if you could grow up to be a scientist.'") and wit of these people so glad to be having their stories listened to ("I have so many bills. . . . They attack me every time I walk into the kitchen. They shine their little figures down."). In fact, quotes like these I am using have been enlarged and inserted into the text throughout the book. They catch the eye, even during a brief perusal, and leave a quick, sharp impression.

One thing these interviewed people make so clear is that there is currently no sure way to keep a job: not seniority, experience, talent; not a good union, or a good [sic] management. "I thought I was secure with Civil Services — you know," commented one disillusioned and displaced worker, adding, "you can't get those guys out with a crowbar."

Leff mentions in her conclusions a chorus of cries for some national health programme that would protect everyone (employed or not) from the high cost of medical care. Beyond this, though, she lapses into generalizations about the nobility of the spirit, speaking of those who "valued living the essence of the moment." She admits that she and Haft have only made a beginning, and points ahead to the need for more research.

The book has given me a sense of community — so many out there not working, like me — and some good ideas about how to survive. One more voice: "Being poor is like being very rich; you never have to make decisions about money."

Phil Hall  
Vancouver

Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York: Basic Books 1983).

IN RECENT YEARS American historians and sociologists have written a number of articles and books on domestic labour, domestic service, and housework. While women's paid labour has been a subject of study for decades, domestic labour received relatively little attention before 1970 and only recently have writers examined the relationship between paid and unpaid work. Structural-functional and segmentation theories used by social scientists since the 1950s and 1960s respectively tended to focus on women's paid employment, ignoring women's work in the home. *Early socialist feminist theory*, by contrast, focused on women's unpaid domestic labour as part of the general sexual division of labour. Debates engendered in the 1970s among Marxist and socialist-feminist theorists raised the issue generally of the value and nature of domestic labour and compared it to paid labour. From these debates emerged an interest in redefining and exploring women's work in the home whether it took the form of waged domestic service or unpaid housework.

Ruth Schwartz Cowan's book acknowledges the importance of these early debates as well as the significance of early discussions of technological change and the household. It examines three centuries of household work in the United

States and provides the reader with a lively and accessible account of changing household technology illustrated with four picture essays. Despite the author's use of both footnotes and bibliographical essays for each chapter, the scholarly apparatus is not obtrusive; one can see why this book won the 1984 Dexter prize from the Society for the History of Technology. Not only is the book well-written but it also draws on a wide range of sources. Its focus is dual: "it is a history not just of housework but also of the tools with which that work is done: household technology." (9)

Cowan uses two organizing concepts for the book, both of which recognize the importance of social institutions in mediating the availability of tools to households: the work process and the technological system. The former stresses the interconnectedness of household tasks while the latter refers to the sequence or system of implements. Understanding the technological system is crucial to comprehending the industrialization of the household in Cowan's view. Her basic overarching argument is that "women's work has been differentiated from men's by being incompletely industrialized or by being industrialized in a somewhat different manner." (7) Cowan ties the newly coined term "housework" to the emergence of separate spheres for men and women and to the process of industrialization which changed the location of men's work, but not women's, in the nineteenth century. Work to sustain the household increasingly fell on the shoulders of women as new inventions and processes saved male labour. The use of stoves rather than fireplaces in the nineteenth century, for example, cut down the amount of fuel required (labour done by men and children), but made possible a more varied diet thereby increasing the amount of cooking for women. Other examples are used but Cowan's point here is that men were freed to take on waged labour while women found their domestic

workloads increased. Her argument here, however, fails to distinguish between single women who engaged in waged labour and married women who, by and large, did not.

In the twentieth century the picture painted by Cowan is complex: some of the technological systems which comprised household technology moved production out of the home into the factory, but a number of these systems did not follow this pattern. This distinction is important because the conventional wisdom holds that the American household became a unit of consumption rather than of production, thus implying, first, that economic ties binding families together weakened in this century and, second, that women at home had less and less to do. While the "production to consumption" model fits the food, clothing, and health care systems, changes in transportation, water, gas, electricity, and oil systems have often left women with more tasks which must be done at the household level. Indoor plumbing for example, eliminated carrying water, but also resulted in new cleaning jobs and higher standards of cleanliness, that is, "increased productivity." The American housewife of 1950 could produce single-handedly what would have taken three or four persons' labour a century earlier. (100) Industrialization of the household did not mean the centralization of productive processes in many cases, as it did for the market economy.

