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REVIEWS/COMPTES RENDUS

Craig Heron, *The Canadian Labour Movement: A Short History* (Toronto: Lorimer 1989).

THE 1980S SAW in Canadian labour history the appearance of two diametrically opposed narratives of Canadian workers, Desmond Morton's *Working People* and Bryan Palmer's *Working Class Experience*. Morton, a leading social democrat, focused his overview on unions. Palmer, a Marxist, chose instead to develop an analysis of Canadian workers as a class, from the forms of capitalist accumulation and class organization to broader questions of working-class consciousness or 'culture'. One more survey has appeared on the Canadian union movement to close the decade. This time it is by Craig Heron, a social democratic proponent of labour process analysis.

Heron's survey focuses on four moments of struggle in the working-class movement: the Knights of Labor in the 1880s, the mass strikes of 1919, the breakthrough of the 1940s when unions were recognized on a permanent basis, and the public sector upsurge of the 1960s and 70s.

What he also discusses is how the Canadian union movement has coped in periods of downturn, of an employers' offensive, in the 1920s and 30s, and the 1980s. In the 1930s, Heron rightly states the critical importance of revolutionary politics in keeping unionism alive. The Communist Party was essential in developing a cadre of industrial union builders. He also shows the triumph of the bureaucratic industrial union model of the United Mine Workers over the political
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industrial unionism of the Workers' Unity League. Heron does not explain that this was due to Stalinist weaknesses, subordinating the class struggle to an alliance between the party and official union structures.

World War II was the great watershed in the Canadian union movement. For the first time, industrial unions were established on a large scale and governments recognized unions and collective bargaining in law. The 'rule of law' in the workplace, however, has acted as a double edged weapon. Legal recognition increased union security in the workplace but at the price of centralising shopfloor power in the hands of a paid union officialdom which was often divorced from the immediate concerns of workers.

In the 1980s governments began to dismantle the 1940s settlement, with wage controls, rewritten labour codes, and a dramatic increase in coercive back-to-work legislation. The union movement in response has tried to avoid direct struggle in an effort to preserve the 1940s 'social contract' with governments and employers. But when the reader gets to this point Heron's distinction between a political or bureaucratic response to a downturn disappears in a syndicalist (or social democratic?) cloud.

Here Heron's political weaknesses emerge in judging the steps unions have taken, such as Canadian and 'social' unionism, to combat the pressures of the 1980s. What both represent, however, is a retreat from the US concessions struggle and a move to restore the structures of class conciliation.

Because Heron believes English Canada is oppressed by the United States, he

welcomes the development of national unionism by the autoworkers and woodworkers as evidence of class struggle unionism. In the Woodworkers' case, the majority Canadian section of the IWA has abandoned the loggers and mill workers of the Pacific northwest. The Canadian Autoworkers, not in high regard since their raid on Newfoundland fishermen organized by the UFCW, have even stooped to enterprise unionism in cutting a deal with Nissan management in Japan to represent the new Ingersoll, Ontario plant without even consulting the workers.

Heron also welcomes the turn to 'social unionism,' the attempt by major unions to harness social movements as a way to influence public policy and deflect attacks on the union movement through a process of community lobbying rather than workplace struggle. In essence, what the new social unionism represents is a social democratic lobby.

To grasp the conservative nature of the unions' response to the downturn of the 1980s, all we have to do is scan Kumar and Ryan's interviews with Canada's top union leaders. Almost all union leaders identify the state's assault on the post-war settlement in industrial relations as more important than the early 1980s recession in altering the balance of power between employers and unions.

Because of this, the concern of union leaders has been not so much with the fact of concessions but in blocking concessions that violate the principles of the 1940s' industrial relations rules. For example, Operation Solidarity was called off when the Socreds agreed to carry out layoffs by seniority. Thousands of union members lost their jobs. But the union officialdom had preserved the principle of seniority.

This thrust towards a class collaborative compromise is particularly evident when it comes to creating 'Solidarity Funds' as a way to develop clout with business and governments for recognition. Modelled on the Quebec Federation of Labour scheme, what unions are really establishing are corporate investment

funds with workers' pension money. As Louis Laberge says, "profit is not a dirty word." Not to the officials.

The Canadian Labour Movement concludes with a programme for the 1990s, Heron's personal prescription for union rebuilding. In this new 'social vision' Heron emphasizes such issues as a fair day's work for a fair day's pay, democracy, and solidarity, without addressing the issue of a political vehicle of change. This simply can't be done without openly debating the dominant political force in the workers' movement, the New Democratic Party.

At best, stepping beyond the NDP without addressing the question of workers' political organization can only end in syndicalism, asking the unions to act in a general political manner that is simply not part of their nature as economic organizations representing the class. At worst, Heron's programme can only act as a fig leaf for a social democracy appearing to offer a fresh alternative while managing a capitalism in growing crisis. This is precisely the dilemma of Labour parties in New Zealand and Australia.

Heron's labour history has the strength of the long term perspective in showing how the future of unionism in Canada is shaped by moments of struggle. But an inability to learn from the lessons of the last great downturn, the 1920s and 1930s, leads Heron to a false optimism about how unions can rebuild in the 1990s without revolutionary socialist politics.

Combining English Canadian nationalism, 'social' unionism, solidarity funds, and increased bureaucratization of locals' affairs, is not a vision of an anti-capitalist future. In reality, this strategy is a conservative effort to re-establish the collective bargaining regime of the 1940s.

To mistake the strategies of the union bureaucracy to preserve itself, even populist ones like mobilizing social movements, for the class struggle, is to invite more sellout disasters like Operation Solidarity in British Columbia. Instead, socialists have to engage in the more diffi-

cult task of building structures of direct struggle within the unions and a Marxist workers' party without.

Many NDP and trade union officials will welcome Heron's survey. Class struggle socialists do not. They will continue to rely on Bryan Palmer's *Working-Class Experience*.

Robin Wylie
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Judith Fingard, *The Dark Side of Victorian Halifax* (Potters Lake, Nova Scotia: Potterfield Press 1989).

NINETEENTH-CENTURY HALIFAX is an excellent laboratory for social historians for two reasons. First, it was a garrison and naval town and commercial entrepot marked by seasonal unemployment. Its trade unions were among the first in Canada. Halifax also had an underclass consisting mainly of Irish Catholics and a smaller black minority. Second, because of the activities of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, sources on the city are fairly rich. Judith Fingard, who has written on 19th-century topics such as poverty and sailors, has combined these two strengths to produce a unique volume. Her command of primary sources is impressive (some of the material has appeared elsewhere in article form) and she makes liberal use of international secondary literature. Part I examines the disreputable, 92 "jailbirds" whose lives were marked by poverty, violence, alcohol abuse and incarceration. These were highly visible petty offenders who frequented the police station, the magistrate's court, the poorhouse and Rockhead Prison. The research, most of it culled from police and court reports in the press, is meticulous. This is 'bum and strumpet' history. The jailbirds were "residents of specific, rough and disreputable streets of the city, limited in their lifetime opportunities because of racial prejudice, gender inequalities, educational deprivation, chronic poverty, pathological disorders, or, by association with those so limited." (10) We are introduced to Mar-

garet Howard, "The Wickedest Woman in Halifax" and two families of recidivists, the Fords and the Kellums. Then there is Isaac Sallis, a grog seller who was more a lower-class opportunist than a working-class hero like Joe Beef of Montreal. Many of these recidivists were prostitutes and Fingard suggests they were victims not only of class discrimination but of male excess. There is little romantic or noble about these people. Part II discusses the institutional response to the underclass: evangelical missions, refuges for female offenders, poor relief (the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor), and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty. Fingard argues that reformers and their target groups had radically different views of these institutions; the clients looked at them as short term "drop-in" centres. Many historians have described such religiously-motivated reform efforts as attempts at social control. Twenty years ago such thinking was deemed 'revisionist'. Fingard does not let social reformers off the hook but suggests some new revisionism that students of institutional reform should ponder.

Without discounting the class basis of the legal system, Fingard asserts that class instrumentality was not the only force behind Victorian institutional reform. This echoes the work of a few other historians. Petty crime and misbehaviour was not so much class rebellion but a strategy for survival and the institutions dismissed by revisionist historians as mechanisms of social control were used as a form of personal or family welfare. In this light, the police court, jail, prison, poorhouse and middle-class rescue efforts were both intrusive and useful. They became more intrusive over time. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty, for example, was marked by "a mixture of social amelioration, social control and lower-class opportunism." This theoretical recasting of institutional reform owes a lot to women's history, which suggests that state coercion is sometimes a good thing. Another theme is that members of the

underclass abused each other and themselves. Lower-class women who were victims of violence tended to be victimized by lower-class men. Isaac Sallis was not averse to making money from the misery of others.

The sources present difficulties (the jailbirds were illiterate) but the study could benefit from a broader view of class relations in the commercial city. Although Fingard notes that the lower ranks of evangelical reform were largely working class, she mostly ignores the largest segment of the population. Details on the lives of a few misfits make for lurid reading, but it would have been useful to have at least some speculation as to the working-class response to the jailbirds. Were they a despised lumenproletariat? Objects of pity? Are the experiences of marginal prostitutes and alcoholics useful for understanding the plight of working-class women in late 19th-century Halifax? What was the nature of temperance support among the working class? The issues of alcohol, family violence, and public order were of interest to more than the middle-class reformers and the dregs of the city. Related to this, 'respectable' artisans, tradesmen, servants and labourers might be shocked by Fingard's assumptions about their sexual morality. To portray life in Victorian Halifax as something out of Hogarth or Dickens is to perpetuate many of the stereotypes found in Thomas Raddall's *Warden of the North* (1948). One final criticism: although the author makes extensive use of police records, there is little material on the police force itself, the principal institution with which the jailbirds came into contact. It also was the principal bureaucracy for dealing with the social problems that concerned the reformers. All in all, however, this study is a welcome addition to social, women's, and urban historiography. The 'debate' on Victorian social reform in Canada has become quite staid and Fingard's volume should help change this.

Greg Marquis
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Norman R. Ball, dir., *Bâtir un pays. Histoire des travaux publics au Canada* (Montréal: Boréal 1988).

COMME LE NOTE Norman Ball dans son introduction de *Bâtir un Pays*, les travaux publics n'ont pas été le point de mire des historiens et ce bien que ces travaux d'ingénieurs aient été "au coeur de l'histoire du Canada." (19) Englobant, selon la définition de William Hurst, "la conception, la construction et l'entretien de tous les équipements nécessaires aux divers paliers administratifs pour assurer les services qu'exige le fonctionnement d'une société organisée" (9), les travaux publics fournissent en effet les bases matérielles d'existence des sociétés modernes. *Bâtir un Pays* nous offre donc une première synthèse collective en treize chapitres consacrés aux différents aspects de l'histoire des travaux publics au Canada: les ponts, les routes, les voies d'eau, les chemins de fer, le transport en commun, la gestion de l'eau (approvisionnement, égouts, irrigation, inondations), la production d'électricité, le traitement des déchets solides, la construction des édifices publics et des aéroports. Seul le dernier chapitre, de Alan F.J. Artibise, consacré à la construction des villes, permet de faire le lien entre ces multiples activités que les différents chapitres présentent souvent de façon trop isolées les unes des autres.

Les chapitres sur les ponts et les voies d'eau relèvent davantage de l'histoire des techniques et de l'archéologie industrielle que de l'histoire sociale. Ils nous renseignent sur les grandes dates de construction et les différents types de ponts et de canaux. Du premier pont de bois d'importance sur la rivière Outaouais entre Ottawa et Hull en 1828, on passe aux ponts de fer à partir de 1850 et aux ponts d'acier à la toute fin du siècle. Le vingtième siècle verra le développement des ponts de béton, utilisés surtout pour le réseau routier. Au milieu du dix-neuvième siècle, les ponts de fer les plus importants sont liés au développement du chemin de fer; pensons au pont Victoria

construit entre 1854 et 1859. Avant le développement des chemins de fer, le transport se faisait par les voies d'eau et la croissance des activités commerciales du pays a entraîné la construction de canaux permettant d'étendre les distances navigables. Construit entre 1824 et 1833, le Canal Welland permettait ainsi de contourner les chutes Niagara. La création du Canada et le peuplement des Prairies n'entraîna pas seulement le développement du chemin de fer au cours du dernier quart du dix-neuvième siècle mais également celui des canaux à l'est du Lac Supérieur de façon à diminuer les coûts de transport du blé et autres marchandises.

Alors que le transport par bateau était le seul compétiteur du transport par train, la diffusion rapide de l'utilisation de l'automobile entre les deux guerres viendra modifier cette relation. Un réseau routier se mettra lentement en place pour se développer rapidement à la suite de la Seconde Guerre mondiale et donner lieu à la création des autoroutes.

Bien que la plupart des chapitres aient tendance à se limiter à décrire les différents travaux entrepris depuis la découverte de la Nouvelle-France, certains auteurs abordent aussi la question de l'impact social des changements techniques. Dans son chapitre sur le transport en commun, Paul-André Linteau montre bien comment la mise en place de tramways électriques a favorisé à la fois le développement des banlieues, la concentration des activités économiques dans les centre-villes et l'apparition de secteurs d'habitation réservés aux démunis. Dans son étude sur l'irrigation et la lutte contre les inondations, A.A. den Otter établit le lien entre la colonisation des Prairies, le développement des techniques de contrôle des eaux et les compagnies de chemin de fer qui avaient intérêt au peuplement de l'Ouest pour assurer la rentabilité du réseau ferroviaire. Enfin, l'analyse du développement des réseaux d'égouts présentée par Douglas Baldwin est sensible aux liens unissant la construction de réseaux d'égouts et le

développement de l'hygiène publique; une épidémie de typhoïde étant plus efficace que des manifestations pour convaincre les autorités locales de recueillir les eaux usées.

Dans l'ensemble, le volume nous présente l'évolution des techniques utilisées et des structures institutionnelles créées par les différents paliers de gouvernements pour gérer les travaux publics. On aurait préféré que tous les chapitres adoptent une perspective sociale. Ainsi dans son chapitre sur les aéroports, Julie Harris parle de la construction de Mirabel sans jamais mentionner l'existence de fortes oppositions à ce projet. Elle note seulement que "les autorités exproprièrent 88 000 acres de terrains répartis dans quatorze petites municipalités et déplacèrent près de 10 000 personnes." (332) Une fois ce "détail" mentionné, l'auteur décrit les aéroports, les pistes, etc. Les lecteurs de *Labour/Le Travail* seront probablement déçus de constater que les artisans de toutes ces constructions sont plutôt absents de cette histoire des travaux publics, *Bâtir un pays* étant une histoire des *produits* et non des *producteurs*, bien que les noms de quelques grands ingénieurs comme Thomas Coltrin Keefer soient mentionnés.

La fragmentation des chapitres ne permet pas au lecteur d'avoir une vision de l'ensemble du développement. En fait, la diversité des pratiques et des intérêts d'une province à l'autre suggère que les ingénieurs, politiciens et travailleurs impliqués dans la construction de ces grands travaux ont contribué davantage à la croissance de leurs provinces respectives qu'à celle du Canada, entendu comme "pays." Cherchant une unité derrière les différents styles d'édifices publics au Canada, Mark Fram et Jean Simonton notent que "le sentiment profond que chaque région avait de son identité spécifique a fait obstacle à l'émergence d'une vision centralisée." (285) Les auteurs concluent qu'il est "impossible de relever des caractéristiques communes en nombre suffisant pour

définir un style ou une technique proprement canadiens que ce soit dans le passé ou à l'heure actuelle." (306) De même, dès l'ouverture de son chapitre sur l'électricité, Arnold Roos se demande "comment parler d'une histoire de l'énergie électrique au Canada, chaque province et chaque territoire à la sienne, mélange de politique, d'économie, de géographie et de technologie," et admet candidement que "le seul point commun, s'il existe, c'est que chaque province s'est engagée dans sa propre voie." (183) Cette diversité est telle qu'en pratique, étudier le Canada est à peu près équivalent à faire une étude comparative entre plusieurs pays. Cette absence "d'unité nationale," si l'on peut dire, est profonde et se reflète jusque dans l'origine même de *Bâtir un Pays*. En effet, comme le note William Hurst dans son avant-propos, c'est le directeur de l'American Public Works Association (APWA) qui a incité les membres des sections canadiennes de son Association à suivre l'exemple des américains qui venaient de publier *History of Public Works in the United States (1776-1976)*. L'APWA a même appuyé le projet sous l'angle financier, administratif et rédactionnel. Des mauvaises langues pourraient voir là une preuve supplémentaire du fait que les nationalistes "canadiens" n'arrivent jamais à se définir que par rapport aux américains... Quoiqu'il en soit, *Bâtir un pays* demeurera un ouvrage de référence parce qu'il fixe les grandes étapes du développement des structures matérielles qui rendent possible la vie relativement confortable des villes modernes. En terminant, il est malheureux de devoir constater que la lecture des épreuves n'a pas été très attentive. J'ai relevé plusieurs coquilles et, chose plus grave, neuf endroits où des mots ou des membres de phrases étaient absents, rendant la phrase souvent incompréhensible.

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John A. Eagle, *The Canadian Pacific Railway and the Development of Western Canada, 1896-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1989).

THIS TEXT COMMANDS only a brief review in this journal. It contributes little or nothing to the study of railway labour or railway culture. However, it is the book that Harold Innis ought to have published in 1930: a straightforward, well-written, and usefully organized account of the Canadian Pacific up to World War I, set against the backdrop of agricultural expansion and resource exploitation in 'the West.' It is certainly recommended to anyone studying Canadian political economy who could not name more than two members of Wilfrid Laurier's Ministry of the Talents, or explain the industrial consequences of the Crow's Nest Pass railway.

Eagle's periodization suggests an implicit argument that traditional emphasis on the 1880s as the pivotal decade for the CPR is misplaced. In fact his introductory chapter includes an excellent summary of the corporation's first fifteen years (1881-1896). A predominantly United States operating management created, in these years, one of the largest and most sophisticated corporate structures on the continent, "patterned after the system pioneered by the Pennsylvania Railroad." (We still need to know more about the dynamic between such immense managerial apparatuses and the fact that most of the railway was in fact self-managed, by skilled workers, on a day-to-day basis.) Despite its vast concessions and properties, though, Canadian Pacific was still financially vulnerable, as shown by its crisis in the depression of 1893. As a strictly transportation enterprise, Canadian Pacific was more-or-less uneconomical. The idea that Canadian Pacific could operate on a 'mercantilist' basis, as an all-red trade route through the capitalist desert of the western interior, is a fallacy. As an engine of capital accumulation, Canadian Pacific had to turn to an activist policy of promoting the west's resources. From timber on Vancouver Island (vast

acresages of which were acquired for a song, freehold tenure, by 1905) through the fruitlands of the Okanagan, to the coal lands of the Rockies and on to partly irrigated agricultural lands on the Prairies, this corporate activity did much, ironically, to develop water transport.

While the connection between the CPR and the wheat economy was certainly significant, Eagle argues, the claim that Canadian Pacific rose on the back of the Prairie farmer "needs to be modified." "The most important of the CPR's natural resource ventures" was in fact the development of an integrated metalliferous mining and smelting complex at Trail, BC between 1898 and 1906, when the CP subsidiary, Consolidated Mining and Smelting, emerged full-blown. One cannot disagree with this conclusion, although Eagle does tend to gloss over some of the difficulties and contradictions of the underground economy in the far west, partly caused by disabilities on freight rates and coal prices imposed upon the fuel-producing component by the Crow's Nest Pass Agreement and its corollaries.

Canadian Pacific was the main instrument of what Ross McCormack calls the rapid transformation to industrial capitalism in the Canadian West between 1896 and 1914. Its consequences for class formation and class relations were enormous. John Eagle's excellent, but necessarily limited, text will form an important building block for any new synthesis of regional labour history.

Allen Seager
Simon Fraser University

Andrée Lévesque, *La norme et les déviantes. Des femmes au Québec pendant l'entre-deux-guerres* (Montréal: Les Éditions du remue-ménage 1989).

L'OUVRAGE d'Andrée Lévesque se situe dans un courant historiographique récent au Canada qui, en un an environ, a vu la publication de deux autres études d'importance sur la vie des femmes dans

la première moitié du vingtième siècle: *The New Day Recalled. Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939* de Veronica Strong-Boag et *Les femmes au tournant du siècle 1880-1940. Âges de la vie. Maternité et vie quotidienne* de Denise Lemieux Lucie Mercier. Ces deux volumes ont pour sujets principaux les âges de la vie et le quotidien des femmes, la professeur Strong-Boag se limitant aux Canadiennes anglaises, mesdames Lemieux et Mercier, aux québécoises. Tous les deux nous renseignent sur l'expérience de la majorité des femmes c'est-à-dire celles qui se conforment aux prescriptions émanant du pouvoir (la normalité). Andrée Lévesque a voulu, elle aussi, étudier la vie des femmes mais à partir d'une problématique différente: la déviance. Ainsi son étude vient compléter les ouvrages de mesdames Strong-Boag et Lemieux Mercier en présentant le vécu de celles qui ont défié "le discours et les prescriptions énoncées par les agents normatifs." (8) Toutefois l'ampleur du sujet l'a amené à limiter sa recherche à deux aspects privilégiés de la mission des femmes à l'époque: la maternité et la sexualité. Pour mener à bien son étude, elle part de l'hypothèse que des femmes se sont écartées du modèle de vie "jeunesse chaste, fréquentations pures, mariage béni de nombreux enfants tous accueillis en remerciant le Seigneur" (11), proposé par les élites religieuses et laïques de l'époque.

Comment ces femmes qui ont dévié de la norme ont-elles vécu leur marginalité? Quelle a été l'attitude de la société québécoise envers elles? Telles sont quelques-unes des questions qui préoccupent l'auteure et auxquelles elle répond dans la deuxième partie de son volume. Malgré la difficulté d'évaluer l'importance d'actes comme la contraception, l'avortement, l'abandon d'enfants et l'infanticide, à cause du caractère caché ou tout au moins camouflé de ces gestes intimes et souvent sans témoins, la professeure Lévesque réussit à lever le voile sur ces actions grâce à une analyse minutieuse et critique des statistiques

démographiques, archives judiciaires, registres hospitaliers et journaux. L'expérience quotidienne des mères célibataires et l'attitude de leur famille, des autorités religieuses et de la société en général envers elles sont cernées grâce aux registres et dossiers médicaux des patientes de l'Hôpital de la Miséricorde à Montréal. Ensuite puisant ses informations dans les registres des cours de justice municipale et provinciale, les procès-verbaux et le rapport de l'enquête Coderre sur la police de Montréal, Andrée Lévesque étudie le vécu des femmes qui pratiquaient la prostitution et en vivaient de même que la perception que l'on en avait à l'époque.

Toutefois, pour bien analyser cette déviance, il est important auparavant de connaître ce que la société québécoise de l'entre-deux-guerres définit comme la normalité puisque les comportements sont jugés déviant ou non par rapport à un ensemble de prescriptions qui constituent la norme. C'est ainsi que dans la première partie de son ouvrage, à l'aide de sources comme les mandements des évêques, les prédications du carême, les conférences prononcées par des religieux, les publications des Semaines sociales du Canada, Mme Lévesque réussit à établir le discours et les pratiques normatives de l'Église, l'État et la société en général sur la maternité et la sexualité. La consultation des pages féminines des journaux, des revues féminines et d'un journal ouvrier, *Le Monde ouvrier*, lui permet de vérifier comment ces prescriptions étaient reçus auprès des québécoises dans leur ensemble.

Cette étude appartient à l'histoire des mentalités, un secteur encore peu développé au Québec. Il faut rendre hommage au professeur Lévesque d'en avoir écrit une belle page. Pourtant l'entreprise n'était pas facile pour qui veut aller plus loin qu'une simple description du vécu des femmes et expliquer le pourquoi des attitudes et comportements de la société québécoise et, en particulier, des femmes face à la maternité et à la sexualité. Faisant preuve d'un bon esprit

critique, Mme Lévesque ne s'est pas laissé dominer par ses sources qui émanaient du pouvoir pour la plupart et elle a su percevoir entre les lignes le visage et l'attitude des déviantes dont elle présente un portrait et une analyse réalistes et nuancés. Bref une excellente étude, rédigée dans un style clair et précis, que tous ceux et celles qui s'intéressent à l'histoire des femmes et à l'histoire des mentalités se doivent de lire.

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Linda Kealey and Joan Sangster, eds., *Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1989).

THE 1989 NDP LEADERSHIP convention was a telling moment in recent political history. As the media commentators (particularly the always-pedantic Stephen Lewis) found Audrey McLaughlin's subdued speech-making style lacking in comparison to the bombastic hucksterism of Dave Barrett, as delegates expressed their reservations about whether McLaughlin was 'tough enough to stand up to' the other party leaders (hearing later about the homophobic whisper campaign unleashed against the McLaughlin camp), it was all a lesson in how much overt sexism is still permissible in public political discourse. It is a sad comment on the social democratic left that it took a Tory woman — PC strategist and CBC commentator Nancy Jamieson — to call these comments for what they were.

Few of the women in Linda Kealey and Joan Sangster's collection made it anywhere near the heights of a leadership convention, but all would have recognized the pressures and not-so-subtle obstacles facing women who enter political life — of both the large and small "p" varieties. The thirteen essays in this book (a few previously published but most new) explore the history of Canadian women's post-suffrage political involvements in electoral, social movement, labour and ethnic politics.

The range of the book is ambitious, but unfortunately the depth and quality of the papers are quite uneven. It could also have used either an extended introduction or a more historically-informed theoretical/conceptual overview. Similarly, a few of the historical pieces in the book would have benefitted from a stronger theoretical grounding: too often one gets lost in descriptive detail and generalities. Central questions or debates are too often overlooked. Still, this is a good collection — a nice mix of generations of historians, region (except what happened to the Atlantic?), and especially ethnicity. Though I hesitate to contradict that journal of objective and disinterested reporting, *Saturday Night* magazine, which saw in the book a left wing "bias," there is also in fact a blend of political approaches in the collection.

The wide range of the book is its greatest strength. In an edited collection it is often the case that there are as many themes as there are authors. Despite the uneven level of sophistication, on the whole most of the essays in this collection complement one another, and several key questions have been explored. The introduction to the book sets some limited goals. The articles do take us "beyond the vote," in terms of examining women's post suffrage activities. And each chapter contributes to the feminist project of reconceptualizing 'politics' in broader, everyday life terms. Yet many of the articles ask other, newer questions. What are the differences, for women, in participating in politics of the left, centre or right? Why do some women choose electoral politics, and others social movements, as a route to social change? How have patriarchal visions of female sexuality contributed to a conservative political agenda — even on the left? What kind of family backgrounds and personal lives produce female, if not always feminist, activists, and what is the personal toll that political involvement takes on women?

Among the most interesting essays are those which explore the first question. To understand the choices women make in terms of where they place themselves

on the political spectrum requires more than a simple 'status of women' survey of the progress women made in different parties or movements. Knitting socks is knitting socks, after all, whether it's for the Mackenzie Papineau battalion in Spain or for Canadian troops in World War I. What is more important than a chronicle of the activities of women is an understanding of how gender is constructed within parties and movements, as well as the vision of social change and sexual politics which such parties or movements promote. Nicely captured by Joan Sangster's phrase "militant mothering," several essays explore how women's traditional and maternal qualities served as a source of political motivation. In this sense, this book is an exploration of some of the problems and contradictions of "maternal feminism" which Linda Kealey's earlier collection, *Not an Unreasonable Claim* probed for a previous generation of female reformers. Many of these essays suggest — usually implicitly — that feminist historians ought to rethink earlier conclusions about the role that maternalist ideology has played in shaping women's approaches to politics.

Perhaps the strongest common denominator among the generations of activists documented in this collection is the importance of pacificism as a politicizing force. Women as diverse as Liberal senator Cairine Wilson, Quebec CCF leader Therese Casgrain, and hundreds of lesser known women (of the centre and the left) cut their political teeth in the peace movement. Many authors comment on their subjects' interest in peace issues, but few of them really unpack the vision of gender which women's peace activism embraced. Barbara Roberts, in her survey of the women's peace movement, is one of the few historians who situates her work in historiography, and argues explicitly against accepting the maternalist rhetoric of first wave feminism "at face value." So while its true that the 'maternalism = pacificism = political activism' equation often worked to foster a spirit of progres-

sive social change, pacifism has always been a rather malleable ideology. Therese Casgrain, for example, supported a variety of pacifist causes during most of her political life, but also supported the War Measures Act in 1970. A more thorough discussion of the contradictions of pacifism as a route to politicization would have been an interesting pursuit in several of these essays.

Another theme many of the articles deal with is the 'personal' side of political involvement. Then as now, women's greatest success as political activists — both of the mainstream and the left — came under two conditions: when they were either a) single, or b) independently wealthy. Political activism for women has been limited not only by the prejudices of those holding power in parties or movements (that is, men). Politics is an overwhelmingly public activity — one which can produce severe anxiety among those unaccustomed to having their voices heard or opinions listened to. All women, regardless of political affiliation, experienced a degree of social or emotional turmoil as they entered public life. As Calgary labour activist Amelia Turner remembered her initial involvement, "it was an ordeal to say present at a study group." The biographical articles by Iacovetta and Trofimenkoff explore these issues particularly well.