In her most controversial chapter (chap. 5), Cowan explores alternative housework arrangements which challenged the single family residence, private ownership, and the assignment of housework to women. This chapter also looks at different technical possibilities ("failed machines"); this latter section demonstrates the importance of aggressive marketing techniques and the significance of financial stability in explaining both successes and failures in the corporate world. In discussing the limited successes or out-

right failures of commercialization, cooperation, and domestic service as alternatives to individual responsibility for housework. Cowan suggests and rejects a number of structural explanations. Outright repression and censorship by government cannot explain the failure of alternatives, nor can the forces of capitalism and patriarchy: "The history of these failed alternatives teaches that, although this Marxist feminist argument contains profound truths, it is not the whole story. Capitalism and patriarchy exist, but they are not the sole determinants of our behaviour." (147) What explains it? Cowan states that the explanation lies in the preference for privacy and autonomy, an answer which begs the question and returns to a social and cultural paradigm unconnected to the material conditions she has described. A corollary to this argument is that women have opted for the individualized and privatized household, thus cooperating in the construction of this form of domestic labour. This is partially true, but fails to integrate the structural and ideological dimensions of the problem. Conceptually Cowan has not made use of the theoretical tools at her disposal; the recent literature on domestic labour suggests that housework is but one feature of the entire domestic labour process and that these components (reproduction of labour power, child bearing and rearing, housework and the transformation of wages into goods and services) do not operate separately, nor are they divorced from the market. This last point is recognized elsewhere in the volume, but in this chapter Cowan's discussion reverts to spurious dichotomies between household/market, private/public, and structural/ideological explanations.

Cowan can also be faulted for her easy dismissal of class designations as androcentric and her substitution of categories labelled simply "rich" and "poor" in her discussion of the diffusion of household technology in chapter 6. Variations within these broad categories are

ignored as a result. Furthermore, the author might have found it useful to approach this problem through the family wage literature which examines the material conditions and ideological pressure for the male breadwinner family. This concept of the family wage fits in well with the author's hypothesis that the technological and social systems for housework rested upon the presumption of full-time housewives performing household labour in the family home.

*More Work for Mother* should be recommended for its salient and lively description of the emergence of household technology and the social relations of production which accompany it. As Cowan notes in her last chapter, ironically, there is more work to be done in the modern home because the technological and social systems which emerged eliminated the work that once was done by men or children. At the level of analysis, however, Cowan's account is unsatisfactory largely because of limitations in the discussion and conceptualization of domestic labour and her ultimate reliance on a socio-cultural explanatory mechanism. Despite the drawbacks in the analysis, this book should provide readers with many thought-provoking ideas and insights.

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Judith Newton, Mary P. Ryan, and Judith R. Walkowitz, eds., *Sex and Class in Women's History* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1983).

*SEX AND CLASS in Women's History* is a collection of essays all of which have previously appeared in the American journal *Feminist Studies*. They are reprinted here as part of the British History Workshop Series. Given the overwhelming volume of work now appearing in the area of women's history in both countries, as well as the rapid dwindling of financial resources for international conferences,

this book serves a useful purpose in helping to keep open the possibilities of fruitful dialogue between scholars with similar areas of research but separate national interests. This is especially important in view of the different approaches which have developed, *grosso modo*, between American and British scholars. In general, British historians have a greater tendency to emphasize class as the major factor in explaining woman's condition within western patriarchy whereas the tendency in the United States has been to place more emphasis on gender as an explanation form. One major purpose of the volume is to demonstrate the richer possibilities for understanding the past inherent in an approach which attempts to combine the two.

The contributions range over a wide area, from Maria Ramas' challenge to Freud's early theory of hysteria based on the case of Dora (a theory which Ramas revises quite plausibly in the context of Freud's own inability to overcome his patriarchal prejudices) through several articles in social history. It also includes some important new theoretical approaches. One of these is "The Doubled Vision of Feminist Theory" by the late Joan Kelly (to whom this volume is dedicated), which provides a synthetic framework transcending the approaches of the more class-oriented British scholars and the more gender-conscious Americans through the notion that it is the "simultaneous operation of relations of class and sex/gender that perpetuate both patriarchy and capitalism." (5) It is in this attempt to see these relationships within their dialectical frameworks and their mutual interactions that the articles find their common ground, as most vary considerably in subject matter and methodology.