The collection also includes some highly original (and long overdue) research on the political activities of women in ethnic communities. Two papers explore women's involvement on the left: Ruth Frager's finely drawn work on Toronto's Jewish housewives and Varpu Lindstrom-Best's overview of the ever feisty Finnish socialist women, while Frances Swyripa takes a fascinating look at how the right-wing Ukrainian community constructed motherhood to meet their own ends. This work helps correct several long standing myths in Canadian history. Not only does it show that politics — broadly defined — was not the sole preserve of WASP women with a social conscience and plenty of time on their hands, it also displays the diversity of polit-

ical life in different ethnic communities. Two other papers, Janice Newton's study of Canadian socialists' response to the 'white slave' panic and Pauline Rankin's analysis of two generations of Ontario farm women's activism also contribute new and original insights.

Do feminists write political history differently than others? There are lessons to be learned here for others writing about political movements. Several authors bring a rare sensitivity to their work — particularly important for those writing about groups or individuals with whom they do not agree. Franca Iacovetta's analysis of Cairine Wilson's political career displays an appreciation for the limits of Wilson's liberal political vision without dismissing her outright. Frances Swyripa's understanding of how deeply embedded the construction of motherhood and the fate of the nation were in right-wing Ukrainian ideology allows her to examine women's involvement in nationalist political movements in a complex manner. Yet feminists still have something to learn about how to disagree with each other. One wishes that more authors spent some time situating themselves in terms of other political, historical or theoretical work on their topic, either nationally or internationally. It is curious that, for a book on politics, there is remarkably little debate in these pages.

Does the election of one female national party leader signify the sort of political revolution many of these activists had in mind? Hardly. How many Canadians are even aware that the first female provincial party leader was elected in 1951? (Casgrain). Yet, as this book demonstrates, political involvement at many levels was sustained by lots of different women through the 'lean years' between periods of widespread feminist agitation. That so little has changed in mainstream political life after the past twenty years of feminism illustrates the tenacity of the structures generations of women have fought to overturn.

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Allen Gottheil, *Les Juifs progressistes au Québec* (Montréal: Éditions par ailleurs 1988).

ANCIEN CONSEILLER syndical à la CSN, Allen Gottheil a rédigé *Les Juifs progressistes au Québec* d'abord pour rencontrer des personnes qui, comme lui, partagent sa situation de Juif progressiste intégré au milieu francophone et ensuite pour faire connaître aux lecteurs québécois cette portion méconnue de la communauté juive.

La tradition juive progressiste du Québec date du début du vingtième siècle lorsque des Juifs originaires d'Europe de l'Est ont fondé des syndicats dans la confection et mis sur pied divers organismes progressistes dans leur communauté. Une forte minorité, sinon la majorité des membres du Parti communiste du Québec dans les années trente était juive tandis que le CCF, ancêtre du Nouveau parti démocratique, attirait les Juifs sociaux-démocrates.

L'organisatrice syndicale Léa Roback, aujourd'hui âgée de 85 ans, est la seule représentante dans le livre de cette tradition juive progressiste d'avant-guerre. Gottheil a choisi de ne décrire que des personnes vivantes, ce qui favorise les générations de l'après-guerre. Bien que l'âge des témoins s'échelonne entre 28 et 85 ans, la majorité sont nés entre 1944 et 1951 et font partie de la génération qui a vécu le bouillonnement de la fin des années soixante et du début des années soixante-dix.

L'itinéraire de ces cinq femmes et de ces cinq hommes est varié et les a fréquemment menés à plus d'une lutte. Seul le docteur Henry Morgentaler est connu à l'échelle canadienne; les autres sont connus dans des milieux particuliers comme le syndicalisme (Maurice Amram, Léa Roback), le désarmement (Andrea Levy), la défense des droits des locataires (Arnold Bennett) et des droits des détenus (Jean Claude Bernheim), la santé dans une perspective féministe (Donna Cherniak), l'amélioration des conditions de santé-sécurité au travail (Stan Gray,

Donna Mergler) et l'organisation communautaire (Nancy Neamtan).

Gottheil a posé aux dix personnes choisies les mêmes questions qui lui ont été posées au fil des années sur la définition de leur identité, l'existence d'un lien entre le judaïsme et l'engagement social, Israël, le nationalisme québécois et la manière dont elles vivent leur intégration dans la société francophone. Il nous fournit les éléments biographiques et des extraits d'entrevues qui nous permettent de suivre le cheminement de ces personnes.

Le milieu familial des témoins encourageait la curiosité intellectuelle et la discussion. Certains venaient de foyers où les idées progressistes étaient à l'honneur: les parents de Henry Morgentaler militaient au *Bund* (syndicat juif d'Europe orientale) et Donna Mergler est la fille de l'avocat marxiste Bernard Mergler. A l'école, ils étaient des élèves doués, mais souvent indisciplinés et critiques à l'égard de l'enseignement qu'ils recevaient.

Dans la plupart des cas, la pratique du judaïsme à la maison était souple et chaleureuse. Dans les familles laïques, la célébration des fêtes comme la Pâque mettait l'accent sur la résistance du peuple juif à l'oppression plutôt que sur l'intervention divine. Les témoins gardent des souvenirs positifs de leur éducation juive et de leur participation à des mouvements de jeunesse juifs, soit d'orientation yiddishiste de gauche, soit juive réformée. Ils en ont retenu que la judaïcité est un mode de vie et une culture qui peut s'exprimer autrement que par la religion et qu'elle est compatible avec l'engagement politique.

Le choix du milieu francophone pour les trois témoins nés à l'étranger (Amram est né au Maroc, Bernheim en Suisse et Morgentaler en Pologne) s'est fait aisément car ils parlaient déjà le français à leur arrivée au Québec. Léa Roback a passé son enfance dans la petite ville canadienne-française de Beauport. Quant aux cinq Juifs anglophones nés à Montréal (et une en Ontario), ils ont amorcé leur prise

de conscience de la société francophone à l'université en s'intéressant à des causes où des francophones étaient susceptibles de participer et en étant influencés par l'effervescence nationaliste.

Les témoins se sentent bien acceptés dans leur milieu et personne ne fait de cas de leur appartenance juive. Mais s'ils entendent des remarques stéréotypées à propos des Juifs, ils n'hésitent pas à les corriger. Ils se trouvent donc à faire l'éducation des Québécois francophones sur les Juifs et celle des Juifs anglophones sur les Québécois francophones.

Si Gottheil avait posé aux témoins les mêmes questions sur leur identité juive et québécoise quinze ans plus tôt, les réponses auraient été fort différentes. A l'instar de Donna Mergler, certains voulaient devenir "plus Québécois que les Québécois." En niant leur appartenance anglophone qu'ils associaient à la classe dominante, ils refoulaient du même coup leur identité juive qu'ils ne pouvaient dissocier de la première. Les militants marxistes avaient aussi minimisé leur judaïcité parce que les partis d'extrême-gauche ne concédaient aucun rôle aux identités ethniques et nationales.

Tous admirent la volonté des Québécois francophones de promouvoir leur langue et leur culture, mais, en général, se sentent spectateurs dans le débat sur la question nationale. Ils préfèrent la politique municipale et les mouvements extraparlimentaires à la politique québécoise parce qu'ils trouvent que celle-ci est monopolisée par la question linguistique.

Sauf Arnold Bennett et Maurice Amram, aucun témoin n'a de contact avec un organisme communautaire juif. Leur travail pour diverses causes de gauche, leur appui au nationalisme québécois et, pour plusieurs, leur vie avec des conjoints québécois francophones les distingue et les isole de la plupart des Juifs de Montréal et ne sont pas toujours compris par leur propre famille. Mais les témoins que ont des enfants se sont souvent rapprochés de leur parenté juive afin que leurs enfants apprennent davantage sur leur culture juive.

Contrairement aux Juifs progressistes qui sont principalement engagés dans le milieu juif, les témoins ne militent pas dans des groupes pour la paix au Proche-Orient. Tous critiquent les politiques du gouvernement israélien à l'égard des Palestiniens, mais les opinions divergent sur Israël. Tandis que plusieurs s'identifient à l'état hébreu et admirent certains aspects de la société israélienne, d'autres comme Gray et Mergler critiquent sévèrement Israël qui n'occupe aucune place spéciale dans leur vie.

Sans être une enquête sociologique, *les Juifs progressistes au Québec* fournit une réponse à ceux et celles qui se demandent ce qui arrive aux militants aujourd'hui. Gottheil a privilégié des personnes qui sont restées fidèles à leurs idéaux fondamentaux de justice sociale. Nous ne sentons de la part des témoins aucun regret, ni cynisme, même si le contenu de leurs convictions a évolué et qu'ils ont modifié certains modes d'action (par exemple, l'abandon des partis marxistes).

Gottheil termine ce parcours en compagnie de ces Juifs progressistes en concluant que leur existence est un exemple pour toutes les minorités. Il trace un parallèle entre la condition de Juif et celle de progressiste car tous deux sont minoritaires et marginaux et résistent aux pressions vers l'assimilation et la conformité. Gottheil admire leur choix de lutter contre l'intolérance et l'oppression et il a rédigé son livre "avec un parti pris énergique à leur égard."

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Nadia Fahmy-Eid et Lucie Piché, *Si le Travail m'était conté autrement... Les Travailleuses de la CTCC-CSN: quelques fragments d'histoire* (Montréal: CSN 1987).

L'HISTOIRE DU TRAVAIL des femmes au Québec...est faite d'exploitation, de discrimination, certes, mais aussi de luttes incessantes et

surtout d'une prise de conscience croissante des femmes à l'égard de leurs droits. Ces droits, elles les réclameront d'abord à leurs employeurs ... Mais graduellement, elles se tourneront vers la société tout entière, puis vers leurs propres syndicats, pour demander des comptes. (13)

Les "quelques fragments d'histoire" des travailleuses de la CTCC-CSN, 1921-1976, interprétés par Nadia Fahmy-Eid et Lucie Piché dans leur petit livre *Si le travail m'était conté*, tracent la trajectoire double du rapport femme-travail au Québec depuis 1921. D'un côté il y a l'ouverture lente du marché du travail aux femmes. De l'autre il y a la féminisation difficile du mouvement syndical lui-même. Les histoires parallèles de ces deux processus, et leur interdépendance, forment le sujet de ce livre.

La première partie du livre, "le travail au féminin: une rétrospective," brosse le tableau de la marginalisation des travailleuses québécoises sur le marché du travail depuis le dix-neuvième siècle. Si par marginalisation, nous entendons la discrimination matérielle (touchant les salaires, les conditions du travail et la sécurité d'emploi), la ghettoisation et la trivialisation, les travailleuses québécoises semblent avoir eues à affronter la discrimination cautionnée par les institutions principales et la marginalisation ancrée dans le discours dominant au moins jusqu'aux années 1950.

Chiffres et entrevues à l'appui, les auteures démontrent la tenacité des écarts salariaux discriminatoires, le danger que le mariage pose à la sécurité d'emploi (jusqu'au début des années 1960 une institutrice perdra son poste lorsqu'elle se mariera), et l'impact de la quasi-inaccessibilité de la formation professionnelle sur la gamme de professions accessibles aux femmes. Ce n'est pas avant le milieu des années 1950 que le marché du travail commença à s'ouvrir aux femmes, au moins partiellement grâce à la syndicalisation des emplois dits féminins.

Arrêtant en 1976, ce livre met en re-

lief la courbe montante de l'accès des femmes au travail dans les décennies précédentes. Fidèle à sa propre logique temporelle, le livre ne discute pas la marginalisation renouvelée qu'a frappé les travailleuses suite à la crise économique des années 1980. Ni l'essor du travail à temps partiel, ni la précarisation des emplois autrefois considérés sûres, ni la renaissance du travail à domicile, ni tous les autres tristes reculs qui servent aujourd'hui à expulser les femmes du marché du travail de nouveau, ne sont discutés. Aussi bizarre qu'il puisse apparaître aujourd'hui, à la fin des années 1980, le bilan de cette trajectoire reste positif.

En contraste, le bilan offert de la féminisation du mouvement syndical est plus sombre, et pas mal amer.

Le premier comité de la condition féminine fut créé par la CTCC en 1954, non sans opposition. En 1966 il proposa sa propre dissolution, voulant ainsi aller au-delà de sa cantonnisation au sein des instances de la CSN. En 1974, jugeant que ce "pari sur l'égalité [ne fut qu]'une leurre," un nouveau comité sur la condition féminine fut créé, cette fois-ci dans une optique clairement féministe, et ouvertement liée au mouvement féministe québécois. Pourtant les auteures apportent un bilan mitigé de son travail:

Et dans l'état de comptes qu'elles dresseront au fil des ans — et surtout à partir du milieu des années soixante-dix dans les comités de la condition féminine — les passifs se trouveront à peser bien plus lourd que les actifs. (13)

Pourquoi? Comment expliquer ce sentiment d'échec? Le livre nous laisse sur notre appétit ici, attendant un bilan de l'impact des comités sur l'accès des femmes au travail, sur la pratique syndicale et sur les revendications syndicales. Ou, pas entièrement sur nos appétits car il nous dresse un bilan positif et impressionnant de la féminisation des revendications syndicales lors des négociations dans les secteurs public et privé. Revendications comme le droit au congé de maternité payé, le salaire de

100\$ par semaine, etc.

Donc pourquoi l'amertume? Parce que les pratiques syndicales chauvines sont tenaces? Parce que les structures résistent toujours à la féminisation? Parce qu'après quinze ans de travail au sein de l'appareil syndical les militantes trouvent le syndicalisme toujours réfractaire et rigide? ou parce qu'une définition "opérationnelle" du syndicalisme au féminin continue à échapper à ses adhérentes? Les auteurs passent sous silence cette question clé.

Si le travail m'était conté... autrement est un livre simple, élégant, accessible, un bon outil pédagogique destiné aux cours de formation syndicale et aux cours universitaires. Malgré ces qualités il est aussi un livre frustrant, car il soulève des questions auxquelles il ne répond pas, des questions auxquelles une réponse adéquate aurait été envisageable.

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Elinor Barr, *Silver Islet: Striking it Rich in Lake Superior* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History Inc. 1988).

SILVER ISLET IS LOCATED just off the southern tip of Sibley Peninsula, which separates Thunder Bay from Lake Superior. Roughly the size of a baseball stadium, the island was the sight of one of the first, and certainly most unique, mines in Canadian history. Between 1871 and 1884, Silver Islet produced 2,589,134 ounces of silver, valued at \$3,250,000. Rarely a paying proposition, but always an adventure, the mine had a short but spectacular life.

Silver Islet, by Thunder Bay historian Elinor Barr, is a lively, well researched, intriguing look at a neglected chapter in the history of northern Ontario's economic development. The book is short, but the 129 pages of pictures and text are carefully organized. The pictures are first-rate and the reproduction quite good. Barr's writing style is clear and direct, if somewhat anecdotal by academic stan-

dards. Chapters are generally well organized, although some titles are misleading. Chapter nine, entitled "OF MINES AND MINING MEN," deals primarily with the difficulties of getting mail delivered to the Lakehead from the United States in the early 1870s. Digressions which discuss the general history of the area are usually informative, but sometimes detract from the main theme of the book.

The story of the mine itself is fascinating. The vein was originally discovered on 10 July 1868. Construction of facilities began in August 1869. In the winter of 1869-70 the construction crew was forced to develop cartridges that could be fired under water. They also constructed long-handled shovels and tongs to reach through the ice and water. By 1870 the men were working 18 hours a day to build a crib to act as a breakwater. It was 460 feet long and 13 feet wide. A coffer dam was built inside the breakwater with the help of 300 tons of clay shipped from Detroit. It did not survive the severe fall storms, however, and had to be rebuilt in the winter of 1870-71.

Once a shaft had been sunk, it was not easy to keep men employed in a mine which could easily be flooded by storm-tossed waves. In the fall of 1870 the superintendent, William Bell Frue, brought over a group of Cornish 'drill and hammer men.' That winter they went on strike, and had left by mid-February to work elsewhere. In the ensuing years many Cornishmen left or went on strike after one day on the job. Perhaps most interesting for labour historians is the fact that Frue responded to the original strike by turning to mechanization. He spent \$4,510 on a Burleigh drill and air compressor, thus reducing his dependence on skilled labour.

Barr has uncovered an excellent example of a direct cause-and-effect relationship between labour protest and technological innovation, but fails to do anything with it. On this question, and others, *Silver Islet* could have benefitted from references to the work of Canadian labour historians. Bryan Palmer on labour and

capital in the 19th century, Ian McKay and Allen Seager on the mining industry, and Craig Heron on labour process, among others, would have added a great deal to Barr's book.

Silver Islet chronicles how a tiny island in northwestern Ontario attracted the attention of labour, capital, and government on both the national and international levels. The mine property itself became the focus of jurisdictional disputes between the federal government and the provinces, and between Canada and the United States. Ore mined at Silver Islet was smelted in Swansea, Wales and Newark, New Jersey. Company directors were based in New York. Labour was recruited in Great Britain and Norway. Superintendent William Frue invented a device called the Frue Vanner, which separated the silver from the ore. Granted a Canadian patent, Frue's device was employed in a number of countries, of note during the Alaska gold rush.

Silver Islet was a bonanza, but the promoters, as well as the workers, took their share of risks. The original find ran out, and by October 1876 the company's books showed a deficit of \$335,615. In the fall of 1876 the stamp mill shut down. In August 1878 a second bonanza was discovered, and the mine increased its labour force to almost 200 men. By 1882, however, conditions were very serious. In 1883 production dwindled to \$2,010. In 1884 the shaft, now some 1,250 feet deep, flooded right to the top. There was no loss of life, but shortly afterwards the mine closed down.

Silver Islet is a book of interest to the general reader, but is also of value to Canadian labour and business historians. Barr has done a good job putting a face to labour with very limited resources. There was no union on the site, so records are few and scattered. However, Barr does convince us that this must have been an extremely nerve-wracking place to work. For business historians there is a good deal more — portraits of the three superintendents, the impact of American entrepreneurs on a very young hinterland econ-

omy, and an intriguing tale of shrewd business practices combined with an ultimately fatal optimism.

When I talked to Elinor Barr in December 1988 she was disturbed by what she considered the biases "academic" historians often show toward "amateur" historians. I suggested that local histories are often unreliable, with lack of footnotes and no bibliography a major stumbling block for university-trained historians. She was ahead of me, however, and pointed out that *Silver Islet* contains very good footnotes and a comparable bibliography. The author fought long and hard with her publisher to have them included, and it is to be hoped that more local historians will follow her example. Elinor Barr wants local historians and the history of northern Ontario taken more seriously by academic historians. More books like *Silver Islet* will help her get her wish.

Peter Campbell
Queen's University

Alvin Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1989).

THE ORIGINS AND EARLY YEARS of the Social Credit movement in Alberta was the object of a substantial scholarly effort in the 1940s, most of which was published in the 1950s in the ten volumes of the "Social Credit in Alberta" Series edited by S.D. Clark. There has been little of comparable quality covering the later period which ended with what can be seen as the final eclipse of Social Credit as a political force in Alberta. The author, with access to substantial archive material including the Manning Papers, is now able to reconsider the significance of the whole phenomenon as well as provide a fairly detailed analysis of the later period so far dealt with largely in journalistic accounts. He contends that the earlier studies, particularly C.B. Macpherson's *Democracy in Alberta*, by concentrating on social credit doctrine, seriously underrated the populist and radical elements of

the program and the extent of their support within the movement by overstressing the petit bourgeoisie nature of the movement. Finally the author clearly hopes that his work will contribute to what is now a continuing debate among scholars about the nature of populist movements.

The book delineates clearly the Social Credit Movement as it transformed itself into a political party which in the end was an elitist organization which reflected nothing more than the right-wing moralist views of Ernest Manning. Perhaps the author is right to call it a "phenomenon" because, while it began as a populist movement, it moved rapidly to the radical right and rarely displayed the normal characteristics of a Canadian political party save for a stern and highly centralized discipline.

Looking back on the 1930s one can see how Social Credit was able to move into a political vacuum created by the tired regime of the United Farmers of Alberta and the low esteem in which both Liberals and Conservatives were held in Alberta. Logically, the CCF should have been the natural heirs of the UFA which had been present at its birth in Regina in 1932. But the Alberta CCF was unable to disengage itself from its association with the UFA. While Aberhart had carefully screened Social Credit candidates to eliminate any who had previous connections with his discredited opponents, it is clear that the rank-and-file of Social Credit grassroots organization were followers of the old progressive tradition. Within five years most of them had left the movement.

The first legislative program of the victorious Social Crediters was a rich amalgam of traditional populist nostrums, although the government's agenda was dominated by the problems of revenue deficiency and relief of the urban and rural distressed. As far as the still eager militants at the grass roots of the party were concerned, Social Credit was the centerpiece of an expansionist and redistributive policy not unlike that which ex-

isted even in pockets of the British Labour Party at that time. As Finkel puts it "In practice, however, if the general membership of Social Credit were even aware that Major Douglas's theory accorded them so minor a role, they ignored his teachings. Social Credit clubs, constituency associations, and conventions all sought to influence the details of government policy and strayed well beyond monetary policy in their search for solutions." (47) As the leadership of the party became more authoritarian under the influence of Douglasite doctrines, the popular base of the party declined. At its peak the party could claim 41,000 members. This had declined to 24,000 at the time of the 1940 election, and continued to decline steeply as the composition and nature of the party altered. Finkel concludes: "The experience of Social Credit's first term in office demonstrates that, contrary to what earlier scholars of the party claimed, Alberta was bitterly class-divided and the Social Credit party attracted the support of the have-nots and the bitter opposition of the have. Only the authoritarian character of the government itself eventually effected a split among the have-nots, driving more left-leaning workers and farmers from its ranks. It is not the case that most Albertans who flocked to the Social Credit cause accepted an authoritarian ideology and an authoritarian leader. As the government proved itself increasingly conservative and closed to grass-roots criticism, internal party critics became more vociferous, and by 1940 many had simply refused to participate within the Social Credit organization." (71-2) This development he has demonstrated convincingly. Much of it was of course visible to those of us working on the Alberta studies in the late 1940s, and he is less than just to these "earlier scholars."

The author's account of the gradual transformation of the party from its populist origins to a party with the rhetoric of the radical right but one which had reached a comfortable accommodation with the oil multinationals and the urban middle class in Alberta whose well-being

became increasingly dependent on the energy section is careful and persuasive. He shows how the party gradually ran out of ideas and, after Manning, of leadership so that it was comparatively easy for the Conservatives under dynamic and imaginative leadership to deprive it of relevance. His account will stand as the definitive study of the rise and ultimate demise of the party.

There are some episodes that he might have noted. One of them surrounds the Recall Act of 1936, which illustrates not only the political tension within the party in the early years but also the extent to which the realities of power have a way of corroding the democratic elements of a populist ideology. The Act, which had been part of the Social Credit program in the 1935 election, had been introduced with some reluctance and seemed harmless enough since it had provided that a member must vacate his seat in the legislature if 65 per cent of the electors in his constituency presented a petition for his recall. This figure seemed high enough to make the law almost inoperable. Nevertheless Aberhart's electors in Okotoks-High River (the seat which had been opened for him in a by-election) were sufficiently incensed at his lack of interest in them that they amassed a petition with sufficient names for his recall. Then came a standoff. Although the Act had been hurriedly repealed, the dissident electors were sufficiently alarmed lest the petition should fall into the hands of the party that they were reluctant to have it made public. In the end the petition was ceremonially burned on the grounds of the Legislature by the Clerk, who was the only person whose neutrality could be trusted. Nothing could be a better illustration of Aberhart's imperious character or the paranoia of the party leadership.

Some of this is intelligible. At that time Edmonton had attracted a high proportion of representatives of the metropolitan Canadian and American press, who acted as if they were covering a revolutionary challenge to the established order. And the government was highly

sensitive to inspired leaks out of the Social Credit caucus which found their way into the local newspapers. Their response was the introduction of the Accurate News and Information bill in the autumn of 1936 which would have compelled newspapers to print the government's "correct" version of the news. It was also at that time that one journalist was summoned to the bar of the House and convicted of contempt charges.

An illustration of the panic and hysteria on the other side, which he might have mentioned, is the planned constitutional coup in 1938 which would have had the lieutenant-governor dismiss the Aberhart Government, install a Liberal-Conservative Coalition and dissolve the Legislature. This was promptly squelched by Mackenzie King when he got wind of it. (See *The King Diary* for May 18, 1938).

It should also be noted that a few inaccuracies have crept into the author's account. He states (42) that three of the bills (the Credit of Alberta Regulation Act, the Bank Employees Civil Rights Act, and the Judicature Act Amendment Act) were refused assent by the Lieutenant-Governor. This was not what happened. He reserved assent — as we now know on instructions from Ottawa — so that the final decision could be made by the Governor General in Council. They were then referred to the Supreme Court, which held them all to be unconstitutional.

It is also an exaggeration to say that Aberhart "co-operated" with the Federal Government in agreeing to the Unemployment Insurance Amendment of 1940. When the Federal Government sought provincial approval to proceed with the amendment no reply was received from Alberta, which Ottawa deemed to signify consent.

Nevertheless the book is of substantial value to scholars of Canadian politics, for it fills an important gap and does it well. It is also valuable in another respect. His penultimate chapter is a significant contribution to the continuing debate about the nature of populism which does much to correct what seem to be fairly

common but dubious generalizations by recent authors. For that reason alone it deserves serious attention in the political economy literature.

J.R. Mallory
McGill University

Wendy Mitchinson and Janice Dickin McGinnis, *Essays in the History of Canadian Medicine* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1988).

THIS SHORT (218-page) book contains a collection of original essays on a range of topics by seven quite well-known medical historians. It provides an interesting spread of work typical of the past decade, and since there is still not that large a body of good material in Canadian medical history, such a collection is welcome.

For a long time, medical history focused on scientific developments, the contribution of prominent physicians and institutions, and on the evolution of the medical profession. In the past two decades, the social history of medicine gained favour. Mitchinson and Dickin McGinnis provide a fair-sized introduction outlining the merits of analyzing medical developments and professional activities within the context of social conditions. They provide a good but short review of recent historiography, though they name few historians except the authors in the collection. The first essay, by J.C. Robert, follows the strong French Canadian tradition of demographic history with an analysis of mortality in Montreal, 1821-1871. He finds that infant mortality was the major element in the city's notoriously high death rate, while immigration, industrialization, and other aspects of working-class life do not figure much at all. The lack of reform he attributes to public indifference, a conclusion that only begins to explore working-class realities. There follow two pieces on the politics of public health. Kenneth Pryke reveals that the ultimate reason for the defeat of doctors' proposals for a general hospital for the poor in Halifax between

1827 and 1849 was that the plan reflected the priorities of the profession rather than those of the general community. He shows that there was a lack of public confidence in regular physicians as well as a general opposition to public social welfare measures. Heather MacDougall narrates the way public health reformers persuaded governments to adopt the British "sanitary idea" in Toronto between 1866 and 1890, and reveals the strong influence of the British public health movement on people in that city. Wendy Mitchinson focuses on the Toronto insane asylum in the mid-19th century. She begins with a survey of the great historiographical debate surrounding asylums. In a bid to reevaluate the issue, she chooses to focus on grounds for admission — who were the insane, and what led to commitment? She exposes the inadequacy of the cure/custody debate, and rightly shows that the social control analysis has been overly-simplistic. Michael Bliss offers another shard from the splendid mirror on scientific research that he has fashioned from the insulin story. In discussing J.P. Collip's role in the discovery of insulin, he illustrates the well-known phenomenon of the struggle for credit in medical research. But by now we have plenty on insulin. Janice Dickin McGinnis offers a survey of treatment for VD between the turn of the century and World War II. Though genuinely interesting, her description of treatment contains some significant inaccuracies which undermine the case she makes. (Treatment with Salvarsan did not last as long as she says [132], and few people ever imagined that syphilis and gonorrhoea could be cured "by one shot" of penicillin [145].) Her sources are largely Canadian medical journals and she has difficulty linking therapeutic approaches with general medical practice in Canada. Suzanne Buckley questions the long-established view that the decline of maternal mortality was simply the effect of improvements in medical care. She argues that the records of two Ottawa hospitals between 1895 and 1939 suggest that other things must be added to the expla-

nation, notably improvements in the standard of living.

The collection, however, has some shortcomings. It is spotty, jumping from one topic to another. Many ideas, problems and topics are only alluded to, either in the introduction or the individual essays. If the purpose of a collection is to gather together something of note on a range of related issues within a general field, then it is not a good sign that in this collection much more is not pursued than is discussed. I had the feeling as I read it that I was simply holding an especially large issue of a medical history journal. I am sorry that the editors did not arrange to reprint some excellent essays that have appeared in the past decade and are currently scattered among various journals. Article-length essays are generally closely focused in both time and place, so it helps if the collection is large or the editors provide connecting commentary to help it all make a certain sense. The introduction is clearly aimed at undergraduates, but the essays which follow are not enough on their own to serve as a guide to the field. Several of the authors have commented on occasion on the importance of addressing historiographical debates, but in this book most of them do not discuss related work very much if at all. This shortcoming is all the more obvious from the long and admirable bibliography that concludes this volume.