The paradoxes and contradictions of the historical agency of women — the fact that women wielded power but often used this power for non-progressive ends — are well documented by Mary Ryan in "The

Power of Women's Networks," which focuses on the activities of the Utica Female Reform Society of the 1830s and 1840s. In this article the cliché concerning the crass distinctions made in the nineteenth century concerning the private sphere of women and the public sphere of men is also taken to task: Ryan documents that the white middle-class women who formed the vast majority of the membership of the Female Reform Society exerted a great deal of public power in the realm of defining middle-class sexual behaviour and values. That this was not progressive is clear from the fact that the activities of this group led to a pattern of sexual behaviour and values becoming yet another area separating the middle classes from those below them. In this realm, "They [the society's members] devised and implemented sexual standards and practices which would distinguish the urban middle class from their artisan and farming parents." (181)

The theme of middle-class sexuality and middle-class perceptions of working-class women is also explored in Leonore Davidoff's contribution, "Class and Gender in Victorian England." Here the connections between sexuality, class, and gender are examined through the relationship between a middle-class male and his female servant as described by A.J. Munby in his diary, letters, drawings, and photographs, along with the evidence provided by the diary kept by Hannah Cullwick, his servant and later his wife. Munby's perverse satisfaction in Hannah's dirtiness, the coarseness of her body and clothes as a result of her work, are complemented by Hannah's own desire to demean herself for Munby; her humility and self-effacing nature vis-à-vis Munby were highly valued by both and shed fascinating new light on the psychological possibilities inherent in the nineteenth-century master/servant relationship, especially as this relationship became even more complex when mutual attraction between the sexes also played a role. The

dilemmas and difficulties posed by middle-class/working-class interaction in the nineteenth century are also documented in "Servants, Sexual Relations, and the Risks of Illegitimacy in London, 1801-1900," by John Gillis, who concluded that the rate of illegitimate births among the better placed female servants was directly linked to their greater desire for respectability and their consequent proclivity for attaching themselves to men of the lower middle class and skilled working class whose pattern of geographic mobility and generally late age of marriage often made it difficult to marry their pregnant lovers, if they accepted paternity at all.

The volume will be useful mainly to British and North American women who are not familiar with *Feminist Studies*, since it brings together a selection of the most important work in that journal in one volume; it should also appeal to anyone interested in developing frameworks within which to make sense out of the bewildering richness of the data concerning women in the past.

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Janet Finch and Dulcie Groves, eds., *A Labour of Love: Women, Work and Caring* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1983).

JANET FINCH, Dulcie Groves, and their contributors have considered "those women who provide unpaid care outside of residential institutions... for children and adults who are handicapped or chronically sick, and for frail elderly people." There is now some measure of awareness of the adverse consequences motherhood and childcare has for women looking after their young children at home. But children, in time, grow up, and mothers, even single mothers, are free to try to re-enter the labour force. In any event there is a grudging societal acknowledgement

that the rearing of children is essential for the reproduction of society, which means, for instance, that education is given a place in the budget. The women in this book are involved in a labour of caring that is not only less visible and less recognized, but also, in most cases, can only get worse — the mothers of handicapped children, the wives of chronically sick or incapacitated husbands, and the daughters of ever aging parents.

To appreciate the theoretical contribution of this collection you have first to absorb what it feels like to be in such positions of helpless responsibility. Some of the accounts are quite casually shocking. When you *imagine* a wife caring for a husband desperately injured in a car accident do you realize how often a day he has to be helped to the lavatory, and how often his bottom needs wiping, and what that means for both of them? Some are blackly comical — like the woman sitting between her toddler and her paralyzed husband shoving alternate spoonfuls into either mouth.

This kind of work never stops. It happens on Sundays, Christmas day, the day the Pope comes to town, and every other day, unless you can arrange for someone to take your place. It is extremely hard and heavy work, it is privatized to the point of total isolation, and it is enormously demanding. And yet, as one contributor observes coldly, the handicapped, sick, and elderly are not actual or potential labour power. They are, from a capitalist point of view, absolutely useless. Human or religious considerations prevent us from eliminating them, but capitalist logic compels society to ignore them — and those who from bonds of duty or affection have "chosen" to care for them.