The focus of the essays remains substantially on the regular medical profession. There is nothing on irregulars, and little directly on the experience of patients. The editors note that "until recently [patients] have remained faceless and passive." (11) Little in this collection substantially alters that, except in Mitchinson's essay. This shortcoming appears despite comments on the importance of patients' experiences made elsewhere by several of the authors. Medical historians often find that their sources do not allow for a detailed exploration of experiences. Into this gap between evidence and inquiry sometimes creep generalizations and assertions based on the-

ory. The effect of available sources therefore deserves more discussion by all the authors. Given the importance of the nature of records, it is regrettable that the editors did not also survey archival sources alongside their bibliography of secondary sources.

Despite its shortcomings, this collection is useful and, given the quality of some of the papers, genuinely desirable. We still lack a good survey of topics and methodologies. Such a book would be of greatest use to students, and I imagine, of greater appeal to the interested public.

Jay Cassel
York University

Alain Pontaut, *Santé et sécurité. Un bilan du régime québécois de santé et sécurité du travail, 1885-1985* (Montréal: Boréal Express 1985).

GRACE A CET OUVRAGE, Alain Pontaut rend accessible une tranche substantielle d'histoire sur un aspect crucial de la vie des québécois(es): la santé et sécurité du travail (SST). La lecture est facile, témoignant ainsi d'un professionnel chevronné de l'écriture, journaliste et auteur de plusieurs livres, dont la biographie de René Lévesque (1983). Rien n'indique que M. Pontaut possède des connaissances approfondies en SST mais ses capacités d'assimilation et sa plume facile a donné un livre qui mérite une diffusion très large.

Les deux premiers chapitres décrivent les conditions inhumaines de travail vécues par nos ancêtres au milieu de XIX^{ème} siècle. Cette époque correspond à la transformation d'une société agricole stable en un ère industriel nouveau d'aliénation, de dépendance accrue et d'appauvrissement de la classe ouvrière. Les caractéristiques du travail pendant cette période choquent: imaginez des enfants de 9 ans travaillant 12 heures par jour et six jours par semaine dans des conditions de salubrité indescriptibles, à savoir le bruit, la cadence, la fatigue et les risques extrêmes. C'est la propagation de

l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, des dominants assoiffés de pouvoir, de la recherche intense de profits, du capitalisme sauvage dénué de charité. Afin de brosser une perspective de la situation du travail à cette époque, l'auteur propose quelques images des méfaits de l'industrialisation sur la condition physique des enfants québécois:

Au Québec, où il paie le prix de la mutation industrielle, le récent prolétaire des villes reçoit pour un travail souvent accablant un salaire si insuffisant que, s'il est chef de famille, sa femme et ses enfants, même en bas âge, s'efforcent d'être embauchés aussi par la manufacture afin d'obtenir un salaire d'appoint.

Engagés presque par charité, ces enfants n'en sont pas moins privés d'hygiène et exposés à tous les risques, rivaux à la production, exploités jusqu'à la limite de leurs forces, soumis aux amendes, retenues sur leur salaire minuscule, aux châtiments corporels, et bien sûr détournés de la fréquentation scolaire.

Pressés par un syndicalisme naissant, les gouvernements tentent d'établir un âge minimal et des heures maximales de travail face à un patronat dont l'appétit est vorace et qui veut ralentir la tendance inévitable vers un assainissement et une humanisation du milieu de travail. Un exemple de l'avidité des employeurs est exprimé admirablement par Fernand Morin et repris par l'auteur:

Les amendes imposées par un employeur durant une semaine dépassent parfois le salaire de la semaine entière. Le taux d'analphabétisme est très élevé chez les ouvriers. Les enfants, à partir de 8 ans, et les femmes, sont littéralement exploités. La journée de travail est souvent de 12 à 14 heures. L'enfant désobéissant risque d'échouer dans le "trou noir," petit cachot se trouvant dans certaines usines.

En 1882, une commission fédérale "...constata la présence d'enfants de huit et neuf ans travaillant de longues heures dans des manufactures. Une loi fédérale présentée en 1883 sous forme d'un projet pour définir certains délits commis contre des personnes employées dans des manu-

factures, propose '12 ans comme minimum d'âge, et 60 heures comme maximum de durée de travail par semaine pour enfants au-dessous de 15 ans.'"

M. Pontaut nous expose ensuite le débat sur la responsabilisation des acteurs en égard aux accidents du travail: qui est coupable? Le travailleur négligeant ou le patron insouciant? L'auteur nous rappelle qu'à l'époque, le seul recours d'un accidenté pour obtenir justice était de faire appel aux tribunaux, démarche qui exigeait une expertise juridique afin de prouver négligence, ce qu'il n'était jamais en mesure de se payer. L'obligation pour les entreprises de s'assurer est alors envisagé. Mais cette initiative, pourtant souhaitable car elle aurait soulagée les tribunaux, ne fait pas l'unanimité et pour des raisons qu'expriment bien l'inspecteur Louis Guyon en 1909:

Protégés par une compagnie d'assurance contre les accidents, bien des patrons et la plupart des grandes corporations ne s'occupent pas assez des accidents qui peuvent frapper les ouvriers.

Cette constatation qui date de 80 ans est encore vraie aujourd'hui car la "mutualité" de l'assurance contre les pertes financières des entreprises n'est sûrement pas une incitation à dépenser substantiellement en prévention: l'employeur se protège contre le risque d'une perte monétaire mais une telle sécurité financière n'assure pas la protection des salariés.

Le chapitre II (1900-1931) nous enseigne avec maints détails que l'idée d'une assurance a fait son chemin: en 1909, Québec adopte sa loi sur les réparations un système "sans faute" et crée en 1931 un organisme administrateur du régime de réparation: la Commission des Accidents du Travail (CAT). Il faut féliciter l'auteur d'avoir relaté fidèlement l'opposition féroce, souvent surprenante, de diverses sources envers un organisme géré par l'état et financé par les employeurs. (43-4) Henri Bourassa, dans *Le Devoir* évidemment, l'association des

couriers d'assurance et les médecins crient au "bolchévisme," à "un état dans un état," à "l'Italie fasciste" et à la "Russie soviétique." Et tout ça parce que le gouvernement cherchait à faciliter l'accès pour les victimes à une indemnisation dans le cas d'un accident de travail! Bourassa allait aussi loin que d'affirmer que la réparation monétaire mènerait à des abus et faciliterait trop la vie des ouvriers! Est-ce possible? Ce chapitre relate aussi les efforts investis par le gouvernement ontarien dans le domaine.

Le chapitre III (1931-1952) fait état de la consolidation du régime, plus particulièrement en ce qui concerne les améliorations de la protection. On réfère à la loi de 1931, ou comme on l'a de toujours désigné, le fameux "contrat social": la responsabilisation collective des employeurs en échange de l'interdiction de poursuites devant les tribunaux. Cette "révolution des idées" est d'autant pertinente aujourd'hui puisque les "patrons" cherchent activement à faire participer les travailleurs au financement de la CSST; soulignons d'ailleurs que cet épisode de l'histoire est extrêmement bien décrit dans le volume.

La description de la mise sur pied d'une clinique de réhabilitation du Dr. Doriva Léonard, "avenue Laurier" pour les accidentés du travail est révélatrice de l'amélioration de notre système de SST. Née dans la controverse, cette clinique constitue tout de même la genèse de centres de physiothérapie et de réadaptation physique.

Etrangement M. Pontaut ignore toute la période de la seconde guerre mondiale (1939-1945), bien qu'il est du domaine connu que le nombre d'accidents du travail ait grandement crû durant ces années à cause du laxisme des inspecteurs, des cadences de production substantiellement intensifiées, des dangers accrus découlant de la fabrication et de la manutention d'explosifs de toutes sortes, du manque de formation des ouvriers, ouvrières qui remplaçaient les hommes partis à la guerre.

Au chapitre IV (1952-1976), l'auteur fait part en détails des préoccupations des

premiers ministres québécois successifs — pas moins de sept — sur la question de l'administration du régime de SST. En 1961, Jean Lesage demande à une firme de consultation privée d'examiner le fonctionnement de la CAT et l'année suivante, un rapport révèle que cet organisme est sclérosé et exige une revitalisation sérieuse, à savoir des salariés plus compétents, de la formation interne élargie, une accélération du traitement des dossiers et une restructuration organisationnelle de fond en comble.

Les risques d'accidents n'ont toutefois pas disparu; d'ailleurs, l'épisode du stockage excessif de dynamite au fond de la mine Campbell-Chibougamau en Abitibi en 1960 illustre bien l'attitude intransigeante des entreprises envers le droit des travailleurs à un environnement sécuritaire (66): cet entreprochage avait même obtenu l'approbation d'un inspecteur du ministère des Mines — illégale selon le syndicat. Evidemment, ces événements ont mené à une grève, à la présence de scabs et à des congédiements. Cependant, juste retour des choses, le conseil d'arbitrage donne raison aux prétentions syndicales et affirme: "il n'y a aucune loi au monde qui puisse obliger un ouvrier à exécuter un travail dans des conditions où sa vie est sérieusement exposée, surtout si ces conditions sont la résultante de l'acte volontaire du patron."

Dans les années 70, la rapport Castonguay-Nepveu, le comité Desprès et le rapport Mineau continuent à faire progresser le dossier de la SST. On met en place en 1972 une première version du système "mérite-démérite" qui instaure le principe du calcul de la cotisation "trois ans après la période à laquelle il s'applique afin de permettre un délai suffisant pour obtenir des données significatives." Un tel système vise à inciter les employeurs à investir davantage en prévention en faisant correspondre du plus près leur niveau de cotisations à leur performance en SST.

M. Pontaut insiste particulièrement, et avec raison, sur le rapport Riverin

publié en 1975 car il est à l'origine de la modernisation de l'approche envers la SST et son administration. Sur six pages, l'auteur intègre les 35 recommandations du rapport qui reflètent bien les besoins de changement de la CAT. Par contre, le comité d'enquête sur l'industrie de l'amiante présidé par le juge René Beaudry en 1975 aurait mérité plus qu'une simple mention.

Par ailleurs, il y a sûrement erreur en page 81 et 82 lorsque l'auteur, décrivant la naissance de l'OSHA aux Etats-Unis traite de l'indemnisation: "avec indemnisation à 250 pour cent des gains hebdomadaires moyens des travailleurs." Il voulait probablement plutôt dire que les gains maximaux assurables sont égaux à 250 pour cent du salaire moyen de l'industrie; par exemple, au Québec, le maximum assurable est de \$40,000, ce qui correspond à 150 pour cent du salaire moyen de l'industrie.

Le chapitre V est capital puisqu'il décrit les réformes (1977-1980) qui transfigurent la CAT en une CSST rajeunie, dynamique, possédant des pouvoirs et des mandats élargis. On confie la présidence à Robert Sauvé qui entreprend la difficile régionalisation des services, la diminution des délais et l'établissement de la crédibilité nécessaire au fonctionnement d'une Commission efficace. L'auteur nous relate plus particulièrement l'altercation entre le juge Sauvé et le Ministre de la fonction publique (95-6) au sujet de l'effet de cette décentralisation sur les employés de la Commission. Quelle délicieux clin-d'oeil!

M. Pontaut nous fait également part des multiples amendements aux lois et règlements régissant la Commission. Le lecteur ressent la force du PDG Sauvé à veiller à ce que les réformes soient instaurées telles que prévues.

La controverse légendaire entourant l'article 38.4 de la loi sur les accidents du travail est aussi très bien traitée. Ce débat concerne la confrontation entre le principe de l'indemnisation selon l'incapacité physiologique et celui de l'indemnisation selon l'incapacité à

reprendre le travail: ce dernier semble être retenu par la majorité.

Le livre blanc de 1978 reçoit une grande attention de l'auteur: celui-ci accorde la priorité à la prévention dans le cadre de la mission de la Commission; ce n'est ni plus ni moins que le précurseur de la future loi 17 — la loi sur la santé et la sécurité du travail. La position des parties — médicale, patronale et syndicale — est très bien rendue. Il devient évident que le contrôle de la réparation passe par la prévention. Ensuite, l'auteur analyse la loi 17 en insistant sur les droits et obligations des parties de façon extensive; malgré le côté aride du sujet, ça coule très bien.

Au chapitre VI (1980-1985), la nouvelle CSST devient réalité et M. Pontaut nous relate de façon privilégiée les débats qui entourent les premiers balbutiements de ce nouveau-né déjà gigantesque. Il traite plus particulièrement des problèmes financiers de la Commission suscités par la crise économique de 1981.

Les principes de la responsabilisation du milieu, du partenariat en prévention, de la co-administration de la CSST, de la création d'institutions en prévention modernes — comités paritaires dans les établissements, associations sectorielles paritaires, représentants à la prévention et création de l'IRSST — constituent les défis de la fin du millénaire. Les autres innovations du régime — retrait préventif, réadaptation — sont également touchées.

La section sur le projet de loi 42 (qui deviendra en 1985, *la loi sur les accidents du travail et les maladies professionnelles*) qui touche davantage le volet réparation a droit à une excellente description. L'auteur retrace la position des parties patronales et syndicales, de la Commission permanente du travail et du ministre Fréchette. La reproduction des 22 points du régime d'indemnisation proposé ajoute une information essentielle à la compréhension du nouveau projet.

Enfin, l'épilogue "D'hier à demain" est, hélas, trop bref.

Par ailleurs, le lecteur a l'impression qu'il existe une connivence entre l'auteur et la CSST car on ne trouve aucune critique envers cette dernière. Aussi, M. Pontaut n'exprime pas sauf pour deux ou trois exceptions — ses propres jugements sur l'efficacité et le fonctionnement du système actuel. Bien qu'il faut reconnaître effectivement un progrès de la SST au Québec depuis le début de l'industrialisation et la place enviable qu'occupe notre province sur le plan mondial, il demeure néanmoins que le nombre, la gravité et le coût des accidents se sont accrues de façon phénoménale au pays. Il est évident que l'auteur est écrivain et non pas expert en matière de SST: il décrit l'évolution du régime plutôt qu'il ne le critique.

M. Pontaut a également omis le rôle joué par Michel Chartrand dans la défense des accidentés et, plus généralement, dans l'avancement de la pensée en SST: ce dernier rappelait à la population vers la fin des années 70 qu'il y avait plus d'inspecteurs pour sauvegarder la faune que pour protéger les travailleurs! L'auteur tait également les efforts exceptionnels d'Emile Boudreau des Métallos à faire avancer la cause de la SST. Il n'y a pas de mention non plus des écrits du colloque de 1984 organisé par l'université Laval: *Régimes de santé et sécurité et relations du travail*, dont les actes devaient être disponibles au moment de la rédaction de ce présent ouvrage. L'auteur ne mentionne pas notamment l'immense défi auquel fait face la commission, celui de la reconnaissance des maladies professionnelles, particulièrement en ce qui concerne le stress et le burnout.

Il est nécessaire aussi de souligner la quasi-absence de références infra-paginales (19, 51, 50, 122, 151, 158, 172) qui empêche le lecteur de vérifier les sources ou de poursuivre sa propre recherche.

Il faut tout de même féliciter l'auteur pour son choix très judicieux de citations, multiples d'ailleurs, en particulier celles du PDG Robert Sauvé.

Malgré ces lacunes sur le plan de la profondeur de l'analyse, l'ouvrage d'Alain Pontaut est nécessaire à tous ceux qui s'intéressent de près ou de loin à la SST et à son évolution car, si on ignore le passé, on risque de le revivre!

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A.B. McCullough, *The Commercial Fishery of the Canadian Great Lakes* (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer 1989).

IN THE MID-1980s, Alan McCullough produced a thematic study for Parks Canada titled "The Commercial Fisheries of the Canadian Great Lakes". That study, extensively revised, has now appeared in book form under a slightly altered title. The book will break new ground. McCullough's comprehensive history of Ontario's commercial fishing industry is the first ever produced. A historian with the Historical Research Branch of the National Historic Parks and Sites Directorate, he tells a compelling story, although not entirely a happy one. Ontario's commercial fishermen faced recurrent problems and crises, which were precipitated by but not limited to stock depletion, American control of the Canadian fisheries, low fish prices, fisheries mismanagement resulting from divided federal-provincial jurisdictions, internal industry conflicts arising from fishing gear disputes, and competing user group conflicts.

Indian people, of course, were the first users of Ontario's fishery resource, initially for subsistence but later, during the fur trade era and beyond, for both subsistence and commerce. They were therefore also Ontario's first "commercial" fishermen, trading surplus fish with Hudson's Bay Company traders and later with itinerant American fish merchants. Some Indian people became active players in the developing non-Indian commercial fisheries. Most did not, for economic and political reasons. McCullough acknowledges and discusses both the sub-

sistence and commercial components of the Indian fisheries, though not in great detail.

User group conflicts emerged between commercial fishermen and Indian people in the Lake Huron and Georgian Bay fisheries as early as the 1860s, and, drawing from my own research between commercial fishermen and recreational fishermen, in a number of the provincial fisheries by 1910. Today, Indian people are struggling to repatriate their Aboriginal and Treaty fishing rights, while commercial fishermen, not similarly covered by Treaties, battle well organized recreational fishermen for their entitled access to the resource. McCullough discusses the resource allocation question among competing users in the second last chapter of his book. He notes that while almost all American Great Lakes fishermen have been legislated out of existence because of the economic strength of sport fishing, their Canadian counterparts have not. But this may be just a matter of time. Ontario's commercial fishermen will tell you that recreational fishing interests now pose the single greatest threat to the survival of their industry, with water quality degradation a very close second.

As many as 3,000 fishermen (the majority small petty producers and their crews) at one time lived in the isolated coastal tier communities of the Great Lakes to harvest their abundant fishery resource. McCullough devotes an entire chapter to labour and working conditions, suggesting that many of the fisheries were family-based, and two chapters to technological developments. He notes that fishermen first employed small sailing craft and later steam and diesel tugs, and that they captured the resource with a variety of nets, including seines, trapnets, poundnets, gillnets and bottom trawls. The trawls were introduced to the fishery in 1960, and are now used almost exclusively in the commercial smelt fisheries of Port Dover and Wheatley, on Lake Erie.

This mix of fishing gear often created conflicts among fishermen. McCullough writes that on Lake Erie during the 1920s

and 1930s, gillnet fishermen would frequently set their nets near poundnet leads (which directed fish into the pound's crib area); the gillnets thus captured the fish before they entered the crib. Poundnet fishermen launched vigorous protests against this action, but the gillnet fishermen justified it by claiming that they too had the right to fish the inshore waters, where the majority of fish were clustered during the spring and fall spawning runs. The dispute caused much distress among producers. The Ontario government finally intervened by enacting legislation which forced gillnet fishermen to set their nets further offshore. They were initially restricted to no less than 10 miles from shore. This was subsequently reduced to five miles and with the disappearance of poundnets by the late 1930s, the gillnet exclusion zone was rescinded.

Commercial fishing was then (and is now) hard work but it was not, paradoxically, always very profitable. As McCullough suggests, many Canadian fishing operations (particularly on Lake Huron and Georgian Bay, but also on Lake Erie) were partially or wholly owned by American fish buyers (buyers held the mortgages on many boats), or controlled by them through debt-obligation ties (or a combination of both). They would advance money to Canadian fishermen for gear and twine in return for fish. Such ties resulted in fishermen's perpetual indebtedness to the fish buyers and effectively entrenched existing relations of unequal exchange between them with catastrophic consequences for the resource.

McCullough does not suggest (at least not explicitly) that American control of Ontario's Great Lakes fisheries was catalytic to their demise. But the data lend support to this hypothesis. Directed and controlled by large American corporate fishing interests through debt-obligation ties and low fish prices, Ontario fishermen, the majority operating small-boat fisheries, were virtually powerless to regulate the intensity of the harvest and lay claim to their industry. By 1945, the sturgeon, herring, whitefish and pickerel fish-

eries had either been overfished, or worse, had collapsed. One may well ask two questions: Could this tragic outcome have been averted had American interests not controlled and directed Canadian Great Lakes fish production and the fish trade? A provincially managed marketing scheme had been proposed to the provincial government by Commissioner Kelly Evans in 1911, as a solution to the American "fish trust" problem, but it was never implemented. And, given the controlling role played by the American "fish trust", can we in fairness continue to hold the forefathers of Canadian commercial fishermen directly accountable for having fished the resource so intensively?

Judging from McCullough's account, it is clear that the Canadian Great Lakes fisheries were knowingly conceded to the American "fish trust" by the federal and provincial governments. As he suggests, both governments apparently knew as early as the 1880s that the Americans were controlling the provincial fisheries. Ontario certainly knew by 1911, when Kelly Evans tabled a report that directed the Government of Ontario's attention to this issue. But the problem was not addressed politically because the two governments were hopelessly deadlocked in a jurisdictional (or Constitutional) dispute regarding their respective proprietary rights to the fisheries under the *British North America Act, 1867*, and following the 1898 Privy Council fisheries judgment, which framed such rights respectively for both governments, over the responsibilities of the two jurisdictions regarding provincial fisheries management and enforcement. The jurisdictional issue was seemingly laid to rest by 1912 (certainly by 1926), but not before many of the provincial fisheries had been overfished, some beyond recovery (such as, for example, the sturgeon fisheries of Lake Erie, the Rainy River and the Lake of the Woods). McCullough traces the history of this dispute, and provides a balanced view of the issues and their impact on fisheries management.

The Canadian commercial fisheries

of the Great Lakes were obviously mis-managed and unregulated under divided jurisdictions (McCullough suggests that even under Ontario's management, they remained unregulated as late as 1950). Accordingly, the fisheries were viewed as a "commons" free for the taking, resulting as it did in free-for-all fishing activities largely orchestrated and driven by American fishing interests. But then, this was in some measure to be expected. Weak and often contradictory legislation, indecisively enacted by the bordering Great Lakes states, meant that intensive unabated commercial fishing also reigned south of the border. Why would the Americans direct Canadian fishermen to fish otherwise?

The Commercial Fishery of the Canadian Great Lakes is an outstanding and scholarly contribution to the social and economic history of Ontario. McCullough includes an extensive bibliography of sources cited (there is no index), and has accompanied the text with maps, line drawings and numerous photographs. His writing style is refreshingly candid and jargon-free, which ostensibly strengthens his well-crafted and stimulating storyline. *The Commercial Fishery of the Canadian Great Lakes* is sure to inspire further research. It should be read.

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Louis Caron, *La vie d'artiste. Le cinquantenaire de l'Union des Artistes* (Montréal: Les Editions du Boréal 1987).

POUR CELEBRER SES cinquante ans, l'Union des Artistes faisait appel à l'écrivain Louis Caron, auteur du célèbre roman *Le Canard de bois*. Le produit final, qualifié de "très beau livre" par le président de l'Union, a peut-être enchanté les membres, mais il laissera les historiens sur leur faim. Le volume est composé pour la moitié de photos d'artistes et d'illustrations de spectacles, fort bien choisis d'ailleurs. Le texte est un mélange de réflexions personnelles de

l'auteur sur l'artiste, de souvenirs sur sa découverte du monde du spectacle, de références au contexte socio-politique et aux principaux épisodes de la vie artistique, et enfin d'observations sur l'action du syndicat. Il n'y a finalement qu'une trentaine de pages réservées à l'histoire de l'Union des Artistes, placées à la fin de chacun des chapitres en encart comme si c'était la portion la moins intéressante du volume. La division de celui-ci en treize chapitres dans un ordre chronologique n'a rien à voir avec les grandes étapes de la vie de l'UDA.

Et pourtant, l'auteur effleure des questions qui auraient méritées d'être davantage approfondies, dont celle d'un syndicat qui regroupe des membres avec un statut les situant entre celui de salarié et d'entrepreneur indépendant. Ses négociations avec les grandes entreprises de communications ne se déroulent pas sous l'emprise des lois fédérales ou provinciales des relations de travail. C'est pourquoi l'UDA, qui regroupe comédiens, chanteurs et annonceurs, réclame depuis le début des années 1980 une loi spéciale qui la reconnaîtrait comme seule interlocutrice pour négocier avec les maisons de production. On fait valoir le statut professionnel de l'artiste, ce que finalement le gouvernement du Québec leur reconnaîtra en décembre 1987.

Née en 1937 sous forme d'amicale, l'UDA, qui s'appelait alors l'Union des artistes lyriques et dramatiques, se joint la même année à une union américaine, l'American Federation of Radio Artists. Sa fondation est directement reliée à l'avènement de la radio où beaucoup d'artistes trouvaient de l'emploi et son expansion doit énormément à la télévision. À la fin des années 1950, elle quitte le syndicat américain pour s'affilier directement au Congrès du travail du Canada. Ce lien ne l'a pas empêché dans les années 1970 d'appuyer le Mouvement Québec-Français et la souveraineté-association du Parti québécois. L'affiliation au CTC a provoqué un débat déchirant en 1962 alors que le conseil d'administration démissionnait en bloc. L'auteur passe

bien rapidement sur cette question.

Peut-être en saurons-nous davantage à l'occasion de son soixante-quinzième anniversaire si l'UDA s'avise de faire appel à un "professionnel" de l'histoire. Sinon les grands débats qui ont animé le syndicat resteront dans l'oubli, sans pouvoir éclairer et inspirer ses membres et ses décideurs de demain.

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André Beaucage, *Syndicats, salaires et conjoncture économique, L'expérience des fronts communs du secteur public québécois de 1971 à 1983* (Sillery: Presses de l'Université du Québec 1989).

LES NEGOCIATIONS collectives dans les secteurs public et parapublic québécois ont fait couler beaucoup d'encre et dépenser beaucoup de salive. Que ce soit de la plume de l'éditorialiste, des propos du citoyen touché, de l'analyse universitaire aussi bien que du discours politique, le nombre d'écrits et de commentaires qui ont pu être faits sur ce sujet depuis les 25 dernières années pourraient même être difficilement recensés. Est-il donc nécessaire ou utile d'avoir une autre étude sur le sujet? Tout n'a-t-il pas été dit?

Malgré effectivement le nombre de publications dans le domaine, l'écrit de Beaucage, trouve sa place. Il analyse en effet un aspect des négociations qui avait auparavant plutôt été ignoré à savoir l'atteinte des objectifs syndicaux. Ainsi à travers la description des événements des fronts communs de 71 à 83, l'auteur se livre à une évaluation de la réalisation de la politique salariale syndicale en la confrontant aux transformations de la conjoncture économique durant cette période. Pour atteindre son objectif, l'auteur nous fait part de sa démarche et nous livre ses résultats en 5 chapitres.

Le volume, qui est vraisemblablement le fruit d'une thèse de doctorat commence par une très brève présentation globale des fronts communs ainsi que de

l'enjeu salarial.

Puis, sachant que l'évaluation du succès de la politique salariale des fronts communs ne peut être réalisée en faisant abstraction du contexte, l'auteur débute son deuxième chapitre par une description sommaire de la conjoncture économique dans laquelle se sont déroulées les rondes de négociations étudiées. Cette conjoncture est vue par le biais de la valeur de la production globale intérieure du Québec, de l'indice des prix à la consommation de Montréal et de la situation du marché de la main-d'oeuvre par le taux de chômage et la croissance de l'emploi. L'évolution globale des effectifs des secteurs public et parapublic sert aussi d'indicateur supplémentaire.

On y constate que, d'une façon générale, les négociations des trois premiers fronts communs ont été préparées dans un contexte d'enrichissement économique moyen comparable à celui de 61-71 mais confrontées à une détérioration progressive et presque soutenue du taux de chômage. Quant au quatrième front commun, c'est une conjoncture de crise économique mêlée à une très forte poussée inflationniste qui a entouré la préparation des demandes syndicales.

Par la suite, le chapitre nous décrit cette fois le contexte syndical. On y retrouve dans cette partie l'orientation idéologique des trois centrales en rapport à leurs objectifs salariaux. Basé sur d'autres recherches, l'auteur nous fait part de la radicalisation du discours idéologique.

C'est au troisième chapitre qu'on entre au coeur de l'étude par l'analyse des politiques salariales du Front commun intersyndical. On y tente ici de dégager les points de convergence et de divergence des politiques salariales syndicales d'une ronde de négociation à l'autre.

Ce chapitre introduit d'abord une définition de la politique salariale syndicale en y distinguant les trois dimensions suivantes: son objet, son contenu et sa signification. Il ressort, à la lecture du chapitre, que tout au long des quatre

fronts communs les objectifs syndicaux ont été relativement constants à savoir une réduction des écarts, une garantie d'enrichissement intégrant à la fois la hausse des prix et la croissance réelle de la richesse nationale ainsi qu'une volonté de définir de façon autonome la politique salariale syndicale du secteur public et d'influencer la structure salariale du reste de l'économie. Par ailleurs, s'il y a une constance, leur importance relative a varié d'une ronde à l'autre. Par exemple, l'ambition égalitaire s'est surtout manifestée en 71 et particulièrement en 75 comparativement à 82 où la volonté de remettre en question la structure salariale a cédé le pas à la protection des gains des négociations antérieures. Quant à savoir dans quelle mesure ces objectifs ont été réalisés, il faut attendre le chapitre 4 pour y trouver une réponse.