Most of the carers discussed in this book are selfless to a fault, but it is clear that they suffer acutely from two common problems. One is, quite simply, lack of money. Less able people of any kind incur

greater costs in heating and food, special furniture and fittings, and special transport. This has to be met from a decreased income. Many of the carers have had to give up paid work to cope. The various pensions and disability allowances available to the dependent are pathetically inadequate and usually leave both the carer and cared for in a state of abject poverty. The second problem, which is voiced more often, is the total lack of social recognition of the work the carers are doing. These two problems come together in the issue of the invalid care allowance. This cash payment was introduced (in the United Kingdom) in 1975, and by 1982 was worth £17.75 per week — a pitiful sum but, like the Family Allowance, symbolically important because it signifies recognition of the value of the carers' contribution. It thus adds insult to injury that while the ICA is payable to all *men* who give up paid work to care, it is not available to most women, and especially not to *wives* caring for disabled husbands. (The exceptions are daughters caring for elderly parents.) In their concluding chapter Finch and Groves argue that "the ICA can be viewed as a case-study of how state policies support and promote gender-related patterns of caring for the adult sick and disabled. . . ."

This book is rich in specific material, albeit confined to the United Kingdom, and it would have been easy to assume that the evidence would speak for itself. That would, perhaps, have left readers wondering why a few hundred thousand women were worth their attention. So what makes this book especially valuable is a really excellent theoretical introduction, a crisp, clear, concise location of the problem and exposition of its theoretical relevance. It is an exemplary demonstration of the way feminist concerns increasingly inform and enrich both the way we look at problems and our general theory.

The essays are well selected and

arranged to elucidate the themes spelt out in the introduction. They begin with general considerations on aspects of caring and its connection with female identity by Claire Ungerson and Hilary Graham. The next four essays examine various aspects of the work of caring, focusing especially on the subjective experience. The final section looks at the economics of caring, with a critique of supposedly "low cost community care" by Lesley Rimmer, and a concluding essay by Finch and Groves on the Invalid Care Allowance. This is a skillfully produced and well focused book. No one should be put off by the apparent narrowness of the concerns, for the authors succeed in demonstrating their relevance to all of us.

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Ann Game and Rosemary Pringle, *Gender at Work* (North Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin 1983).

"GENDER IS FUNDAMENTAL to the way work is organized; and work is central in the social construction of gender." (14) And this is what Ann Game and Rosemary Pringle aim to demonstrate in their book *Gender at Work*.

We are offered not only a way to move towards resolution of the current debates about the relation between capitalism and patriarchy but also an exciting example of the application of such an analysis. The focus is on the sexual division of labour, which is seen as a defining feature of capital, as central as wage labour or surplus value. Demonstrated historically to be flexible, Game and Pringle show that it does not depend on some inherent difference in jobs, but rather derives from the necessity of maintaining the distinction between men's work and women's work so that gender difference is reproduced. "Gender however is not just about difference but about power: the domination of

men and the subordination of women." (16) The sexual division of labour is also central to the maintenance of control of the labour process by capital. The position involves not only challenging biological determinism but technological determinism as well. Thus the notion that changes in the nature of work such as fragmentation and deskilling thought to be consequent on the implementation of technology are considered in the context of gender:

Not only are there conflicts between management and the workforce over machines, but there are also conflicts between men and women over machines; over who, for example, is to operate them. These two sets of relations mediate, overlap, and sometimes contradict each other. (17)

It is the detailed analysis of this complexity and these contradictions which constitutes the strength and provides the impact of this book.

It comprises six case studies — white goods manufacturing, banking, retailing, computing, hospitals, and housework — located within an historical context, specifically post-World War II, where changes to the labour process and to the sexual division of labour are identified. This is not to repeat the same story six times; rather, issues are dealt with in such a way as to demonstrate the consequences of change on gender divisions. For example, the impact on women and men of deskilling varies but the outcome is much the same as women lose out. In the white goods industry, it is men who do the newly-created deskilled jobs, mainly involving operating/minding machines, whereas in banking the reverse seems to have occurred. As machines began increasingly to fulfill many of the functions of the bank teller women began to move into the area. This change took place under the guise of opening up job opportunities for women, where previously they had been specifically prevented from promotions (there were separate classification scales until 1975), but these

opportunities became available at the same moment that the whole career structure was being dismantled. Most jobs in banks can be considered working-class. Game and Pringle argue, in that they are routine, repetitive, require and allow little knowledge of the overall labour process, and movement into management is restricted. (58) This is the case whether workers wear pink collars or blue.