C'est en effet dans ce chapitre que le chercheur s'hasarde à évaluer d'une façon empirique les résultats obtenus. Cependant, il concentre son appréciation sur les deux premiers objectifs. Pour ce qui est du troisième, il se borne à quelques observations générales reprenant essentiellement d'autres travaux théoriques portant sur la même problématique. Cette dernière partie est en fait la plus faible du volume.

Selon les conclusions de l'auteur, les deux premiers objectifs à savoir la réduction des écarts et l'enrichissement auraient été atteints. D'après les indices utilisés, une réduction des écarts de 15 à 20 pour cent aurait été absorbée. Toutefois, il n'est pas clair que cette réduction ait été faite contre les objectifs gouvernementaux. Syndiqués et électeurs se retrouvant plus nombreux parmi les bas salariés, il est concevable qu'il y ait une certaine harmonie d'intérêt en dépit des discours officiels.

Pour ce qui est de la participation à l'enrichissement collectif, il se dégage des données fournies par l'auteur que la croissance a été supérieure aux indicateurs économiques choisis. Evidemment, en fonction de la conclusion antérieure, les gains sont supérieurs au

bas de l'échelle.

Dans le dernier chapitre, l'auteur résume les observations faites mais tout en concluant au bien-fondé de remettre en question les déterminismes économiques souvent proposés comme force prépondérante en relations industrielles.

Somme toute, le volume présenté est intéressant et permet d'apporter un éclairage additionnel à l'expérience québécoise de négociation dans les secteurs public et parapublic. Même s'il est basé sur une recherche académique, la lecture en reste très facile. Pour ceux qui s'intéressent à la problématique discutée, c'est un livre à ajouter à la collection.

Maurice Lemelin

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Louis Favreau, *Mouvement populaire et intervention communautaire de 1960 à nos jours. Continuités et ruptures* (Montréal: Le Centre de formation populaire. Les Editions du Fleuve 1989).

"ORGANISATEUR COMMUNAUTAIRE socialement engagé depuis vingt ans dans des quartiers populaires de Montréal," Louis Favreau est maintenant professeur en travail social à l'Université du Québec à Hull. Dans ce volume, il essaie d'élargir vers une réflexion globale sur le mouvement populaire et communautaire québécois les résultats d'une recherche sur les corporations de développement économique communautaire (CDEC) de trois quartiers populaires défavorisés de Montréal: Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, Centre-sud et La Petite Patrie.

Effectuée à partir d'entrevues et d'observation participante, l'étude des trois CDEC et de leur environnement local est originale et bien menée, même si elle n'occupe qu'environ un tiers d'un volume de trois cent pages. On y voit très bien comment la crise du début des années 1980 a incité le mouvement communautaire à concentrer davantage vers les services immédiats et l'économie des activités consacrées plutôt jusqu'alors au militantisme, à la solidarité sociale ou à la

création culturelle. Le Chapitre 2, intitulé "Itinéraire," exprime de façon claire et succincte le contexte historique global dans lequel ce virage s'est effectué.

Les Chapitres 5 (Mouvement populaire et action politique) et 6 (Mouvement populaire et État) sont des résumés de travaux antérieurs de l'auteur ou d'autres chercheurs oeuvrant dans le même domaine. Le premier esquisse un portrait très rapide des principaux groupes politiques progressistes nés sur la scène politique montréalaise depuis vingt ans: Front d'action politique (FRAP) de 1968 à 73, groupes marxistes-léninistes de 1975 à 1982, Rassemblement des citoyens et citoyennes de Montréal à partir de 1980. Le second est une illustration bien courte, à partir de l'expérience des Centres locaux de services communautaires (CLSC), des rapports conflictuels entre l'État et le secteur communautaire. Ces deux chapitres s'insèrent assez mal dans l'ensemble de l'ouvrage: ils auraient pu constituer des articles publiés séparément.

Le Chapitre 7 (A l'aube des années 1990) présente à la fois une excellente synthèse des travaux de l'auteur sur le mouvement populaire québécois, et une réflexion sur le sens que cherchent à lui donner différentes théories des mouvements sociaux: courant "culturel" de Gagnon et Rioux (*A propos d'autogestion et d'émancipation*, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1988), courant "économico-politique" de Hamel et Léonard (*Les organisations populaires, l'État et la démocratie*, Ed. St-Martin, 1981), courant "institutionnel" de Godbout (*La démocratie des usagers*, Boréal, 1987), démarche historiographique de Lévesque et Bélanger (*Animation et culture en mouvement*, PUQ, 1987). Prenant la suite des travaux de ces derniers auteurs, Favreau conclut à la fois (252-4) sur le repli idéologique et politique simultané du syndicalisme et du mouvement populaire québécois et, paradoxalement, sur leur capacité de rebondissement face aux nouveaux défis que constituent les

problèmes de l'emploi et du développement local.

En fin de volume (Chapitre 8 Pistes et perspectives), le militant ne peut s'empêcher de dépasser les conclusions plus interrogatives du sociologue pour esquisser une "stratégie renouvelée de transformation sociale" fondée sur l'autonomie et l'autogestion des travailleurs, des usagers et des collectivités territoriales.

Tout compte fait, ce volume se présente plus comme un recueil d'articles que comme une monographie détaillée ou une synthèse globale. Il constitue cependant une excellente introduction à l'histoire, à la morphologie et à l'idéologie de la branche montréalaise du mouvement communautaire québécois, où l'implication du militant donne vie et clarté supplémentaires aux analyses du sociologue.

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Robert Boivin, *Histoire de la Clinique des citoyens de Saint-Jacques (1968-1988). Des comités de citoyens au CLSC du plateau Mont-Royal* (Montréal: VLB éditeur 1988).

LES MOUVEMENTS sociaux et les organisations communautaires en milieu urbain, au 20^{ème} siècle, à Montréal et au Québec en général, n'ont pas été souvent analysés. Il existe, bien sûr, quelques études d'ensemble qui, dans le cas de Montréal, ont porté principalement sur les mouvements de réforme urbaine des années 1910, d'une part, et sur les comités de citoyens et organismes populaires du bas de la ville dans les années 1960 et 1970, d'autre part. Mais faute d'une compréhension des dynamiques locales, que seules des monographies fouillées d'expériences typiques peuvent nous apporter, l'on s'en tient le plus souvent à une vue aérienne de ces mouvements, de leur importance et de leur influence relative. Il faut reconnaître que l'étude de ces organisations pose des difficultés

particulières au chercheur en quête de documents. La plupart du temps ces organisations laissent peu de traces. Nées dans des conjonctures spécifiques pour répondre à un besoin momentané, elles ont, règle générale, un rayon d'influence (géographique et sociale) peu étendu, elles font preuve d'une faible longévité, elles sont souvent isolées les unes des autres et finalement, le besoin satisfait, leur disparition se fait la plupart du temps dans l'indifférence.

Dans ce contexte, l'ouvrage de Robert Boivin sur la Clinique des citoyens de Saint-Jacques est un apport très précieux. Cette monographie, au demeurant fort bien écrite, nous fait entrer dans l'intimité de l'histoire d'un organisme communautaire montréalais qui fut longtemps considéré comme un modèle pour plusieurs intervenants. Fait exceptionnel, la Clinique fut aussi un des rares organismes populaires dont l'activité se soit étendue sur plus de quinze ans.

Robert Boivin a choisi pour l'essentiel de respecter la chronologie des événements. Après une très brève "parenthèse sur les années 1960," l'ouvrage se compose de cinq chapitres substantiels qui sont autant de tranches de l'histoire de la Clinique des citoyens de Saint-Jacques. Ainsi les premiers pas de la Clinique, la phase des pionniers (1968-1969 et une partie de l'année 1970) est l'objet du chapitre 3. Au cours de cette première étape, la seule où la Clinique loge dans le quartier dont elle porte le nom, le Comité des citoyens de Saint-Jacques, de groupe de pression qu'il était à l'origine, se transforme pour l'essentiel de ses activités en groupe de service. Dans ce passage du statut de comité de citoyen à celui d'organisme populaire, passage qui caractérise, à l'époque, l'ensemble du mouvement populaire montréalais, on tente de concrétiser l'exercice d'un pouvoir populaire en dehors des sentiers battus et surtout en dehors de l'État, ou plus précisément parallèlement à l'État. Les premières années de la Clinique sont marquées par une "approche humanisante" de la pra-

tique médicale (qui n'est pas sans rappeler celle du médecin de campagne, souligne R. Boivin) jumelée à une volonté ferme de déprofessionnalisation de la médecine. Comme dans les autres cliniques de santé "populaires ou communautaires," il en résulte quelques innovations reprises au milieu des années 1970 par les Centres locaux de services communautaires (CLSC).

Dans les années 1970-1974 (chapitre 4), la Clinique veut rompre avec l'animation sociale caractéristique de ses premières années. "Elle n'est plus seulement une clinique pour soigner les pauvres. Elle devient un corps militant," (61) elle se présente "comme un organisme politique offrant des services médicaux." (94) L'implication très forte dans l'expérience du Front d'Action Politique (FRAP) en 1970 inaugure une décennie au cours de laquelle l'activité médicale est subordonnée à l'action politique. Cette montée du politique, jusqu'à l'adhésion aux positions des marxistes-léninistes, coïncide avec la constitution d'une équipe de permanents, autour de laquelle dorénavant tout gravite, (102) d'une part, et avec la redéfinition et l'augmentation substantielle de la clientèle, d'autre part. En effet, à la faveur de deux démantèlements, la Clinique "choisit de délaisser les assistés sociaux (du quartier Saint-Jacques) au profit des petits travailleurs (du Plateau-Mont-Royal)." (119)

Au milieu des années 1970 (chapitre 5), la Clinique des citoyens de Saint-Jacques doit relever deux nouveaux défis: la réforme des services de santé et des services sociaux au Québec et la corrosion du marxisme-léninisme. Au premier, elle répond par la réorganisation en profondeur de ses structures internes et de ses activités. La pièce maîtresse de cette lutte pour protéger à tout prix toute son autonomie face à l'État est l'adoption d'une nouvelle culture organisationnelle faite de cogestion avec balance du pouvoir aux usagers. Sur ce terrain, comme le démontre R. Boivin, "la Clinique connaît un certain nombre de succès: elle possède

des structures de participation très audacieuses, différentes formes d'intervention médicale sont expérimentées, la clientèle visée des petits travailleurs est rejointe. (161) Néanmoins, cette clientèle plus nombreuse et plus diversifiée ne participe pas aux structures décisionnelles qui sont dans les faits monopolisées par les militants politiques de l'une ou l'autre tendance m.-l. La Clinique se vide progressivement de ses ouvriers et de ses ménagères bénévoles et, choisissant ses relations selon des critères idéologiques, se met en marge du réseau communautaire du quartier. (139)

Au début des années 1980 (chapitre 6) lorsque les difficultés du financement vont croissantes, sans véritable force de mobilisation, c'est par la professionnalisation des opérations que l'on cherche à sauvegarder l'autonomie de la Clinique. "L'illusion égalitariste" (208) qui prévalait depuis les débuts de la Clinique est abandonnée. Le bénévolat cède graduellement la place au travail rémunéré. La place des professionnels de la santé s'accroît à mesure que les services se diversifient. En fait ce sont les premiers pas de l'intégration au "Réseau" public des affaires sociales du Québec qui sont ainsi franchis. Au cours des quatre années que durent les négociations avec le gouvernement du Québec (1982-1986, chapitre 7), la Clinique n'a en aucun temps l'initiative. D'ailleurs, il est vraisemblablement plus approprié de parler de désintégration de la Clinique des citoyens de Saint-Jacques que de son intégration dans le CLSC du Plateau-Mont-Royal.

Malgré cette fin peu glorieuse, ainsi que le fait bien valoir R. Boivin dans son chapitre de conclusion, l'histoire de la Clinique des citoyens de Saint-Jacques a un sens qui ne doit pas être minimisé. "En 17 ans d'existence, écrit-il, la Clinique Saint-Jacques a soigné quelques 25 000 patients. Selon les années, elle a mobilisé de façon soutenue entre 50 et 150 personnes (et même parfois davantage) qui, les une à titre de bénévoles, les autres

comme employés, se sont dévouées à la faire fonctionner. Cela fait, en définitive, beaucoup de monde, surtout si on considère que la Clinique était un organisme de quartier opérant avec des moyens de fortune." (239) Surtout, au-delà de toutes les statistiques qui pourraient être alignées, cette clinique aura été une expérience de médecine populaire hors du commun. Elle a d'autre part été "un couloir où a circulé un ensemble de courants alternatifs des années 1960-1970: l'animation sociale, la social-démocratie radicale du F.R.A.P., le féminisme, le marxisme-léninisme." (250)

Mais la principale faiblesse de cette expérience aura justement été de carburer à l'idéologie, selon l'expression de l'auteur. A ce propos, il me semble que, pour répondre à la question posée en conclusion ("L'histoire de la Clinique Saint-Jacques a-t-elle un sens?), ce dernier aurait été avisé de comparer plus systématiquement l'histoire de la Clinique avec celles d'organisations comparables. R. Boivin le note au passage (33-5): la fondation de la Clinique Saint-Jacques s'inscrit dans un mouvement plus large, celui des "free clinics" qui ont proliféré dans l'ensemble de l'Amérique du Nord à la fin des années 1960. Il aurait été nécessaire, me semble-t-il, de revenir sur cette parenté pour indiquer ce qui dans l'histoire de la clinique du quartier du Plateau-Mont-Royal n'aura été que la reproduction de ce qui s'est passé un peu partout dans les grandes villes américaines et ce qui fut, peut-être, tout à fait ou en grande partie original. Surtout, plus près de nous, une comparaison plus systématique avec le sens de l'histoire de la Clinique communautaire de Pointe-Saint-Charles (quartier populaire du sud-ouest montréalais), pour laquelle une documentation assez fournie existe, aurait dû s'imposer. Cette dernière, contrairement à la Clinique Saint-Jacques, a su se tailler un statut particulier (que le gouvernement québécois continue à lui reconnaître encore aujourd'hui) et surtout elle a su garder vivante, en partie tout au moins,

l'illusion égalitariste de ses débuts.

Globalement, il faut cependant souligner la grande qualité de cette monographie dans laquelle Robert Boivin, par son souci constant de situer les événements propres à la Clinique dans leur contexte plus large, dépasse résolument la simple description pour alimenter une analyse de l'histoire de l'ensemble du mouvement populaire à Montréal. Cette "Histoire de la Clinique des citoyens de Saint-Jacques" est à lire par tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux formes les plus diverses du mouvement ouvrier et du pouvoir populaire.

Jean-Pierre Collin
INRS Urbanisation

Keith Dix, *What's a Coal Miner to Do? The Mechanization of Coal Mining* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press 1988).

HISTORIANS OF MINERS and mining communities make difficult choices between particularism and generalism, between emphasizing what is exceptional about the coal miners and stressing the links between miners and other workers. Take, for instance, the coal miners' notorious political radicalism. Over-emphasizing the particular problems that push miners towards socialism can make their political choices seem so eccentric and deviant as to be of very limited interest to the world outside the mining camps and coal towns. Yet under-emphasizing what it was about mining that predisposed many people to socialism can mean that we lose the specific texture, and the utter centrality, of the miners in our history. One notices, for instance, the ease with which the miner has been assimilated into the ranks of the "artisan" and the "skilled worker," certainly a useful move in the difficult struggle to sustain the Thompsonian thesis that 19th-century "skilled workers" in Canada constituted some sort of "vanguard" leading the other non-capitalist classes towards radicalism. Yet this is an essentialist and reductionist move which

privileges one aspect only of an infinitely more complex situation — no less so, indeed, than the “isolated mass” stereotype of the 1950s and the “race apart” imagery of the 1920s. Inscribing the miners within the grids founded on those dualisms labour historians tend to find so tidy and so seductive (eg., “workshop/factory,” “artisan/industrial worker,” “formal control/real control” etc.) sometimes has seemed to suggest a rich multiplicity of parallels and divergences, but it has often seemed like the scholarly equivalent of strip mining — a method which violently reduces the complexity of landscape to the gaunt simplicity of its mineral essence.

In *What's a Coal Miner to Do? The Mechanization of Coal Mining*, Keith Dix makes a choice for a particularist interpretation of coal-mining technology. (Dix will be known to coal-mining historians for his 1977 monograph *Work Relations in the Coal Industry: The Hand-Loading Era, 1880-1930*.) Not many non-mining historians are going to read or be influenced by this book, for it is an unrelentingly detailed examination of the micro-politics of technological change in the American coal industry. The scope of the work is further limited by Dix's use of the work technology to denote “a mechanical process, simple in design and function, which was developed for the purpose of eliminating the hand loading of coal.” (vii) Dix has things to say to the wide world of labour scholarship, but he is mainly addressing very particular issues in coal-mining history.

This is in some ways a puzzling book. It continues the argument Dix made in 1977: that the key to much of the coal miners' history lies in loading technology. He makes a valid observation — loading *did* represent a big technological bottleneck in coal mining, in Canada as in the United States, and overcoming this bottleneck was an important consideration for capitalists and their mining engineers — but he then tries to make this the *essence*, the key periodizing principle, of coal-mining history. (Here and in his

earlier work he refers, for example, to the “hand-loading era.”) Apart from the reductionism implicit in this, one can fault it on empirical grounds: Dix's own very useful tables suggest that the percentage of mechanically undercut underground coal rose from 24.9 in 1900 to 32.8 in 1905 and to 55.3 in 1915. Yet even by 1940, only 35.4 per cent of underground coal was mechanically loaded. (217) Unless we implausibly minimize the importance of coal-cutting machinery, the complete overhaul of haulage and hoisting, the dramatic intensification of surveillance within the mines, and so on, we have to treat with considerable caution an approach that would make the transformation of hand-loading the *major* key to technological change.

The first four chapters of this book do not really succeed in making sense of a sea of technological detail. Materials from the earlier monograph are lumped in with loosely-edited interviews and overly-long sketches of entrepreneurs, companies and mining machines (there is one entire chapter devoted to the Joy Loading Machine). Coal-mining historians will find some very good material here — Dix's microscopic analysis of the costs of production of the Greenbrier Coal Company in West Virginia could provide material for some very interesting comparative work on labour costs and the financial returns from company stores — but I suspect other labour historians will simply give up: the focus is simply too particular and the arguments too narrowly pitched.

And that would be a pity, because Chapters Five to Eleven are of much more general interest. Dix eases up on his *idée fixe* about loading technology and starts to explore the intricate story of rank-and-file resistance to, and trade-union collaboration with, corporate designs for the Brave New World of Coal Mining.

Dix makes a particularly valuable contribution to our growing knowledge of the dynamics of industrial legality, that heaven housing at least three great mansions (formalization, institutionalization,

and legalism) whose analysis is surely the key problem of students of the 20th-century working class. Dix brings out the irrational, religious element in the United Mine Workers' approach to the contract — the deep appeal to old ideas of chivalry and romance that we hear echoing in a statement from an employer/union conference in 1902: "We recognize the sacredness and binding nature of contracts and agreements thus entered into, and are pledged in honor to keep inviolate such contracts....," and the almost millenarian intensity of John Mitchell's discussion of the contract in the same year: "They may destroy our union but they cannot make us violate our contracts." (119)

By 1920 the UMW's governing philosophy had become one that anticipated Thatcherism in spirit and in detail. The union embraced mechanization. Penalty clauses in post-1917 agreements stated that any union officer or member who caused a mine to be shut down over any dispute "shall have deducted from his earnings the sum of One Dollar (\$1.00) per day for each day or party of a day they remain idle." (129) Left programs for nationalization were sidelined and forgotten as the union embraced a strategy of capitalist "rationalization" — what Dix usefully calls a "Darwinian" strategy of industrial restructuring. (147) Asked for his prescription for the industry, Ellis Searles, editor of the *UMWA Journal*, said in May 1923: "Shut down 4,000 coal mines, force 200,000 miners into other industries, and the coal problem will settle itself. The public will then be assured of an adequate supply of low-priced fuel." (160) At the core of this proletarian Thatcherism was a strategy of both institutional stabilization (with an entrenched union bureaucracy, contracts of much longer duration, and — after laissez-faire proved a disaster — increasing state intervention) and active support for mechanization. By the late 1930s the machines came to the mines, and the miners' militancy, tempered by hard times, was immobilized by a centralized union and the hegemony of a contractualist theology

that had completed, in three short decades, the transition from the enthusiastic rhetoric of the sect to the infinite casuistry of a state church. Carter Goodrich's hope that the "Miners' Freedom" might prosper under mechanization proved illusory.

We have heard this story before — in biographies of John L. Lewis, from Goodrich himself — but never told with quite this emphasis on the losses sustained by the rank-and-file, and never told so succinctly and with such compelling detail. Dix characteristically sticks with the empirical detail; he does not press the history he records for its wider significance. His book is detailed, his prose sinewy, his arguments always precisely focused on coal. His is the archetypal particularist monograph, whose general arguments for other labour scholars are left unexplored.

Put in a more general framework, the UMW's formula of formalization, institutionalization, and legalism can be seen as a fundamental force in North American trade union history, as the refashioning of Gompersism in the age of monopoly capital. And it was a formula that worked. Emerging from the coalfields, and so often spread by a coal mining leadership (from John L. Lewis to Silby Barrett), industrial legality provided the decisive formula for the historic compromise of capital and labour in the post-war period. We have here a particular study whose general significance to the field as a whole should not be overlooked.

Ian McKay
Queen's University

Builder Levy, *Images of Appalachian Coalfields* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1989).

PHOTOGRAPHS OF MINING communities do not make for your usual coffee-table picture books. These photographs, all in hard-as-coal black and white, depict life in some of the most impoverished of the working poor towns in North America today. At the same time, these photos also demonstrate the sustained struggles

which characterize these people's lives, and the continuing vitality of what might on the surface appear to be a dead community. While I would wish to duck the problematics of "one picture is worth a thousand words," this collection is a remarkable portrait of people and places too easily ignored. Yet, as I will discuss below, their presentation and the accompanying text undermine much of that achievement.

Builder Levy is a New York high school teacher and a documentary photographer in his spare time. Between 1970 and 1984 he spent his summers photographing the people and places that make up the Appalachian coalfields of the United States. There is much to admire in Levy's work. On the whole, these are impressive photographs, both technically and aesthetically. And, it seems evident that his heart is very much in these works. There are about one hundred photos, all black and white, and reproduced very well on high quality paper. A great deal can be learned from these photos. They reveal much of the technical side of mining, the skills required and the contrasts of heavy machinery and pick and shovel work, as well as the omnipresent blackness and the claustrophobic space of the mine. Levy also takes us outside the mine into the homes and the communities which have survived the industry's post-war decline. Most of the communities consist of badly run-down buildings, once company houses, blackened with coal dust and decaying, but punctuated by attempts at improvement and great evidence of pride. Photographs of union meetings and Black Lung Association rallies clearly point to the male-centred world of institutional life in coal towns. But Levy also records the equally central place of the household, and the increased employment of women in the mines. We get brief glimpses "inside" Appalachian working-class life, of social affairs at the tavern, and the union picnic. And we get a sense of how this shared material circumstance fosters an oppositional culture, one too easily dismissed as redneck

within the dominant discourse.

Two things, however, strike me as problematical. The first concerns the medium of black and white photography as it is used in this context. These are starkly beautiful photographs, and the format heightens the bleakness and austerity of Appalachia. There seems to be a tension between the beauty of the photographs and the ugly reality we know is there; there are some striking, even pretty piles of sludge here. Conversely, black and white also adds an otherworldliness to what we see, perhaps too much so. There is something of an unabridged ethnographic distance between the photographer and the subject, one reinforced by the surrealism of black and white. These people, the subjects, become of another world, of another time and place. Paradoxically, then, it seems that black and white may heighten the impact of the photos, but reduce their effect by creating a greater distance between the image and the viewer's understanding of reality.

The second problem is with the captions below the photos, and is a related problem of interpretation. There is, in general, an entirely uncritical presentation of this work. The photos, and here more centrally the captions, move along with an unproblematical objectivity, of truth and finality. Many of the captions are useful, but too often there is a disconcertingly tenuous link between the photo and the description. Yet the caption tells us what we are seeing, and in large part what we should think about these representations. The photos are already framed, printed and selected to present a particular view of some reality. Then someone (else?) gives it the final authority of words. Some of these messages achieve an amazing level of banality and political naivety. The caption below one portrait-like photo of a coal-blackened young miner tells us: "Today's miner is more safety conscious, better educated, and better paid than his or her father or grandfather". Comments like that serve only to undercut the strength of the photos.

Finally, something must be said about

the accompanying texts. Given the existence of an earlier collection of mining photos and essays, *Mining Photographs and Other Pictures* which came out of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design in 1983, the publishers might have addressed some of the challenges of that excellent work. But the introduction, written by Helen Mathews Lewis, is a quick once-over on the region and coalmining in general. While potentially useful to someone totally unfamiliar with mining, it is marred by factual errors, uninformed interpretations (coalminers became skilled workers with the introduction of machines), and an unrestrained romanticism. The value of this collection has been greatly diminished by its weak presentation. Having missed the opportunity to complement the photographer's work with more pertinent commentary, the photographs are left to stand on their own. Fortunately they do so quite well.

Danny Samson
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Daniel Rosenberg, *New Orleans Dockworkers: Race, Labor, and Unionism 1892-1923* (Albany: State University of New York Press 1988).

THIS SMALL VOLUME considers a notable and local chapter in the strange career of Jim Crow as it "investigates the conditions which made possible a remarkable instance of black-white solidarity, and contributes to the study of lower-class interracial cooperation during an especially difficult period in race relations." (11)

Rosenberg's first chapter sets up the local and national context of race relations and organized labour at the turn of the 20th century. The second analyzes the labour process on New Orleans' docks, the interaction of the workforce, and the development and programs of their unions. The third chapter recounts the emergence of mixed crews, equally divided between black and white workers and their unions, on the docks between 1900 and 1906. The fourth describes the

upsurge during the spring and summer of 1907 and the creation of a new labour council which sought to organize the entire industrial workforce. The fifth chapter considers the 1907 general levee strike which shut down the port of New Orleans for twenty days. The sixth chapter sketches the Port Investigation Committee's assault on the practice of half-and-half, the reorganization of dock work, changes in waterfront technology, work process, labour force, and work rules after 1910 and the decline of interracial unionism and cooperation on the levees. A ten-page conclusion summarizes the book's argument and considers the place of labour solidarity in a segregated society.

The port of New Orleans moved cottonseed, sugar, rice, lumber, and bananas; but most importantly cotton. Dock work relied on the coordination of a 10 thousand-man workforce equally divided between black and white. Teamsters moved the cargoes from railroad yards through town; roustabouts performed unskilled but widespread labour on upriver vessels; yardmen unloaded cotton carts and moved the bales into warehouses, onto scales, and into cotton presses; in turn, longshoremen moved the freight from dockside to the ship's deck and hold. Screwmen used jackscrews and their own muscles to compact the bales within those holds. The "screwmen, skilled and decisively placed were central: Their unions were older, stronger, their labor most respected, the backing most essential to other locals." (178)

Dock work was seemingly well-paid, but seasonal, hard, and biracial. That meant that employers used the racial divisions within the workforce to maintain their control over both the labour process and levee unionism. But separate black and white unions emerged in the 1890s, and from their beginnings had to consider cooperation and solidarity. "Black and white screwmen responded to the changes in the work pace and work lead by formulating their half-and-half plan, [which] required the equal hiring of Black and

white, and their working abreast of each other in the same hatch." (55) That plan limited speedups: New Orleans screwmen asserted longstanding agreements on the division of labour on the docks and loaded fewer bales per crew and per day than in other Southern non-union ports. "During the early twentieth century, the half-and-half principle prevailed on the levee [and] signified the equal sharing of work between white and Black locals in each trade. At the very least, it connoted interracial cooperation — even if not quite equal — to prevent employers from using the workers of one race to undermine the other's working conditions." (69)

Rosenberg is fascinated by the phenomenon of solidarity, arguing that "the half-and-half agreements went beyond the division of work: whites and blacks formed joint bodies, put forward joint demands, appointed joint negotiating teams, spoke in alternating sequence at meetings, constituted black-white 'juries' in intraunion judgements, and generally refused to take a single step on any issue without interracial agreement." (69-70) In the face of a changing levee workforce and changing technologies, the half-and-half principle severely restricted the employer's ability to control gang size, work load, and work pace: it became almost impossible to pit Black and white against one another on the docks.

The General Levee Strike of 1907 began as a lockout designed to destroy the screwmen's union. It tapped long-standing grievances and produced a startlingly united front: "a sympathetic industrywide action of solidarity with the screwmen." (122) Screwmen, longshoremen, yardmen, coal wheelers, cotton teamsters, freight handlers, markers — the whole of the dock workers — walked off the job and stayed off. As they imported strike-breakers, the railroad and steamship companies rerouted cargoes to other Southern ports as they sought to split labour's ranks. That kind of racial solidarity was not unprecedented, but it remained unexpected: employers rejected the half and half, "it doesn't elevate the negro, and it

degrades the white man." The successful tactics of the past, including white supremacist rhetoric, the threats of "Black Republicanism," and a new White League, failed to split the strikers. The strike ended on the promise of arbitration, with a five-year contract that specified a workload well below employer's demands, and with the survival of the half-and-half agreement. The open shop did not come until World War I when changes in ship design and dockside technology, the expansion of legal segregation, and white flight from the docks had eroded riverfront unionism.