Game and Pringle are not limited to the traditional methods of political economy or sociology, and by breaking with these they are able to benefit from theoretical developments elsewhere, such as those concerned with the organization of sexualities. They are well placed to make some sharp observations and some illuminating connections. Their sharpest are reserved for computers — referred to as "toys for the boys." Arguing that we will not understand the problems that women face in the computer industry (or of female students in their computer courses) if we are restricted to an economic analysis, even if it does take account of gender, they assert a close association between masculinity and machines, which goes back to a time when a connection with machinery was made a criterion of "skill." And it follows that: "The computer is the ultimate in machines, the giant phallus. Men see it as an extension of the social power they are allocated through possession of a penis. . . . Technological domination and sexual domination are one and the same thing." (89) Although computing is a relatively new industry supposedly free of traditional job differences the sexual division of labour is as entrenched as in any other economic sphere.

Deeply entrenched it may be, but gender difference nevertheless is constantly under threat since it has to be maintained through day-to-day activity and is thus always in danger of being disorganized. For example, men often become threatened by the entry of women into previously male occupations. At a conscious

level this is expressed in terms of fear of competition and lowered wages (with good cause), but men also feel their masculinity is being attacked. Men who do "women's" work may be seen as weak, effeminate, or even homosexual (while women may encounter hostility and discrimination). The story is never simple as Game and Pringle show. The sexual division of labour in the health industry is under pressure as men move into nursing, yet this case serves only to confirm their basic contention. The power relations between men and women have not changed but rather there has been a shift from family modes to more bureaucratic modes of male domination (94) in conjunction with an increasing separation between the skilled clinical aspects of nursing and basic nursing, creating a hyperskilling/deskilling dichotomy. It is to the former that the male nurses are attracted.

The final case study, "The Labour Process of Consumption: Housework," draws the analysis together and challenges the work/non-work division as it considers this activity in the same terms as those generally labelled "work." Technological change has been dramatic, but rather than reduce housework it has displaced many productive activities from the home, which has been transformed from a unit of production to a unit of consumption. The sphere of consumption is structured and controlled and, similar to production, has become fragmented and deskilled. Commodities must be purchased rather than produced, an activity which would potentially be open to men. This has not been the case. Instead shopping has become central to the woman's value as a housewife and mother, taking on a symbolic significance, aided by advertising, such that it has become substantially about "the purchase of love and approval and the construction of an appropriate self-image." (124) With women "locked in" like this, they argue, the construction of gender identity continues to be premised on the sexual division of labour. Further-

more, the modicum of change in job distribution within the family in the context of high work force participation rates of women no longer seems so paradoxical. Nor is it possible to argue that this lack of change results from continuity in the nature of the work that women do. Women experience a split between the public and the private but their experience is qualitatively different from men's. For home is another workplace for women:

It is not at all surprising to find that women who work are expected to take the main responsibilities for domestic work and child care. Nor would we want to suggest that men sharing housework would end the sexual division of labour in the home. The question of power in the home is not as simple as this, just as in the workplace "job opportunities" or even "equal opportunities" for women do not result in a "balance of power," or an end to the sexual division of labour. . . . Not only is it [the home] the site of their oppression but also a space defined as theirs to exercise some control over. (137)

We are persuaded that the sexual division of labour is central and strikingly resilient. How might it best be tackled? Game and Pringle conclude that we need to find new ways of ending the split between production and consumption but do not elaborate on strategies. Indeed, throughout the book they canvass examples of resistance only briefly.

What the reader does get is both challenging and compelling. The argument is coherent and is established at the level of practice as well as theory. They manage to convey a strong sense of the experiences of work, based no doubt on their interviews with hundreds of workers. Excerpts from these give an edge to the text which is a model of sociological and feminist work. Their understanding of the ways in which gender relations and class relations shape each other grows from the creativity of an approach which looks at gender and work together. It is, therefore, an extremely useful book.

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