This is a convincing and provocative argument, well researched and well argued, but the book may be too concise, too succinct. The reader needs several maps of the levee, a better sense of the port's geography and structure, and more on the shipping business. Rosenberg's research is strongest on the general strike, weaker on the decline of solidarity. Because New Orleans was unique we need to know more about other Southern industries, their workforces, and the processes of biracial unionization: a comparative dimension might have broadened the argument. Those reservations aside, this book is a useful study of one Southern port, of interracial organization, and of labour solidarity in the face of Jim Crow.

Bruce C. Nelson
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John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman,
Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America (New York: Harper & Row 1988).

NO AREA OF LIFE has proved so central — or problematical — in the development of North American societies as sexuality. As D'Emilio and Freedman show in this path-breaking synthesis, sex in America during the past 350 years reveals a complex mosaic, closely tied to dynamic cultural forces, related in turn to issues of race, gender, and class. Far from depicting a national sexual history that reveals

unsullied linear progress — from repression to freedom — the authors point out that definitions of sexuality have been reshaped continuously by the evolving nature of the economy, the family, and politics, broadly construed.

Most previous interpretations of sex and gender in American life reflect the work of white, middle-class men and women, tied — either as defenders of, or challengers to — a monogamous, heterosexual paradigm. Names like Alfred Kinsey, Margaret Mead, and even Shere Hite earned recognition through research methods that, although exploring most sexual parameters, belied assumptions of a dominant sexual culture. D'Emilio and Freedman stand outside this tradition. Their personal experiences and previous writings within gay and lesbian communities, respectively, allow them more distance and, arguably, objectivity and compassion in assessing important changes in the sexual lives of Americans. At the same time, their research clearly represents an effort to comprehend an area of social history of abiding personal interest and importance.

No polemic, *Intimate Matters* conveys a nuanced, subtle reading of a wide range of published and unpublished interdisciplinary sources. The authors argue that the meaning and place of sexuality have altered from their family-centred, reproductive emphasis in the 17th century; to a more-intimate yet conflicted sexuality within 19th-century marriage; and to the commercialized sexuality of our modern era, a sexuality loosed from its reproductive moorings and widely perceived to provide the basis of personal identity and individual happiness. Assessing the changing significance of birth, adolescence, courtship, marriage, divorce, and death, D'Emilio and Freedman show how sexual relations and the construction of gender have served as a potent source of inequality for racial minorities, the working class, immigrants, and those men and women who would challenge dominant views. The authors' matrix includes discussion of numerous

issues of sexual behavior, including birth control, marital fidelity, abortion, homosexuality, prostitution, and sexually transmitted disease. They address differing views of sexuality advanced by such social historians as Peter Gay, Carl Degler, and Michel Foucault, as well as the "repressive hypothesis" advanced by feminist scholars Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Judith Walkowitz, and Linda Gordon.

D'Emilio and Freedman caution readers that research in the history of sexuality may flounder on the distinction between what actually was, and views of what ought to be. Often the latter dominated official and popular discourse on sexual matters, while more important realities remained hidden from public view. To meet this problem, the authors examine both ideology and behavior, under three analytical headings — sexual meanings, sexual regulation, and sexual politics. The first category includes various primary meanings that attached to sexuality over time, including procreation within families, to populate frontiers and secure a sufficient labour force; physical intimacy and pleasure, emerging in the 19th century, as a booming industrial economy supplanted family-centred production, and birth rates declined drastically; spiritual transcendence, as mirrored in the myriad communes and experimental living arrangements that have dotted the American landscape over the past three centuries; and power over others, as in the numerous strategies with which the corporate order uses sexuality to sell goods, and — in a more sinister vein — the many ways in which sexuality has facilitated the social control of minorities by white, middle-class, American males. Here the authors investigate the changing discourse of sexuality — its terms, metaphors, and connotations within sacred and secular, and personal and public realms — during the great transformation from marriage-bed to marketplace. They demonstrate that real cultural differences separated the sexual attitudes and behavior of middle-class whites from economic, ra-

cial, and ethnic minorities in such areas as birth rates and views of extramarital sex. But these differences in no way account for the pervasive discrimination and violence historically visited upon these minorities. Images of sexual depravity, the authors conclude, have served as a powerful ally to class, gender, and racial hierarchies.

A second major category includes the social channeling of sexuality. Here, D'Emilio and Freedman seek to determine how and why, over time, certain groups assumed responsibility for distinguishing sexual deviance from normality. The authors contend that the centrality of familial, reproductive sexuality in the 17th century generated a unitary system of regulation by family, church, and state. The 19th century, characterized by significant economic and geographical mobility, witnessed a diminution of power of both church and state. In their stead emerged a new arrangement, with the family — especially mothers — assaying the primary role in defining limits of sexual behavior, guided still by denominational ministers, but moreso by aspiring medical professionals and by voluntary associations concerned with sexual purity as part of larger programs of social reform. These organizations often directed their attention at marginal groups — immigrant workers, prostitutes, and blacks, for example — seeking to involve the state to regulate and contain sexual morality. More recently, sexual politics have involved state and federal government alike, concomitant with the augmented complexity and legal significance of sexual issues. Yet if middle-class whites sought hegemony over sexual matters, immigrants and blacks found ways to withstand this drive. Preindustrial patterns of community control exerted over sexual behavior by both subcultures often proved impervious to the middle-class drive for order that affected sexual life as it did so much else in American life.

This drive for sexual regulation involved numerous interest groups. D'Emilio and Freedman's third category,

sexual politics, reveals ongoing contention, involving conservatives and liberals and radicals. Among conservatives, one encounters middle-class women, who in the 19th century attempted to define a singular morality and sought to enlist the aid of state power to check sexual impulses and to preserve premarital chastity and marital fidelity; physicians, who criminalized abortion; and censors like Anthony Comstock, who tried to purge the mails of "obscene" material, which included birth control information. On the other side of this tension stood proponents of birth control like Margaret Sanger; early advocates of free love like Emma Goldman and Stephen Pearl Andrews; and those persons in the 20th century who have defined sexuality as not circumscribed by marriage, but as the prime source of pleasure and personal happiness, to be sought out whenever consent was present.

Throughout American history, the authors conclude, impulses of sexual liberalism have been offset by contrary impulses of those who — like the contemporary New Right — would uphold the nexus between sexuality and marriage. Male authorities usually have led these crusades, although the organization of women to confront perceived socio-sexual ills also underlines how sexuality has served over time — and no doubt will continue — as a battleground to secure and to contest gender inequality. Sexual politics, finally, never stand alone. They connect, often symbolically, with other cultural concerns, especially those related to perceived social disorder and impurity. Discrimination against immigrants owed much to unwarranted charges that immigrant women swelled the ranks of American prostitutes, while economic competition between whites and blacks — rather than actual sexual assaults by black men on white women — figures most prominently in wholesale lynching of black men in the South. While intertwined fears of prostitution and immigration underlay nativist legislation, Southern fears of interracial sex powerfully buttressed the

system of racial segregation and control that developed after 1890.

One may quibble with some conclusions in *Intimate Matters*, primarily with the authors' discussion of the recent past. One would like to know more, for example, on how class and racial divisions persist, even in this era of sexual liberalism. Sex education, in fact, seems not to affect the behavior of much of middle-class youth, as continuing high rates of teenage pregnancy and STDs attest. One would like to see more on the putative connection between commercialized sex and individual activity. How have Hugh Hefner and Bob Guccione influenced behavior? What of the role of advertisements like the Jordache and Calvin Klein pitch for jeans that look painted on? Does wearing those jeans lead to a more permissive attitude and behavior? Does taking the Pill? And what should one conclude about the relationship between long-term socioeconomic change and actual sexual practices — in and out of bed? D'Emilio and Freedman say little about these things, but do suggest increasing concern in contemporary sexual lives with record, measurement, and performance. These categories certainly also describe core concerns of our commercialized culture.

Such carping aside — and it is carping — the authors dissect skillfully and with good humour what many consider an intractable subject. Not merely a history of sexuality, *Intimate Matters* offers a clearly written and engaging assessment of the problematical ways in which evolving sexual mores moved from behind closed doors to the front of national consciousness. More than any other force, capitalism, prefigures this transformation, as the sexualization of commerce led inexorably to the commercialization of sex (a point not comprehended by the New Right). The authors do not evade pointing to the contradictions that beset contemporary sexual liberals and conservatives alike, contradictions that seem more pointed with each passing year, and which make a unified effort combatting AIDS more difficult. In combining strong

narrative with the ability to connect disparate topics, D'Emilio and Freedman answer well historian Thomas Bender's recent challenge to social historians — to continue to work with discrete units, but to connect these units to larger, historical wholes.

Geoffrey S. Smith
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Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Harvey O'Connor, and Susan M. Bowler, *Harvey and Jessie: A Couple of Radicals* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1989).

IT IS, ON THE FACE of it, hard to imagine a more unlikely couple. Jessie Lloyd was a Smith graduate, an heir to the *Chicago Tribune* money with a family tradition of good works and bohemian protest. Harvey O'Connor was a foundling who was working in the lumber camps of the Pacific Northwest before he was twenty. Despite their very different upbringings, they evolved similar political attitudes, and in 1930 began a marriage that was to last until Harvey's death in 1987. Perhaps more remarkable than their marriage was their commitment to socialism, a commitment that was reflected in their daily lives. They devoted themselves to the struggle, working as labour journalists and muckrakers. Combining elements of Marxism, pacifism, the IWW, and an American tradition of dissent, they created a pragmatic politics and a socialist vision that put the individual, not the party, in the forefront. The two rejected hair-splitting sectarianism and aided a number of causes and movements that sought to empower working people. They opposed the authoritarianism of the Communist Party, but supported many of its efforts; avid civil libertarians, their radicalism went far beyond the Bill of Rights.

Their book, a joint memoir written with the help of Susan Bowler, is an interesting and optimistic story that traces two very different paths to radicalism. Unlike a number of books in this genre, the taped recollections of the O'Connors were

checked against their diaries, articles, and books of earlier years. In this way, the tricks played by memory and a desire to improve upon history were kept in check.

A Couple of Radicals does suffer from other defects common to memoirs. What is obviously significant to the authors is not always so to the reader, while events and people that seem to deserve detailed treatment are often barely mentioned. We learn, for example, perhaps more than we need to about Jessie's work in writing about the Gastonia textile strike, but are told almost nothing about encounters with people such as Jay Lovestone or factional disputes in the Communist Party. Too often the reminiscences are anecdotal, almost trivial, and it is difficult to know just what to make of the things we learn. In part, this may be the result of the authors' politics. While the absence of spiteful polemics and Hegelian debates is refreshing, we do not get a keen sense of what the O'Connors thought about specific divisive issues, and it is difficult to pick out just what the radical content of their thought was. There are too many details and too few glimpses of their own view of the big picture. What does come through clearly and beautifully is their life-long commitment to building a better world, a world based on a moral vision that borrowed from many sources. *A Couple of Radicals* does not give us a plan for the future, but it does give us hope.

Mark Leier

Memorial University of Newfoundland

Elizabeth Anne Payne, *Reform, Labor and Feminism: Margaret Dreier Robins and the Women's Trade Union League* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1988).

IN THE EARLY 20th century, the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) brought together women reformers and women workers dedicated to the organization and protection of women workers and the education of the general public about their

needs. The League blended reform, labour, and feminism under the leadership of Margaret Dreier Robins, president of the WTUL from 1907-22. Payne's study combines a biographical treatment with an examination of the League from its inception in the Progressive era to its eclipse during the New Deal. With access to private family papers, Payne traces Robins' roles as financier, director and ideologist, roles which gave her pre-eminence in the history of the WTUL. Robins' retirement from that role in 1922 explains the changed priorities of the organization in the 1920s.

Like other writers, Payne has noted the importance of cross-class alliances; working-class and immigrant women were joined by middle-class allies in attempts to improve their position as "unskilled" workers, needs usually ignored by the trade union movement. The WTUL's juxtaposition of laundresses and club women, garment workers and social workers, was unusual and demonstrated the heritage, and possibly the high point, according to Payne, of a distinct female culture in the United States.

Reform, labour and feminism are the themes of the central chapters. Payne views Robins as both typical of Progressive reformers and yet different, because of her conviction that labour in general and women workers in particular were central to the social regeneration of the Progressive vision. Robins moved to Chicago from New York in 1904 and carved out a new niche for the WTUL by challenging the hegemony of Jane Addams and Hull House when she succeeded in moving meetings from Hull House to Federation of Labor territory, thus signifying stronger ties to working-class women.

Under Robins' guidance the League identified with and continued the American tradition of labour reform which included the Knights of Labor and Susan B. Anthony's Working Women's Association; the Knights in particular took pains to include women, ethnic workers and the unskilled in their organization. The

League thus followed reform unionism's ideals and challenged the American Federation of Labor's more limited version of unionism based on the organization and protection of skilled craftsmen. Caught between the two positions, the WTUL achieved limited success. For Payne, the successes consisted of strong strike support, especially among the garment workers, as well as campaigns for protective legislation for women workers and educational initiatives. The conflicts with the AFL and the limited success of the League were explained not by class or gender tensions, but rather by Robins' understanding of the need for labour solidarity and her unwillingness to sacrifice that unity completely. This analysis distinguishes Payne's views somewhat from previous authors, such as Nancy Schrom-Dye who examined the New York WTUL in a previous monograph. Payne specifically attributes the League's tensions with the AFL to Robins' faith in labour unity; from the perspective of Chicago where Robins had close ties with the Federation of Labor, labour solidarity took pre-eminence. Revisionist in her interpretation of the League, the author also rejects previous emphases on the 1910s as the turning point away from unionizing and towards educational goals, based on her assessment of the importance of Robins' leadership until retirement in 1922.

Equally important in the fate of the WTUL was the brand of feminism Robins and her associates subscribed to. Social feminism with its emphasis on social housekeeping and motherhood defined the context of women's roles. Robins believed that women "more fully embodied the public because they alone understood the social consequences of private acts." (127) Motherhood was a shorthand describing all women's social mission, if not their biological experience. Thus, the League's activities embraced the vast majority of single working women but also working mothers and League women used the language of motherhood to describe their activities. Under Robins' leadership the WTUL also promoted fe-

male sociability through parties, games and sports in an attempt to bridge the gaps between women of different classes and ethnic backgrounds. Union-linked sociability assisted women who faced ridicule or disapproval from co-workers and family and gave them recognition for the long hours they put in as activists. Payne's analysis insists that women's culture reinforced union solidarity in League activities.

In the post-war world of the 1920s, other brands of feminism, however, challenged the social feminism of the League which fought to organize working women and enact protective legislation simultaneously. The National Women's Party opposed protective legislation and chose to pursue the Equal Rights Amendment; Robins led WTUL opposition to these goals and to what she termed "individualistic" feminism. After her retirement she was alarmed by the League's retreat from union organizing and its preoccupation with fighting the ERA. The move of WTUL headquarters to Washington, DC in 1929, closer to AFL domination, deepened her unease over the direction taken by the League. With the onset of the Depression and the emergence of New Deal politics in the 1930s, Robins found the Progressive era's emphasis on social reform, particularly through the voluntary activities of women, undercut and replaced by a bureaucratic, state-led approach she despised. Reform unionism and social feminism no longer fit the needs of post-Depression America.

Payne's study is revisionist in its interpretation and brings a wealth of personal and psychological insight from the voluminous correspondence between Robins and her sister, Mary Dreier, a leader of labour, suffrage and peace organizations. At times, however, Payne identifies too closely with Robins' version of the world. The leader of the League usually downplayed clashes between the middle-class allies and the working-class women, for example, an issue which is only partly addressed by Payne. One is also left wondering how Robins felt about the new unionism of the 1930s, the sit-

down strikes and the challenge to AFL hegemony presented by the CIO. Occasional slips such as Payne's rendering of the labour theory of value as "the labor theory of wealth" are also troubling. The volume has many merits, nevertheless, for those interested in women's labour history and its intersection with the history of middle-class women. Payne has revised our understanding of the WTUL, not only by underlining Robins' important guiding role, but also by illuminating the regional differences that existed within the organization and by suggesting that ethnic conflicts within the League deserve further attention.

Linda Kealey
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Richard W. Judd, *Socialist Cities: Municipal Politics and the Grass Roots of American Socialism* (Albany: State University of New York Press 1989).

NOW ALMOST A CENTENARIAN, the question "why no socialism in the United States?" remains a vital one. At least, it should remain so. Postwar consensus scholars in the United States, from Daniel Bell, Louis Hartz and Martin Lipset to Richard Hofstadter, laboured mightily to bury the question beneath a mountain of inevitability. Bell proclaimed that socialism could be in but not of the American political landscape; Hartz wrote that because Americans had no feudal legacy and, therefore, no entrenched conservatism against which to struggle, they could only be liberal perhaps the most absurd dictum ever uttered by a sociological historian; Hofstadter, elaborating a pattern discerned by J.D. Hicks in an early study of the Populists, announced a handy little law covering not only socialism but all political dissent: third parties in the United States, like bees, having stung, must die.

To the writers of American national history surveys the consensus line proved most congenial. It was agreeable not least because it meshed closely with the long

established acceptance by mainstream American historians of inevitability, or secularized Calvinism, as adequate explanation of nearly every major aspect of American history — from the city-on-a-hill, to the Revolution, to the Civil War, to America's rise to world power and Alan Nevins' triumph of corporate capitalism as the preordained instrument for saving the free world. Today, when socialism, however defined, is going down the tube, it is more than likely that the bastions of inevitability are in little danger of collapse. Unless, of course, Paul Kennedy is taken seriously, in which case a new inevitability may replace the old, as the sun rises in the East.

The great merit of *Socialist Cities* is that Judd rejects mainline predestinarian assumptions and joins the honest brigade of those who seek to understand American history rather than simply to celebrate it. Anyone who has read Peter Novick's *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge Mass., 1988) will understand the professional risk accepted by Judd when, albeit in the excellent company of scholars such as John Laslett, Sally Miller, James Weinstein, Milton Cantor, David Montgomery, Christopher Tomlins, Leon Fink, *et al.*, he swims determinedly against the prescriptive current. With careful scholarship Judd depicts the formidable network of roots put down by socialist politicians up to World War I in scores of cities and towns across the United States, and examines in detail several municipal experiences.

Drawing from and adding to the impressive range of evidence in 'grass roots' studies such as Bruce Steeves' *Socialism in the Cities* and Donald Critchlow's *Socialism in the Heartland*, Judd records who voted socialist and suggests that, "viewed from the local level, the party's political maturation and adaptation within the American political culture can be seen time and again." He reviews the debate about 'internal' an 'external' causes of the withering away of socialist political strength after 1917 and argues

that urban socialists were "too successful too soon." The urban parties, he believes, failed to adjust the "deeper concerns of their working-class constituents" to middle-class interests and didn't appreciate "the impact their ideology and rhetoric had upon the local middle class, particularly those caught up in the progressive movement." This failure provided the springboard from which elitist mainstream progressives launched devastating anti-socialist campaigns. The pattern is best described in Judd's close-in analysis of Flint, Michigan where, by 1912, the city's business leaders "had resolved to end the socialist threat to political consensus in their city."

Without defining 'class,' Judd deploys his evidence, with something very close to objectivity, to depict a hegemonic class victory. And the outcome, he makes clear, was by no means the result of any Hartz-Lipset-Hofstadter-Bell liberalism favoured by the political edict of an American *deus ex machina*. Without claiming preeminence for any one factor, Judd describes well the complexities of a political process. Lacking an appreciation of the deep socialist reality in pre-World War I America, and of how the socialist presence was emasculated, the evolution of today's vulnerable leviathan is not really possible. Judd has made a substantial contribution to our understanding of a passage in American history which most of the American historical profession still prefers to sweep under the rug.

Kenneth McNaught
University of Toronto

Sydney Stahl Weinberg, *The World of Our Mothers: The Lives of Jewish Immigrant Women* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press 1988).

In *The World of Our Mothers: The Lives of Jewish Immigrant Women*, Sydney Stahl Weinberg has produced a distinctly family-centered account of the experiences of Eastern European Jewish women who came to the United States in the wave

of immigration which ended in the mid-1920s. Weinberg's reliance on in-depth interviews with 46 women, supplemented by material drawn from published memoirs, enables her to provide a deeply personal portrayal of Jewish women's transition from the Old World to the New. The author's intense focus on the family enables her to explore this crucial area of women's experience in considerable detail, and this is welcome. However, her analysis of family life is flawed, at times, and she slights other important aspects of these women's lives.

Weinberg's evaluation of the impact of immigration on family relations is grounded in a solid understanding of Eastern European Jewish culture, thus providing an important corrective to recent works such as Elizabeth Ewen's *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890-1925*. Weinberg provides perceptive insights about Jewish family tensions resulting from the pressures of Americanization, and she presents an interesting examination of decision-making practices within the immigrant Jewish family.

Yet, it is here, at the very centre of Weinberg's focus, that significant analytical problems arise. Her treatment of Americanization sensitively emphasizes the younger generation's common desire to "fit in," but she does not take American anti-Semitism into account. Such incompleteness weakens her analysis of family strains and their relation to American assimilationist pressure. Her omission of American anti-Semitism also leads to a romanticized view of opportunities for immigrant Jewish families in the United States. Furthermore, even though Weinberg investigates family decision-making, her analysis of family dynamics ultimately does not examine female attitudes toward male privilege in sufficient depth.

In addition, *The World of Our Mothers* does not do justice to other important aspects of immigrant Jewish women's lives. Despite extensive reliance on material drawn from published memoirs, Stahl Weinberg generally ignores the fact that

these very memoirs point to important dimensions beyond the family. For example, Anzia Yezierska (on whose work Weinberg draws heavily) was a renowned writer, not a full-time mother. Similarly, Mary Antin and Elizabeth Stern were writers and social workers, as well as wives and mothers, while Rose Schneiderman and Rose Pesotta were life-long union activists. Although these particular women were, of course, exceptional, it is inadequate to use their memoirs to portray the history of immigrant Jewish women in a way which does not take the full range of these memoirists' own experiences into account.

Nor does Weinberg explore certain significant facets of her interviewees' own lives. Although the Appendix indicates that half of the interviewees did volunteer work (usually within Jewish organizations), the book devotes little more than a page to Jewish women's organizational activities. This neglect is striking in view of Weinberg's statement that Jewish women tended to join organizations at a much higher rate than women from other ethnic groups. Weinberg's brief treatment of women's organizational lives does not consider gender roles and power dynamics within Jewish organizations which included both males and females.

Labour historians will be especially disappointed by the author's discussion of paid labour. Although her examination of women's patterns of paid and unpaid work is valuable, her account of women's experiences in the paid labour-force is superficial. In view of her assertion that women's "experiences in the world of work were crucial in shaping the personalities of these young women," this defect is particularly serious. (192) As Weinberg points out, young Jewish women were typically concentrated in the needle trades. However, she not only glosses over the notoriously harsh sweatshop conditions but she also glosses over the confinement of women to female job ghettos both in this sector and in other areas of employment. Apart from a constructive examination of sexual harassment in both blue-collar and

white-collar settings, Weinberg paints too rosy a picture of women's white-collar employment. Emphasizing that "saleswomen enjoyed being admitted to the all-American world of the department store," for example, she ignores the harsh working conditions that retail clerks experienced in this period. (202)

Weinberg's treatment of women's unionism and radicalism is similarly incomplete. Although she acknowledges that "Jewish working women became famous for their rebelliousness and radical tendencies," her main section on the critical issue of worker resistance consists of a mere two and a half pages. (200) Caught in a liberal framework which stresses the eventual upward mobility of the Jewish community, the author does not grasp the extent of Jewish women's class consciousness in this period. Nor does she analyze gender dynamics within the unions and radical organizations. While Jewish women's class activism extended well beyond the shopfloor to specifically female actions such as rent strikes and boycotts against the high prices of food staples, Weinberg devotes but one paragraph to these important activities.

Finally, Weinberg does not ask whether Jewish women's "rebelliousness" led to feminism (a question which goes far beyond internal family dynamics). Although she includes a quotation from an interviewee who stated that "in those 1920s, I was for women's equal rights.... I should have organized Women's Lib," Weinberg does not analyze the nature of women's consciousness between the two waves of feminism or the relation between class consciousness and feminism. (210)

The World of Our Mothers is an uneven book. It helps to fill significant gaps in the neglected field of immigrant women's history, particularly through its moving personal accounts of the impact of immigration on Jewish women's family relations. The book's shortcomings are serious, however, and mar Weinberg's contribution.

Ruth A. Frager
University of Toronto

Marc Scott Miller, *The Irony of Victory: World War II and Lowell, Massachusetts* (Urbana: University Illinois Press 1988).

TWENTY YEARS AGO historians began to investigate the past of those who had been left out of traditional histories — to do history from the bottom up. In order to tell the story of these people's lives and struggles, historians have had to look past the methodologies developed when the profession was primarily concerned with state formation, administration, diplomacy, and the biographies of national and industrial leaders.

Cultural analysis, quantitative techniques, hermeneutics, and oral history were added to the historian's methodological black bag. These techniques did much to open up new areas of research, helped in answering the new questions historians were posing, and gave a voice to those whom past historians had left mute. Marc Miller's *The Irony of Victory* reflects the concerns of historians for a history from the bottom up, and uses the new tools available to historians, particularly of oral history, to do so. The new questions and the perspective from the bottom up gives his book its strength and interest.

World War II had a dramatic and until recently under-analyzed impact on American society, politics, and economics. The catastrophic depression of the pre-war years, and the dramatic initiative of the New Deal have in the past captured the imagination of both historians and the public. Recent work on both the war and the New Deal have shown that the war had a far greater impact. By looking at Lowell, Miller investigates the impact of the war on the everyday life of the people of one city, and attempts to understand just how significant the war was for them.

Miller is best in his discussions of blue collar workers. His combination of traditional sources and oral histories brings out how the war opened up new and better paying jobs for working-class women. He shows how the war undermined the authority of the traditional mill

owners, and helped open the door for unions, higher wages, and greater job choice and mobility. Government contracts, the War Labor Bureau, Government agencies that set prices and wages, manpower and resource allocation, all worked to undermine Lowell's traditional structure of authority, and to open up possibilities for increased worker power. Yet Miller also argues that wartime changes did not go all in one direction. Capital used the war to further profits, while elites dominated many of the wartime government agencies and used their domination to their advantage. Labor militants complained that the draft board, controlled by local elites, used its power to rid the community of "trouble makers." Women gained job mobility, but not authority. Women found that the war opened up new and better paying jobs, but these were still jobs that paid less than those of men. Women also did not have the possibility of promotion.

Ultimately, as the title of his book indicates, Miller argues that the war changed Lowell but failed to put the city on a trajectory for future growth and prosperity. With the war's end, Lowell's war plants closed, its mills continued a divestiture begun two decades before the war, its shops closed, and its youth looked to other towns and cities for work and homes.

The question of the consequences of the war for Lowell is of central importance for Miller. Unfortunately, it is unclear form either his evidence or his analysis what the ultimate impact of the war was. While Miller begins and ends his book with the suggestion that the war did not change the history of Lowell, he also suggests that the war altered people's lives, creating "new patterns." The question of whether these new patterns were permanent is not answered. What was the significance of the "new patterns?" Miller concludes on a deterministic note: the people of Lowell were victims of larger forces. This conclusion seems to be at odds with Miller's sympathy for the power of human agency, which is re-

flected in his choice of oral history as a methodology. The confusion about change and persistence might be resolved by arguing that the war changed people's histories, but not the city's. This unfortunately would raise other difficulties, however. The relationship between the history of a city, and the collective history of the people of the city would have to be addressed, for example. I am in sympathy with Miller's conclusion that the war ultimately did little to change Lowell's history, but that raises the question of the choice of Lowell as a subject of study.

Late-19th century historians prided themselves on avoiding theory or theorizing. History for them was simply an act of faith. One looked to the documents and the documents provided truth. But Miller is not a 19th-century historian. He begins with a historical question, and that question should have led him away from Lowell. Detroit, Pittsburgh, Gary, Los Angeles, or Oakland would have been far better cities to study. Lowell would have been an appropriate choice for study for the history of decline, or the impact of the war on older mill towns specifically. What the study of Lowell tells us about the impact of the war on America is, unfortunately, unclear.

Miller's work also raises another historical problem. Although Miller's use of oral history personalizes the story of Lowell and gives the reader a sense of how the people of Lowell understood their wartime experiences, it is not without problems. While much of Miller's oral history evidence is placed within the context of other historical sources, at times his oral history sources lead him to anecdotal reminiscences. The question of the significance of evidence seems to fade from view, and with it the critical and analytical analysis which allows a historian to transcend simple antiquarianism. Miller should have given more time to a detailed discussion of the problems of selective memory, the impact of ideological formations on memory, and the problems for the historian who is not only in dialogue with historical evidence, but is

creating that evidence. I am not asking a question of objectivity here, but rather of methodology. Miller does attempt to address these questions, but more needs to be done. The problem of oral history is not that interviewees might be confused about dates, nor is it solely a problem of projecting a positive image of the past. The problems of using oral history are deeply rooted in the nature of the practice itself. Unfortunately too often oral history is counterposed to existing documents with a class bias. To be sure, most traditional sources are documents of the dominant group. But it is the skill and talent of the historian to transcend that bias. To hunt for other sources is part of a process of writing good history, but to deal with the elite bias of one source by throwing up another biased source is not the answer. Ultimately as historians we should not let our sources dictate our history, our history should dictate our sources. What we produce should be neither the relativists' "everyman a historian" of Carl Becker, nor the history as self-evident truth of the late-19th century antiquarians.

Miller's book adds much to our understanding of the impact of the war on the people of Lowell — particularly working-class Americans. Despite some problems, there is much of value in this study, and it adds an important chapter to our understanding of the war years.

John T. Cumbler
University of Louisville

Ronald L. Filipelli, *American Labor and Postwar Italy, 1943-1953: A Study in Cold War Politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1989).

THE FORGING of United States hegemony in the "Free World" in the immediate postwar period has been the subject of much attention from historians in recent years. Western Europe in particular has been analyzed acutely in works by Charles Maier, Alan Milward and most recently, Michael Hogan. The appearance of Filipelli's book in the same year as

Federico Romero's impressive *Gli Stati Uniti e il sindacalismo europeo, 1944-1951* rounds out a small literature of high quality on American labour and efforts to defeat popular forces in order to institute a politics of stabilization in Italy.

Filipelli carefully analyzes the evolution of American labour's foreign policy and its anti-Communism. He notes that initially the AFL saw fascism as a bulwark against Communism, fascist dictatorship as perhaps necessary in some instances to prevent Communism. During the Depression, as a result of the rise of Hitler and the panoply of repressive measures he initiated in Germany, the AFL became firmly antifascist. Through its efforts to rescue European antifascist (but not Communist) trade unionists before US entry into World War II, the AFL had valuable contacts throughout the continent. These were placed at the disposal of the wartime OSS, the forerunner of the CIA. An important aspect of this cooperation concerned Italy, parts of which were liberated by the Allies in 1943.

Labour was particularly important in US strategy. In Italy as in a number of countries, workers and their organizations emerged from World War II as central components of a popular front of broad dimensions determined to institute changes that would redistribute wealth and power in society on an equitable basis. Italy's capitalists and traditional ruling class were hopelessly discredited by their embrace of fascism and their hostility to social change.

The OSS and AFL committed resources and money to resurrect elements within the Italian labour movement with which they could feel comfortable. Serafino Romualdi, who worked for both organizations, simultaneously expended great efforts to bolster the non-Communist Italian left. Initially, AFL policy anticipated that of the government on the issue of anti-Communism and then followed it.

Filipelli is at his best in describing the small worlds of the Italian-American labour leadership of New York City, the

shifting fortunes of AFL leaders interested in Italian affairs (very few and largely concentrated in the ILGWU) and the Italian social democrats with whom they mainly dealt. He shows well how the deepening Cold war pushed aside consideration of the specific national peculiarities of the Italian situation. David Dubinsky, Jay Lovestone, George Meany, Irving Brown, and Thomas Lane increasingly took control of AFL efforts in Italy and identified unequivocally with State Department initiatives. The relationship between the AFL, the US government, and the CIA is here exposed as extremely close.

Filipelli argues convincingly that the effects of US intervention in Italy unnecessarily weakened the non-Communist unions. State Department and AFL politics, which he regards as indistinguishable after 1947, increasingly intruded into the Italian labour scene. Social democrats dependent on US financing were bullied by them into courses of action and timetables they considered unwise. The AFL was instrumental in forcing a split of the Italian labour movement into three. For Italian workers, the result for the next decade was relegation to among the lowest paid in the developed world despite high annual growth rates and profit margins.

Even US government aid packages, especially the Marshall Aid program, come under fire from Filipelli. American policy, based upon assumptions regarding industrial cooperation, productivity, and pure-and-simple unionism were simply alien to Italian conditions. In trying to force square pegs into round holes, the Americans made out of the non-Communist labour movement "an international charity case" (189) and for Italian labour as a whole the Marshall Plan was, in the words of one CIO official, "a miserable failure." (201) For the AFL, however, everything was fine. The plight of Italian workers was secondary to stopping the expansion of Communism which they believed they had accomplished.

Filipelli has brought to readers clearly and cogently a case study of the effects of

US labour's intervention in the postwar world. He has also underlined the close relationship of US labour and its government in supporting conservative elements in societies they regarded as threatened by Communism. From the point of view of this European observer, the book would have been even better if Filipelli had drawn out the incompatibility of interests involved when labour subordinates itself to bourgeois governments in dealing with foreign workers. Workers themselves can only suffer.

Criticisms of the book cannot outweigh the achievement of the author. However, there are a few. Filipelli concentrates overwhelmingly on the activities of the AFL. It was indeed the major American labour participant in Italy. CIO involvement was consistent but not backed by the same resources or intimate links to the US government. Nevertheless, Filipelli offers us tantalizing glimpses of major CIO influences like George Baldanzi and Walter Reuther. After 1952, CIO involvement in European affairs strengthened, especially with the advent of Walter Reuther to the CIO presidency, the appointment of Jacob Potofsky to chair the CIO International Affairs Committee and of Walter's brother Victor as CIO European Representative. In addition, we see little of the Italian participants in this period beyond those most intimately involved with the Americans. The thinking of Italy's doomed social democrats is extremely well revealed, but less so that of the Christian Democratic trade unionists and still less that of the Nenni Socialists and the Communists. Individual leaders like Pastori, Nenni and Di Vittorio are made to carry the entire burden of filling this gap. In other words, Italian workers and their families do not find here too much of a forum to express their own feelings during the period.

Filipelli has made an important contribution to our understanding of the origins of the AFL role in the postwar world. In examining Italy he has gone a long way toward reevaluating the standard inter-

pretations of American labour foreign policy given us by Ronald Radosh on the one hand and Roy Godson on the other. More interesting for students of modern Italy, it offers a balance to studies concentrating on government-to-government or political party relations.

Stephen Burwood
Alfred University

Howard Jacob Karger, ed., *Social Workers and Labor Unions* (New York: Greenwood Press 1988).

THIS BOOK IS a collection of thirteen essays, nine of which are authored or co-authored by Howard Karger, a professor of social work at the University of Missouri. Several of the essays appeared previously elsewhere. Only one essay examines the history of social work and unionism, Karger's "A History of Early Social Work and Labor Union, 1900-1947," but others do use historical information in attempts to place their themes in perspective. Karger's other essays examine "Common Goals of Labor and Social Work," "Unions and Social Work Licensure," "Reclassification: NASW and the Unions," "Compatibility of Labor and Social Work," "Labor Relations Laws and Social Workers," "De-Skilling Social Workers: The Industrial Model of Production and the Delivery of Social Services," "Social Workers and Public-Sector Labor Relations: A Case Study of the Missouri Department of Social Services and the Communications Workers of America," and, with Larry W. Kreuger, "Computer Technology and Human Services." In addition, David Stoesz contributed "Privatization: Prospects for Unionizing Social Workers," Frederic G. Reamer, "Social Workers and Unions: Ethical Dilemmas," Milton Tambor, "The Social Service Union in the Workplace," and Leslie B. Alexander, "Professionalization and Unionization: Compatible After All?"

One of the realities that a reader of *Social Workers and Labor Unions* must

contend with are factual errors owing to different estimates of similar phenomena made at the different times the essays were originally written. A glaring error is the estimate of the number of unionized social workers in the United States. The author states in the "Preface" that there are 125,000 unionized social workers (xiii); in Chapter 1, which he wrote approximately four years before the preface, he tells us there are more than "72,000 unionized social workers." (27)

George Bernard Shaw's often-quoted maxim that "professions are conspiracies against the laity" seems relevant in reviewing this book, particularly when the author waxes somewhat nostalgically about the rank-and-file movement of the 1930s and early 1940s which attempted to unionize some social workers and whose failure is the subject of one of the best scholarly debates in the book — the debate between Karger and John Earl Haynes on the reasons for its demise. It should be pointed out that there is still a vocal and effective segment of US social workers who believe unionization is most compatible with social work values and goals. *Catalyst: A Socialist Journal of Social Services* regularly publishes these perspectives.

Of special interest to the Canadian audience are Leslie B. Alexander's comments on the differences in attitudes towards labour unions between Canadian and US social workers. She cites Joan Pennell, who found that Canadian social workers find unionization to be compatible with their professional objectives in a contrast to the experience of most US social workers.

A recurrent theme is one by now familiar to students of social work history: a central reason why social workers did not (and have not universally) embraced unionism was because of the "lure of professionalism" (24), a term used loosely to signify a quest for status and credibility. Karger admits, however, that "despite antiunion feelings, (inherent in a quest for professional status?) greater numbers of social workers have joined and are actively participating in union activities."

What we don't learn is exactly what types of social workers by field of practice (for example, mental health, child welfare, family counselling, medical social work, school social work, corrections, etc.) and professional education and training were and are attracted to unionization. Also relevant is whether or not that social work activity was or is carried on in "public" settings, those supported principally by tax revenues or in government-sponsored social services or in "private" contexts, those funded by insurance vendors, charitable contributions, or a mixture of "private" and "public" funds. In fact, many persons who earn their livelihood by employment in social service work may never have received any professional social work education and training; nevertheless, they may be given the title "social worker" by either "public" or "private" social service organizations.

Much of the book explicates contemporary problems faced by professional social work in the United States as seen in the struggles of social work's major national professional association, the National Association of Social Workers, to gain membership and legitimacy to represent social workers. Karger writes, "By 1985 there were 448,000 persons employed as social workers: out of that number only about 200,000 held social work degrees; about 140,000 had an MSW or higher degree; and about 60,000 had BSW degrees. Over half of the social service labor force has no formal social work training." (47)

Karger's case study of social workers and public-sector labour relations, "The Missouri Department of Social Services and the Communications Workers of America," asks if the industrial model of labour relations can work effectively for professional social work employees who often find that the "crisis-related nature of their work" undermines capacity to determine the specific number of hours they may have to work. In this case, professional ethics demand that clients' needs be met, and responding to that need might be impossible in a setting where a strict labour relations contract sets specific

work hours. This is not a mundane professional dilemma for professional social workers. It presents very real value dilemmas for a field which has historically seen "client needs" as determinative of professional social work "practice."

Contemporary social work interest in "practicing" — note the analogy to legal or medical practice, a term used to represent what social workers "do" — in industrial settings is in large measure a response to the gradual recognition by business that it may be more economically beneficial to assist workers with problems than to "fire" them. Social work practice in employee assistance programs (EAPs) is an emerging specialization today. This phenomenon must be understood within the context of a central theme of this book: as Straussner and Phillips have asked, "Can labor unions and private industry (or the public sector) work together with the social work profession to ensure the provision of social welfare service for workers?"

Karger's book, despite its eclectic approach, is an important contribution to the study of the peculiar history of social work and unionization. It explores the dilemmas of a profession which purports to be "client-centered" as it functions in bureaucratic and industrial settings whose purposes may run counter to those of social work. Reamer's essay, "Social Workers and Unions: Ethical Dilemmas," presents well these historical and contemporary dilemmas.

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Barry E. Truchil, *Capital-Labour Relations in the U.S. Textile Industry* (New York: Praeger 1988).

BARRY TRUCHIL'S study of the evolution of capital-labour relationships in the US primary textile industry concludes that a combination of factors, technological innovation, the relocation of textile capital, and state policies, have weakened labour's position vis-a-vis capital since

World War II. While this conclusion is not unexpected, it is useful to have the process examined in detail and to have the consequences for workers of seemingly neutral measures such as liberalized depreciation allowances for labour-saving machinery spelled out.

Truchil's view is that few actions are neutral; all of the antagonisms which characterize labour-capital relationships are interdependent. He describes pre-World War II textile manufacturing as a competitive industry in which many small mills competed with each other and with foreign firms. Although the industry had been a pioneer in the introduction of factory production methods in the 19th century, Truchil argues that in the first half of the 20th century it was technologically stagnant. Labour productivity was low and labour costs formed a high proportion of total costs. Because labour costs were high (although wages were low) textile capital was unusually antagonistic to any form of labour organization. Traditionally, textile labour had been weak; much of the work was unskilled or semi-skilled and roughly half of the labour force was female with little tradition of labour activism. In spite of these disadvantages, organized labour made considerable strides in organizing textile workers in the years immediately prior to World War II.

At home, the industry relied on cheap labour to remain competitive; abroad, it depended on tariff protection. Just as the union drive of the late 1930s threatened its supply of cheap labour, the post-war move towards freer trade removed much of the industry's protection against foreign competitors. This opening of the American textile market occurred at the same time competition from low-wage countries on the Pacific rim was increasing. Textile capital's reaction to the twin threats of militant labour and foreign competition forms the core of this book.

Labour received the brunt of the counter offensive; lower tariffs were part of a shift in American global policy which textile capital could not reverse although it did blunt the effects by seeking import

quotas and government assistance in restoring its competitive position. The attack on labour followed two lines. One was to reduce labour requirements through increased mechanization. New machinery, more efficiently designed mills and the widespread use of synthetics allowed the industry to reduce employment by 27 per cent between 1950 and 1976 while productivity increased 124 per cent. The other line of attack was to roll back organized labour's gains. The industry accelerated a transfer of mills from the northeastern states where unions were comparatively strong to the south-east where they were weak. It sought, and generally received, aid from the state in defeating the unions; this ranged from police assistance in breaking strikes at the local level to the Taft-Hartley Act, which permitted state governments to pass right-to-work laws, at the federal level. Government economic aid, designed to raise productivity and make the industry competitive with foreign producers, also weakened labour as it reduced the number of employees. Finally, capital weakened the appeal of unions through wage increases and improved benefits for non-union plants at the same time it fought organization drives and strikes with every weapon at its command. The industry's anti-union drive was greatly strengthened by growing concentration in the industry; large firms with several plants were generally better placed to resist labour's demands than were smaller, single-plant, firms. Although organized labour responded to capital's counterattack with a number of innovative measures, such as the boycott of J.P. Steven's products, it suffered serious losses; between 1948 and 1973 union membership in the textile industry fell from 38 to 23 per cent.

Truchil relates textile capital's strong anti-union attitude to the competitive nature of the industry and contrasts it to the more tolerant attitude of capital in more monopolistic industries such as automobile manufacture. Perhaps. However, this assertion cannot be supported by reference to the experience of the Canadian

industry. The Canadian cotton industry which, until recently, was the key segment of the primary textile industry, has been oligopolistic since the 1890s when the predecessors of Dominion Textile and Canadian Cottons were formed. In spite of the lack of competition in the industry, Canadian capital has viewed labour unions with a hostility equal to that shown by American textile capital. In the 1950s and 1960s the Canadian industry faced challenges similar to those of the American industry and used tactics similar to those used in the United States to roll back the gains which textile unions had made during the 1930s and 1940s. Between the end of the war and 1968, Dominion Textile, the largest Canadian firm, reduced employment from 13,000 to 8,500 while doubling its sales.

In his conclusion, Truchil states "the unfolding of the system is neither predetermined nor subject to the control and wishes of any specific social class." (153) However, his own very thorough account of the recent history of the American textile industry makes it difficult to conceive of any other unfolding of events within the present capitalist framework which assumes the basic right of capitalists "to locate production facilities and to transform the labor process as they see fit in order to control labor and maximize profits and competitiveness." (152) When this framework is internationalized through the medium of liberalized trade policies, the possibility of any conclusion other than the weakening of labour's position becomes increasingly unlikely.

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Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988).

PETER NOVICK'S *That Noble Dream* is a monumental history of the formation and development of the American historical profession over the last one hundred

years. In the 1880s, inspired by the technical achievements of German historians and by the positivism that dominated intellectual life, a group of university historians formulated a new conception of their activity. Against the earlier, unabashedly "literary" — that is, overtly rhetorical and moralistic — histories of Francis Parkman and George Bancroft, these new historians believed that historical writing should adhere to the same standard that governed the natural sciences: namely, the idea of objectivity. For historians such as Herbert Baxter Adams and Frederick Jackson Turner, the past was to be treated as an independent, external reality that could be apprehended by the direct empirical observation of a disciplined, unprejudiced mind.

A new research program based on these assumptions quickly came to dominate university departments, but, as Novick points out, the histories that were actually produced were no more objective than those of earlier historians. The self-styled objectivists subscribed uncritically to many of the prejudices of their age, allowing, for example, the prevailing racism to ground their interpretations of slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. Objectivity was able to serve as the "founding myth" of the profession only because there was a general agreement and optimism about certain social issues, and that happy consensus, in turn, was made possible by the profession's religious, ethnic, class, and gender homogeneity.

The ideal of objectivity was reevaluated before and especially after World War I by progressive and "relativist" historians such as Charles Beard and Carl Becker. Some of the objectivists' conceptions of Anglo-Teutonic supremacy and of the advance of the West were challenged in new interpretations of the American Revolution and slavery and in the debate over the question of war guilt. But this dissension with the reigning beliefs of the profession was beaten back by the ideological mobilization that came with and after the next World War. From the 1940s to the early 1960s, the profes-

sion regrouped to defend the ideal of objectivity and to reassert a consensual optimism in the progress of the liberal West. The period after World War II also witnessed the maturing of the profession as an institution. There was an unprecedented expansion of universities and hence demand for historians; history departments became fully autonomous (no longer did wealthy patrons and college presidents make faculty appointments); and the profession became more oriented to research and more meritocratic — that last development shown in the putting aside of much of the antisemitism that once kept Jews from being hired.

By the early 1960s harmony and professionalism seemed to have triumphed; historians and others now spoke of the "end of ideology." But these self-congratulatory proclamations of having entered an era of total objectivity were followed in the late sixties and early seventies by an intense, "hyperideological" conflict. The student opposition that appeared against the Vietnam War produced, especially at Wisconsin and Columbia, radical historians who turned against the assumptions of their teachers. In the acrimony and debate that followed — which Novick illustrates with a discussion of revisionism in American diplomatic history — the profession became polarized. This collapse of consensus was accompanied in the late 1970s with a collapse of the academic employment market — a development that aggravated the profession's sense of crisis.

By the early 1980s, many of the ideological tensions in the profession were mitigated as New Left historians were incorporated into departments, but the turmoil of the Vietnam War era wrought changes in the profession that are still with us. It reoriented the mainstream of the profession away from the writing of national political history to the writing of social history. It provoked a conservative reaction — a "hyperobjectivist" backlash that, in the notorious David Abraham affair of the mid-1980s, destroyed the career of a promising young historian. And

it resulted in a "fragmentation" of the profession, in the emergence of certain groups, mainly, in black and feminist history, that rejected the objectivist assumption that everyone was capable of attaining a position of unprejudiced historical observer. According to this "particularism," an accurate history of an oppressed group could only be written by members of that group. Novick concludes that this last development, combined with recent "hyperrelativist" theories, especially from literary criticism, have left the ideal of objectivity in near ruins. The profession is on the verge of collapsing into atomized groups no longer able to speak to each other.

Novick is highly suspicious both of the profession's assertions of objectivity and of the philosophical coherence of that idea. His awareness of problems with both the profession's claims and with the idea in itself enables him to point out many of the ironies and self-deceptions of objectivist historical practice. He shows, for example that the original claims to doing scrupulous scientific history were based on thinly-researched doctoral theses. The notion of professional excellence ended up institutionalizing mediocrity. The profession's call for relentless criticism was all too frequently compromised by a need to ensure consensus and comity: hence editors of the *American Historical Review* would excise reviewers' negative remarks about works of leading historians. The success of the profession has resulted in the separation of historians from a larger public — and ultimately from each other. The profession has become so prolific in its research that it has disabled the individual historian: one can no longer be more than the master of a narrow specialization. The belief of radical feminist historians that men and women have incommensurate natures was successfully used to justify work differences and pay differentials in the 1980s legal case of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission v. Sears, Roebuck and Co.

Novick's critical analysis of objectiv-

ism leads him to embrace "perspectivism" — namely, the view that one's particular interests, sensibility, background, etc., crucially determine one's understanding and representation of the world. On this theory, the position of all-knowing neutral observer is impossible and hence objective history unattainable. But although Novick offers a searching analysis of the profession's crippled objectivism and although he professes to have repudiated that troubled principle, in one important respect he has not fully thought out the consequences of his analysis and the problems surrounding the issue of objectivity. This can be illustrated by considering a striking inconsistency in the book: Novick rejects the ideal of objectivity and its privileged historical point of view, but he still writes *as if* he subscribes to both. In his examination of New Left revisionism in diplomatic history, for example, he tells us that "there were errors and exaggerations in revisionist work, along with other defects.... Gabriel Kolko consistently overestimated calculation and continuity in American policy ... and he could be reasonably charged with giving Soviet versions of events a benefit of the doubt which they did not deserve." This judgement is clearly objectivist in its assumptions: Novick is saying that some historians have failed to get the world right, implying thereby that he knows how to tell what it means to get the world right. There is a discrepancy between his skepticism about objectivism and a rhetorical and argumentative mode that presupposes it. The typically objectivist form of the book runs counter to its message — its story of objectivism's impossibility. Novick fails to confront the question of whether modern non-objectivist historical representation is logically and rhetorically possible; of how it could operate or what it would look like. By not dealing with those issues and by assuming instead that an anti-objectivist can simply go on writing in an objectivist mode, he leaves us in a logical quandary — what a deconstructionist would call an "aporia." The profession appears to be trapped in a

structure of contradictory, self-subverting intention: historians assume their objectivity, but their writings repeatedly demonstrate that objectivity is impossible; they claim to do without it, but they then write as if it were already true.

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David Lewin and Richard B. Peterson, *The Modern Grievance Procedure in the United States* (New York: Quorum Books 1988).

FORMAL GRIEVANCE procedures, culminating in some form of binding arbitration, are almost universal in North American collective bargaining. Their ubiquity is not a matter of empty form: the procedures are heavily used. Lewin and Peterson estimate that 1.2 million written grievances were filed by unionized workers in the United States in 1986; if grievances settled informally before being reduced to writing are included, the number swells to nearly 11 million. Despite the apparent significance of these procedures, their workings and outcomes have received much less scholarly analysis than such other collective bargaining institutions as contract negotiation or arbitral decision-making. Lewin and Peterson supply an extensive review of the existing literature, which they find to be limited in scope and sophistication, or overly anecdotal. *Modern Grievance Procedure* is an ambitious attempt to redress the balance through an extensive, highly-structured quantitative study.

Lewin and Peterson study the organization, operation and outcomes of grievance procedures in four United States industries. The steel industry, composed of many employers and heavily organized by the USWA for two generations, represented largely male, blue-collar occupations in private industry. Female, white-collar workers in the private sector were represented by clerical and sales workers in the retail department store industry, dominated by multi-plant employers, and

relatively recently organized by the RWDSU and UFCW. Two groups of professional workers were included, both largely female and mostly unorganized before the 1960s: nurses in non-profit hospitals (organized by the ANA) and public school teachers (NEA/AFT). With extensive co-operation from the unions and managements involved, the authors surveyed and interviewed participants in the grievance process for a sample of employers in each industry, and carried out a content analysis of the grievance-related files maintained by one employer in each group.

The authors found that while grievance, settlement and arbitration rates varied by industry, the number of grievances declined during the 1980-82 recession and grievance activity generally increased just before contract negotiations. These findings suggest a positive relationship between grievance rates and union militancy. There were also interindustry differences in the perceived importance of grievance issues (highest in steel; lowest in retail trade) and fairness of settlements (highest in teaching; lowest in nursing and trade). Several factors consistently contributed to higher grievance and arbitration rates, lengthier proceedings, and more widespread perceptions that the issues were important and the outcomes fair: these included management or union insistence on taking certain grievances through the whole procedure, union policies requiring that grievances be in writing; the availability of expedited arbitration procedures; and adversarial labour relations. Expedited procedures appeared to be the most effective, both in terms of the speed of settlement and perceived equity. There were interindustry differences in the subject matter of grievances: discipline, health and safety, and management rights figure prominently in steel; union security and work assignment in retail trade; discipline and workload in the hospitals; health and safety and work assignments in the public schools. In all industries, grievors were more likely than non-grievors to be young, male, black, and

relatively well-educated.

Union and management officials report that grievance activity has a direct and substantial impact on collective bargaining: issues that are raised first in grievances tend to make their way onto the negotiating agenda. This suggests that grievances serve a useful and important role not only in solving immediate problems but in shaping the terms and conditions of employment generally. Indeed, both managers and union officials expressed satisfaction with the procedure. But at the same time, the immediate outcomes tend to deter its use. There was some evidence that non-grievors were deterred from using the grievance procedure by fear of reprisals. Such fears would not have been unfounded. One of Lewin and Peterson's clearest and most important findings is that in the year following grievance settlement, both grievors and the supervisors against whom they grieved had lower performance ratings, fewer promotions, poorer attendance records and higher turnover rates than their peers. Among grievors, those who won their grievances fared the worst.

This volume can be distinguished from other studies of the grievance process not only by its coverage but also by the range and complex interactions of the variables examined and by its focus on grievance outcomes and the effectiveness of grievance procedures. The authors develop a sophisticated analytic model and apply rigorous statistical tests for the interrelations between a whole battery of dependent and independent variables. Unfortunately for the general reader, the very complexity of the research apparatus — which makes this study so much more interesting and useful than most of its predecessors — tends to get in the way of assimilating the principal findings. Lewin and Peterson have attempted to address this problem with section and chapter summaries, but the fact remains that this book is as much about research design as about grievance procedures, so that those more interested in labour relations than methodology should expect to have to

travel long distances across quite arid plateaux between what are undeniably arresting observations and insights. The journey, though exhausting, is worth the trouble.

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Alexander Cockburn, *Corruptions of Empire: Life Studies & The Reagan Era* (London: Verso 1988).

THE PAST DECADE in the US has seen increased concentration of ownership in the media/publishing/entertainment industries. Gannett Corporation bought up local newspapers at a rapid rate and produced the first national newspaper, *USA Today*, better known as "News McNuggets". Rupert Murdoch invaded the US market, buying newspapers and assembling a fourth television network. Venerable NBC was bought by General Electric. Time and Warner Brothers have merged to form Time-Warner.

Decisions affecting the integrity and independence of the press are thus made by an ever decreasing number of individuals. Independent and local voices are fast being submerged in the corporate bottom line. A.J. Liebling's comment, "Freedom of the press is limited to those who own one," never seemed more apt.

Alexander Cockburn's *Corruptions of Empire* stands in stark contrast to this brave new world of 'infotainment'. The book is a collection of articles which Cockburn, a British journalist resident in the US since 1972, wrote from the mid-1970s through 1988 and which appeared in such improbably diverse publications as *House and Garden*, *The Nation*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *Village Voice*, among others. The articles from *Village Voice* were co-written with James Ridgeway.

Cockburn made his mark as an acerbic critic of the mainstream press. A typical Cockburn article examines — and sometimes parodies — the way the press reports a story and then provides an alternate view. In a sense, Cockburn is a spir-

itual heir of I.F. Stone, though neither kinder nor gentler than Stone.

It is often difficult to construct a coherent book from previously published articles, and *Corruptions of Empire* is best read as a chronicle of the Age of Reagan. Its purpose is to show how political and journalistic culture changes between Watergate and the Iran/Contra scandal and to expose "the role of the press in articulating and hence validating the concepts and images of the Reagan era."

Corruptions of Empire is less successful in the former, but succeeds brilliantly in the latter. Cockburn and Ridgeway together do a better job of analyzing electoral politics than Cockburn on his own. Cockburn's greatest success lies in demystifying the symbols of Reaganism. He punctures its overblown and self-congratulatory rhetoric and makes a good case for the press's complicity in Reaganism.

Cockburn writes about the newly-re-commissioned battleship, U.S.S. *New Jersey*, as embodying "Reagan's armor-plated relationship to the modern world." In reality, as events in Lebanon showed, battleships can do little to advance untenable policies.

A short article, "You Just Mugged My Heart," shows Cockburn at his irrevocably best, stringing together a series of seemingly unrelated items to draw a sardonic conclusion. Starting with the Jarvik artificial heart, described as "a giant step forward in the commodification of the human body," Cockburn moves to the newly-introduced standup toothpaste dispenser, described as a symbol of a newly erect America and a "simulacrum of a male Caucasian sexual member," until he reaches his destination — a nuclear missile. In six paragraphs, Cockburn ties it all together and sets it against the invasion of Grenada.

Cockburn's articles on Central America are invaluable in exposing the biases in the US press coverage of that region. In 1981, he showed how the press promoted the notion of US support for a middle way in Central America and

placed it in the context of other US efforts to support non-existent moderates against progressive or communist movements. In "The Tricoteuse of Counterrevolution," he examines Shirley Christian's reporting from Argentina, Chile and Central America for *The Miami Herald* and *The New York Times* and finds in her work a prime example of "the rightward swerve of mainstream journalism."

Perhaps more than any other journalist, Cockburn works consistently at dispelling the subjective fog surrounding the concept of terrorism. When the Iran/Contra scandal broke in 1986, reporters scurried to find out about Michael Ledeen, the mysterious consultant on terrorism. In 1981, Cockburn had already cast his spotlight on him and his role in formulating the Reagan view of terrorism. Cockburn's articles show the way the US administration has used counterterrorism as a justification for a myriad of otherwise unsaleable policies.

But Cockburn does more than analyze other reporters' work. He makes a conscious effort to report the views and work of people who are not the usual sources for other journalists. *Corruptions of Empire* includes an extensive interview with Boris Kagarlitsky, a supporter of Boris Yeltsin, which gives the reader a different perspective on the early days of *glasnost* and *perestroika*. "Karl and Fred: Driving into the Sunset" provides the reader with a lively commentary on Reaganomics from the perspective of radical political economists at University of California/Riverside.

Cockburn's strength as a weekly commentator on Reaganism is that he has a memory. His articles are not written in the vacuum of today's news. He obviously keeps a voluminous clipping file and he presents his reader with context. When someone starts playing the same old song, Cockburn exhumes the original and puts the two side by side. The polemical style and caustic language may put off some people and provide people with an excuse to ignore his work. But his articles are a powerful antidote to the in-

creasingly homogenized and sanitized news now being marketed. At a time when the distinctions among news, corporate public relations, and entertainment are nebulous, Cockburn's jaundiced eye is needed.

One final note. His adversarial attitude toward official Washington may in part be explained by genetics: "I came from a family whose earliest connections with America had been the brusque torching of the White House and Capitol by Admiral Sir George Cockburn in the War of 1812." In *Corruptions of Empire*, Cockburn continues to torch the White House and Capitol. The book is worth reading as a chronicle of the golden Age of Reagan. It also will shed light on the same themes as replayed by George Bush.

John Peter Olinger
Washington, DC

David Levine, *Reproducing Families: The Political Economy of English Population History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1987).

I AM GLAD THAT this book has happened, but it has to be said that it is a book in search of an editor. At times it is less like a book than a long private letter written to another congenial scholar, in which ideas are tossed around and tried out. The style and manner change abruptly. I found the Introduction so whimsical that it blocked my entry into the rest of the book for several months. Then I found the first chapter (on "Feudalism and the Peasant Family") fascinating. Presumably this is the period with which David Levine is least familiar (as I am) but he made up for this by careful documentation, and by deploying his argument with clarity and rigor. I was glad that he paid attention to masters in the field (Postan and Hilton), and to the ongoing researches of such scholars as Christopher Dyer, R.M. Smith, Rosamond Faith and Zvi Razi. I was glad that he refuses to tangle with Alan Macfarlane (there is no mention of him in this book, despite the fact that he

shares with Levine — although for different reasons — a respect for Malthus), since Macfarlane's excessively self-assured and heavily-ideological stance in his *Marriage and Love in England* lead only to confusion. Levine's is very much the better book, although Macfarlane's will get more attention.

Alas, the clarity and logic of this first chapter do not always command the central sections of the book, which cover early modern times and the industrial revolution, where Levine's growing expertise (he can call upon his Terling and Shephed reserves) leads him to incaution. The writing becomes uneven, with suggestive and original hypotheses lying alongside commonplaces, with a didactic style (punctuated with heavily-italicized key-words: *cottage economy*, *proletarian demography model*, *proto-industrialization*) alternating with somewhat self-conscious and hesitant exploration. In the final chapter Levine romps off on a long (and not very expert) discourse on primary school education, which the alert reader will note has been occasioned by a half-hidden polemic against propositions of J.C. Caldwell in two articles in *Population and Development Review*, articles which only specialists in demography are likely to have read.

I do not mind books which are eccentric, enthusiastic, exploratory, or even whimsical. Levine tells us this book "was written in an exuberant period of five months." This is a good way to write the first draft of a book, and greatly to be preferred to the warmed-over doctoral thesis or the textbook tailored to course assignments which we more usually get. Yet such writing does require a little revision, and can benefit from editorial assistance. The book appears in a series ("Themes in the Social Sciences") which has a stable-full of prestigious "editors" — John Dunn, Jack Goody, Eugene A. Hammel, Geoffrey Hawthorne, Charles Tilly — but perhaps editors too prestigious and too busy to do any editing? What Levine's book needed was a rigorous in-house editor, who could have

pointed out to him the many repetitions and breaks in logical flow, perhaps sending it back with suggestions for revision. Maybe such editorial intervention was offered and refused, and maybe not. Cambridge University Press historical publications in the past few years have not given one confidence, and excellent, mediocre and plainly poor books have been thrown out pell-mell, one after another. There is little evidence of the kind of editorial disciplines (and the support-network of expert publisher's readers) that one should expect from a major academic press. Everything these days is hype and presentation. One has to make these points, because *Reproducing Families* could, with editorial attention and with some revision, have been a much better book. Again and again one feels that Levine's structure of historical argument could have been presented not only with more brevity but with greater clarity.

The central structure of the argument is clear enough. After the Black Death and the demographic crises of the 14th century, a peasantry with a greatly improved bargaining power settled into a self-regulating (homeostatic) regime, in which by deferred marriage (especially of women) population grew only slowly and the rural surplus, in the late 17th and in the 19th centuries, was in good part carried to the growing towns (London especially, with its decades of deficit) or exported in emigration to the colonies.

At the centre of this demographic regime was the cottage economy, in which the working population was not fully proletarianised, but still had some access to use-rights in land through dwarf landholdings, garden plots, common rights to grazing and fuel, and looked to wage labour not as the sole resource of subsistence but as a supplement in harvest or in time of need. In such a regime the community more or less found spaces for newly-weds (either through the death or retirement of parents or by other means) but weddings might be delayed until such space was found. Population growth was moderate and was "marriage driven." Levine makes

careful use of the findings of Wrigley and Schofield's *Population History* to note moments of acceleration or deceleration. The cottage economy was given a prolonged lease on life by the proto-industrial phase, which, however, saw a shift towards a "proletarian model" in the demand for children's labour and in facilitating earlier marriage. Then towards the end of the 19th century the cottage economy, which had been under the pressure of the increasing land-deprivation and proletarianization of the peasantry over the previous two hundred years, collapsed rapidly as agriculture (assisted by the great wave of parliamentary enclosures) became fully capitalist in character. In response the "peasant demography model" gave way to the "proletarian demography model," in which the age of marriage fell by several years, illegitimacy rates rose sharply, and celibacy declined. The demographic consequences were very marked. Levine estimates that "the replacement rate of the *proletarian demography model* was far above that of the *peasant demography model* — each generation of proletarian demography meant a 52 per cent increase in the base population as opposed to a 17 per cent rise in the peasant model." (90) Such rates of increase are found during the French wars, and Levine sees a "Malthusian moment" at which time Malthus's arguments were well-founded and, in particular, he shares Malthus's view that parish allowances encouraged a lowering of the age of marriage and the breeding of children.

This is all fascinating. Sometimes it is well illustrated and sustained; sometimes it is not. At one point Levine says that this demographic history might be written out in terms of the history of the Poor Law; but he does not give us this history in any detail, and, indeed, his references to the working of the Old Poor Law are somewhat distanced. If we are now shown in any detail how the parish allowance systems worked out, it is difficult to judge how far Malthus (or Levine) have identified the mechanisms and pressures at work. A number of marginal issues might

have been given less space, and an examination of the workings of the Poor Law between 1780 and 1830 might have been given more.

Central to the study is the very welcome emphasis on the "cottage economy." In this Levine is swimming with the tide of healthy historical revision. In the decades when a certain kind of economic history agenda dominated the study of the social history of the 17th and 18th centuries, there was a common error of confusing acres and products with the fortunes of people. We had as the central problematic the "agricultural revolution" (was it to be pitched in the 16th, 17th, or 18th centuries?) and all was resumed in the growing product for the market. What this overlooked was that in many village communities, the majority of people (and demography arises from people and not from acres or markets) did not take much part in this triumphal market process. They clung on to marginal use-rights, supplemented by wage labour from time to time, and were recruited into the growing proto-industrial and outwork sectors. In pastoral districts — as Kussmaul has shown — the practice long survived of living-in farm servants, who saved their earnings until they could set up a cottage household on marriage. Lindert's upward revision of Gregory King's estimates of those in (often rural) industrial occupations is part of the same revision of emphasis as we find in Levine, as indeed is much of the protoindustrialization discussion, as are recent overviews of the 18th century (from Malcolmson, Rule, Maxine Berg, Pat Hudson, Sonenscher and others), and as are the increasingly expert studies of early modern historians (for example, John Walter, "The social economy of dearth in early modern England," in Walter and Schofield, ed., *Famine, disease, and the social order in early modern society*). Close attention being given by 18th-century historians (Searle, J.M. Martin, Snell, and others) to the long surviving forms of copyhold and of common right, and (especially in the work of J.M. Neeson) the actual practice of common

right usage, also bears this out. The long-submerged English peasantry is coming back into view; demographically, it was a potent force. Levine's book has come at the right time and his "cottage economy" is moving into the center of scholarly concern.

David Levine has written a provocative and stimulating essay on the political economy of demography at a time when this is needed. He insists that "demography and economy were fused together and it is misleading to split them in an arbitrary manner." We must locate "the impact of social relations of production with the grid of private relations of reproduction." *Reproducing Families* is continually drawing attention to the economic, social, and cultural determinants upon reproduction, and the reproductive determinants upon economic possibility, social norms and cultural expectations: "the arrows" (as Levine says) flow both ways. This book has demolished an academic Berlin Wall, which segregated demography from economic and social history. Even if some parts of it are better than others, it is a significant event and I am very glad that it has happened.

E.P. Thompson
Rutger's University

E.A. Wrigley, *Continuity, Chance, and Change: The Character of the Industrial Revolution in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988).

IN THIS SLIM VOLUME, comprising the McArthur Lectures at Cambridge University in 1987, E.A. Wrigley offers a sweeping reinterpretation of the industrial revolution. Wrigley agrees with recent scholarship in stretching out the period over which the industrial revolution occurred. Like other recent scholars, he emphasizes the slowness of the process and its limited impact on per capita real income until sometime after 1830 (or 1850), which has led some to advocate jettisoning the term "industrial revolution" altogether, though Wrigley, who conceded the inappropri-

ateness of the term, is not among them. But here the similarities end.

For Wrigley, there were two revolutions: the first, a revolution of the "organic economy" (the old agricultural revolution writ large), occurred in the 17th and 18th centuries during which agriculture greatly increased the per-capita output of food, supplied the raw materials for industry, and fodder for horses. By the beginning of the 19th century, according to Wrigley, this revolution had attained its limits, which is reflected in the pessimism of the classical economists, who, Wrigley argues, saw the situation clearly. Already, growing population was pressing hard on limited organic resources, making for an uncertain future.

Then, to the rescue of this stagnating organic economy, came a second revolution, that of the "inorganic economy." This revolution, which began after 1830, was based primarily upon the use of coal for energy. Though coal had long been used in England, as Wrigley recognizes, it only realized its full potential with the advent of a predominantly mineral-based economy. The coming of the second revolution was "accidental" in that it bore only a casual, rather than a causal relationship with the first. Since the supply of coal and other inorganic raw materials was (until recently) seemingly inexhaustible, the limitations of the organic economy were transcended, opening up the prospect for an end to poverty, and, by raising per-capita real income, constitutes the true industrial revolution.

This, in brief, is Wrigley's thesis, and although it loses much of its persuasive power in this summary, there are some points in its favor. In stretching out the timing of the revolution(s) over several centuries, and lowering the assessment of the progress that had been achieved by 1830, Wrigley is undoubtedly right. And, he does well to remind us of the importance of energy supplies and inorganic raw materials to industrialization. But before jumping on the bandwagon, it gives one pause to observe that most of the usual "causes" found in current interpre-

tations have been either ignored or rejected. Wrigley's revolution is one-dimensional, a supply-side explanation based upon natural resources. Demand, technological advance, and the contribution of human resources, especially labour, are ignored or taken for granted. The expansion of overseas and domestic markets and the stimulus they afforded to improved technology are missing. Is there, as Wrigley would have us believe, no causal connection between agricultural and industrial growth? Although the focus is Anglocentric, are we to conclude that countries without plentiful supplies of cheap coal could not, and did not, industrialize?

By supplying economic historians with material for debate, Wrigley's thesis will contribute to the destruction of a sizable number of trees (a replaceable resource) until, like Rostow's take-off hypothesis, it fades from view. In the meantime, the debate he has generated will contribute to sharpening methodology and add to our storehouse of knowledge. For this reason alone, it should be welcomed.

Charles E. Freedeman
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Christine Collette, *For labour and for women: The Women's Labour League, 1906-18* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989).

THIS IS THE STORY of the Women's Labour League from its inception in 1906 to its disappearance as a separate body in 1918. It seeks to show how, in the early days of feminism and socialism, it was vital for women to form separate organizations from those of men, but separate bodies that would be intimately involved in, and seeking to improve the shared public and private worlds of both genders. Its aim is commendable, its execution is flawed.

For one thing, one is left with the strong impression that this is not only a history for Collette, but is, in fact, a dirge

for a separatist League and a call to reform such political bodies today. I think it quite justifiable for a concerned and active historian to come to such a conclusion. Yet I wish Collette had been more "up front" about it, had discussed it more directly, rather than just smuggling it into the text in small inflections and nuances. I will return to the latter. In addition I have three problems with this book, as well as a few quibbles.

One of the book's gravest flaws is its neglect to place the League in its international context. The League was only one manifestation of what American and Canadian historians have described as "maternal feminism" which was so significant a force for social reform in this period throughout the western world. Again and again, I was struck by the parallels; the discussion of suffrage as a tool of "social housekeeping," the references to the "separate spheres" of male and female competence and concern. A greater reliance on the international material might also have sharpened the book's analytic edge. In her study of American women's movements of this period, Meredith Tax makes the valuable comment that the nature of an organization is profoundly influenced by where it draws its funds. Perhaps this notion might have helped explain some of Margaret MacDonald's domination of the League in its early days (even Collette admits that "a certain ruthlessness in Margaret's character" could occasionally be seen in her dealings with the League) since she contributed heavily to its operational funds.

Second, I think the interesting points that the book makes are often raised, and dropped, with insufficient discussion. For example, the domination of much of the League's activities by women whose husbands were active in the Labour party is only considered, with the exception of James and Margaret MacDonald, in passing. What happened when the League went one way, the Party another?

Another important, though underexplored topic, is those issues on which, even at quite an early date, the

League could not achieve consensus: such things as sweating, suffrage and the endowment of motherhood. For it was this disagreement that led, in Collette's own words, to "the League as the voice of women at work [being] lost". Perhaps a fuller exploration of the controversy between Mary MacArthur and Margaret Macdonald might have explained how this came to be.

Finally, I am not entirely persuaded by Collette's central assertion, than the MacDonald-Middleton era was characterized by having an amateur style, an enabling rather than a controlling form of leadership. It seems to me that, despite Collette's fondness for MacDonald's attractive and potent mixture of babies and politics, she generally underestimates the steeliness of her character, the imperiousness of her manner.

The quibbles are mainly over infelicities of style ("Socialism thrust into the twentieth century") and substance. Names are thrown out without context or explanation (who is Eliza Orme, other than a friend of Lady Dilke's?). Women are far too often called by their first names. Frequently the beginning of a story is told without the end. For example, Collette describes the efforts of the Glasgow League's women to obtain industrial training for unemployed women but never tells the reader whether or not the effort succeeded. Most troubling is the use of judgmental adjectives without the grounds of the judgement being given. Thus Collette notes that "another ominous change in League priorities" occurred when the League made a 1912 resolution which condemned militarism, but does not explain what she finds ominous about such a stance.

For Labour and for Women contains interesting material about a fascinating time and an enduring problem. Unfortunately its story is marred and its purpose unclear.

Donna T. Andrew
University of Guelph

Mary Drake McFeely, *Lady Inspectors: The Campaign for a Better Workplace, 1893-1921* (New York: Basil Blackwell 1988).

THIS IS THE TYPE of book that offers great promise. The jacket declares that the author, Mary Drake McFeely, provides "a case study of class and gender relations" in her tale of the first women factory inspectors in England. "This is the story," the jacket continues, "of their adventures, struggles, successes and failures." The women who became the first "Lady Inspectors" were pioneers who participated in Britain's transition from a liberal state into one "active in social welfare." It would be fair to assume, then, that McFeely might locate her study within debates over broader issues such as the impact of the welfare state on the status of women workers, the questionable merits of gender-based protective legislation, or the nature of women's inter-class relations. Unfortunately, *Lady Inspectors* does not live up to its promise.

McFeely bases her book almost exclusively upon primary sources. Granted, the diaries and memoirs of the first generation of women to oversee the working conditions of factory women are inherently interesting. The book opens, for instance, with an excerpt from inspector Irene Whitworth's account of her midnight raid on a tailor's shop in London's East End in 1907. Daring, night-time forays into dingy alleys certainly offered adventure for these genteel women who, like the white slavery investigators and foreign missionaries of the same period, rejected domesticity in the name of a higher duty. The problem is that McFeely's account of their experiences often reads like a diary itself. Passages such as the following sketch of a inspector's first day on the job abound:

On 27 April, Lucy Deane began work. Having planned to meet [inspector] Abraham at the women inspector's office in the afternoon, Deane went to early church and then to lunch at 76 Sloane Street. There she discovered that Abraham had expected her at the office at

eleven. She rushed off, arriving late and somewhat embarrassed. (27)

The book is comprised of a series of anecdotes and "day-in-the life" vignettes arranged into nineteen chapters. "[McFeely] wears her learning lightly," a review on the back cover declares, as if to describe an achievement.

The author is prepared to make one observation based on her collection of intriguing material: pioneer women factory inspectors had to overcome great obstacles, from government inaction, to male co-workers' resistance, to employer hostility, in order to improve the lot of working women and to carve out a profession for themselves. McFeely's straightforward account of their feats derives directly from the "lady inspectors'" diaries which apparently convey confidence in the legitimacy of their calling.

There are many opportunities for McFeely to add her own critical voice to the inspectors' version of their work but she opts to let her subjects tell their own story. At one point, she quotes from Lucy Deane's inspection checklist, including a reminder to herself not to accept workers' complaints without independent evidence since "women and girls lie awfully." Where McFeely could have commented on this misogynistic and classist assumption from a woman whose job it was to investigate women workers' grievances, she lamely offers that Deane's remark is a "curious codicil." (26) McFeely is content to accept the inspectors' self-righteousness with the same brand of faith that her subjects felt when they described themselves as "missionar[ies] of the State...." (93)

Lady Inspectors would have been far more insightful had McFeely considered her evidence in light of turn-of-the-century debates over women's work. Aside from a few quotes from trade unionists who objected to the appointment of bourgeois women inspectors she provides little evidence that anyone, other than disgruntled, male inspectors, felt that "ladies" should not be bursting into pottery sheds and brickworks to ensure the wel-

fare of women workers.

In fact, there was a great deal of disagreement within the women's labour movement over the merits of protective legislation, no matter how "disarmingly attractive and poised" the inspectors. These qualities, along with "a natural ability to be charming" and a "solid grounding of knowledge and experience" as an investigator of working conditions were the principal qualifications of the first inspector, May Abraham. (15) McFeely admits that members of the women's labour movement regarded the introduction of women inspectors as "a real loss to the cause of women's trade unions" yet at no point does she discuss their objections. The Women's Industrial Council and the National Union of Women Workers both rejected the 1901 Factory Act, for example, because they felt that the enforcement of protective legislation could lead to a decline in women's wages by restricting their hours and the conditions of their work. The Anti-Sweating League and other labour and feminist organizations pointed out that restrictive measures in factories drove women's jobs into private homes where conditions were more difficult to police.

As Angela John has shown in her study of women in the mining industry, the efforts of middle-class social reformers to shorten women's hours and restrict their occupational range was anything but "protective" for working women who found their wages lowered or their jobs prohibited. Women factory workers did complain about their jobs to factory inspectors and it appears from McFeely's evidence that they were inclined to solicit the aid of a woman over a man. Yet even when working women took advantage of the Factory Act and its women watchdogs they did not necessarily seek "protection." One group of laundresses sent a complaint to the women inspectors, citing their employer for paying low wages and failing to provide beer. The "ladies," however, were empowered only to fine employers, not to improve wages or "benefits."

McFeely, to be fair, did not set out to

write about women factory workers. Her interest clearly lies with the bourgeois women who ministered to working-class women's needs. Nevertheless, the inspectors were workers themselves: they were paid far less than their male counterparts, they had fewer possibilities for advancement, and they worked well beyond the hours stipulated for factory workers. McFeely could have enriched her analysis of these bourgeois working women had she compared her inspectors to the educators whom Martha Vicinus discusses in *Independent Women*. The first factory inspectors belonged to a cohort of genteel, single women whose work was a "revolt against redundancy."

McFeely would do well to consider Vicinus's caution against praising women's achievements without questioning their personal and political costs. In most professions, middle-class women who worked in the service of working-class subjects did more to liberate themselves than their charges. Still, as Estelle Freedman argues in regard to the first generation of female prison reformers, turn-of-the-century professional women "clung to a definition of women's separate nature that limited their own power and often stifled [those] they sought to aid." Where Vicinus and Freedman trace subtle tensions, unequal opportunities and open conflicts in the relations between working-class and professional women, McFeely perceives harmony. The sensitive reader is bound to pick out the discords that the author ignores.

Carolyn Strange
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B.J. Ripley and J. McHugh, *John Maclean* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press 1989).

THIS ADDITION TO the Lives of the Left Series presents a tightly argued and stimulating reappraisal of the legendary Scottish Marxist, John MacLean. MacLean's popular reputation is of a courageous and unyielding agitator, hounded by the Brit-

ish government, appointed Soviet Consul after the Bolshevik Revolution, too uncompromising in his leftism and nationalism to join the Communist Party of Great Britain, cut down by poverty and pneumonia at the age of forty-four.

Ripley and McHugh seek to rebut an accretion of interpretations. There is first the version set down by former comrades such as Willie Gallacher and Tom Bell who fell out with MacLean over the establishment, control and early course of the Communist Party. Writing as leading Party figures, they presented Maclean as a misguided dogmatist who lost direction and emotional stability as the result of his wartime mistreatment and afterwards succumbed to quixotic isolation. Second, there is the more recent revisionist treatment by historians such as Iain McLean who portray Red Clydeside as a myth and Maclean as the embodiment of its fantasy of an insurgent proletariat. Finally, there is the Scottish nationalist account of Maclean as the leader lost, who spurned subordination to Moscow for an authentically Caledonian form of national liberation.

The authors bring limited new information to their study. Perhaps its chief advantage is that they write in hindsight about a Communist tradition that is no longer so insistent as to arouse sectarian hackles; about the revisionist mode of academic scholarship whose substantial arguments they can acknowledge while resisting its barren empiricism; and about a nationalist standpoint with which they are sympathetically critical. The result is a temperate restatement of Maclean's originality and significance.

They see him up to the outbreak of World War I as an orthodox social democrat of the Second International whose politics revolved around the idea of the mass party engaged in agitation, education and propaganda, the primacy of the political over the industrial, and the insistence on working-class internationalism. MacLean, they suggest, was no theorist and indeed they query his grasp of some elements of Marxism, but he placed great store on working-class education (and his

great project of a Scottish Labour College remained uppermost until his death). Moreover, they argue, he located his socialist agitation within the mainstream of existing working-class forms, notably the cooperative movement, and was responsive to new developments such as the growing industrial unrest on the eve of the war. These emphases provide a valuable corrective to the common view of MacLean as incorrigibly intransigent and sectarian, but they are not without ambiguities. A member of a tiny socialist grouplet embedded within an overwhelmingly non-socialist labour movement, the valency of his social democracy was necessarily different from that of continental socialists whose adherence to a mass party strategy was more plausible. And as the pedagogical, utterly humorous son of an improving, strict Calvinist household, his temper was vehemently judgmental — this emotional side and the whole texture of his personal life receives only fragmentary attention.

Yet if their argument about his typicality is accepted, then some attention to this aspect is necessary to explain why he emerged during the War as the most notorious Scottish seditionary. Unlike Gallacher and other celebrated heroes of the industrial unrest on the Clyde, he had no direct membership of the Clyde Workers Committee; unlike Dollan and others who mostly finished as members of the Independent Labour Party, he was not an initiator of the Glasgow rent strike. Rather, he was the most prominent of the anti-war publicists. His initial refusal to pay a fine of just £5 imposed for making speeches designed to undermine recruitment heralded a series of prosecutions, defiant speeches from the dock, imprisonments and hunger strikes that created his popular following. Ripley and McHugh offer a judicious treatment of the allegations that he was mistreated — they discount the allegation of poisoned prison food; they reveal that he was not force-fed but rather artificially fed (though they do not explain the distinction); they add that he received special privileges (such as

books) and early releases as a political prisoner; and they indicate the traumatic effect of these repeated ordeals on his mental state. The crucial missing element is his persistence; he was by no means the only radical to suffer persecution, but unique surely in his refusal to abstain. The cover picture, taken from a prison photo in Peterhead in July 1916, is eloquent testimony: a stocky, rough-hewn man, head shaven, he stands in three-piece suit and winged collar, hands pressing on his breast, withdrawn, inanimate, defiant. Yet the book takes the martyrdom as a given.

The final chapters consider his post-war trajectory that left him marooned on the declining eddies of working-class unrest. Here the authors again emphasise his consistency to the politics of social democracy at a time when the left fissured into warring blocks. They suggest that he was unable to adapt to crucial elements of Bolshevism, especially the doctrine of the party, and temperamentally incapable of accepting the leadership credentials of those who decked themselves in the authority of Moscow. I think they are convincing in their continued insistence that MacLean was no ultra-leftist of the sort now labelled infantile, less convincing in their claim that his Scottish nationalism should be discounted — the problem there is that by treating nationalism and internationalism too much as alternatives, they lose much that is distinctive and important in his assertion of a radical Scotland. Nor do I see that much hangs on MacLean's rejection of the Leninist doctrine of democratic centralism and the vanguard party, since the British comrades so conspicuously failed to adopt these practices until later in the 1920s. They make the valid point that MacLean's fate should not be read retrospectively as if the political boundaries were final and exclusive and it was apparent to all that MacLean was entering a wilderness; and yet the final chapters of his life still have the pathos of a preordained tragedy.

Stuart Macintyre
University of Melbourne

Mary Lynn Stewart, *Women, Work and the French State: Labour Protection and Social Patriarchy, 1879-1919* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1989).

PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION for women has long been a controversial issue. On one side are those who argue that women's interests in the workforce are no different from men's and therefore should receive no separate treatment, that separate treatment only worsens women's position; they also insist that women must define and protect their own interests through trade unions and other organizations. On the other side are those who maintain that women's special needs, particularly as mothers, require not only distinctive politics but state intervention since historically women have been excluded from (male-dominated) trade unions and also slow to organize on their own behalf.

Mary Lynn Stewart makes a persuasive case for the first of these positions through a careful study of protective legislation in France. She shows how deeply the legislation was affected by assumptions about women's dependence and vulnerability and how the implementation of legislation reinforced those notions. Reformers who were reluctant to interfere with "the individual liberty of (male) citizens," (51) had no such difficulty with women. Since women were not citizens and were presumed to have no direct access to political power, they were considered dependent and in need of protection.

Women's vulnerability was described in many ways: their bodies were weaker than men's; work "perverted" the reproductive organs, rendering women unfit to bear and nurse healthy babies; employment distracted them from domestic tasks; night jobs exposed them to sexual danger in the shop and on the way to and from the workplace; working alongside men or under male supervision carried the possibility of moral corruption. All of this led to the need, it was maintained, for state protection. The republican legislator Jules Simon argued at the International Conference on Labour Legislation in Ber-

lin in 1890 that maternity leaves for working women ought to be mandated "in the name of the evident and superior interest of the human race." It was, he said, protection due "persons whose health and safety can only be safeguarded by the State." (175)

These justifications, whether physical, moral, practical or political, construed women workers as a special group whose wage work created problems of a different order from those typically associated with male labour. They were part of a larger discourse which constructed the woman worker as an anomalous figure and which implemented a sharp sexual division of labour in 19th century France.

Although its proponents talked in general terms about the needs of all working women, the legislation that was passed was narrowly circumscribed. Stewart shows that laws limiting the hours of women's work were usually applied only to factory work and to those trades where men predominated. Many areas of work were entirely excluded, among them agriculture, domestic service, retail establishments, family-run shops and domestic workshops. These usually constituted the major employers of women in the first place. In France, some three-quarters of all working women were not covered by the laws passed in the 1890s. Stewart sums up the impact of the legislation this way:

Exemptions accommodated industries accustomed to cheap female labour, accelerated women's movement into unregulated sectors and thereby accentuated female crowding in the backward industries. Administration of the law reinforced these effects. Inspectors implemented the letter of the law in masculine trades yet overlooked infractions in feminine occupations. In short, sex-specific labour legislation sanctioned and enforced the assignment of women to lower paying secondary labour markets. (14)

Even in industrial employment, the laws had the effect of intensifying the segregation of male and female workers, whether to accommodate the need for different shift lengths or to separate day and

night work. These distinctions further justified pay differentials and the ascription of different characteristics and statuses to men and women. Stewart's conclusion is apt: "Overall the most striking outcome of sex-specific hours and standards was an entrenched and exaggerated sexual division of labour." (119)

The evidence presented in the book is telling and extensive with many fine examples carefully examined; the argument forceful. *Women, Work and the French State* is an important contribution not only to French labour history, but also to ongoing discussions about political strategies for working women.

Joan Wallach Scott
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Roger Bourderon and Yvan Avakoumovitch, *Détruire le PCF — Archives de l'Etat français et de l'occupant hitlérien 1940-1944* (Paris: Messidor/Éditions Sociales 1988).

WHEN WAS THE FRENCH Communist Resistance launched: in 1940 or in June 1941? The debate over whether or not the French Communist Party (PCF) embarked on an anti-Nazi crusade immediately following the strange defeat of France in 1940 is an enduring one. Most historians of French Communism, among them Annie Kriegel, Philippe Robreix and I.M. Wall, have stressed in recent years the internal chaos which plagued the life of the PCF between 1939 and 1941. These scholars contend that the Hitler-Stalin pact of August 1939, combined with Daladier's decision to outlaw the PCF on 26 September of the same year, had left the party traumatised and confused. It was not until the final collapse of the Stalin-Hitler entente in June 1941, they feel, that the PCF officially began an efficient and fearless resistance against Vichy and the Germans. Torn apart by intense fratricidal tensions, the PCF is thus widely perceived to have only narrowly escaped extinction in 1940. While French Communist leaders generally felt

compelled to follow *les directives de Moscou*, party members were predictably anything but unified in their responses towards the Pétain régime or the German occupation of France. Persecuted by Vichy and the Nazis from the outset, several Communists chose to oppose the new rulers regardless of party guidelines denouncing the war as a bourgeois conflict which should not concern workers. According to Robreix, the PCF had probably trickled down to a mere 2,000 organized members by the end of 1940, and as many as 18,000 Communists had been imprisoned. And yet it was this diminutive clandestine network of Communist Resistance, in open rebellion against the leadership of the PCF, which saved the party from falling into oblivion. It was resistance against Vichy which allowed French Communism to regain its momentum and unity in the wake of June 1941.

This traditional account of the history of the PCF between 1940 and 1941, which underlines the internecine feuds paralyzing the party during these chaotic years, was challenged in 1984 by the publication of German documents dealing with the French Communist Resistance. In his introduction to these sources in *La Gestapo contre le Parti Communiste Rapports sur l'activité du PCF (décembre 1940-juin 1941)*, Roger Bourderon debunked what he dismissed as "la version indéfiniment ressassée" (36) of the events of 1940 and 1941. French Communism, he claimed, did not have to wait for Hitler's invasion of Russia to mobilize its followers against the Nazis. In fact, Bourderon contends that the PCF became *la bête noire* of Vichy and the Nazis as early as 1940. With *Détruire le PCF Archives de l'Etat français et de l'occupant hitlérien 1940-1944* (1988), Bourderon and Avakoumovitch undertake the task of substantiating this revisionist thesis. The book is introduced as the first study of the French Communist Resistance based on an exhaustive examination of French and German archives. The authors are thus able to trace a vivid picture of the obsessive fear of Communism shared by the

Pétain régime and the Nazis after 1940, "*l'aspect de la politique de collaboration sur lequel pétainistes et nazis pouvaient se mettre le plus aisément d'accord...*" (14) It was symptomatic of their common perception of the PCF as a formidable threat to social peace in France that the *préfet* of Seine-et-Oise spoke in 1940 of French Communism as a secretive, shadowy and well-organized movement with a seemingly supernatural ability to thrive on persecution.

As Bourderon and Avakoumovitch acknowledge in the introduction, the book is based on sources suffering from "ideological cecity." (11) Indeed, one cannot help wondering at times whether Vichy and the Nazis were not exaggerating the strength and influence of Communism between 1940 and 1941. The authors point out, for example, that the Nazis were unable to determine the whereabouts of Maurice Thorez during the first half of the war, thus suggesting that their information on the PCF was anything but complete. The German assessment of the membership of the party was never accurate and sometimes widely inflated: in January 1941, the Gestapo spoke of "more than five million" French Communists. (51) Still, *Détruire le PCF* remains a fascinating and highly readable account of the gradual mutation of the PCF into a leading voice of the French Resistance movement. In the PCF, the authors contend, the Nazis saw not only a formidable political enemy but also *un cancer social* which they felt compelled to extirpate. The book is above all a tribute to the courage and resourcefulness displayed by the members of the French Communist Resistance throughout the war. The description of the various methods of sabotage used by PCF members will be of great interest for students of the Resistance.

Yet the authors of *Détruire le PCF*, even within a framework limited to the PCF, leave several important questions unanswered. It would have been interesting, for example, if they had explained the historical roots of the anti-communism displayed by the Vichy régime and the

Nazis. Why were the Nazis so intent on crushing French Communism? What parallels could be drawn here with their attitude towards German Communism? What about Communist Resistance in Nazi Germany? *Le grand absent* from this narrative, however, is Charles de Gaulle. Although the main focus of the book is the PCF, it is a distortion of reality to liquidate the Gaullist Resistance with a few paragraphs. The authors inform us that 2,000 Communists and 1,865 Gaullists were arrested between May 1942 and May 1943 in the South of France. But the book sheds too little light on the marriage of convenience between these two movements. The PCF archives could surely reveal a great deal more about the growth of partnerships between Communists, Socialists and Gaullists. The authors take it for granted that their readers already have a thorough knowledge of French history and of life *sous la botte*. Their lively account of the Communist Resistance reads like a thriller, but it falls short of tracing an all-embracing picture and ought to be read along with more global studies dealing with World War II France.

In an attempt to demonstrate that PCF members started to fight Vichy and the Nazis as early as 1940, Bourderon and Avakoumovitch appear at times to believe that *all* French Communists opposed collaboration. Yet as Rémy Handoutzel and Cyril Buffet have recently shown in *La Collaboration ... à gauche aussi* (Paris, 1989), some French Communists were not immune to the temptation of collaboration. Members of the PCF, along with all Frenchmen, were deeply shaken by the events of 1940. The author's contention that "*Le Parti Communiste comme institution, la direction communiste dans ses hommes, ne se sont jamais compromis avec l'occupant, même quand celui-ci chercha à les piéger,*" (244) is not fully substantiated by the book and by the facts. A human institution, the PCF always suffered from internal tensions, even before 1940. It was never totally unified, either before June 1940 or thereafter. Not all French Com-

munists were patriotic, selfless, heroes. The reality of 1940 was thus far more complex than Bourderon and Avakoumovitch suggest.

Yet regardless of their ideological feuds, French Communists certainly played a crucial role in the Resistance movement. The saga of the metamorphosis of the PCF into a leading anti-Vichy and anti-Nazi movement deserves to be fully understood. *Détruire le PCF* is an informative and interesting contribution to our knowledge of the French Resistance. But it explores only one aspect of a multi-faceted phenomenon. French Communism was one of the myriad faces of the Resistance, something which Bourderon and Avakoumovitch seem to forget at times. They could have been more specific while discussing some major crises and events: for example, the tragedy of Oradour-sur-Glane is merely alluded to and the authors stop short of examining the "particularly unjust fate" (245) awaiting several members of the French Communist Resistance after 1944. Despite its narrow focus, *Détruire le PCF* has the merit of introducing the reader to rich and fascinating archives. The book is not the definitive assessment of French Communism during World War II, but the enthusiasm of the authors for their topic is infectious.

Michèle Lalancette
Queen's University

Henry Milner, *Sweden: Social Democracy in Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1989).

IN THIS BOOK, Henry Milner has set out to map the nature of social democracy in Sweden. His major preoccupation is with analyzing the policies of what he calls a solidaristic market economy, characterized by a simultaneous commitment to economic efficiency and competitiveness in the international arena and full employment and universal social programs at home. He pays close attention to the role of institutional actors like LO (the blue-

collar trade union federation), SAF (the Swedish employers' organization) and SAP (the Swedish Social Democratic Party) in the development of the postwar Swedish model; he highlights the contributions made by economists like Ohlin, Myrdal, Rehn and Meidner; and he provides detailed information on pension funds and labour mobility programs, research and development and educational policy, social services and quality of work circles in his book.

Overall, Milner has acquitted himself to his task rather well. He makes no bones about the fact that for him, social democracy represents a mixture of idealism and pragmatism, and that it is the very pragmatism of Swedish policy that has made social democracy there so much of a success. The key social democratic values for him are economic well-being, work, social solidarity, democracy, participation, and access to information. By comparison, he has much less patience and interest in such classically marxist objectives as "ownership of the means of production." Yet compared to the state socialist regimes of post-war Eastern Europe or to more ruggedly market economies in the west, Sweden has been notably successful at delivering the goods.

By this, Milner means that Sweden has managed to combine high rates of labour productivity and income levels per-capita towards the top of the OECD scale with significantly lower levels of inequality in income distribution than elsewhere. Swedish labour, unlike its counterparts in other countries, has been swift to adjust to change and even to encourage change in the market sector, helped greatly by governmental policies which foster labour training and mobility. And Swedish management (Volvo, for example), by and large, has been prepared to countenance a degree of trade union participation in shop-floor and related areas, even while firmly rejecting moves to any greater control by unions over managerial decision-making through share ownership via the wage-earner funds.

Milner underlines the high levels of educational achievement amongst the Swedish population, a common commitment to economic growth and competitiveness that comes from inhabiting a small state, and a work ethic that has done much to make possible high levels of welfare expenditure. He also tries hard, and I think convincingly, to correct some of the distortions about Sweden that have crept into political debate: for example, a supposedly high level of anomie reflected in suicide rates, a lack of individuality, or an excessive concern with welfare at the expense of productivity.

Yet Milner's constant defence of Swedish social democracy against critics, both from the right and left, may also point to the major shortcoming in this analysis. At times, the book reads too much like a brief for the defence, like the work written by some political scientists or anthropologist returning from a distant land or tribe with the blueprint of a paradise that works. Now, to be sure, I personally find Swedish social democracy a good deal more appealing as a model than the Stalinist one which the Webbs celebrated with such gusto in the 1930s or the Maoist variant which China visitors of the late 1960s or early 1970s embraced with little restraint. And when I think of Canada (or the Quebec that Milner implicitly has in mind) there is much in the Swedish model that appears attractive.

But not everything. "Practical moderation, public-spiritedness, equity, individuality and the work-ethic" (53) may appear as very commendable values in the economic and social arenas. One wonders, however, whether there is any room left for the politics of passion and commitment, whether pragmatism may not, in the Swedish context, have undercut the more romantic or utopian elements in the socialist vision and in politics at large. For good or ill, there is something about politics in France, Germany, Russia or even Poland that makes the heart run faster than is the case with politics in Sweden. Why?

The one attempt to go beyond the

mixed economy the wage-earner fund scheme came to naught by the middle of the 1980s. At the same time, some of the verities of the Swedish experience that Milner extols (for example, an openness to international currents) have also brought elements threatening to the social democratic compromise. (As in the significant tax reform introduced by K-O Feldt, the Minister of Finance, in 1989, scaling down tax levels at the top to levels closer to those in Western Europe or the United States.) Environmental factors are alluded to *en passant*, yet one wonders whether Sweden has been more successful at taming nuclear energy or balancing off economic with environmental concerns than have other western states. Finally, where political culture is concerned, I cannot help feeling that Milner overstates the "saintliness" of the Swedes when he asserts: "Swedish mass culture is not a consumer culture ... Ideas and things are not located within two separate cultures, one for the intellectual elite, one for the mass." (155) In a society where the children of the university-educated have six times the likelihood of going to university than do children of unskilled workers, it is hard to believe that all class barriers to knowledge have vanished. And do wealthy Swedes, much like their counterparts in Paris, Zurich, or New York, not indulge in some of the rarer commodities of consumer capitalism unavailable to the masses? Give the reader a break.

Still, I do not want to end on a cavilling note. Milner's is a useful, and at points incisive, account of the workings of Swedish social democracy. He has a fine sense of both the ideals and limits of the Swedish experience over recent decades. And he provides insights into the strategic thinking of Swedish trade unionists, social democratic politicians and intellectuals not without implications for our own predicament in the northern part of the North American continent.

Philip Resnick
University of British Columbia

Greg M. Olsen, ed., *Industrial Change and Labour Adjustment in Sweden and Canada* (Toronto: Grammond Press 1988).

THIS BOOK IS A COLLECTION of 25 short papers delivered at a conference of the same name at York University, Toronto, in December 1986, by Canadian and Swedish participants, most of them trade union or government officials. Part I deals with Swedish and Canadian approaches to unemployment and labour market policy generally; Part II, not reviewed here, focuses more narrowly on the two countries' automobile industry.

It is an odd experience to be reviewing these papers at a time when the newspapers inform one that Sweden's Social Democratic government, which wanted to impose price and wage controls (thus suspending an important part of the "Swedish Model"), has fallen and the future of the Model itself remains much in doubt: many of the papers are little more than expressions of commitment to and admiration for the Swedish Model.

One does indeed get some glimpses of the Model's principal objectives and institutions — some of them many times over. Its foundations are said to be a 'solidaristic' wage policy (meaning both a narrow range of wage differentials and uniform wage increases, independent of a particular firm's or industry's prosperity) and a profound commitment to jobs for all who want them. Many do, the participation rate being around 83 per cent of the population 16-64 years of age (85 per cent for men and 80 per cent for women), said to be the highest in the world. Only 2.8 per cent were unemployed in 1985, and the rate had not exceeded 3.5 per cent.

The mechanisms for achieving these objectives are centralized private bargaining between employers and labour federations and extensive (and expensive) 'active' labour market policies. These last consisted of an extended public employment service with compulsory notification of vacancies (but not the exclusive right to fill them), a variety of training,

and, where needed, sheltered workshops and temporary public or subsidised employment. To avoid inflation and high profits these were combined with a tight fiscal policy and strong unions with virtually complete coverage of the labour force.

One is given some of the organizational and quantitative detail of this system and much praise for its 'active' approach to labour market policies. This last is contrasted favorably to "'passive' labour market policies, such as unemployment insurance and public assistance." (29) In the one short paper on "Evaluation" (Bjorn Jonzon's) we are told that, on average in 1985, some 1.5 per cent of the labour force were "employed through the various measures for the handicapped and hard-to place people....About 1% was involved in labour market training and roughly 1.5% participated in demand-oriented programs." But, "[i]t would be totally misleading to add these figures to the number of unemployed [2.8%] to obtain a 'real' unemployment figure. The core of Swedish labour market programmes involves training, rehabilitation, and productive work which should by no means be placed on equal footing with unproductive idleness." (139) Unfortunately, without more detail than the chapter provides, someone with the opposite ideological commitment might equally validly (or arbitrarily) have said that wasteful make-work projects are by no means to be placed on an equal footing with income support for productive job search. One wishes to know the subsequent work experience of these trained and "rehabilitated." Are these true stepping stones to "productive work" or merely (repeated) temporary expedients? Many of the few publicly available evaluations of such projects in Canada are not encouraging.

While the paper's assessment of the impact of the Swedish policy on the labour market is unreservedly enthusiastic, it does express some worry about the trend towards higher levels of inflation and concludes that: "The effects on inflation and growth are....much more difficult to

assess and also, perhaps, more uncertain." (147) One gathers that it is indeed these last effects that might lead to the policy's ultimate collapse.

Those three of the four short papers on "The Canadian Approach" that take their task seriously (the remaining is a mere harangue against all aspects of the present government's economic policy) argue that we have much to learn from the Swedes about training, preparation for the work world and, perhaps, employment services. One paper (Noah Meltz's) cautions about the difficulties of a divided jurisdiction in Canada in this respect. Meltz also worries about the lack of labour-management bilateral organization to cooperate on this issue, commends the Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre for initiating such cooperation and urges provincial counterparts. (It is pleasant to report that the Centre is continuing its efforts.) One might worry, in this context, about the absence at both the national and provincial levels of central business and labour bodies that can bind their constituents and the much smaller degree of unionization of Canada. If one were inclined to consider adapting other aspects of the Swedish Model, one might wonder, too, if our polity is in any mood for the Swedish levels of taxation and public expenditure on labour market and social programs, or for that matter, committed to solidarity. The newspapers suggest no.

The well-known gap between schooling and work in Canada is mentioned, as is the minuscule provision of training of any length and intensity by the private sector. (The reports on public sector endeavors, too, are both scarce and discouraging.) The Province of Ontario is said to be committed to do better in the future. One anxiously awaits further reports on both these endeavors and more evaluation of Canadian efforts, public and private, generally.

S.F. Kaliski
Queen's University

Donna Rae Gabaccia, *Militants and Migrants: Rural Sicilians Become American Workers* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press 1988).

AS DONNA GABACCIA points out in her introduction, *Militants and Migrants* "does not easily fit the mold of most monographs in either immigration or labor history." (2) The book is an important (though not entirely innovative) work interlinking labour, ethnic and social history with an interdisciplinary foray into anthropology. The primary thesis, as the title suggests, is a reassessment of J.S. Macdonald's contention that labour militance and emigration in the Old World were geographically and demographically distinct strategies in response to the 19th-century challenges to commercial agriculture. While labour militance accompanied economic development, Macdonald has argued, mass emigration derived primarily from areas of economic stagnation. Gabaccia finds this model wanting in her study of the town and environs of Sambuca in Western Sicily. Migration and labour unrest in this region, she contends, developed simultaneously in the latter 19th century, and, indeed, as the history of Sambuca shows, "the same people sometimes could both fight and flee." (66) The town's artisans, in particular — "politically frustrated and economically disappointed after a period of rising expectations" (54) — emigrated in considerable numbers quite early on (the early 1880s). At the same time, the region, as elsewhere, saw the organization and development of artisanal mutual aids and cooperative and political societies, all in response to the political and economic "ferment" affecting their expectations and livelihood. The local protests of the 1880s erupted into the more complex and widespread *fasci* revolts of the 1890s (in which artisans and poor wheat cultivators cooperated). Throughout this time and well into the 20th century, immigration did not hinder militance. As Gabaccia demonstrates, Sambuca's political transformation into a

"Red Town" occurred against a backdrop of increasing mobility.

Having discussed the interplay between rural protest and emigration in Sambuca, the bulk of the work examines the complex interrelationship of migration and militance in the trans-Atlantic connections between the Western Sicilian town and its major settlements in the United States. This approach is in keeping with Samuel Baily's call for more "village-outward" studies, transcending the narrow boundaries of the nation state and the contextual limitations of single settlement study. This approach is crucial to her understanding of the immigrant experience as she finds tremendous variety in the different chain migration links to North America. While radicalized artisans and peasants may have cooperated in Sambuca — a cooperation helped along by return migration — the various New World settlements of immigrant Sambucesi did not evolve along uniform lines reflective of Old World developments. The Sambucesi artisans who pioneered the way to Louisiana, for example, emerge as padrone middlemen channeling the poorest Sambucesi peasants to the Louisiana sugar plantations. In this scenario — as a consequence of the chain migration structure, seasonal mobility, and the organization of work in the sugar plantations — the Louisiana settlements failed to develop a labour movement drawing on European traditions. Yet, the Sambucesi artisans and petty merchants who emigrated to, and settled in, Brooklyn and Tampa "struggled to apply their Sicilian experiences and build an immigrant labor movement in the United States. In both cities, skilled immigrants became intimately involved in the problems of wage earning in industrial workplaces." (122) These immigrants, however, — largely wage-earners, lower-middle class small businessmen and independent craftsmen (147) — did not simply transplant their Sicilian experiences but developed a regionally distinct "militant" consciousness in tension with very specific New World conditions and circumstances.

In examining these developments, Gabaccia makes a number of important observations. First of all, in contrast to the still current tendency to see emigration in fairly uniform terms, Gabaccia points to the astonishing diversity of the mobility from one town alone. "Sambucesi appeared in various locations as peasant leftists, migrant harvesters, padrone slaves, immigrant familists, militant factory workers, and factionalized small businessmen. Who would guess that all were also fellow villagers?" (171) This diversity, she contends, needs to be considered in the international context and continuum of Old World rural conditions, the specific transatlantic immigrant links connecting Old to New, and the multivariate New World work places and social structures into which the Sambucesi entered (and helped shape). In the all-important intermediary link, furthermore, Gabaccia argues that occupational connections in the migration chain "shaped the histories of Sambuca's settlements in the United States as much as did the more extensively studied ties of family and community." (170)

For all of the book's complexity — and it is a subtle, multilayered study of the immigrant experience — there are problems. Gabaccia's too-narrow conception of the padrone, for example, does not allow her to apply the term and the attendant hierarchies, connections and obligations onto kin relations; the padrone and kin networks, as R.F. Harney has shown, were not uniquely different systems nor were they necessarily distinct temporal stages in the migration process. Paesani kin, like padrone bosses, could very well act as intermediaries for social and pecuniary gain (not only in the trans-Atlantic "chain", but also in the day-to-day activities of settlement life). Gabaccia's lack of precise definition, furthermore, is on occasion troubling. What exactly did Rockford's Rosario M., the "padrone militant," understand by "socialism" (114), or, for that matter, Sambuca's resident fraternal artisans? The malleability of such terms and their exploitation for ulte-

rior ends becomes evident when, as Gabaccia herself points out, Brooklyn's *prominenti* (however "radicalized" in Sambuca) "sometimes protested that they, not Carlo Tresca or Joe Ettor, were the 'real Socialists'...." (147)

These and other queries, however, are minor in comparison to Gabaccia's erudition and her accomplishment in hopefully (once and for all) eradicating the still current overview of Sicilian migrants (by no means homogeneously "peasant") as either docile labourers or premodern militants.

E. Carlson-Cumbo
University of Toronto

Vladimir Andrle, *Workers in Stalin's Russia. Industrialization and Social Change in a Planned Economy* (Hemel Hempstead and New York: Harvester-Wheatsheaf and St. Martin's Press 1988).

JUST AS THE STALINIST industrial system is being radically transformed (if not dismantled) under Gorbachev, western understanding of its making is deepening. Where once Solomon Schwarz's *Labor in the Soviet Union* (1951) was practically the sole text on Soviet labour history, the last several years have seen the publication of half a dozen studies, and more are in the works. These studies differ in scope, interpretative framework and several other respects as well. But common to them all is the argument that the forces unleashed by the industrialization drive were only partially controlled by the central political authorities, and that the emerging industrial order was characterized not only by periodic campaigning, threats and draconian measures (the emphasis of Schwarz's book), but also much maneuvering, circumvention and "fiddling" by workers and managers alike.

Vladimir Andrle's book is no exception. A work of historical sociology, its aim is to elucidate "a pattern of interaction between politically instigated campaigns for industrial efficiency on the one hand, and a structure of labour-manage-

ment relations on the other." (ix) The book consists of five chapters of which the first is an overview of the "Revolution from Above" and the last is an examination of the Stakhanovite movement which the author sees as a "test case for the industrial order that had been established." (x) The three thematically-constructed chapters in between focus on workers, management, and their interaction on the shopfloor. Throughout the book, but especially in these core chapters, Andrieu relies heavily on four or five economic newspapers and journals and the testimonies of American engineers and Soviet emigres found in the Hoover Archive. He also refers to some of the classics of industrial sociology and what he calls "ethnographic" studies of shop-floor behaviour among managers and workers in capitalist enterprises.

Such a limited range of sources and the laconic manner in which they are cited does create problems. Local and regional peculiarities, the differences between newly constructed enterprises and cities such as Magnitogorsk and older industrial areas, the fact that certain policies such as the Taylorist-inspired functional system of management were applied to a much greater extent in some branches of industry (especially textiles) than in others, and the impact of regional party bosses on policy implementation are elided in the elaboration of synthetic patterns. Andrieu makes good use of the memoirs of Ivan Gudov, a milling machine operator who gained fame as an outstanding Stakhanovite, but ignores others. Indeed, with the exception of a single reference to Stakhanov, Gudov is the only Stakhanovite whose name is mentioned. He thus is made to stand in for hundreds of thousands of workers whose backgrounds, levels of skill, accomplishments, rewards, and subsequent fates varied.

These, though, are quibbles which do not seriously detract from the value of the book. The great strength of Andrieu's study is its skillful penetration of the complex web of issues associated with the industrialization drive. Much of the book

is organized around two major contradictions that were by no means unique to the period under investigation or even to the Soviet Union, but manifested themselves with particular force under Stalin. One was between "Bolshevik speeds" and "industrial culture." The former, promoted by higher party officials, took the form of utopian production targets, or as Andrieu terms it, the "taut-plans system." This involved nearly constant pressure on industrial management and lower-ranking party and trade union personnel to step up production schedules, and the instigation of mass mobilization campaigns to uncover hidden reserves of production and resistance to central directives. The latter found its primary advocates in industrial managers and engineers, who, as converts to scientific management, plugged no less zealously for regularity and precision. The other contradiction pitted both taut planning and industrial culture against a shop-floor culture of "making out" that Andrieu argues was generically similar to that exhibited in industrial-capitalist societies.

The combined effect of these contradictions was a system better characterized by "anarchic competition for scarce resources" (71) than anything approximating rational planning. It produced no little frustration among central authorities, kept industrial management more or less permanently off balance, and had workers scrambling for survival. Although not the first to do so, Andrieu's book is particularly good at demonstrating that living by one's wits was as important, perhaps more important, than working hard. This was an important theme in Donald Filtzer's *Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialization* (1986), but whereas Filtzer stressed the "breakdown of resistance," demoralization and atomization among workers, Andrieu underscores their adaptability, relative autonomy from "outside" interference and participation in shifting alliances. Some of the most interesting passages in the book, for example, those on *blat* (the pursuit of goods and services through personal connec-

tions) and the solidarity of foremen and rank-and-file workers *vis à vis* norm-setters, quality inspectors, and the advocates of functionalism illustrate this orientation. There are also some intriguing ideas about such characteristically Soviet phenomena as "storming" (making up for previous slackness by bursts of productive effort) and socialist competition, which beg for more research. By contrast, the brief excursion at the end of the book into the Terror does not add anything to the already-existing literature on this still murky subject.

With the increased availability of archival sources and new opportunities for serious dialogue among Soviet historians, and between them and their western counterparts, hitherto unimaginable possibilities for investigating issues in Soviet labour history have become real. Andrie is to be credited for putting many of these issues on the agenda and handling them in an imaginative way. All in all, then, a satisfying book.

Lewis H. Siegelbaum
Michigan State University

Bill Freund, *The African Workers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988).

IF THERE WERE STILL those who remained unsure as to whether labour history had in fact arrived as a major area of concentration among students of African society, Bill Freund's *The African Workers* should dispel any lingering doubt. Perhaps the most immediately useful sections of this work, which began life as a survey of the literature on African labour commissioned by the American Social Science Research Council, are its first and last chapters. Taken together these comprise a brief historiographic essay in and an extensive bibliography of African labour studies. In the 125 tightly written pages which remain, Freund surveys such varied issues as culture, community and class; waged and unwaged labour; trade unions and the state; as well as the partic-

ular role of labour history in a South African context. This survey is impressive in scope, reflecting the breadth of one of the few scholars in the field who has both taught and researched in East, West, and Southern Africa and who has a command not only of the relevant European languages but of Swahili, Afrikaans and Hausa as well.

My quarrels with this work are few but of some importance. First, given the issues engaged by Freund, the book is all too brief. One suspects that brevity was imposed as a condition of the work appearing in the Cambridge University Press African Society Today series. If so, the series editors should be put on notice that they have done their audience a disservice. The pace of the work is breathless — a mere 17 pages to discuss the thorny issue of class and culture, less than 20 to examine the role of the state in the labour movement. The result is problematic. No sooner is an issue engaged than the focus shifts. In the hands of a lesser scholar this would be disastrous; with Freund it leaves the reader wanting ideas and suggestions to be developed. Cambridge should consider commissioning Freund to produce a much larger work — say along the lines of John Iliffe's recent study, *The African Poor*.

A second quarrel with this work is its atheoretical stance. (Again one half suspects that this may be due to the constraints of size, but again the result is unsatisfactory.) The demise of the "dependency" consensus has created a theoretical vacuum in African studies. Perhaps the most useful response to this void has been a return to history and it is clear that the growth of labour history is a part of this movement. Yet, as the South African historian Mike Morris has observed, the need of theory cannot be displaced by empiricism. It remains for authors such as Freund to point the way forward toward a new synthesis.

My final quarrel with *The African Worker* concerns the treatment of labour in South Africa. Although there can be little doubt that it is convenient to treat

South Africa as a distinctive region of study apart from the rest of the continent and although there is ample precedent for so doing, it makes less and less sense to do so. Admittedly, Freund, who teaches in South Africa, is much closer to one aspect of the issue than am I. However, even from the distance from which I write it, seems clear that the "house next door to Africa" is increasingly being reintegrated into the continent. As white minority rule is undone, the reality of South Africa as an African society will of neces-

sity become increasingly clear and I somewhat gingerly predict that historians' treatments of the Republic's history will necessarily follow suit.

The above quarrels are and should be taken by those who read this review as minor. As with his *Making of Contemporary Africa*, Freund has once again done all of those who study and teach about African society a great service.

Bob Shenton
Queen's University

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